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ORIGINAL SANSKRIT

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTO

OF

THE PEOPLE OF I

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTION

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED in

BY

J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D.

VOLUME FIRST.

MYTHICAL AND LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN OF CASTE, WITH AN ENQUIRY INTO ITS EXISTENCE IN THE VEDIC AGE.

SECOND EDITION,

REWRITTEN AND GREATLY ENLARGED.

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Na viśesho'sti varṇānāṁ sarvam brāhmam idaṁ jagat |
Brahmaṇā prūva-sṛishṭaṁ hi karmabhir varṇatāṁ gatam |

Mahābhārata.

"There is no distinction of castes. This world, which, as created by Brăhmā, was at first entirely Brahmanic, has become divided into classes in consequence of men's works."—See pages 138 and 140.

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PREFACE.

THE main object which I have proposed to myself in this volume is to collect, translate, and illustrate the principal passages in the different Indian books of the greatest antiquity, as well as in others of comparatively modern composition, which describe the creation of mankind and the origin of classes, or which tend to throw light upon the manner in which the caste system may have arisen.

I have not, however, hesitated to admit, when they fell in my way, such passages explanatory of the cosmogonic or mythological conceptions of the Indians as possess a general interest, although not immediately connected with the chief subject of the book.

Since the first edition appeared my materials have so much increased that the volume has now swelled to more than twice its original bulk. The second and third chapters are almost entirely new.[1] The fourteenth and fifteenth sections of the fourth chapter are entirely so. Even those parts of the book of which the sub-

[1] The contents of these chapters are not, however, absolutely new, but drawn from articles which I have contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society since the first edition of the volume appeared.

stance remains the same have been so generally expanded that comparatively little continues without some alteration of greater or less importance.

In order that the reader may learn at once what he may expect to find in the following pages, I shall supply here a fuller and more connected summary of their contents than is furnished by the table which follows this preface.

The Introduction (pp. 1–6) contains a very rapid survey of the sources from which our information on the subject of caste is to be derived, viz. the Vedic hymns, the Brāhmaṇas, the Epic poems, and the Purāṇas, in which the chronological order and the general characteristics of these works are stated.

The first chapter (pp. 1–160) comprehends the mythical accounts of the creation of man and of the origin of castes which are to be found in the Vedic hymns, in the Brāhmaṇas and their appendages, in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas. The first section (pp. 7–15) contains a translation of the celebrated hymn called Purusha Sūkta, which appears to be the oldest extant authority for attributing a separate origin to the four castes, and a discussion of the question whether the creation there described was intended by its author to convey a literal or an allegorical sense. The second, third, and fourth sections (pp. 15–34) adduce a series of passages from the works standing next in chronological order to the hymns of the Rig-veda, which differ more or less widely from the account of the creation given in the Purusha Sūkta, and therefore justify the conclusion

that in the Vedic age no uniform orthodox and authoritative doctrine existed in regard to the origin of castes. In the fifth section (pp. 35–42) the different passages in Manu's Institutes which bear upon the subject are quoted, and shewn to be not altogether in harmony with each other. The sixth section (pp. 43–49) describes the system of great mundane periods called Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, as explained in the Purāṇas, and shews that no traces of these periods are to be found in the hymns of the Rig-veda, and but few in the Brāhmaṇas (compare p. 215 f.). Sections seventh and eighth (pp. 49–107) contain the accounts of the different creations, including that of the castes, and of the primeval state of mankind, which are given in the Vishṇu, Vāyu, and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, together with references (see pp. 52 ff., 68 ff.) to passages in the Brāhmaṇas, which appear to have furnished some of the germs of the various Puranic representations, and a comparison of the details of the latter with each other which proves that in some respects they are mutually irreconcileable (see pp. 65 ff., 102 ff.). The ninth section (pp. 107–114) adduces the accounts of Brahmā's passion for his daughter, which are given in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa. In the tenth section (pp. 114–122) are embraced such notices connected with the subject of this volume as I have observed in the Rāmāyaṇa. In one of the passages men of all the four castes are said to be the offspring of Manu, a female, the daughter of Daksha, and wife of Kaśyapa. The eleventh section contains a collection of texts from the Mahābhārata and its appendage the Hari-

vaṁśa, in which various and discrepant explanations are given of the existing diversity of castes, one of them representing all the four classes as descendants of Manu Vaivasvata (p. 126), others attributing the distinction of classes to an original and separate creation of each, which, however, is not always described as occurring in the same manner (pp. 128 ff. and 153); whilst others, again, more reasonably, declare the distinction to have arisen out of differences of character and action. This section, as well as the one which precedes it, also embraces accounts of the perfection which prevailed in the first yugas, and of the gradually increasing degeneracy which ensued in those that followed. The twelfth section (pp. 155–158) contains extracts from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which coincide for the most part with those drawn from the other authorities. One text, however, describes mankind as the offspring of Aryaman and Mātṛikā; and another distinctly declares that there was originally but one caste. The thirteenth section (pp. 159 f.) sums up the results of the entire chapter, and asserts the conclusion that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent theory of the origin of caste; but, on the contrary, offer a great variety of explanations, mythical, mystical, and rationalistic, to account for this social phenomenon.

The second chapter (pp. 160–238) treats of the tradition of the descent of the Indian nation from Manu. The first section (pp. 162–181) contains a series of texts from the Rig-veda, which speak of Manu as the progenitor of the race to which the authors of the hymns

belonged, and as the first institutor of religious rites; and adverts to certain terms employed in the hymns, either to denote mankind in general or to signify certain tribal divisions. The second section (pp. 181–196) adduces a number of legends and notices regarding Manu from the Brāhmaṇas and other works next in order of antiquity to the hymns of the Rig-veda. The most interesting and important of these legends is that of the deluge, as given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which is afterwards (pp. 216 ff.) compared with the later versions of the same story found in the Mahābhārata and the Matsya, Bhāgavata and Agni Purāṇas, which are extracted in the third section (pp. 196–220). Some remarks of M. Burnouf and Professor Weber, on the question whether the legend of a deluge was indigenous in India, or derived from a Semitic source, are noticed in pp. 215 f. The fourth section adduces the legendary accounts of the rise of castes among the descendants of Manu and Atri, which are found in the Purāṇas; and quotes a story given in the Mahābhārata about king Vitāhavya, a Kshattriya, being transformed into a Brāhman by the mere word of the sage Bhṛigu.

In the third chapter (pp. 239–295) I have endeavoured to shew what light is thrown by a study of the hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-vedas upon the mutual relations of the different classes of Indian society at the time when those hymns were composed. In the first section (pp. 240–265) the various texts of the Rig-veda in which the words brăhmăn and brāhmaṇa occur are cited, and an attempt is made to determine the senses in which those

words are there employed. The result of this examination is that in none of the hymns of the Rig-veda, except the Purusha Sūkta, is there any distinct reference to a recognized system of four castes, although the occasional use of the word Brāhmaṇa, which is apparently equivalent to Brăhmă-putra, or "the son of a priest," and other indications seem to justify the conclusion that the priesthood had already become a profession, although it did not yet form an exclusive caste (see pp. 258 f., 263 ff.). The second section (pp. 265–280) is made up of quotations from the hymns of the Rig-veda and various other later works, adduced to shew that persons who according to ancient Indian tradition were not of priestly families were in many instances reputed to be authors of Vedic hymns, and in two cases, at least, are even said to have exercised priestly functions. These two cases are those (1) of Devāpi (pp. 269ff.), and (2) of Viśvāmitra, which is afterwards treated at great length in the fourth chapter. This section concludes with a passage from the Matsya Purāṇa, which not only speaks of the Kshattriyas Manu, Iḍa, and Purūravas, as "utterers of Vedic hymns" (*mantra-vādinaḥ*); but also names three Vaiśyas, Bhalanda, Vandya, and Sankīrtti, as "composers of hymns" (*mantra-kṛitaḥ*). The third section (pp. 280–289) shews by quotations from the Atharva-veda that at the period when those portions of that collection which are later than the greater part of the Rig-veda were composed, the pretensions of the Brāhmans had been considerably developed. The fourth section (pp. 289–295) gives an account of the opinions expressed by Professor

R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug regarding the origin of castes.

The fourth chapter (pp. 296–479) contains a series of legendary illustrations derived from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas, of the struggle which appears to have occurred in the early ages of Indian history between the Brāhmans and the Kshattriyas, after the former had begun to constitute an exclusive sacerdotal class, but before their rights had become accurately defined by long prescription, and when the members of the ruling caste were still indisposed to admit their pretensions. I need not here state in detail the contents of the first five sections (pp. 296–317) which record various legends descriptive of the ruin which is said to have overtaken different princes by whom the Brāhmans were slighted and their claims resisted. The sixth and following sections down to the thirteenth (pp. 317–426) contain, first, such references to the two renowned rivals, Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra as are found in the hymns of the Rig-veda, and which represent them both as Vedic rishis; secondly, such notices of them as occur in the Brāhmaṇas, and shew that Viśvāmitra, as well as Vasishṭha, had officiated as a priest; and, thirdly, a series of legends from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata which describe the repeated struggles for superiority in which they were engaged, and attempt, by a variety of fictions, involving miraculous elements, to explain the manner in which Viśvāmitra became a Brāhman, and to account for the fact which was so distinctly certified by tradition (see pp. 361 ff.), but appeared so un-

accountable in later ages (see pp. 265 f., 364 ff.), that that famous personage, although notoriously a Kshattriya by birth, had nevertheless exercised sacerdotal functions.[2] The fourteenth section (pp. 426–430) contains a story from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa about king Janaka, a Rājanya, renowned for his stoical temperament and religious knowledge, who communicated theological instruction to

[2] As I have omitted in the body of the work to say anything of the views of Signor Angelo de Gubernatis about the purport of the Vedic texts relating to Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra, I may state here that this young Italian Sanskritist, in his Essay, entitled "Fonti Vediche dell'Epopea" (see the Rivista Orientale, vol. i. pp. 409 ff., 478 ff.), combats the opinion of Professor Roth that these passages refer to two historical personages, and to real events in which they played a part; and objects that Roth "took no account of the possibility that a legend of the heavens may have been based upon a human foundation" (p. 409). Signor de Gubernatis further observes that the 33rd and 53rd hymns of the third Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda "may perhaps have been recited at a later period in connection with some battle which really occured, but that the fact which they celebrate seems to be much more ancient, and to be lost in a very remote myth" (p. 410). Viśvāmitra, he considers, is one of the appellations of the sun, and as both the person who bears this name, and Indra are the sons of Kuśika, they must be brothers (p. 412. See, however, the remarks in p. 347 f. of this volume on the epithet Kauśika as applied to Indra). Sudās, according to Signor de Gubernatis (p. 413), denotes the horse of the sun, or the sun himself, while Vasishṭha is the greatest of the Vasus, and denotes Agni, the solar fire, and means, like Viśvāmitra, the sun (p. 483). Signor de Gubernatis is further of opinion (pp. 414, 478, 479, and 483) that both the 33rd and 53rd hymns of the third, and the 18th hymn of the seventh Maṇḍala are comparatively modern; that the names of Kuśikas and Viśvāmitras claimed by the authors of the two former, are fraudulently assumed; while the last (the 18th hymn of the seventh Maṇḍala) was composed by a sacerdotal family who claimed Vasishṭha as its founder. I will only remark that the theory of Signor de Gubernatis appears to me to be an improbable one. But the only point of much importance for my own special purpose is that ancient Indian tradition represents both Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra as real personages, the one of either directly divine, or of sacerdotal descent, and the other of royal lineage. They may, however, have been nothing more than legendary creations, the fictitious eponymi of the families which bore the same name.

some eminent Brāhmans, and became a member of their class. In the fifteenth section (pp. 431–436) two other instances are adduced from the same Brāhmaṇa and from two of the Upanishads, of Kshattriyas who were in possession of truths unknown to the Brāhmans, and who, contrary to the usual rule, became the teachers of the latter. The sixteenth section (pp. 436–440) contains an extract from the Aiṭareya Brāhmaṇa regarding king Viśvantara who, after at first attempting to prevent the Śyāparṇa Brāhmans from officiating at his sacrifice, became at length convinced by one of their number of their superior knowledge, and accepted their services. In the seventeenth section (pp. 440–442) a story is told of Matanga, the spurious offspring of a Brāhman woman by a man of inferior caste, who failed, in spite of his severe and protracted austerities, to elevate himself (as Viśvāmitra had done) to the rank of a Brāhman. The eighteenth section (pp. 442–479) contains a series of legends, chiefly from the Mahābhārata, regarding the repeated exterminations of the Kshattriyas by the war-like Brāhman Paraśurāma of the race of Bhṛigu, and the ultimate restoration of the warrior tribe, and a variety of extravagant illustrations of the supernatural power of the Brāhmans, related by the god Vāyu to king Arjuna, who began by denying the superiority of the priests, but was at length compelled to succumb to the overwhelming evidence adduced by his aerial monitor.

In the fifth chapter (pp. 480–488) I have given some account of the opinions entertained by Manu, and the

authors of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, regarding the origin of the tribes dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan, but not comprehended in the Indian caste-system.

The sixth and concluding chapter (pp. 489–504) contains the Puranic accounts of the parts of the earth exterior to Bhāratavarsha, or India, embracing first, the other eight Varshas or divisions of Jambudvīpa, the central continent; secondly, the circular seas and continents (dvīpas) by which Jambudvīpa is surrounded; and, thirdly, the remoter portions of the mundane system.

The Appendix (pp. 505-515) contains some supplementary notes.

As in the previous edition, I have been careful to acknowledge in the text and notes of this volume the assistance which I have derived from the writings of the different Sanskrit Scholars who have treated of the same subjects. It will, however, be well to specify here the various publications to which I have been indebted for materials. In 1858, I wrote thus: "It will be seen at once that my greatest obligations are due to Professor H. H. Wilson, whose translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, with abundant and valuable notes, derived chiefly from the other Purāṇas, was almost indispensable to the successful completion of such an attempt as the present." In this second edition also I have had constant occasion to recur to Wilson's important work, now improved and enriched by the additional notes of the editor Dr. Fitzedward Hall. It is to his edition, so far as it has yet ap-

peared, that my references have been made. I acknowledged at the same time the aid which I had received from M. Langlois' French translation of the Harivaṁśa, and from M. Burnouf's French translation of the first nine books of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which opened up an easy access to the contents of the original works. A large amount of materials has also been supplied to me, either formerly or for the preparation of the present edition, by Mr. Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays; by Professor C. Lassen's Indian Antiquities; Professor Rudolph Roth's Dissertations on the Literature and History of the Vedas, and contributions to the Journal of the German Oriental Society, and to Weber's Indische Studien, etc.; Professor Weber's numerous articles in the same Journals, and his History of Indian Literature; Professor Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, Chips from a German Workshop, article on the Funeral rites of the Brāhmans, etc.; Professor Benfey's Glossary of the Sāma Veda, and translations of Vedic hymns; Dr. Haug's text and translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa: while much valuable aid has been derived from the written communications with which I have been favoured by Professor Aufrecht, as well as from his Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskrit MSS. I am also indebted to Professor Müller for pointing out two texts which will be found in the Appendix, and to Professor Goldstücker for copying for me two passages of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's Mīmansā-vārttika, which are printed in the same place, and for making some corrections in my translations of them.

I formerly observed that at the same time my own researches had "enabled me to collect a good many texts which I had not found elsewhere adduced;" and the same remark applies to a considerable portion of the new matter which has been adduced in the present edition.

CONTENTS.

PAGES.

v.—xvi. PREFACE.

1—6. INTRODUCTION, CONTAINING A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

7—160. CHAPTER I.—MYTHICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION OF MAN, AND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE FOUR CASTES.

7— 15. SECT. I. Ninetieth hymn of the tenth Book of the Rig-veda Sanhitā, called Purusha-Sūkta, or the hymn to Purusha.

15— 16. SECT. II. Quotation from the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vii. 1, 1, 4 ff.

17— 22. SECT. III. Citations from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, the Vāyasaneyi Sanhitā, and the Atharva-veda.

22— 34. SECT. IV. Further quotations from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Sanhitā, and Āraṇyaka, and from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

35— 42. SECT. V. Manu's account of the origin of castes.

43— 49. SECT. VI. Account of the system of yugas, manvantaras, and kalpas, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa and other authorities.

49— 73. SECT. VII. Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, with some passages from the Brāhmaṇas, containing the germs of the Puranic statements.

74—107. SECT. VIII. Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas.

PAGES.
107—114. Sect. IX. Legend of Brahmā and his daughter, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and of Śatarūpā, according to the Matsya Purāṇa.

114—122. Sect. X. Quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa on the creation, and on the origin of castes.

122—155. Sect. XI. Quotations from the Mahābhārata and Harivaṁśa on the same subjects, and on the four yugas.

155—158. Sect. XII. Citations from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa on the creation and on the origin of castes.

159—160. Sect. XIII. Results of this chapter.

161—238. CHAPTER II. — Tradition of the descent of the Indian race from Manu.

162—181. Sect. I. On Manu as the progenitor of the Āryan Indians and the institutor of religious rites, according to the hymns of the Rig-veda.

181—196. Sect. II. Legend of Manu and the deluge from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and other notices regarding Manu from the Śatapatha, Aitareya, and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas, the Taittirīya Sanhitā, and the Chāndogya Upanishad.

196—220. Sect. III. Extracts from the Mahābhārata and the Matsya, Bhāgavata, and Agni Purāṇas regarding Manu, and the deluge; and comparison of the versions of this legend adduced in this and the preceding section.

220—238. Sect. IV. Legendary accounts of the origin of castes among the descendants of Manu and Atri, according to the Purāṇas.

239—295. CHAPTER III. — On the mutual relations of the different classes of Indian society, according to the hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-vedas.

240—265. Sect. I. On the signification of the words brāhmăn and brāhmaṇa, etc., in the Rig-veda.

265—280. Sect. II. Quotations from the Rig-veda, the Nirukta, the Mahābhārata and other works, to show that according to ancient Indian tradition persons not of priestly families were authors of Vedic hymns, and exercised priestly functions.

280—289. Sect. III. Texts from the Atharva-veda, illustrating the progress of Brahmanical pretensions.

289—295. Sect. IV. Opinions of Professor R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug regarding the origin of caste among the Hindus.

PAGES.
296—400. CHAPTER IV.— Early contests between the Brāhmans and the Kshattriyas.

296—298. Sect. I. Manu's summary of refractory and submissive monarchs.

298—306. Sect. II. Legend of Veṇa.

306—307. Sect. III. Legend of Purūravas.

307—315. Sect. IV. Story of Nahusha.

316—317. Sect. V. Story of Nimi.

317—337. Sect. VI. Vasishṭha, according to the Rig-veda and later works.

337—371. Sect. VII. Viśvāmitra, according to the Rig-veda, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and later authorities; earlier and later relations of priestly families and the other classes.

371—375. Sect. VII*a*. Do the details in the last two sections enable us to decide in what relation Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra stood to each other as priests of Sudās?

375—378. Sect. VIII. Story of Triśanku.

379—388. Sect. IX. Legend of Hariśchandra.

388—397. Sect. X. Contest of Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra, and entrance of the latter into the Brāhman caste, according to the Mahābhārata.

397—411. Sect. XI. The same legend, and those of Triśanku, and Ambarīsha, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, with a further story about Viśvāmitra from the Mahābhārata.

411—414. Sect. XII. Other accounts from the Mahābhārata of the way in which Viśvāmitra became a Brāhman.

414—426. Sect. XIII. Legend of Saudāsa, and further story of the rivalry of Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra, according to the Mahābhārata, with an extract from the Rāja Taraṅgiṇī.

426—430. Sect. XIV. Story from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa about king Janaka becoming a Brāhman, with extracts from the Mahābhārata about the same prince.

431—436. Sect. XV. Other instances in which Brāhmans are said to have been instructed in divine knowledge by Kshattriyas.

436—440. Sect. XVI. Story of king Viśvantara and the Śyāparṇa Brāhmans.

440—442. Sect. XVII. Story of Matanga, who tried in vain to raise himself to the position of a Brāhman.

PAGES.
442—479. Sect. XVIII. Legend of the Brāhman Paraśurāma, the exterminator of the Kshattriyas, according to the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, with a series of narratives from the former work illustrating the superhuman power of the Brāhmans.

480—488. CHAPTER V. Relation of the Brahmanical Indians to the neighbouring tribes, according to Manu, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.

489—504. CHAPTER VI. Puranic accounts of the parts of the earth exterior to Bhāratavarsha, or India.

505—516. Appendix, containing supplementary notes.

517—532. Index.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 23, line 19, *for* "beingy ellow" *read* "being yellow."
„ 38, „ 17 ff., *for* "59-64" *read* "58-63."
„ 42, „ 4 from foot, *for* "p. 36" *read* "p. 37."
„ 46, „ 26, *for* "p. 42" *read* "p. 43."
„ 47, „ 8, *for* "12,826" *read* "iii. 826."
„ 51, „ 17, *for* "Purushottasna" *read* "Purushottama."
„ 123, „ 19, *for* "*to*" *read* "*tu*."
„ 127, „ 18 f., *for* "the two by which these three are followed," *read* "two of those which follow, viz. in pp. 134 and 139."
„ 136, „ 18, *for* "116" *read* "11 and 12."
„ 169, „ 26, *for* "Vivaswat" *read* "Vivasvat."
„ 170, „ 28 and 33, *for* "Mātaris'wan" *read* Mātaris'van."
„ 171, „ 26, *for* "As'wins" *read* "Aśvins."
„ 180, „ 28, *before* "*Prajāpatir*" *insert* "ii. 33."
„ 194, „ 5, *for* "*mā bhaja*" *read* "*mā ābhaja*."
„ 221, „ 20, *before* "*Pṛishadhras*" *insert* "iv. 1, 12."
„ 222, „ 7, *for* "ix. 2" *read* "ix. 2, 16."
„ — „ 13, *before* "*Nābhāgo*" *insert* "iv. 1, 14."
„ 235, „ 19, *for* "iv." *read* "ix."
„ 251, „ 27, *for* "3" *read* "2."
„ 258, „ 3 from the foot, *for* "viii." *read* "vii."
„ 274, „ 8, *for* "*Dīlipāt*" *read* "*Dilīpāt*."
„ 280, „ 14, *for* "was" *read* "were."
„ 307, „ 10, *for* "*virāṭ*" *read* "*virāj*."
„ 308, „ 24, *before* "*Nahusho*" *insert* "12460."
„ 318, „ 4, *for* "139 f." *read* "161 f."
„ 371, „ 12, *for* "vii." *read* "viia."
„ 399, „ 18, *for* "58, 18" *read* "56, 18."
„ 487, „ 2, *for* "thei rdesertion" *read* "their desertion."

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

PART FIRST.

INTRODUCTION

CONTAINING A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

I PROPOSE in the present volume to give some account of the traditions, legends, and mythical narratives which the different classes of ancient Indian writings contain regarding the origin of mankind, and the classes or castes into which the Hindus have long been distributed. In order to ascertain whether the opinions which have prevailed in India on these subjects have continued fixed and uniform from the earliest period, or whether they have varied from age to age, and if so, what modifications they have undergone, it is necessary that we should first of all determine the chronological order of the various works from which our information is to be drawn. This task of classification can, as far as regards its great outlines, be easily accomplished. Although we cannot discover sufficient grounds for fixing with any precision the dates of these different books, we are perfectly able to settle the order in which the most important of those which are to form the basis of this investigation were composed. From a comparison of these several literary records, it will be found that the Hindus, like all other civilized nations, have passed through various stages of development,—social, moral, religious, and intellectual. The ideas and beliefs which are exhibited in their oldest documents, are not the same as those which we encounter in their later writings.

The principal books to which we must look for information on the subjects of our enquiry are the Vedas, including the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, the Sūtras, the Institutes of Manu, and the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. Of these different classes of works, the Vedas are allowed by all competent enquirers to be by far the most ancient.

There are, as every student of Indian literature is aware, four Vedas,—the Rig-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Yajur-veda, and the Atharva-veda. Each of the collections of works known as a Veda consists of two parts, which are called its *mantra* and its *brāhmaṇa*.[1] The Mantras are either metrical hymns, or prose forms of prayer. The Rig-veda and the Sāmaveda consist only of mantras of the former description. The Brāhmanas contain regulations regarding the employment of the mantras, and the celebration of the various rites of sacrifice, and also embrace certain treatises called Āraṇyakas, and others called Upanishads or Vedāntas (so called from their being the concluding portions of each Veda), which expound the mystical sense of some of the ceremonies, and discuss the nature of the godhead, and the means of acquiring religious knowledge with a view to final liberation.

The part of each Veda which contains the mantras, or hymns, is called its Sanhitā.[2] Thus the Rig-veda Sanhitā means the collection of hymns belonging to the Rig-veda. Of the four collections of hymns, that belonging to the last-mentioned Veda, which contains no less than 1,017 of these compositions, is by far the most important for historical purposes. Next in value must be reckoned those hymns of the Atharva-veda, which are peculiar to that collection, another portion of which, however, is borrowed, in most cases, verbatim, from the Rig-veda.[3]

[1] Sāyaṇa says in his commentary on the Rigveda (vol. p. i. p. 4): *Mantra-brāhmaṇātmakam tāvad aḍushṭam lakshaṇam | ata eva Āpastambo yajna-paribhāshāyām evāha 'mantra-brāhmaṇayor veda-nāmadheyam'* | "The definition (of the Veda) as a book composed of *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, is unobjectionable. Hence Āpastamba says in the Yajnaparibhāshā, 'Mantra and Brāhmaṇa have the name of Veda.'"

[2] This definition applies to all the Sanhitās, except that of the Taittirīya, or Black Yajur, Veda, in which Mantra and Brāhmaṇa are combined. But even this Sanhitā had a separate Brāhmaṇa connected with it. See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 350, and Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 83. The general character of the Vājasaneyi and Atharva Sanhitās is not affected by the fact that the last section of the former is an Upanishad, and that the fifteenth book of the latter has something of the nature of a Brāhmaṇa.

[3] For further information on the Vedas, reference may be made to Professor Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, *passim*, and also to vols. ii. iii. and iv. of the present work.

From this succinct account of the contents of the Vedas, it is clear that the Mantras must constitute their most ancient portions, since the Brāhmanas, which regulate the employment of the hymns, of necessity pre-suppose the earlier existence of the latter. On this subject the commentator on the Taittirīya, or Black Yajur-veda, Sanhitā thus expresses himself (p. 9 of the Calcutta edition):—

Yadyapi mantrabrāhmaṇātmako vedas tathāpi brāhmaṇasya mantra-vyākhāna-rūpatvād mantrā evādau samāmnātāḥ | "Although the Veda is formed both of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, yet as the Brāhmaṇa consists of an explanation of the Mantras, it is the latter which were at first recorded."[4]

The priority of the hymns to the Brāhmaṇas is accordingly attested by the constant quotations from the former which are found in the latter.[5] Another proof that the hymns are far older than any other portion of Indian literature is to be found in the character of their language. They are composed in an ancient dialect of the Sanskrit, containing many words of which the sense was no longer known with certainty in the age of Yāska, the author of the Nirukta,[6] and many grammatical forms which had become obsolete in the time of the great grammarian Pāṇini, who refers to them as peculiar to the hymns (*chhandas*).[7] A third argument in favour of the greater antiquity of the mantras is supplied by the fact that the gods whom they represent as the most prominent objects of adoration, such as Indra and Varuṇa, occupy but a subordinate position in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, whilst others, viz., Vishṇu and Rudra, though by no means the most important deities of the hymns, are exalted to the first rank, and assume a different character, in the Puranic pantheon.[8]

[4] See also the passage quoted from the Nirukta in p. 174 of the 2nd vol. of this work, and that cited from Sāyaṇa in p. 195 of the same vol. Compare the the following passage of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, i. 2, 1: *Tad etat satyam mantreshu karmāṇi kavayo yāny apaśyams tāni tretāyām bahudhā santatāni* | "This is true: the rites which the rishis saw (*i.e.* discovered by revelation) in the hymns—these rites were in great variety celebrated in the Tretā (age)."

[5] See vol. ii. of this work, p. 195, and the article on the "Interpretation of the Veda" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. new series, pp. 316 ff.

[6] See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 178 ff, and my article on the "Interpretation of the Veda" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. new series, pp. 323 ff.

[7] See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 216 ff.

[8] See vol. ii. of this work, 212 ff, and vol. iv. 1, 2, and *passim*.

On all these grounds it may be confidently concluded that the mantras, or hymns, of the Rig-veda are by far the most ancient remains of Indian literature. The hymns themselves are of different periods, some being older, and some more recent. This is shown not only by the nature of the case,—as it is not to be supposed that the whole of the contents of such a large national collection as the Rig-veda Sanhitā should have been composed by the men of one, or even two, generations,—but also by the frequent references which occur in the mantras themselves to older rishis, or poets, and to older hymns.[9] It is, therefore, quite possible that a period of several centuries may have intervened between the composition of the oldest and that of the most recent of these poems. But if so, it is also quite conceivable that in this interval considerable changes may have taken place in the religious ideas and ceremonies, and in the social and ecclesiastical institutions of the people among whom these hymns were produced, and that some traces of these changes may be visible on comparing the different hymns with each other.

No sufficient data exist for determining with exactness the period at which the hymns were composed. Professor Müller divides them into two classes, the Mantras or more recent hymns, which he supposes may have been produced between 1000 and 800 years,—and the older hymns, to which he applies the name of Chhandas, and which he conceives may have been composed between 1200 and 1000 years,—before the Christian era. Other scholars are of opinion that they may be even older (see Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 572, and the Preface to the 4th Vol of the same author's edition of the Rig-veda, pp. iv.-xiii). This view is shared by Dr. Haug, who thus writes in his introduction to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, p. 47: "We do not hesitate, therefore, to assign the composition of the bulk of the Brāhmaṇas to the years 1400–1200 B.C.; for the Saṁhitā we require a period of *at least* 500–600 years, with an interval of about two hundred years between the end of the proper Brāhmana period. Thus we obtain for the bulk of Saṁhitā the space from 1400–2000; the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that we would fix the very commencement of Vedic literature between 2000–2400 B.C."

[9] See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 206 ff., and vol. iii. pp. 116 ff., 121 ff.

Next in order of time to the most recent of the hymns come, of course, the Brāhmaṇas. Of these (1) the Aitareya and Sānkhāyana are connected with the Rig-veda; (2) the Tāṇḍya, the Panchaviṁśa and the Chhāndogya with the Sāma-veda; (3) the Taittirīya with the Taittirīya or Black Yajur-veda; (4) the Śatapatha with the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā or White Yajur-veda; and (5) the Gopatha with the Atharva-veda.[10] These works, written in prose, prescribe, as I have already intimated, the manner in which the Mantras are to be used and the various rites of sacrifice to be celebrated. They also expound the mystical signification of some of the ceremonies, and adduce a variety of legends to illustrate the origin and efficacy of some of the ritual prescriptions. That in order of age the Brāhmaṇas stand next to the Mantras is proved by their simple, antiquated, and tautological style, as well as by the character of their language, which, though approaching more nearly than that of the hymns, to classical or Pāninean Sanskrit, is yet distinguished by certain archaisms both of vocabulary and of grammatical form which are unknown to the Itihāsas and Purāṇas.[11] The most recent portions of the Brāhmaṇas are the Araṇyakas and Upanishads, of which the character and contents have been already summarily indicated. The remaining works which form the basis of our investigations come under the designation of Smṛiti, as distinguished from that of Śruti, which is applied to the Mantras, Brāhmaṇas, Araṇyakas, and Upanishads.

The term Smṛiti includes (1) the Vedāngas, such as the Nirukta of Yāska, (2) the Sûtras or aphorisms, *śrauta* and *gṛihya*, or sacrificial and domestic, etc., (3) the Institutes of Manu, (4) the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. To the class of Itihāsas belong (1) the Rāmāyaṇa (said to be the work of Valmīki), which contains an account in great part, at least, fabulous, of the adventures of Rāma, and the Mahābhārata, which describes the wars and adventures of the Kurus and Pāndus, and embraces also a great variety of episodes and numerous mythological narratives, as well as religious, philosophical, and political discussions, which are interwoven with, or interpolated in, the framework of the poem. This

[10] For further details on these Brāhmanas, the reader may consult Professor Max Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 345 ff.; Professor Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, and Indische Studien; and Dr. Haug's Aitareya Brahmana.

[11] See, for example, the Ś. P. Br. xi. 5, 1, 15; and the Taitt. Sanhitā, ii. 2, 10, 2, and ii. 6, 7, 1.

work is said to be the production of Vyāsa, but its great bulk, its almost encyclopædic character, and the discrepancies in doctrine which are observable between its different parts, lead inevitably to the conclusion that it is not the composition of a single author, but has received large additions from a succession of writers, who wished to obtain currency and authority for their several opinions by introducing them into this great and venerated repository of national tradition.[12]

The Purāṇas are commonly said to be eighteen in number, in addition to certain inferior works of the same description called Upapurāṇas. For an account of these books and a summary of their contents, I must refer to the late Professor H. H. Wilson's introduction to his translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.[13]

In treating the several topics which are to be handled in this volume, I propose in each case to adduce, first, any texts bearing upon it which may be found in the hymns of the Rig-veda; next, those in the Brāhmaṇas and their appendages; and, lastly, those occurring in any of the different classes of works coming under the designation of Smṛiti. By this means we shall learn what conceptions or opinions were entertained on each subject by the oldest Indian authors, and what were the various modifications to which these ideas were subjected by their successors.

[12] On the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, see Professor Monier Williams's "Indian Epic Poetry," which contains a careful analysis of the leading narrative of each of the poems.

[13] See also the same author's analyses of the contents of the Vishṇu, Vāyu, Agni, and Brāhma-vaivartta Purāṇas in the "Gleanings of Science," published in Calcutta, and those of the Brāhma and Pādma Purāṇas in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. ix (1838) and No. x. (1839).

CHAPTER I.

MYTHICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION OF MAN, AND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE FOUR CASTES.

It will be seen from the different texts to be adduced in this chapter, that from a very early period the Indian writers have propounded a great variety of speculations regarding the origin of mankind, and of the classes or castes into which they found their own community divided. The most commonly received of these explanations is the fable which represents the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, to have been separately created from the head, the breast or arms, the thighs, and the feet of the Creator. Of this mythical account no trace is to be found in any of the hymns of the Rig-veda, except one, the Purusha Sūkta.

Although for reasons which will be presently stated, I esteem it probable that this hymn belongs to the most recent portion of the Rig-veda, it will be convenient to adduce and to discuss it first, along with certain other texts from the Brāhmaṇas, Itihāsas, and Purāṇas, which professedly treat of the origin of mankind and of caste, before we proceed to examine the older parts of the hymn-collection, with the view of ascertaining what opinion the authors of them appear to have entertained in regard to the earliest history of their race, and to the grounds of those relations which they found subsisting between the different classes of society contemporary with themselves.

Sect. I.—90*th Hymn of the* 10*th Book of the Rig-veda Sanhitā, called Purusha Sūkta, or the hymn to Purusha.*

This celebrated hymn contains, as far as we know, the oldest extant passage which makes mention of the fourfold origin of the Hindu race.

In order to appreciate the character of this passage, we must consider it in connection with its context. I therefore quote the whole of the hymn:[14]

R. V. x. 90. 1. *Sahasra-śīrshā Purushaḥ sahasrākshaḥ sahasrapāt | sa bhūmim viśvato vṛitvā atyatishṭhad daśāṅgulam | 2. Purushaḥ evedaṁ sarvaṁ yad bhūtaṁ yachcha bhāvyam | utāmṛitatvasyeśāno yad annenātirohati | 3. Etāvān asya mahimā ato jyāyāṁścha Pūrushaḥ | pādo 'sya viśvā bhūtāni tripād asyāmṛitaṁ divi | 4. Tripād ūrdhva ud ait Pūrushaḥ pādo 'syehābhavat punaḥ | tato vishvaṇ vyakrāmat sāśanānaśane abhi | 5. tasmād Virāḷ ajāyata Virājo adhi Pūrushaḥ | sa jāto aty arichyata paśchād bhūmim atho puraḥ | 6. Yat Purusheṇa havishā devāḥ yajnam atanvata | vasanto asyāsīd ājyam grīshmaḥ idhmaḥ śarad haviḥ | 7. Taṁ yajnam barhishi praukshan Purushaṁ jātam agrataḥ | tena devāḥ ayajanta sādhyāḥ ṛishayaś cha ye | 8. Tasmād yajnāt sarvahutaḥ sambhṛitam pṛishadājyam | paśūn tāṁś chakre vāyavyān āraṇyān grāmyāś cha ye | 9. Tasmād yajnāt sarvahutaḥ ṛichaḥ sāmāni jajnire | chhandāṁsi jajnire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata | 10. Tasmād aśvā ajāyanta ye ke cha ubhayādataḥ | gāvo ha jajnire tasmāt tasmāj jātāḥ ajāvayaḥ | 11. Yat Purushaṁ vi adadhuḥ katidhā vi akalpayan | mukham kim asya kau bāhū kā ūrū pādā uchyete | 12. Brāhmaṇo 'sya mukham āsīd bāhū rājanyaḥ kṛitaḥ | ūrū tad asya yad vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṁ śūdro ajāyata | 13. chandramāḥ manaso jātaś chakshoḥ sūryo ajāyata | mukhād Indraś cha Agniś cha prāṇād Vāyur ajāyata | 14. Nābhyāḥ āsīd antarikśham śīrshṇo dyauḥ samavarttata | padbhyām bhūmir diśaḥ śrotrāt tathā lokān akalpayan | 15. Saptāsyāsan paridhayas triḥ sapta samidhaḥ kṛitāḥ | devāḥ yad yajnam tanvānāḥ abadhnan Purusham paśum | 16. Yajnena yajnaṁ ayajanta devās tāni dharmāṇi pratha-*

[14] The Purusha Sūkta is also found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā of the White Yajar-veda (31. 1–16) and in the Atharva-veda (19. 6. 1 ff.) See Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, i. 167 f., and note in p. 309 (or pp. 104, and 197, of Messrs. Williams and Norgate's edition); Burnouf's Bhāgavata Purāna, vol. i. Preface, pp. cxxiii. ff.; Wilson's Preface to his translation of the Rigveda, vol. i. p. xliv.; Professor Roth's remarks in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, i. pp. 78 f.; Müller in Bunsen's Philosophy of Univ. History, vol. i. p. 344; Müller's Anc. Sank. Lit., pp. 570 f.; Professor Weber's translation in Indische Studien ix. p. 5; and my own translation, notes and remarks in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 353 ff., and for 1866, pp. 282 f.

māni āsan | te ha nākam mahimānaḥ sachanta yatra pūrve sādhyāḥ santi devāḥ |

"1. Purusha has a thousand heads,[15] a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. On every side enveloping[16] the earth, he overpassed[17] (it) by a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha himself is this whole (universe), whatever has been and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since (or, when) by food he expands.[18] 3. Such is his greatness, and Purusha is superior to this. All existences are a quarter of him; and three-fourths of him are that which is immortal in the sky.[19] 4. With three quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him was again produced here. He was then diffused everywhere over things which eat and things which do not eat. 5. From him was was born Virāj, and from Virāj, Purusha.[20] When born, he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before. 6. When the gods performed a sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation, the spring was its butter, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its (accompanying) offering. 7. This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they immolated on

[15] The Atharva-veda (xix. 6, 1) reads *sahasra-bāhuḥ*, "having a thousand arms," the transcriber, perhaps, taking the verse literally, and considering that a being in human form, if he had a thousand eyes and a thousand feet, ought only to have five hundred heads, and not a thousand as in the text of the Rig-veda.

[16] For *vṛitvā* in the R. V. the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 31. 1, reads *spṛitvā*, which seems to mean nearly the same.

[17] The word is *atyatishṭhat*. Compare the S'atapatha Brāmaṇa, xiii. 6, 1, 1, and *atishṭhāvānaḥ* in S'. P. B. iv. 5, 4, 1, 2. Professor Weber renders *atyatishṭhat* "occupies" (Indische Studien, ix. 5).

[18] The sense of this is obscure. Instead of *yad annenātirohati*, the A. V. reads *yad anyenābhavat saha*, ("that which," or, "since he) was with another."

[19] Compare A. V. x. 8, 7: *ardhena viśvam bhuvanam jajāna yad asya ardham kva tad babhūva:* "with the half he produced the whole world; what became of the (other) half of him?" See also ibid. v. 13.

[20] This sentence is illustrated by R. V. x. 72, 5, where it is said, *Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari* | "Aditi was born from Daksha and Daksha from Aditi"—a text on which Yāska remarks (Nirukta, xi. 23): *tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau syātām iti | api vā deva-dharmeṇa ītaretara-janmānau syātām itaretatara-prakṛitī* | "how can this be possible? They may have had a common birth; or, conformably with their nature as deities, they may have been produced from one another, and possess the properties of one another." Compare A. V. 13. 4. 29 ff., where Indra is said to have been produced from a great many other gods, or entities, and they reciprocally from him. In regard to Virāj, compare the notes on the verse before us in my article on the "Progress of the Vedic religion," etc., in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, p. 354.

the sacrificial grass. With him the gods, the Sādhyas,[21] and the rishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal sacrifice were provided curds and butter. It formed those aerial[22] (creatures) and animals both wild and tame. 9. From that universal sacrifice sprang the ṛich and sāman verses, the metres, and the yajush. 10. From it sprang horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth; kine sprang from it; from it goats and sheep. 11. When (the gods) divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? what was his mouth? what arms (had he)? what (two objects) are said (to have been) his thighs and feet? 12. The Brāhman was his mouth;[23] the Rājánya was made his arms; the being (called) the Vaiśya, he was his thighs;[24] the Śūdra sprang from his feet. 13. The moon sprang from his soul (*manas*), the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vāyu from his breath.[25] 14. From his navel arose the air, from his head the sky, from his feet the earth, from his ear the (four) quarters: in this manner (the gods) formed the worlds. 15. When the gods, performing sacrifice, bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven sticks (stuck up) for it

[21] See on the Sādhyas, Professor Weber's note, Ind. St. ix. 6 f., and the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 395, note.

[22] See, however, Vāj. Sanh. xiv. 30, to be quoted below.

[23] Compare the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa Upanishad, ii. 9: *atha paurṇamāsyām purastāch chandramasam dṛiśyamānam upatishṭheta etayā eva āvṛitā "somo rājāsi vichakshaṇo pancha mukho'si prajāpatiḥ | brāhmaṇas te ekam mukham | tena mukhena rājno 'tsi | tena mukhena mām annādam kuru | rājā te ekam mukham | tena mukhena viśo'tsi | tena mukhena mām annādam kuru | śyenas te ekam mukham "ityādi |* which is thus translated by Mr. Cowell: "Next on the day of the full moon let him in this same way adore the moon when it is seen in front of him (saying), 'thou art Soma, the brilliant, the wise, the five-mouthed, the lord of creatures. The Brāhman is one mouth of thine, with that mouth thou eatest kings, with that mouth make me to eat food. The king is one mouth of thine, with that mouth thou eatest common men, with that mouth make me to eat food. The hawk is one mouth of thine," etc. The fourth mouth is fire, and the fifth is in the moon itself. I should prefer to render the words *somo rājā'si*, "thou art *king Soma*,"—"king" being a frequent designation of this god in the Brāhmaṇas. See also M. Bh. iii. 12,962, where Vishṇu is introduced as saying in the same mystical way: *Brahma vaktram bhujau kshattram ūrū me saṁsthitāḥ viśaḥ | pādau śūdrāḥ bhavantīme vikrameṇa krameṇa cha |* "The Brahman is my mouth; the Kshattra are my arms; the Viśas are my thighs; these Śūdras with their vigour and rapidity are my feet."

[24] Instead of *ūrū*, "thighs," the Atharva-veda, xix. 6, 6, reads *madhyam*, "middle."

[25] The Vāj. S. xxxi. 13, has a different and singular reading of the last half verse: *śrotrād vāyuś cha prāṇaś cha mukhād agnir ajāyata |* "From his ear came Vāyu and Prāṇa (breath) and from his mouth Agni."

(around the fire), and thrice seven pieces of fuel were made. 16. With sacrifice the gods performed the sacrifice. These were the earliest rites. These great powers have sought the sky, where are the former Sādhyas, gods."[26]

I have above (p. 7) intimated an opinion that this hymn does not belong to the most ancient portion of the Rig-veda. This view is, however, controverted by Dr. Haug, who, in his tract on "the origin of Brāhmanism" (published at Poona in 1863), p. 5, writes as follows: "The few scholars who have been engaged in the study of the Vedas unanimously regard this hymn as a very late production of Vedic poetry; but there is no sufficient evidence to prove that. On the contrary, reasons might be adduced to shew that it is even old. The mystical character of the hymn is no proof at all of its late origin. Such allegorical hymns are to be met with in every book of the collection of the mantras, which goes by the name of Rig-veda samhitā. The Rishis, who were the authors of these hymns, delighted in such speculations. They chiefly were suggested to them by the sacrificial rites, which they daily were performing. According to the position which is assigned to it in the Yajur-veda (where it is found among the formulas referring to the human sacrifice), the hymn appears to have been used at the human sacrifices. That, at the earliest period of the Vedic time, human sacrifices were quite common with the Brahmans, can be proved beyond any doubt. But the more eminent and distinguished among their leaders soon abandoned the practice as revolting to human feelings. The form of the sacrifice, however, seems to have been kept for a long time; for the ritual required at that occasion is actually in the Yajur-veda; but they only tied men of different castes and classes to the sacrificial posts, and released them afterwards, sacrificing animals instead of them."

If it could be satisfactorily shewn that this hymn, in the same form as we now possess it, existed contemporaneously with the barbarous practice of human sacrifices which Dr. Haug believes to have at one time prevailed in India, we should, no doubt, have in this circumstance a strong proof of its antiquity. But if it was merely adopted as a part of the ceremonial at a later period, when the immolation of human

[26] This verse occurs also in R. V. i. 164. 50, and is quoted in Nirukta, xii. 14. See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 395, note, already referred to.

beings had ceased to be otherwise than formal and nominal, and animals were substituted as the actual victims, the evidence of its remote antiquity is greatly weakened.

If we now compare the Purusha Sūkta with the two hymns (162 and 163) of the first Mandala of the Rig-veda, it will, I think, be apparent that the first is not adapted to be used at a literal human sacrifice in the same manner as the last two are to be employed at the immolation of a horse. There are, no doubt, some mystical passages in the second of these two hymns, as in verse 3, where the horse is identified with Yama, Āditya, and Trita; and "in the last section of the Taittirīya Yajurveda the various parts of the horse's body are described as divisions of time and portions of the universe: 'morning is his head; the sun his eye; the air his breath; the moon his ear,'" etc. (Colebrooke's Essays, i. 62).[27] But the persons who officiate at the sacrifice, as referred to in these hymns, are ordinary priests of the ancient Indian ritual,—the hotṛi, adhvaryu, āvayaj, etc. (i. 162, 5); and details are given of the actual slaughter of the animal (i. 162, 11). The Purusha Sūkta, however does not contain the same indications of the literal immolation of a human victim. In it the sacrifice is not offered to the gods, but by the gods (verses 6, 7, 15, 16); no human priests are mentioned; the division of the victim (v. 11) must be regarded, like its slaughter (v. 7), as the work of the deities only. And the Purusha mentioned in the hymn could not well have been regarded as an ordinary man, as he is identified with the universe (v. 2), and he himself, or his immolation, is represented as the source of the creation (vv. 8, 10, 13, 14), and of the Vedas (v. 9).

As compared with by far the largest part of the hymns of the Rig-veda, the Purusha Sūkta has every character of modernness both in its diction and ideas. I have already observed that the hymns which we find in this collection are of very different periods. This, I believe, is not disputed.[28] The authors themselves, as we have seen, speak of newer and older hymns. So many as a thousand compositions of this description could scarcely have been produced within a very short space of time, and there is no reason to suppose that the literary activity of the ancient Hindus

[27] Compare the commencement of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad.

[28] See Dr. Haug's own remarks (quoted above, p. 4) on the period when the hymns were composed.

was confined to the period immediately preceding the collection of the hymns. But if we are to recognize any difference of age, what hymns can we more reasonably suppose to be the oldest than those which are at once archaic in language and style, and naive and simple in the character of their conceptions? and, on the other hand, what compositions can more properly be set down as the most recent than those which manifest an advance in speculative ideas, while their language approaches to the modern Sanskrit? These latter conditions seem to be fulfilled in the Purusha Sūkta, as well as in hymns x. 71 and 72, x. 81 and 82, x. 121, and x. 129.

On this subject Mr. Colebrooke states his opinion as follows (Miscellaneous Essays i. 309, note): "That remarkable hymn (the Purusha Sūkta) is in language, metre, and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone; and must have been composed after the Sanscrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected. The internal evidence which it furnishes serves to demonstrate the important fact that the compilation of the Vedas, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanscrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Veda was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and prophane (*purānas* and *cāvyas*), have been written."

Professor Max Müller expresses himself in a similar sense (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 570 f.): "There can be little doubt, for instance, that the 90th hymn of the 10th book . . . . is modern both in its character and in its diction. It is full of allusions to the sacrificial ceremonials, it uses technical philosophical terms, it mentions the three seasons in the order of Vasanta, spring; Grīshma, summer; and S'arad, autumn; it contains the only passage in the Rig-veda where the four castes are enumerated. The evidence of language for the modern date of this composition is equally strong. Grīshma, for instance, the name for the hot season, does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-veda; and Vasanta also, the name of spring, does not belong to the earliest vocabulary of the Vedic poets. It occurs but once more in the Rig-veda (x. 161. 4), in a passage where the three seasons are mentioned in the order of S'arad, autumn; Hemanta, winter; and Vasanta, spring."

Professor Weber (Indische Studien, ix. 3) concurs in this view. He observes: "That the Purusha Sūkta, considered as a hymn of the Rig-veda, is among the latest portions of that collection, is clearly perceptible from its contents. The fact that the Sāma-sanhitā has not adopted any verse from it, is not without importance (compare what I have remarked in my Academical Prelections, p. 63). The Naigeya school, indeed, appears (although it is not quite certain),[29] to have extracted the first five verses in the seventh prapāṭhaka of the first Archika, which is peculiar to it."

We shall see in the following chapter that the word *brāhmaṇa* occurs but rarely in the Rig-veda Sanhitā, while *brahman*, "a priest," from which the former is derived, is of constant occurrence. From this circumstance also, it may be reasonably concluded that the hymns in which the derivative occurs are among the latest. The same remark may be made of the word *vaiśya*, as compared with *viś*.[30]

Mr. Colebrooke's opinion of the character of the Purusha Sūkta is given in the following passage of his "Miscellaneous Essays" (vol. i. p. 161, note; or p. 105 of Williams & Norgate's ed. of 1858); "I think it unnecessary to quote from the commentary the explanation of this curious passage of the Vedas as it is there given, because it does not really elucidate the sense; the allegory is for the most part sufficiently obvious.

In his tract on "on the origin of Brahmanism," p. 4, Dr. Haug thus remarks on verses 11 and 12: "Now, according to this passage, which is the most ancient and authoritative we have on the origin of Brahmanism, and caste in general, the Brahman has not come from the mouth of this primary being, the Purusha, but the mouth of the latter became the Brahmanical caste, that is to say, was transformed into it. The passage has, no doubt, an allegorical sense. Mouth is the seat of speech. The allegory thus points out that the Brahmans are teachers and instructors of mankind. The arms are the seat of strength. If the two

[29] See on this subject Weber's foot-note, p. 3.

[30] Professor Aufrecht informs me that the word *vaiśya* does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-veda but the Purusha Sūkta; only once in the Atharva-veda, v. 17, 9; and not at all in the Vāj. Sanh., except in the Purusha Sūkta. The same scholar remarks, as another proof of the comparatively late date of the Purusha Sūkta, that it is the only hymn which refers to the four different kinds of Vedic compositions *ṛich*, *samān*, *chhandas*, and *yajush*.

arms of the Purusha are said to have been made a Kshattriya (warrior), that means, then, that the Kshattriyas have to carry arms to defend the empire. That the thighs of the Purusha were transformed into the Vaiśya means that, as the lower parts of the body are the principal repository of food taken, the Vaiśya caste is destined to provide food for the others. The creation of the Shudra from the feet of the Purusha, indicates that he is destined to be a servant to the others, just as the foot serves the other parts of the body as a firm support."

But whether the writer of the hymn intended it to be understood allegorically or not, it conveys no distinct idea of the manner in which he supposed the four castes to have originated. It is, indeed, said that the S'ūdra sprang from Purusha's feet; but as regards the three superior castes and the members with which they are respectively connected, it is not quite clear which (*i.e.*, the castes or the members) are to be taken as the subjects and which as the predicates, and consequently, whether we are to suppose verse 12 to declare that the three castes were the three members, or, conversely, that the three members were, or became, the three castes.

But whatever may be the sense of the passage, it is impossible to receive it as enunciating any fixed doctrine of the writers of what is called the Vedic age in regard to the origin of the four castes; since we find, if not in the mantras or hymns, at least in the Brāhmaṇas (which, as we have seen in page 2, are esteemed by orthodox Indian writers as being equally with the hymns a part of the Veda), not only (1) texts which agree with the Purusha Sūkta, but also (2) various other and discrepant accounts of the manner in which these classes were separately formed, as well as (3) third a class of narratives of the creation, in which the production of the human race is described without allusion to any primordial distinction of castes.

To the first of these classes (viz., that of texts which coincide more or less exactly with the Purusha Sūkta) belongs the following passage from the Taittirīya Sanhitā.

SECT. II.—*Quotation from the Taittirīya Sanhitā*, vii. 1. 1. 4 *ff.*

Prajāpatir akāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa mukhatas trivṛitaṁ niramimīta | tam Agnir devatā 'nvasūyata gāyatrī chhandro rathantaram

sāma brāhmaṇo manushyāṇām ajaḥ paśūnām | tasmāt te mukhyāḥ mukhato hy asṛijyanta | uraso bāhubhyām panchadaśam niramimīta | tam Indro devatā 'nvasṛijyata trishṭup chhando bṛihat sāma rājanyo manushyāṇām aviḥ paśūnām | tasmāt te vīryāvanto vīryād hy asṛijyanta | madhyataḥ saptadaśaṁ niramimīta | tam Viśvedevāḥ devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta jagatī chhando vairūpam sāma vaiśyo manushyāṇām gāvaḥ paśūnām | tasmāt te ādyā annadhānād hy asṛijyanta | tasmād bhūyāṁso 'nyebhyaḥ | bhūyishṭhāḥ hi devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta | pattaḥ ekaviṁśam niramimīta | tam anushṭup chhando 'nvasṛijyata vairājam sāma śūdro manushyāṇām aśvaḥ paśūnām | tasmāt tau bhūta-saṅkrāmiṇāv aśvaś cha śūdraś cha | tasmāt śūdro yajne 'navakḷṛipto na hi devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta | tasmāt pādāv upajīvataḥ | patto hy asṛijyetām |

"Prajāpati desired, 'may I propagate.' He formed the Trivṛit (*stoma*) from his mouth. After it were produced the deity Agni, the metre Gāyatrī, the Sāman (called) Rathantara, of men the Brāhman, of beasts the goats. Hence they are the chief (*mukhyāḥ*), because they were created from the mouth (*mukhataḥ*). From (his) breast, from (his) arms, he formed the Panchadaśa (*stoma*). After it were created the god Indra, the Trishṭubh metre, the Sāman (called) Bṛihat, of men the Rājanya, of beasts the sheep. Hence they are vigorous, because they were created from vigour. From (his) middle he formed the Saptadaśa (*stoma*). After it were created the gods (called) the Viśvedevas, the Jagatī metre, the Sāman called the Vairūpa, of men the Vaiśya, of beasts kine. Hence they are to be eaten, because they were created from the receptacle of food. Wherefore they are more numerous than others, for the most numerous deities were created after (the Saptadaśa). From his foot he formed the Ekaviṁśa (*stoma*). After it were created the Anushṭubh metre, the Sāman called Vairāja, of men the Śūdra, of beasts the horse. Hence these two, both the horse and the Śūdra, are transporters of (other) creatures. Hence (too) the Śūdra is incapacitated for sacrifice, because no deities were created after (the Ekaviṁśa). Hence (too) these two subsist by their feet, for they were created from the foot."

SECT. III.—*Citations from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, and the Atharva-veda.*

The following texts belong to the second class—*i.e.*, that of those which recognize a distinct origination of the castes, but describe their creation differently from the Purusha Sūkta:

Ś. P. Br. ii. 1, 4, 11 ff.—*"Bhūr" iti vai Prajāpatir imām ajanayata "bhuvaḥ" ity antarīksham "svar" iti divam | etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad ime lokāḥ | sarveṇa eva ādhīyate | "bhūr" iti vai Prajāpatir brahma ajanayata "bhuvaḥ" iti kshattram "svar" iti viśam | etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad brahma kshattraṁ viṭ | sarveṇa eva ādhīyate | "bhūr" iti vai Prajāpatir ātmānam ajanayata "bhuvaḥ" iti prajāṁ "svar" iti paśūn | etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad ātmā prajāḥ paśavaḥ | sarveṇa eva ādhīyate |*

"(Uttering) 'bhūḥ,' Prajāpati generated this earth. (Uttering) 'bhuvaḥ,' he generated the air, and (uttering) 'svaḥ,' he generated the sky. This universe is co-extensive with these worlds. (The fire) is placed with the whole. Saying 'bhūḥ,' Prajāpati generated the Brahman; (saying) 'bhuvaḥ," he generated the Kshattra; (and saying) 'svaḥ,' he generated the Viś. All this world is so much as the Brahman, Kshattra, and Viś. The fire is placed with the whole. (Saying) 'bhūḥ,' Prajāpati generated himself; (saying) 'bhuvaḥ' he generated offspring; (saying) 'svaḥ,' he generated animals. This world is so much as self, offspring, and animals. (The fire) is placed with the whole."

Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2—*Sarvaṁ hedam brahmaṇā haiva sṛishṭam | ṛigbhyo jātam vaiśyam varṇam āhuḥ | yajurvedam kshattriyasyāhur yonim | sāmavedo brāhmaṇānām prasūtiḥ | pūrve pūrvebhyo vacha etad ūchuḥ |*

"This entire (universe) has been created by Brahma. Men say that the Vaiśya class was produced from ṛich-verses. They say that the Yajur-veda is the womb from which the Kshattriya was born. The Sāma-veda is the source from which the Brāhmans sprang. This word the ancients declared to the ancients."

To complete his account of the derivation of the castes from the

Vedas, the author had only to add that the Śūdras had sprung from the Atharvāngirases (the Atharva-veda); but he perhaps considered that to assign such an origin to the servile order would have been to do it too great an honour.

Vājasaneya Sanhitā, xiv. 28 ff. (= Taittirīya Sanhitā, iv. 3, 10, 1).— *ekayā astuvata prajāḥ adhīyanta Prajāpatir adhipatir āsīt | tisṛibhir astuvata brahma asṛijyata Brahmaṇaspatir adhipatir āsīt | pañchabhir astuvata bhūtāny asṛijyanta Bhūtanāmpatir adhipatir āsīt | saptabhir astuvata sapta ṛishayo 'sṛijyanta Dhātā adhipatir āsīt | navabhir astuvata pitaro 'sṛijyanta Aditir adhipatny āsīt | ekādaśabhir astuvata ṛitavo 'sṛijyanta ārtavāḥ adhipatayaḥ āsan | trayodaśabhir astuvata māsā asṛijyanta samvatsaro 'dhipatir āsīt | pañchadaśabhir astuvata kshattram asṛijyata Indro 'dhipatir āsīt | saptadaśabhir astuvata paśavo 'sṛijyanta Bṛihaspatir adhipatir āsīt | navadaśabhir astuvata śūdrāryāv asṛijyetām ahorātre adhipatnī āstām | ekaviṁśatyā astuvata ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'sṛijyanta Varuṇo 'dhipatir āsīt | trayoviṁśatyā astuvata kshudrāḥ paśavo 'sṛijyanta Pūshā adhipatir āsīt | panchaviṁśatyā astuvata araṇyāḥ paśavo 'sṛijyanta Vāyur adhipatir āsīt | saptaviṁśatyā astuvata dyāvāpṛithivī vyaitām | Vasavo Rudrā Adityāḥ anuvyāyan | te eva adhipatayaḥ āsan | navaviṁśatyā astuvata vanaspatayo 'sṛijyanta Somo 'dhipatir āsīt | ekatriṁśatā astuvata prajā asṛijyanta yavāś cha ayavāś cha adhipatayaḥ āsan | trayastriṁśatā astuvata bhūtāny aśāmyan Prajāpatiḥ Parameshṭhī adhipatir āsīt |*

"He lauded with one. Living beings were formed: Prajāpati was the ruler. He lauded with three: the Brahman (Brāhman) was created: Brahmanaspati was the ruler. He lauded with five: existing things were created: Bhūtānāmpati was the ruler. He lauded with seven: the seven rishis were created: Dhātṛi was the ruler. He lauded with nine: the Fathers were created: Aditi was the ruler. He lauded with eleven: the seasons were created: the Ārtavas were the rulers. He lauded with thirteen: the months were created: the year was the ruler. He lauded with fifteen: the Kshattra (the Kshattriya) was created: Indra was the ruler. He lauded with seventeen: animals were created: Bṛihaspati was the ruler. He lauded with nineteen: the Śūdra and the Arya (Vaiśya) were created: day and night were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-one: animals with undivided hoofs were created: Varuṇa was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-three:

small animals were created: Pūshan was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-five: wild animals were created: Vāyu was the ruler (compare R.V. x. 90, 8). He lauded with twenty-seven: heaven and earth separated: Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas separated after them: they were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-nine: trees were created: Soma was the ruler. He lauded with thirty-one: living beings were created: The first and second halves of the month[31] were the rulers. He lauded with thirty-one: existing things were tranquillized: Prajāpati Parameshṭhin was the ruler." This passage is explained in the Śatapatha Brāhmana viii. 4, 3, 1 ff.

The following text is of a somewhat mystical description; but appears to intimate a distinction in nature between the different castes corresponding to that of the gods with whom they are associated:

Ś. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 23 (= Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, i. 4, 11 ff. (p. 235).—*Brahma vai idam agre āsīd ekam eva‖ tad ekaṁ san na vyabhavat | | tat śreyo rūpam aty asṛijata kshattraṁ yāny etāni devatrā kshattrāṇi Indro Varuṇaḥ Somo Rudraḥ Parjanyo Yamo Mṛityur Īśānah iti | tasmāt kshattrāt param nāsti | tasmād brāhmaṇaḥ kshattriyād adhastād upāste rājasūye kshattre eva tad yaśo dadhāti | sā eshā kshattrasya yonir yad brahma | tasmād yadyapi rājā paramatām gachhati brahma eva antataḥ upaniśrayati svām yonim | yaḥ u ha enaṁ hinasti svām sa yonim ṛichhati | sa pāpīyān bhavati yathā śreyānsam hiṁsitvā | 24. Sa na eva vyabhavat | sa viśam asṛijata yāny etāni deva-jātāni gaṇaśaḥ ākhyāyante vasavo rudrāḥ ādityāḥ viśvedevāḥ marutaḥ iti | 25. Sa na eva vyabhavat | sa śaudram varṇam asṛijata pūshaṇam | iyaṁ vai pūshā iyaṁ hi idam sarvaṁ pushyati yad idaṁ kincha | 26. Sa na eva vyabhavat | tat śreyo rūpam aty asṛijata dharmam | tad etat kshattrasya kshattraṁ yad dharmaḥ | tasmād dharmāt paraṁ nāsti | atho abalīyān balīyāṁsam āsaṁśate dharmeṇa yathā rājnā evam | yo vai sa dharmaḥ satyaṁ vai tat | tasmāt satyaṁ vadantam āhur "dharmam vadati" iti | dharmaṁ vā*

[31] The Taittirīya Sanhitā reads *yāvāḥ* and *ayāvāḥ* (instead of *yǎvāḥ* and *ayǎvāḥ* as in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā) and in another passage, v. 3, 4, 5 (as I learn from Prof. Aufrecht), explains these terms to mean respectively months and half months (*māsā vai yāvāḥ ardhamāsāḥ ayāvāḥ*), whilst the commentator on the V. S. understands them to mean the first and second halves of the month, in accordance with the S'.P. B. viii. 4, 3, 18, and viii. 4, 2, 11 (*pūrvapakshā vai yavāḥ aparapaksha ayavāḥ | te hi idaṁ sarvaṁ yuvate chāyuvate cha*) | Prof. Aufrecht also points out that *yāva* is explained in Kātyayana's S'rauta Sūtras, iv. 11, 8, as equivalent to *yavamayam apūpam*, "a cake of barley."

vadantam "satyam vadati" iti | etad hy eva etad ubhayam bhavati | 27. Tad etad brahma kshattraṁ viṭ śūdraḥ | tad Agninā eva deveshu brahmābhavad brāhmaṇo manushyeshu kshattriyena kshattriyo vaiśyena vaiśyah śūdreṇa śūdrah | tasmād Agnāv eva deveshu lokam ichhante brāhmaṇe manushyeshu | etābhyāṁ hi rūpabhyāṁ brahma abhavat |

23. "Brahma (here, according to the commentator, existing in the form of Agni, and representing the Brāhman caste[32]) was formerly this (universe), one only. Being one, it did not develope. It energetically created an excellent form, the Kshattra, viz., those among the gods who are powers (*kshattrāṇi*), Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mṛityu, Īśāna. Hence nothing is superior to the Kshattra. Therefore the Brāhman sits below the Kshattriya at the rājasūya-sacrifice; he confers that glory on the Kshattra (the royal power).[33] This, the Brahma, is the source of the Kshattra. Hence, although the king attains supremacy, he at the end resorts to the Brahma as his source. Whoever destroys him (the Brāhman) destroys his own source. He becomes most miserable, as one who has injured a superior. 24. He did not develope. He created the Viś—viz., those classes of gods who are designated by troops, Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Viśvedevas, Maruts. 25. He did not develope. He created the Śūdra class, Pūshan. This earth is Pūshan: for she nourishes all that exists. 26. He did not develope. He energetically created an excellent form, Justice (*Dharma*). This is the ruler (*kshattra*) of the ruler (*kshattra*), namely, Justice. Hence nothing is superior to justice. Therefore the weaker seeks (to overcome) the stronger by justice, as by a king. This justice is truth. In consequence they say of a man who speaks truth, 'he speaks

[32] *Atra yad ātma-śabdenoktaṁ srashṭṛi Brahma tad Agniṁ sṛishṭvā agre Agni-rūpāpannam Brāhmaṇa-jāty-abhimānavad asmin vākye Brahma-sabdenābhidhīyate |*

[33] This rendering of the last few words is suggested by Professor Aufrecht. The commentators understand them to mean that the Brāhmans give the king their own glory (that of being a Brahman): and they refer to a formula by which at the rājasūya-sacrifice the king, after addressing the priest as Brāhman, is addressed in return with the word "Thou, king, art a Brāhmăn" (*tvaṁ rājan brahmāsi*), etc. See the Taittirīya Sanhitā i. 8, 16, 1, where the commentator remarks. "As in common life domestic priests and others, sitting below a king seated on his throne after his return from conquering a foreign territory, address him with many benedictions and eulogies, so here too service is presented. By this benedictory service the power of cursing and showing kindness existing in the Brāhmans is transferred to the king." Reference is then made to the passage before us, as noticing this custom.

justice;' or of a man who is uttering justice, 'he speaks truth.' For this is both of these. 27. This is the Brahma, Kshattra, Viś, and Śūdra. Through Agni it became Brahma among the gods, the Brāhman among men, through the (divine) Kshattriya a (human) Kshattriya, through the (divine) Vaiśya a (human) Vaiśya, through the (divine) Śūdra a (human) Śūdra. Wherefore it is in Agni among the gods and in a Brāhman among men, that they seek after an abode."

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 2, 6, 7.—*Daivyo vai varṇo brāhmaṇaḥ | asuryyo śūdraḥ.* "The Brāhman caste is sprung from the gods; the Śūdra from the Asuras."

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2, 3, 9.—*Kāmam eva dāru-pātreṇa duhyāt | śūdraḥ eva na duhyāt | asato vai esha sambhūto yat śūdraḥ | ahavir eva tad ity āhur yat śūdro dogdhi iti | agnihotraṁ eva na duhyāt śūdraḥ | tad hi na utpunanti | yadā khalu vai pavitram atyeti atha tad havir iti |* "Let him at his will milk out with a wooden dish. But let not a Śūdra milk it out. For this Śūdra has sprung from non-existence. They say that that which a Śūdra milks out is no oblation. Let not a Śūdra milk out the Agnihotra. For they do not purify that. When that passes beyond the filter, then it is an oblation."

Atharva-veda, iv. 6, 1.—*Brāhmaṇo jajne prathamo daśaśīrsho dasāsyaḥ | sa somam prathamaḥ papau sa chakārārasaṁ visham |* "The Brāhman was born the first, with ten heads and ten faces. He first drank the soma; he made poison powerless."

As the description (which is, perhaps, a fragment of a longer account), stops short here, we are left in the dark as to the author's ideas about the creation of the other castes. It would have interested us to know how many heads and faces he would have assigned to the other three castes. The student of Indian poetry is aware that the giant Rāvana is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa both as a Brāhman and as having ten heads.

As implying a separate origination of the Rājanya caste, the following text also may find a place here:

Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 4, 13, 1.—*Devā vai rājanyāj jāyamānād abibhayuḥ | tam antar eva santaṁ dāmnā 'paumbhan | sa vai esho 'pobdho jāyate yad rājanyo | yad vai esho 'napobdho jāyeta vṛittrān ghaṁś charet | yaṁ kāmayeta rājanyam "anapobdho jāyeta vṛittrān ghaṁś chared" iti tasmai etam aindrā-bārhaspatyaṁ charuṁ nirvapet | aindro vai rājanyo*

brahma Bṛihaspatiḥ | brahmaṇā eva enaṁ dāmno 'pombhanād muñchati | hiraṇmayaṁ dāma dakshiṇā sākshād eva enaṁ daṁno 'pombhanād muñchati | "The gods were afraid of the Rājanya when he was in the womb. They bound him with bonds when he was in the womb. Consequently this Rājanya is born bound. If he were born unbound he would go on slaying his enemies. In regard to whatever Rājanya any one desires that he should be born unbound, and should go on slaying his enemies, let him offer for him this Aindra-Bārhaspatya oblation. A Rājanya has the character of Indra, and a Brahman is Bṛihaspati. It is through the Brahman that anyone releases the Rājanya from his bond. The golden bond, a gift, manifestly releases from the bond that fetters him."

In the following text of the Atharva-veda, xv. 8, 1, a new account is given of the origin of the Rājanyas:

So 'rajyata tato rājanyo 'jāyata |

"He (the Vrātya) became filled with passion: thence sprang the Rājanya."

And in the following paragraph (A. V. xv. 9, 1 ff) we have the same origin ascribed to the Brāhman also:

Tad yasya evaṁ vidvān vrātyo rājño 'tithir gṛihān āgachhet śreyāṁsam enam ātmano mānayet | tathā kshattrāya nāvṛiśchate tathā rāshṭrāya nāvṛiśchate | ato vai brahma cha kshattraṁ cha udatishṭhatām | te abrūtām "kam praviśāva" iti |

"Let the king to whose house the Vrātya who knows this, comes as a guest, cause him to be respected as superior to himself. So doing he does no injury to his royal rank, or to his realm. From him arose the Brahman (Brāhman) and the Kshattra (Kshattriya). They said, 'Into whom shall we enter,' etc."

Sect. IV.—*Further Quotations from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Saṁhitā, and Āraṇyaka, and from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*

The following passages belong to the third of the classes above adverted to, as in the descriptions they give of the creation, while they refer to the formation of men, they are silent on the subject of any separate origination of castes:

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 3, 8, 1.—*Prajāpatir akāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa haritaḥ śyāvo 'bhavat | tasmāt strī antarvatnī hariṇī satī śyāvā bhavati | sa vijāyamāno garbheṇa atāmyat | sa tāntaḥ kṛishṇa-śyāvo 'bhavat | tasmāt tāntaḥ kṛishṇaḥ śyāvo bhavati | tasya asur eva ajīvat | 2. Tena asunā asurān asṛijata | tad asurāṇam asuratvaṁ | ya evam asurāṇām asuratvaṁ veda asumān eva bhavati | na enam asur jahāti | so 'surān sṛishṭvā pitā iva amanyata | tad anu pitṛīḥ asṛijata | tat pitṛīṇām pitṛitvam | ya evam pitṛīṇām pitṛitvam veda pitā iva eva svānām bhavati* (3) *yanty asya pitaro havam | sa pitṛīn sṛishṭvā 'manasyat | tad anu manushyān asṛijata | tad manushyāṇām manushyatvam | yaḥ evam manushyāṇām manushyatvaṁ veda manasvī eva bhavati na enam manur jahāti | tasmai manushyān sasṛijānāya divā devatrā abhavat | tad anu devān asṛijata | tad devānāṁ devatvam | ya evam devānāṁ devatvaṁ veda divā ha eva asya devatrā bhavati | tāni vai etāni chatvāri ambhāṁsi devāḥ manushyāḥ pitaro 'surāḥ | teshu sarveshu ambho nabhaḥ iva bhavati |*

"Prajāpati desired, 'may I propagate.' He practised austerity. He became pregnant. He became yellow-brown.[34] Hence a woman when pregnant, beingy ellow, becomes brown. Being pregnant with a foetus, he became exhausted. Being exhausted, he became blackish-brown. Hence an exhausted person becomes blackish-brown. His breath became alive. 2. With that breath (*asu*) he created Asuras. Therein consists the Asura-nature of Asuras. He who thus knows this Asura-nature of Asuras becomes a man possessing breath. Breath does not forsake him. Having created the Asuras, he regarded himself as a father. After that he created the Fathers (Pitṛis). That constitutes the fatherhood of the Fathers. He who thus knows the fatherhood of the Fathers, becomes as a father of his own: (3) the Fathers resort to his oblation. Having created the Fathers, he reflected. After that he created men. That constitutes the manhood of men. He who knows the manhood of men, becomes intelligent. Mind[35] does not forsake him. To him, when he was creating men, day appeared in the heavens. After that he created the gods. This constitutes the godhead of the gods. To him who thus knows the godhead of the gods, day appears in

[34] *Nīla-śveta-miśra-varṇaḥ*, "of a mixed blue and white colour," says the Commentator.

[35] *Manuḥ = manana-śaktiḥ*, "the power of thinking." Comm.

the heavens. These are the four streams,[36] viz., gods, men, Fathers, and Asuras. In all of these water is like the air."

Śatapatha Brahmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 6.—*Prajāpatir vai idam agre āsīd ekaḥ eva | so 'kāmayata "annam sṛijeya prajāyeya" iti | sa prāṇebhyaḥ eva adhi paśūn niramimīta manasaḥ purusham chakshusho 'śvam prāṇād gām śrotrādavim vācho 'jam | tad yad enān prāṇebhyo 'dhi niramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "prāṇāḥ paśavaḥ" iti | mano vai prāṇānām prathamam | tad yad manasaḥ purusham niramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "purushaḥ prathamaḥ paśūnāṁ vīryyavattamaḥ" iti | mano vai sarve prāṇāḥ | manasi hi sarve prāṇāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ | tad yad manasaḥ purusham niramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "purushaḥ sarve paśavaḥ" iti | purushasya hy ete sarve bhavanti |*

"Prajāpati was formerly this (universe), one only. He desired, 'let me create food, and be propagated.' He formed animals from his breaths, a MAN from his soul, a horse from his eye, a bull from his breath, a sheep from his ear, a goat from his voice. Since he formed animals from his breaths, therefore men say, 'the breaths are animals.' The soul is the first of the breaths. Since he formed a man from his soul, therefore they say, 'man is the first of the animals, and the strongest.' The soul is all the breaths; for all the breaths depend upon the soul. Since he formed man from his soul, therefore they say, 'man is all the animals;' for all these are man's."

S. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 1 (= Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, p. 125).—*Ātmā eva idam agre āsīt purusha-vidhaḥ | so 'nuvīkshya na anyad ātmano 'paśyat | "so 'ham asmi" ity agre vyāharat | tato 'haṁ-nāmā abhavat | tasmād apy etarhy āmantrito "'ham ayam" ity eva agre uktvā atha anyad nāma prabrūte yad asya bhavati | 2. Sa yat pūrvo 'smāt sarvasmāt sarvān pāpmanaḥ aushat tasmāt purushaḥ | oshati ha vai sa taṁ yo 'smāt pūrvam bubhūshati yaḥ evaṁ veda | 3. So 'bibhet | tasmād ekākī bibheti |*

[36] The Commentary not very satisfactorily explains this as meaning, "All these four abodes of the gods, etc., are like waters—*i.e.*, suited to yield enjoyment, as ponds, rivers, etc., are fit for bathing, drinking," etc. The phrase is repeated in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 5 (vol. i., p. 79, of Dr. Hall's edition); and in his note Professor Wilson says *ambhāmsi* "is also a peculiar and probably a mystic term." It is explained in the Vāyu Purāṇa, as will be seen further on. The last words of the quotation from the Brāhmaṇa are obscure. In another passage of the same work (iii. 8, 18, 1, 2) the terms *ambhas*, *nabhas*, and *mahas*, are declared to denote respectively "earth," "air," and "sky" (*. . . ayaṁ vai loko 'mbhāṁsi . . . antarikshaṁ vai nabhāṁsi . . . asau vai loko mahāṁsi*).

sa ha ayam ikshānchakre yad "mad anyad nāsti kasmād nu bibhemi" iti | tataḥ eva asya bhayaṁ vīyāya | kasmād hy abheshyat | dvitīyād vai bhayam bhavati | 4. Sa vai naiva reme | tasmād ekākī na ramate | sa dvitīyam aichhat | sa ha etāvān āsa yathā strī-pumāṁsau samparishvaktau | 5. Sa imam eva ātmānam dvedhā 'pātayat | tataḥ patiḥ patnī cha abhavatām | tasmād "idam ardhavṛigalam iva svaḥ" iti ha sma āha Yājnavalkyaḥ | tasmād ākāśaḥ striyā pūryate eva | tām samabhavat | tato manushyāḥ ajāyanta | 6. Sā u ha iyam ikshānchakre "kathaṁ nu mā ātmanaḥ eva janayitvā sambhavati hanta tiro 'sāni" iti | 7. Sā gaur abhavat vṛishabhaḥ itaras tāṁ sam eva abhavat | tato gāvaḥ ajāyanta | 8. Vaḍavā itarā abhavad aśvavṛishaḥ itaraḥ gardabhī itarā gardabhaḥ itaras tām sam eva abhavat | tataḥ ekaśapham ajāyata | 9. Ajā itarā abhavad vastaḥ itaraḥ avir itarā meshaḥ itaraḥ | tām sam eva abhavat tato 'jāvayo 'jāyanta | evam eva yad idaṁ kiñcha mithunam ā pippīlikābhyas tat sarvam asṛijata |[37]

"This universe was formerly soul only, in the form of Purusha. Looking closely, he saw nothing but himself (or soul). He first said, 'This is I.' Then he became one having the name of I. Hence even now a man, when called, first says, 'this is I,' and then declares the other name which he has. 2. Inasmuch as he, before (*pūrvaḥ*) all this, burnt up (*aushat*) all sins, he (is called) *purusha*. The man who knows this burns up the person who wishes to be before him. 3. He was afraid. Hence a man when alone is afraid. This (being) considered that 'there is no other thing but myself: of what am I afraid?' Then his fear departed. For why should he have feared? It is of a second person that people are afraid. 4. He did not enjoy happiness. Hence a person when alone does not enjoy happiness. He desired a second. He was so much as a man and a woman when locked in embrace. 5. He caused this same self to fall asunder into two parts. Thence arose a husband and a wife.[38] Hence Yājvanalkya has said that 'this one's self is like the half[39] of a split pea.' Hence the void is filled up by

[37] This passage has been already translated by Mr. Colebrooke, Essays i. 64, as well as by Dr. Roer, in the Bibliotheca Indica.

[38] Manu and S'atarūpā, according to the Commentator.

[39] Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 3, 5. *Atho arddho vai esha ātmano yat patnī* | "Now a wife is the half of one's self;" and ibid. iii. 3, 3, 1: *Ayajno vai esha yo 'patnīkaḥ | na prajāḥ prajāyeran* | "The man who has no wife is unfit to sacrifice. No children will be born to him." We must not, however, suppose from these passages that the

woman.[40] He cohabited with her. From them MEN were born. 6. She reflected, 'how does he, after having produced me from himself, cohabit with me? Ah! let me disappear.' 7. She became a cow, and the other a bull; and he cohabited with her. From them kine were produced. 8. The one became a mare, the other a stallion, the one a she-ass, the other a male-ass. He cohabited with her. From them the class of animals with undivided hoofs was produced. The one became a she-goat, the other a he-goat, the one a ewe, the other a ram. He cohabited with her. From them goats and sheep were produced. In this manner pairs of all creatures whatsoever, down to ants, were created."

The next passage describes men as descendants of Vivasvat, or the Sun, without specifying any distinction of classes:

Taittirīya Sanhitā vi. 5, 6, 1 f.—*Aditiḥ putrakāmā sādhyebhyo devebhyo brahmaudanam apachat | tasyai uchchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai chatvāraḥ Adityāḥ ajāyanta | sā dvitīyam apachat | sā 'manyata "uchchheshaṇād me ime 'jñata | yad agre prāśishyāmi ito me vasīyāṁso janishyante" iti | sā 'gre prāśnāt sā reto 'dhatta tasyai vyṛiddham āṇḍam ajāyata | sā Ādityebhyaḥ eva tṛitīyam apachat "bhogāya me idam śrāntam astv" iti | te 'bruvan "varaṁ vṛiṇāmahai yo 'to jāyātai asmākaṁ sa eko 'sat | yo 'sya prajāyām ṛidhyātai asmākam bhogāya bhavād" iti | tato Vivasvān Āditya 'jāyata | tasya vai iyam prajā yad manushyāḥ | tāsv ekaḥ eva ṛiddho yo yajate sa devānām bhogāya bhavati |*

"Aditi, desirous of sons, cooked a Brahmaudana oblation for the gods the Sādhyas. They gave her the remnant of it. This she ate. She conceived seed. Four Adityas were born to her. She cooked a second (oblation). She reflected, 'from the remains of the oblation these sons have been born to me. If I shall eat (the oblation) first, more brilliant

estimation in which women were held by the authors of the Brāhmaṇas was very high, as there are other texts in which they are spoken of disparagingly; such as the following: Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 8, 2.—*Sa somo nātishṭhata strībhyo gṛihyamāṇaḥ | tam ghṛitaṁ vajraṁ kṛitvā 'ghnan tam nirindriyam bhūtam agṛihṇan | tasmāt striyo nirindriyā adāyādīr api pāpāt puṁsa upastitaram vadanti |* "Soma did not abide, when being poured out to women. Making that butter a thunderbolt they smote it. They poured it out when it had become powerless. Hence women, powerless, and portionless, speak more humbly than even a poor man." (Compare the quotation in the Commentary on the Taitt. Sanhitā, Vol. i. p. 996.) Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 10, 3. *Tasmāt striyaṁ jātām parāsyanti ut pumāṁsam haranti |* "Hence they reject a female (child) when born, and take up a male." (Compare Nirukta, iii. 4.)

[40] Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 10, 4. *Prajayā hi manushyaḥ pūrṇaḥ,* "For by offspring a man is completed."

(sons) will be born to me. She ate it first; she conceived seed; an imperfect egg was produced from her. She cooked a third (oblation) for the Ādityas, (repeating the formula) 'may this religious toil have been undergone for my enjoyment.' The Ādityas said, 'Let us choose a boon: let any one who is produced from this be ours only; let anyone of his progeny who is prosperous be for us a source of enjoyment.' In consequence the Āditya Vivasvat was born. This is his progeny, namely MEN.[41] Among them he alone who sacrifices is prosperous, and becomes a cause of enjoyment to the gods."[42]

The passages next following do not specify separately the creation of men (who must, however, be understood as included along with other beings under the designation *prajāḥ*, "offspring," or "creatures,") and therefore afford less distinct evidence that their authors did not hold the fourfold origin of mankind.

The first of these extracts is especially interesting, both on account of its own tenor, and because (along with Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 1 ff. quoted in p. 23) it contains the germ of one of the Puranic accounts of the creation which will be adduced in a subsequent section.

Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff.—*Idaṁ vai agre naiva kinchana āsīt | na dyaur āsīd na pṛithivī na antariksham | tad asad eva sad mano 'kuruta "syām" iti | tad atapyata | tasmāt tapanād dhūmo 'jāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata tasmāt tapanād Agnir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | 2. Tasmāt tapanāj jyotir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād archir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād marīchayo 'jāyanta | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād udārāḥ ajāyanta | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tad abhram iva*

[41] Compare Taitt. Br. i. 8, 8, 1. *Ādityāḥ vai prajāḥ*, "Creatures are descended from Aditi."

[42] This story is told also, but with more detail of names and somewhat differently, in Taitt. Br. i. 1, 9, 10 ff.. *Aditiḥ putrakāmā sādhyebhyo devebhyo brahmaudanam apachat | tasyai uchchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Dhātā cha Aryamā cha ajāyetām | sā dvitīyam apachat tasyai uchchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Mitraś cha Varuṇaś cha ajāyetām | sā tṛitīyam apachat | tasyai uchchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Aṁśaścha Bhagaś cha ajāyetām | sā chaturtham apachat | taysai uchchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta tasyai Indraś cha Vivasvāṁś cha ajayetām |* "Aditi, desirous of sons, cooked a Brahmaudana oblation to the gods the Sādhyas. They gave her the remnant of it. She ate it. She conceived seed. Dhātṛi and Aryaman were born to her." She does the same thing a second time, when she bears Mitra and Varuṇa,—a third time, when she bears Aṁśa and Bhaga,—and a fourth time, when she bears Indra and Vivasvat.

samahanyata | tad vastim abhinat | 3. *Sa samudro 'bhavat | tasmāt samudrasya na pibanti | prajananam iva hi manyante | tasmāt paśor jāyamānād āpaḥ purastād yanti | tad daśahotā anvasṛijyata | Prajāpatir vai daśahotā | yaḥ evaṁ tapaso vīryyam vidvāṁs tapyate bhavaty eva | tad vai idam āpaḥ salilam āsīt | so 'rodīt Prajāpatiḥ* (4) *"sa kasmai ajñi yady asyāpratishṭhāyāḥ" iti | yad apsv avāpadyata sā pṛithivy abhavat | yad vyamṛishta tad antarikṣham abhavat | yad ūrdhvam udamṛishṭa sā dyaur abhavat | yad arodīt tad anayoḥ rodastvam |* 5. *Yaḥ evaṁ veda na asya gṛihe rudanti | etad vai eshāṁ lokānāṁ janma | ya evam eshāṁ lokānāṁ janma veda na eshu lokesho ārttim ārchhati | sa imām pratishṭhām avindata | sa imām pratishṭhāṁ vittvā akāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa jaghanād asurān asṛijata |* 6. *Tebhyo mṛiṇmaye pātre 'nnam aduhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt tām apāhata | sā tamisrā 'bhavat | so 'kāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa prajanānād eva prajāḥ asṛijata | tasmād imāḥ bhūyishṭhāḥ | prajanānād hy enāḥ asṛijata |* 7. *Tābhyo dārumaye pātre payo 'duhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt tām apāhata | sa jyotsnā 'bhavat | so 'kāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa upapakshābhyām eva ṛitūn asṛijata | tebhyo rajate pātre ghṛitam aduhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt* (8) *tām apāhata | so 'ho-rātrayoḥ sandhir abhavat | so 'kāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa mukhād devān asṛijata | tebhyo harite pātre somam aduhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt tām apāhata | tad ahar abhavat |* 9. *Ete vai Prajāpater dohāḥ | ya evaṁ veda duhe eva prajāḥ | "divā vai no 'bhūd" iti tad devānām devatvaṁ | ya evaṁ devānāṁ devatvaṁ veda devavān eva bhavati | etad vai aho-rātrāṇāṁ janma | ya evam aho-rātrāṇāṁ janma veda na aho-rātreshu ārttim ārchhati |* 10. *Asato 'dhi mano 'sṛijyata | manaḥ Prajāpatim asṛijata | Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | tad vai idam manasy eva paramam pratishṭhitaṁ yadidaṁ kiñcha | tad etat śvovasyasaṁ nāma Brahma | vyuchhantī vyuchhantī asmai vasyasī vasyasī vyuchhati prajāyate prajayā paśubhiḥ pra parameshṭhino mātrām āpnoti ya evaṁ veda |*

"At first this (universe) was not anything. There was neither sky, nor earth, nor air. Being non-existent, it resolved 'let me be.' It became fervent.[43] From that fervour smoke was produced. It again

[43] The word thus rendered is *atapyata*, which has the sense of "being heated" as well as "practising austere abstraction." I have purposely given an equivocal rendering, which may bear either sense.

became fervent. From that fervour fire was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour light was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour flame was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour rays were produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour blazes[44] were produced. It again became fervent. It became condensed like a cloud. It clove its bladder. That became the sea. Hence men do not drink of the sea. For they regard it as like the place of generation. Hence water issues forth before an animal when it is being born. After that the Daśahotṛi (a particular formula) was created. Prajāpati is the Daśahotṛi. That man succeeds, who thus knowing the power of austere abstraction (or fervour), practises it. This was then water, fluid. Prajāpati wept, (exclaiming), (4) 'For what purpose have I been born, if (I have been born) from this which forms no support?'[45] That which fell[46] into the waters became the earth. That which he wiped away, became the air. That which he wiped away, upwards, became the sky. From the circumstance that he wept (*arodīt*), these two regions have the name of *rodasī*, (worlds). 5. They do not weep in the house of the man who knows this. This was the birth of these worlds. He who thus knows the birth of these worlds, incurs no suffering in these worlds. He obtained this (earth as a) basis. Having obtained (this earth as a) basis, he desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created Asuras from his abdomen. 6. To them he milked out food in an earthen dish. He cast off that body of his. It became darkness.[47] He desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised

[44] Such is the sense the commentator gives to the word *udārāḥ*, which he makes = *ulvaṇa-jvālāḥ*. Professor Roth (s. v.) explains the word as meaning "fogs."

[45] This is the mode of rendering suggested to me by Professor Aufrecht. After "if" the Commentator supplies the words—"from this non-existing earth I can create no living creature."

[46] "Prajāpati's tears," etc., according to the commentator.

[47] Compare S'. P. Br. xi. 1, 6, 8: *Atho yo 'yam avāñ prāṇas tena asurān asṛijata | te imām eva pṛithivīm abhipadya asṛijyanta | tasmai sasṛijānāya tamaḥ iva āsa | 9. So 'vet "pāpmānaṁ vai asṛikshi yasmai me sasṛijānāya tamaḥ iva abhūd" iti | tāṁs tataḥ eva pāpmanā 'vidhyat | tataḥ eva te parābhavann ityādi |* "Then he created the Asuras from this lower breath of his. It was only after reaching this earth that they were created. On him, as he continued to create, darkness fell. 9. He understood, 'I have created misery, since darkness has fallen upon me as I was creating.' Then he pierced them with misery, and they in consequence succumbed," etc. The word rendered in the text by "cast off" is applied in Taitt. Sanh. i. 5, 4, 1, to serpents

austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created living beings (*prajāḥ*) from his organ of generation. Hence they are the most numerous because he created them from his generative organ. 8. To them he milked out milk in a wooden dish. He cast off that body of his. It became moon-light. He desired, 'May I be propagated. He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created the seasons from his armpits. To them he milked out butter in a silver dish. He cast off that body of his. It became the period which connects day and night. He desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created the gods from his mouth.[48] To them he milked out Soma in a golden dish. He cast off that body of his. It became day. 9. These are Prajāpati's milkings. He who thus knows milks out offspring. 'Day (*divā*) has come to us:' this (exclamation expresses) the godhead of the gods. He who thus knows the godhead of the gods, obtains the gods. This is the birth of days and nights. He who thus knows the birth of days and nights, incurs no suffering in the days and nights. 10. Mind (or soul, *manas*,) was created from the non-existent. Mind created Prajāpati. Prajāpati created offspring. All this, whatever exists, rests absolutely on mind. This is that Brahma called Svovasyasa.[49] For the man who thus knows, (Ushas), dawning, dawning, dawns more and more bright; he becomes prolific in offspring, and (rich) in cattle; he obtains the rank of Parameshṭhin."

S. P. Br. vi. 1, 2, 11.—*Atho āhuḥ | "Prajāpatir eva imān lokān sṛishṭvā pṛithivyām pratyatishṭhat | tasmai imāḥ oshadhayo 'nnam apachyanta | tad āśnāt | sa garbhī abhavat | sa ūrdhvebhyaḥ eva prāṇebhyo devān asṛijata | ye 'vāñchaḥ prāṇās tebhyo martyāḥ prajāḥ" iti | yatamathā 'sṛijata tathā 'sṛijata | Prajāpatis tv eva idaṁ sarvam asṛijata yad idaṁ kiñcha |*

"Wherefore they say, 'Prajāpati, having created these worlds, was

shedding their old skins (*sarpāḥ vai jīryanto 'manyanta . . . tato vai te jīrṇās tanūr apāghnata*).

[48] Compare S. P. Br. xi. 1, 6, 7, quoted in the 4th Vol. of this work, p. 22 f.

[49] The Commentator explains this word to mean "that which each succeeding day becomes transcendently excellent (*uttarottara-dine vasīyo 'tiśayena śreshṭham*). Here, he says, the highest and absolute Brahma is not meant, but mind, which has the form of Brahma, and, by means of the series of its volitions, is every successive moment more and more world-creating" (*sankalpa-paramparayā pratikshaṇam uttarottarādhika-jagat-srashṭṛitvād īdṛig-Brahma-rūpatvād manaḥ praśastam |*

supported upon the earth. For him these herbs were cooked as food. That (food) he ate. He became pregnant. He created the gods from his upper vital airs, and mortal offspring from his lower vital airs. In whatever way he created, so he created. But Prajāpati created all this, whatever exists.'"

S. P. Br. x. 1, 3, 1.—*Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | sa ūrdhvebhyaḥ eva prāṉebhyo devān asṛijata | ye 'vāñchaḥ prāṉās tebhyo martyāḥ prajāḥ | atha ūrdhvam eva mṛityum prajābhyo 'ttāram asṛijata |*

"Prajāpati created living beings. From his upper vital airs he created the gods; from his lower vital airs mortal creatures. Afterwards he created death a devourer of creatures."

Taitt. Ār. i. 23, 1.—*Āpo vai idam āsan salilam eva | sa Prajāpatir ekaḥ pushkara-parṇe samabhavat | tasya antar manasi kāmaḥ samavarttata "idaṁ sṛijeyam" iti | tasmād yad purusho manasā 'bhigachhati tad vāchā vadati tat karmaṇā karoti | tad eshā 'bhyanūktā "kāmas tad agre samavarttatādhi | manaso retaḥ prathamaṁ yad āsīt | 2. Sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛidi pratīshyā kavayo manīshā" iti | upa evaṁ tad upanamati yat-kāmo bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda | sa tapo 'tapyata | sa tapas taptvā śarīram adhūnuta | tasya yad māṁsam āsīt tato 'ruṇāḥ Ketavo Vātaraśanāḥ ṛishayaḥ udatishṭhan | 3. Ye nakhās te Vaikhānasāḥ | ye bālās te Bālakhilyāḥ | yo rasaḥ so 'pām antarataḥ kūrmam bhūtam sarpantam tam abravīt "mama vai tvaṉ-māmsā samabhūt" | 4. "na" ity abravīt "pūrvam eva aham iha āsam" iti | tat purushasya purushatvam iti | sa "sahasra-śīrshā purushaḥ sahasrākshaḥ sahasra-pād" bhūtvā udatishṭhat | tam abravīt "tvam ve* (sic. *me* or *vai?*) *pūrvaṁ samabhūt tvam idam pūrvaḥ kurushva" iti | sa itaḥ ādāya apo* (5) *'ñjalinā purastād upādadhāt "evā hy eva" iti | tataḥ Ādityaḥ udatishṭhat | sā prāchī dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur dakshiṇataḥ upādadhād "evā hy Agne" iti | tato vai Agnir udatishṭhat | sā dakshiṇā dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketuḥ paśchād upādadhād "evā hi Vāyo" iti | 6. Tato Vāyur udatishṭhat | sā pratīchī dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur uttarataḥ upādadhād "evā hi Indra" iti | tato vai Indraḥ udatishṭhat | sā udīchī dik | atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur madhye upādadhād "evā hi Pūshann" iti | tato vai Pūshā udatishṭhat | sā iyam dik | 7. Atha Aruṇaḥ Ketur uparishṭād upādadhād "evā hi devāḥ" iti | tato deva-manushyāḥ pitaro gandharvāpsarasaś cha udatishṭhan | sā ūrdhvā dik | yāḥ viprusho vi parāpatan tābhyo 'surāḥ rakshāṁsi piśachāścha udatishṭhan | tasmāt te parābhavan viprudbhyo 'hi samabhavan | taa*

eshā bhyanūktā (8) "*āpo ha yad bṛihatīr garbham āyan daksham dadhānāḥ janayantīḥ svayambhūm | tataḥ ime 'dhyasṛijyanta sargāḥ | adbhyo vai idam samabhūt | tasmād idam sarvam Brahma svayambhv*" *iti | tasmād idam sarvaṁ śithilam iva adhruvam iva abhavat | Prajāpatir vāva tat | ātmanā ātmānaṁ vidhāya tad eva anuprāviśat | tad eshā 'bhyanūktā* (9) "*vidhāya lokān vidhāya bhūtāni vidhāya sarvāḥ pradiśo diśaścha | Prajāpatiḥ prathamajāḥ ṛitasya ātmanā "tmānam abhisaṁviveśa*" *iti |*

"This was water, fluid. Prajāpati alone was produced on a lotus-leaf. Within, in his mind, desire arose, 'Let me create this.' Hence whatever a man aims at in his mind, he declares by speech, and performs by act.[50] Hence this verse has been uttered, 'Desire formerly arose in it, which was the primal germ of mind, (2) (and which) sages, searching with their intellect, have discovered in the heart as the bond between the existent and the non-existent' (R. V. x. 129, 4). That of which he is desirous comes to the man who thus knows. He practised austere fervour. Having practised austere fervour, he shook his body. From its flesh the rishis (called) Aruṇas, Ketus, and Vātaraśanas[51] arose. 3. His nails became the Vaikhānasas, his hairs the Bālakhilyas. The fluid (of his body became) a tortoise moving amid the waters.[52] He said to him, 'Thou hast sprung from my skin and flesh.'[53] 4. 'No,' replied the tortoise, 'I was here before.' In that (in his having been 'before' *pūrvam*) consists the manhood of a man (*purusha*). Becoming 'a man (*purusha*) with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet'

[50] Compare Taitt. S. vi. 3, 10, 4, (quoted by Roth. s. v. *abhigam*) *yad vai hṛidayena abhigachhati taj jihvayā vadati |*

[51] They are mentioned again in Taitt. Ār. i. 24, 4. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon s.v. Ketu (where the Aruṇa Ketus are stated to be a sort of superior beings or demons); Artharva-veda, xi. 10, 2; Weber's Indische Studien, ii. 177; and the verse of the M. Bh. xii. 774: *Aruṇāḥ Ketavāś chaiva svādhyāyena divaṁ gatāḥ |* "By sacred study the Aruṇas and Ketus have ascended to heaven."

[52] The Sanskrit scholar will observe that the text here is rather obscure. It is either corrupt, elliptical, or grammatically irregular.

[53] Here the Sanskrit, if it be not corrupt, must be irregular and incorrect. On the style of the Āraṇyakas, see Mr. E. B. Cowell's Preface to the Kaushītakī Upanishad, p. viii., where it is remarked: "The Āraṇyakas appear to belong to a class of Sanskrit writings, whose history has not yet been thoroughly investigated. Their style, if we may judge from that of the Taittirīya and Kaushītakī, is full of strange solecisms which sometimes half remind us of the gāthās of the Lalita Vistara. The present Upanishad has many peculiar forms, some of which are common to both recensions, while others appear only in one. Such are: *nishincha*, in p. 10; *praiti* for *prayanti*, in p. 51; *saṁveśyan*, in p. 56; *veti* for *vyeti*, in p. 78; *adūḍham*, in p. 89, etc."

(R.V. x. 90, 1), he arose. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou wert produced before me: do thou first make this.' He took water from this (5) in the cavity of his two hands, and placed it on the east, repeating the text, 'so be it, o Sun.'[54] From thence the sun arose. That was the eastern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the south, saying, 'so be it,' o Agni.' Thence Agni arose. That was the southern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the west, saying 'so be it, o Vāyu.' 6. Thence arose Vāyu. That was the western quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the north, saying 'so be it, o Indra.' Thence arose Indra. That is the northern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) in the centre, saying 'so be it, o Pūshan.' Thence arose Pūshan. That is this quarter. 7. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) above, saying 'so be it, o gods.' Thence arose gods, MEN, fathers, Gandharvas and Apsarases. That is the upper quarter. From the drops which fell apart arose the Asuras, Rakshases, and Piśāchas. Therefore they perished, because they were produced from drops. Hence this text has been uttered; (8) 'when the great waters became pregnant, containing wisdom, and generating Svayambhŭ, from them were created these creations. All this was produced from the waters. Therefore all this is Brahma Svayambhu.' Hence all this was as it were loose, as it were unsteady. Prajāpati was that. Having made himself through himself, he entered into that. Wherefore this verse has been uttered; (9) 'Having formed the world, having formed existing things and all intermediate quarters and quarters, Prajāpati, the firstborn of the ceremonial, entered into himself with himself.'"

From an examination of the legends contained in the Brāhmaṇas, of which some specimens have just been given, it appears (1) that they are generally, if not always, adduced, or invented, with the view of showing the origin, or illustrating the efficacy, of some particular ceremony which the writer wished to explain or recommend; (2) that the accounts which they supply of Prajāpati's creative operations are

[54] The formula is in the original *evā hy eva*. The Commentator says that the first word means "objects of desire to be obtained," and that the second *eva* signifies "the moving (Sun);" the sense of the entire formula being, "Thou, o Sun, art thyself all objects of desire." The six formulas here introduced had previously occurred at the close of a preceding section, i. 20, 1.

various and even inconsistent; and (3) that they are the sources of many of the details which are found in a modified form in the cosmogonies of the Purānas.

When we discover in the most ancient Indian writings such different and even discrepant accounts of the origin of man, all put forth with equal positiveness, it is impossible to imagine that any uniform explanation of the diversity of castes could have been received at the period when they were composed, or to regard any of the texts which have been cited as more orthodox and authoritative than the rest. Even, therefore, if we should suppose that the author of the Purusha Sūkta meant to represent the four castes as having literally sprung from separate parts of Purusha's body, it is evident that the same idea was not always or even generally adopted by those who followed him, as a revealed truth in which they were bound to acquiesce. In fact, nothing is clearer than that in all these cosmogonies, the writers, while generally assuming certain prevalent ideas as the basis of their descriptions, gave the freest scope to their individual fancy in the invention of details. In such circumstances, perfect coincidence cannot be expected in the narratives.

We shall hereafter see that the Puranic writers reproduce some of these discrepancies in the traditions which descended to them from earlier generations, and add many new inconsistencies of their own, which they themselves, or their commentators, endeavour to explain away by the assumption that the accounts so differing relate to the occurrences of different Kalpas or Manvantaras (great mundane periods). But of a belief in any such Kalpas or Manvantaras no trace is to be found in the hymns or Brāhmaṇas: and, as we shall hereafter see, they must be held to be the inventions of a later age. The real explanation of these differences in the Brāhmaṇas is that the writers did not consider themselves (as their successors held them) to be infallibly inspired, and consequently were not at all studious to avoid in their narratives the appearance of inconsistency with the accounts of their predecessors.

Sect. V.—*Manu's Account of the Origin of Castes.*

I shall first quote a few verses from the beginning of Manu's account of the creation:

i. 8. *So 'bhidhyāya śarīrāt svāt sisṛikshur vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apa eva sasarjādau tāsu vīyam avāsṛijat | 9. Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimaṁ sahasrāṁśu-sama-prabham | tasmin jajne svayam Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | 10. Āpo nārā iti proktāḥ āpo vai narasūnavaḥ | tāḥ yad asyāyanam pūrvam tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ | 11. Yat tat kāraṇam avyaktaṁ nityaṁ sad-asadātmakam | tad-visṛishṭaḥ sa purusho loke Brahmeti kīrttyate | 12. Tasminn aṇḍe sa bhagavān ushitvā parivatsaram | svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad aṇḍam akarod dvidhā |*[55]

"8. He (the self-existent) having felt desire,[56] and willing to create various living beings from his own body, first created the waters, and threw into them a seed. 9. That seed became a golden egg, of lustre equal to the sun; in it he himself was born as Brahmā, the parent of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called *nārāḥ*, for they are sprung from *Nara;* and as they were his first sphere of motion (*ayana*=path), he is therefore called *Nārāyaṇa*.[57] 11. Produced from the imperceptible, eternal, existent and non-existent, cause, that male (*purusha*) is celebrated in the world as Brahmā. 12. After dwelling for a year in the egg, the glorious being, himself, by his own contemplation, split it in twain."

After a description of various other preparatory creative acts (vv. 13–30) the author proceeds in vv. 31 ff. to inform us how the four castes were produced:

i. 31. *Lokānāṁ tu vivṛiddhyartham mukhabāhūru-pādataḥ | brāhmaṇaṁ kshattriyaṁ vaiśyaṁ śūdraṁ cha niravarttayat | 32. Dvidhā kṛitvātmano deham ardhena purusho 'bhavat | ardhena nārī tasyāṁ sa Virājam asṛijat prabhuḥ | 33. Tapas taptvā 'sṛijad yaṁ tu sa svayam purusho*

[55] The ideas in this passage are derived (with modifications expressive of the theories current in the author's own age) from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff. (see vol. iv. of this work, p. 21 f.); or from some other similar account in another Brāhmaṇa.

[56] See S'. P. Br. i. 7, 4, 1: *Prajāpatir ha vai svāṁ duhitaram abhidadhyau.*

[57] In the M. Bh. iii. 12952, Krishṇa says: *apām nārāḥ iti purā sanjñā-karma kṛitam mayā | tena Nārāyaṇo py ukto mama tat tv ayanaṁ sadā |* "The name of *nārāḥ* was formerly assigned by me to the waters: hence I am also called Nārāyaṇa, for there has always been my sphere of motion."

Virāṭ | taṁ māṁ vittāsya sarvasya srashṭāraṁ dvija-sattamāḥ | 34. Aham prajāḥ sisṛikshus tu tapas taptvā suduścharam | patīn prajānām asṛijam maharshīn ādito daśa | 35. Marīchim Atryangirasau Pulastyam Pulahaṁ Kratum | Prachetasam Vasishṭhaṁ cha Bhṛigum Nāradam eva cha | 36. Ete Manūṁs tu saptānyān asṛijan bhūritejasaḥ | devān devanikāyāṁś cha maharshīṁś chāmitaujasaḥ | 37. Yaksha-rakshaḥ-piśāchāṁś cha gandharvāpsaraso 'surān | nāgān sarpān suparṇāṁś cha pitṛīṇāṁ cha pṛithaggaṇān | 38. Vidyuto 'śani-meghāṁś cha rohitendradhanūṁsi cha | ulkā nirghāta-ketūṁś cha jyotīṁshy uchchāvachāni cha | 39. Kinnarān vānarān matsyān vividhāṁś cha vihangamān | paśūn mṛigān manushyāṁś cha vyālāṁś chobhayatodataḥ | 40. Kṛimikīṭa-patangāṁś cha yūkā-makshika-matkuṇam | sarvaṁ cha daṁśa-maśakam sthāvaraṁ cha pṛithagvidham | 41. Evam etair idaṁ sarvam man-niyogād mahātmabhiḥ | yathākarma tapo-yogāt sṛishṭaṁ sthāvara-jangamam |

31. "That the worlds might be peopled, he caused the Brāhman, the Kshattriya, the Vaiśya, and the Śūdra to issue from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet.[58] 32. Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord (Brahmā) became, with the half a male (purusha), and with the half, a female; and in her he created Virāj.[59] 33. Know, O most excellent twice-born men, that I, whom that male, (purusha)[60] Virāj, himself created, am the creator of all this world. 34. Desiring to produce living creatures, I performed very arduous devotion, and first created ten Maharshis (great rishis), lords of living beings, (35) viz., Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachetas, Vaśishṭha, Bhṛigu, and Nārada.[61] 36. They, endowed with

[58] On this Kullūka the Commentator remarks: *Daivyā cha śaktyā mukhādibhyo brāhmaṇādi-nirmāṇam Brahmaṇo na visankanīyaṁ śruti-siddhatvāt* | "It is not to be doubted that, by his divine power, Brahmā formed the Brāhman and the other castes from his mouth and other members, since it is proved by the Veda. He then quotes the 12th verse of the Purusha Sūkta.

[59] See the Purusha Sūkta, verse 5.

[60] It will be observed that Manu applies this term *purusha* to three beings, *first* to Brahmā (v. 11), *second* to the male formed by Brahmā from the half of his own body (v. 32), and *third* to Virāj, the offspring of the male and female halves of Brahmā's body (v. 33). It will be noticed that this story of Brahmā dividing his body is borrowed from the passage of the S'. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 1, quoted above.

[61] In the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 2 ff., a different account is given of the origin of the world, in which no reference is made to Manu Svāyambhuva. The order of the creation there described is as follows: First everything was water. Then Brahmā Svăyămbhū, with the deities, came into existence—Brahmā being said to have sprung

great energy, created[62] other seven Manus, gods, and abodes of gods, and Maharshis of boundless might; (37) Yakshas, Rakshases, Piśāchas, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Asuras, Nāgas, Serpents, great Birds, and the different classes of Pitṛis; (38) lightnings, thunderbolts, clouds, Indra's bows unbent and bent, meteors, portentous atmospheric sounds, comets, and various luminaries; (39) Kinnaras, apes, fishes, different sorts of birds, cattle, deer, MEN, beasts with two rows of teeth; (40) small and large reptiles, moths, lice, flies, fleas, all gadflies and gnats, and motionless things of different sorts. 41. Thus by my appointment, and by the force of devotion, was ALL THIS WORLD BOTH MOTIONLESS AND MOVING, created by those great beings, according to the (previous) actions of each creature."

The different portions of the preceding narrative of the creation of the human species are not easily reconcileable with each other. For it is first stated in verse 31, that men of the four castes proceeded separately from different parts of Brahmā's body,—prior (as it would appear) (1) to the division of that body into two parts and to the successive production (2) of Virāj, (3) Manu, and (4) the Maharshis, who formed all existing creatures. And yet we are told in verse 39, that MEN were among the beings called into existence by those Maharshis, and in verse 41, that the entire MOVING as well as motionless WORLD was their work. It is not said that the men created by the Maharshis were distinct from those composing the four castes, and we must, therefore, assume that the latter also are included under the general appellation of men. But if men of the four castes had been already produced before the formation of all living creatures by the Maharshis, what necessity existed for the men of these castes being a second time called into being as a part of that later creation? It is possible that this

from the æther (*ākāśa*). Brahmā, with his sons, created the world. From Brahmā sprang Marīchi; from Marīchi, Kaśyapa; from Kaśyapa, Vivasvat; and from Vivasvat, Manu Vaivasvata. The original of this passage is quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 29 ff.

[62] These great rishis seem to be the beings denoted by the word *viśvasṛijaḥ*, "creators of the universe," in the verse of Manu (xii. 50), which will be quoted below. Reference to rishis, or to seven rishis, as "formers of existing things" (*bhūta-kṛitaḥ*), is also found in the Atharvaveda, vi. 108, 4; vi. 133, 4, 5; xi. 1, 1, 3, 24; xii. 1, 39; and the word *bhūtakṛitaḥ*, without the addition of rishis, is found in the same work iii. 28, 1; iv. 35, 2, and xix. 16, 2.

allegation of the separate creation of castes may have been engrafted as an after-thought on the other account.[63]

After other details, regarding the propagation, nature, etc, of created things (vv. 42–50), the re-absorption of Brahmā into the Supreme Spirit, and his alternations of sleep and repose, etc. (vv. 50–57), Manu proceeds:

58. *Idaṁ śāstraṁ tu kṛitvā 'sau mām eva svayam āditaḥ | vidhivad grāhayāmāsa Marīchyādīṁś tv aham munīn | 59. Etad vo 'yam Bhṛiguḥ śāstraṁ śrāvayishyaty aśeshataḥ | etad hi matto 'dhijage sarvam esho 'khilam muniḥ | 60. Tatas tathā sa tenokto maharshir Manunā Bhṛiguḥ | tān abravīd ṛishīn sarvān prītātmā "śrūyatām" iti | 61. Svāyambhuvasyāsya Manoḥ shaḍ-vaṁśyā Manavo 'pare | sṛishṭavantaḥ prajāḥ svāḥ svāḥ mahātmāno mahaujasaḥ | 62. Svārochishaś chauttamiś cha Tāmaso Raivatas tathā | Chākshushaś cha mahātejā Vivasvat-suta eva cha | 63. Svāyambhuvādyāḥ saptaite Manavo bhūritejasaḥ | sve sve 'ntare sarvam idam utpādyāpuś charācharam |*

59. "Having formed this Scripture, he (Brahmā) himself in the beginning caused me to comprehend it according to rule; as I did to Marīchi and the other munis. 60. This Bhṛigu will give you to hear this scripture in its entirety; for this muni learned the whole from me. 61. Then that Maharshi (great rishi), Bhṛigu being so addressed by Manu, with pleasure addressed all those rishis, saying, 'Let it be heard.' 62. 'From this Manu Svāyambhuva sprang other Manus in six successive generations, great and glorious, who respectively created living beings of their own,—(63) viz., Svārochisha, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata, Chākshusha, and the mighty son of Vivasvat. 64. These seven[64] Manus of great power, of whom Svāyambhuva was the first, have each in his own period (*antara*) produced and possessed the world.'"

[63] In the same way it may be observed that in v. 22 Brahmā is said to have formed the subtile class of living gods whose essence is to act, and of the S'ādhyas (*karmātmanām cha devānām so 'sṛijat prāṇinām prabhuḥ | sādhyānāṁ cha gaṇaṁ sūkshmam*), and in v. 25, to have "called into existence this creation, desiring to form these living beings" (*sṛishṭiṁ sasarja chaivemāṁ srashṭum ichchann imāḥ prajāḥ*). But if the gods and all other creatures already existed, any such further account of their production by the Maharshis, as is given in verse 36, seems to be not only superfluous but contradictory.

[64] It will be observed that here Svāyambhuva is included in the seven Manus, although in verse 36 (see above) it is said that the ten Maharshis, who had themselves been created by Svāyambhuva (vv. 34 f.), produced seven other Manus.

After some preliminary explanations regarding the divisions of time as reckoned by men and gods, etc. (vv. 64-78), the author proceeds to tell us how long each of these Manus reigns:

79. *Yat prāk dvādaśa-sāhasram uditaṁ daivikaṁ yugam | tad eka-saptati-guṇam manvantaram ihochyate* | 80. *Manvantarāṇy asankhyāni sargaḥ saṁhāra eva cha | krīḍann ivaitat kurute Parameshṭhī punaḥ punaḥ* |

"The age (*yuga*) of the gods mentioned before, consisting of twelve thousand (years), when multiplied by seventy-one, is here called a manvantara. 80. There are innumerable manvantaras, creations and destructions. The Supreme Being performs this again and again, as if in sport."

A more detailed account of these great mundane periods will be given in the next section, when I come to take up the Vishṇu Purana. Meanwhile it may be remarked that the present manvantara is that of the last of the Manus above enumerated, or Manu Vaivasvata, who, according to verse 63, must have created the existing world. But if such be the case, it does not appear why the creation of Manu Svāyambhuva, with which the present race of mortals can have little to do, should have been by preference related to the rishis in vv. 33 ff. It must, however, be observed that in v. 33 Manu Svāyambhuva described himself as the former of "this" (*i.e.*, the existing) universe, and there is no doubt that the whole code of laws prescribed in the sequel of the work is intended by the author to be observed by the existing race of Indians (see verses 102 ff. of the first book). We must, therefore, suppose that the creations of the later Manus are substantially identical with that of the first; or that there is some confusion or inconsistency in the accounts which I have cited. Perhaps both suppositions may be correct.

In vv. 81-86, the four Yugas (or great ages of the world) the Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali, their gradual deterioration, and the special duties peculiar to each, are described.[65]

[65] In v. 86 these predominant duties are said to be austere fervour in the Kṛita age, knowledge in the Tretā, sacrifice in the Dvāpara, and liberality alone in the Kali (*tapaḥ paraṁ Kṛita-yuge tretāyāṁ jñānam uchyate | dvāpare yajnam evāhur dānam ekam kalau yuge*). This, as remarked in Weber's Indische Studien, 282 f., note, is not quite in conformity with the view of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, i. 2, 1, which states:

At verse 87, Bhṛigu recurs to the four castes:

87. *Sarvasyāsya tu sargasya gupty-artham sa mahādyutiḥ | mukha-bāhūru-paj-jānām pṛithak karmāṇy akalpayat |*

"For the preservation of this whole creation, that glorious being (Brahmā) ordained separate functions for those who sprang from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet."

These functions are then detailed (vv. 88-92). In verse 93, the grounds of the Brāhmans' pre-eminence are stated:

93. *Uttamāngobhavāj jyaishṭhyād brahmaṇaś chaiva dhāraṇāt | sarvasyaivāsya sargasya dharmato brāhmaṇaḥ prabhuḥ |* 94. *Taṁ hi svayambhūḥ svād āsyāt tapas taptvā "dito 'sṛijat |*

Since the Brahman sprang from the most excellent organ, since he is the first-born and possesses the Veda, he is by nature the lord of this whole creation. Him, the self-existent (Brahmā) after exercising fervid abstraction, formed at the first from his own mouth."

But as there are grades of excellence among created things, and among men themselves (96), so are there also among Brahmans:

97. *Brāhmaṇeshu cha vidvāṁso vidvatsu kṛita-buddhayaḥ | kṛita-buddhishu karttāraḥ karttṛishu brahma-vedinaḥ |*

"Among Brāhmans the learned are the most excellent, among the learned the resolute, among the resolute those who act, and among them who act they who possess divine knowledge."

In a subsequent part of the work (xii. 40 ff.) we find men in general, the castes, and indeed all existing things, from Brahmā downwards, classified according to their participation in different degrees in the three *guṇas*, or qualities (*sattva*, "goodness," *rajas*, "passion," and *tamas*, "darkness").

39. *Yena yāṁs tu guṇenaishāṁ saṁsārān pratipadyate | tān samāsena vakshyāmi sarvasyāsya yathākramam |* 40. *Devatvaṁ sāttvikā yānti manushyatvaṁ cha rājasāḥ | tiryaktvaṁ tāmasā nityam ity eshā tri-*

tat etat satyam mantreshu karmāṇi kavayo yāny apaśyaṁs tāni tretāyām bahudhā santatāni | "This is true: the rites which sages beheld in the hymns, are in great variety celebrated in the Tretā." In the same way the M. Bh. iii. v. 11,248, says that sacrifices and rites prevail in the Tretā (*tato yajñāḥ pravarttante dharmāś cha vividhāḥ kriyāḥ | tretāyām ityādi*). See also M. Bh. xii. 13,090. The word *kṛita*, as the name of the first yuga is thus explained in a previous verse of the former of these two passages (11,235): *kṛitam eva na karttavyaṁ tasmin kāle yugottame |* "In the time of that most excellent *Yuga* (everything) has been done, (and does) not (remain) to be done."

vidhā gatiḥ | . . . 43. Hastinaś cha turangāś cha śūdrā mlechhāś cha garhitāḥ | siṁhā vyāghrā varāhāś cha madhyamā tāmasī gatiḥ | . . . 46. Rājānaḥ kshattriyāś chaiva rājnaś chaiva purohitāḥ | vādayuddha-pradhānāś cha madhyamā rājasī gatiḥ | . . . 48. Tāpasā yatayo viprā ye cha vaimānikā gaṇāḥ | nakshatrāṇi cha daityāś cha prathamā sāttvikī gatiḥ | 49. Yajvāna ṛishayo devā vedā jyotīṁshi vatsarāḥ | pitaraś chaiva sādhyāś cha dvitīyā sāttvikī gatiḥ | 50. Brahmā viśvasṛijo dharmo mahān avyaktam eva cha | uttamāṁ sāttvikīm etāṁ gatim āhur manīshinaḥ |

"39. I shall now declare succinctly in order the states which the soul reaches by means of each of these qualities. 40. Souls endowed with the *sattva* quality attain to godhead; those having the *rajas* quality become men; whilst those characterized by *tamas* always become beasts—such is the threefold destination . . . 43. Elephants, horses, Śūdras and contemptible Mlechhas, lions, tigers, and boars form the middle dark condition . . . 46. Kings, Kshattriyas, a king's priests (*purohitāḥ*), and men whose chief occupation is the war of words, compose the middle condition of passion . . . 48. Devotees, ascetics, Brāhmans, the deities borne on aerial cars, constellations, and Daityas, constitute the lowest condition of goodness. 49. Sacrificing priests, rishis, gods, the vedas, the celestial luminaries, years, the fathers, the Sādhyas, form the second condition of goodness. 50. Brahmā, the creators,[66] righteousness, the Great One (*mahat*), the Unapparent One (*avyakta*), compose the highest condition of goodness."

[66] These "creators" (*viśvasṛijaḥ*) are thus mentioned in Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2. *Ādarśam Agniṁ chinvānāḥ pūrve viśvasṛijo 'mṛitāḥ | śatāṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi dikshitāḥ satram āsata | 3. tapaḥ āsīd gṛihapatir Brahma brahmā 'bhavat svayam | satyaṁ ha hotaishām āsīd yad visvasṛija āsata | amṛitam ebhya udagāyat sahasram parivatsarān | bhūtaṁ ha prastotaishām āsīd bhavishyat prati chāharat | prāṇo adhvaryur abhavad idaṁ sarvaṁ sishāsatām | . . . 7. Viśvasṛijaḥ prathamāḥ satram āsata | . . . . | tato ha jajne bhuvanasya gopāḥ hiraṇmayaḥ śakunir Brahma nāma | yena sūryas tapati tejaseddhaḥ | . . . . 8. Etena vai viśvasṛijaḥ idaṁ visvam asṛijanta | yad viśvam asṛijanta tasmād viśvasṛijaḥ | viśvam enān anu prajāyate |* "2. The ancient and immortal creators of the universe, keeping fire kindled till they saw the new moon, and consecrated, were engaged in a sacrifice for 100,000 years. 3. Austere fervour was the householder; Prayer itself (*brahma*) was the brahmā priest; Truth was their hotṛi, when the creators were so occupied. Immortality was their udgātṛi for a thousand years. The Past was their prastotṛi, the Future their pratihartṛi; Breath was the adhvaryu, whilst they were seeking to obtain all this." After a good deal more of this allegory, the author proceeds in para.: 7. "These first

It will be observed that the different parts of this account of the mode in which the three qualities are distributed, are not quite in harmony. From v. 40 it would appear that all souls having the quality of passion become men; and yet we find from vv. 43, 48, and 49, that Śūdras belong to the *tāmasa* class, and Brāhmans, of different descriptions, to two of the *Sāttvika* grades. According to the rule enunciated in v. 40, the latter ought to have been born as gods.

It is, further, remarkable that in this enumeration Śūdras are found in the same category with Mlechhas (v. 43), that the Vaiśyas are not accommodated with a position in any of the classes, that Kshattriyas and kings' domestic priests, who are of course Brāhmans, and others (who must be Brāhmans) fond of disputation on learned questions[67] (though not stated to be heretical) are ranked together as "passionate" (v. 46), while other Brāhmans of different characters are placed in two of the higher grades, Brāhmans simply so called (*viprāḥ*) being regarded as "good" in the lowest degree (v. 48), and sacrificing priests (*yajvānaḥ*) sharing with rishis, gods, the vedas, etc., the honour of the middle condition of goodness. It is not clear whether the devotees, and ascetics, mentioned in v. 48, belong to the same caste as the Brāhmans with whom they are associated, or may also be men of the inferior classes. Nor is it evident for what reason the sacrificing priests (*yajvānaḥ*), specified in v. 49, are so much more highly estimated than the king's priests (*rājnaḥ purohitāḥ*) in v. 46, since the latter also officiate at sacrifices. The honourable position assigned to Daityas in the lowest class of "good" beings (v. 48) is also deserving of notice. We shall see in the following chapter that the Purānas variously describe mankind as belonging entirely to the "passionate" class (see v. 40, above) and as characterized by the three other "qualities," according to their caste.

creators were engaged in sacrifice . . . Thence was born the preserver of the world, the golden bird called Brahma, by whom the sun glows, kindled with light. . . . 8. . . . Through this the creators created this universe. As they created the universe, they are called vis'vasṛijaḥ. . Everything is created after them." See above the reference made to *ṛishayo bhūta-kṛitaḥ* in p. 36. The allegory in this extract from the Taitt. Br. resembles in its character that in the sixth verse of the Purusha Sūkta.

[67] *S'ārstārthakalaha- priyās cha* | Comm.

SECT. VI.—*Account of the System of Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and other authorities.*

I shall in the next section adduce the description given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa of the creation of living creatures, and the origin of the four castes, after first supplying in the present some explanation of the great mundane periods, the *Yugas*, *Manvantaras*, *Kalpas*, etc.

The computations of these great periods are stated in the third chapter of the first book, and in the first chapter of the sixth book, and are clearly explained by Professor Wilson in his notes to page 50 of his translation.

One year of mortals is equal to one day of the gods.[68]

12,000 divine years are equal to a period of four Yugas, which is thus made up, viz.:

Kṛita Yuga with its mornings and evenings					.....	4,800	divine years
Tretā Yuga	,,	,,	,,	,,	.....	3,600	,, ,,
Dvāpara Yuga	,,	,,	,,	,,	.....	2,400	,, ,,
Kali Yuga	,,	,,	,,	,,	.....	1,200	,, ,,
making...						12,000	divine years.[69]

As a day of the gods is = to one year of mortals, the 12,000 divine years must be multiplied by 360, the assumed number of days in a year, to give the number of the years of mortals in this great period of four yugas, thus: 12,000 divine years × 360 = 4,320,000 years of mortals. 1000 of these periods of 12,000 divine, or 4,320,000 human, years—*i.e.*, 4,320,000,000 human years are = 1 day of Brahmā,[70] and his night is of the same duration. Within that period of a day of Brahmā, 14 Manus reign,[71] and a Manvantara, or period of Manu,

[68] Vishṇu P. vi. 1, 4 *ahorātram pitṛīṇāṁ tu māso 'bdas tridivaukasāṁ* | See also Manu i. 66 and 67. The Taitt. Br. iii. 9, 22, 1, too, states: *ekaṁ vai etad devānām ahar yat saṁvatsaraḥ* | "This period of a year is one day of the gods."

[69] i. 3, 10. *Divyair varsha-sahasraistu kṛita-tretādi-sanjnitam* | *chaturyugaṁ dvādaśabhis tad-vibhāgaṁ nibodha me* | 11. *chatvāri trīṇi dve chaikam kṛitādishu yathākramam* | *divyābdānām sahasrāṇi yugeshv āhur purāvidaḥ* | 12. *Tat-pramāṇaiḥ śataiḥ sandhyā pūrvā tatrābhidhīyate* | *sandhyāṁśakaś cha tat-tulyo yugasyānantaro hi saḥ* | 13. *Sandhyā-sandhyāṁśayor antar yaḥ kālo muni-sattama* | *yugākhyaḥ sa tu vijneyaḥ kṛita-tretādi-sanjnitaḥ* |

[70] V. P. i. 3, 14. *Kṛitaṁ tretā dvāparaś cha kalis chaiva chaturyugam* | *prochyate tat-sahasraṁ cha Brahmaṇo divasam mune* | See also Manu i. 72.

[71] V. P. i. 3, 15. *Brahmaṇo divasc brahman Manavaś cha chaturdaśa* | *bhavanti* |

is consequently = the 14th part of a day of Brahmā. In the present Kalpa (= a day of Brahmā) six Manus, of whom Svāyambhuva was the first, have already passed away, the present Manu being Vaivasvata.[72] In each Manvantara seven rishis, certain deities,. an Indra, a Manu, and the kings, his sons, are created and perish.[73] A thousand of the systems of 4 Yugas, as has been before explained, occur coincidently with these 14 Manvantaras; and consequently about 71 systems of 4 Yugas elapse during each Manvantara, and measure the lives of the Manu and the deities of the period.[74] At the close of this day of Brahmā a collapse (*pratisancharaḥ*) of the universe takes place, which lasts through a night of Brahmā, equal in duration to his day, during which period the three worlds are converted into one great ocean, when the lotus-born god,[75] expanded by his deglutition of the universe, and contemplated by the yogis and gods in Janaloka, sleeps on the serpent Sesha. At the end of that night he awakes and creates anew.[76]

A year of Brahmā is composed of the proper number of such days and nights; and 100 such years constitute his whole life. The period of his life is called *Para*, and the half of it *Parārddha*, or the half of a *Para*. One Parārddha, or half of Brahmā's existence, has now expired, terminating with the great Kalpa, called the Pādma Kalpa. The now existing Kalpa, or day of Brahmā, called Vārāha (or that of the boar), is the first of the second Parārddha of Brahmā's existence.[77] The

[72] This is stated by Manu i. 62 ff. (see above), as well as in the third book of the V. P. i. 3, which gives the names in the same order: *Svāyambhuvo Manuḥ pūrvo Manuḥ Svārochishas tathā | Auttamis Tāmasaś chaiva Raivataś Chākshushas tathā | shaḍ ete Manavo 'tītāḥ sāmprataṁ tu Raveḥ sutaḥ | Vaivasvato 'yaṁ yasyaitat saptamaṁ varttate 'ntaram |*

[73] V. P. i. 3, 16. *Saptarshayaḥ surāḥ S'akro Manus tat-sūnavo nṛipāḥ | ekakāle hi sṛijyante saṁhriyante cha pūrvavat |*

[74] Ibid ver. 17. *Chaturyugānāṁ sankhyātā sādhikā hy eka saptatiḥ | manvantaram Manoḥ kālaḥ suradīnāṁ cha sattama |* See also Manu i. 79.

[75] The birth of Prajāpati on a lotus-leaf is mentioned in the Taitt. Āranyy. i. 23, 1, quoted above, p. 32.

[76] Ibid 20. *Chaturdaśa-guṇo hy esha kālo brāhmam ahaḥ smṛitam | brāhmo naimittiko nāma tasyānte pratisancharaḥ | . . . 22. Ekārṇave tu trailokye Brahmā Nārāyaṇātmakaḥ | bhogi-śayyāgataḥ śete trailokya-grāsa-vriṁhitaḥ | 23. Janasthair yogibhir devaiś chintyamāno 'bja-sambhavaḥ | tat-pramāṇāṁ hi tāṁ rātriṁ tadante sṛijate punaḥ |* See also V. P. i. 2, 59–62, as translated by Wilson, vol. i. p. 41.

[77] Ibid ver. 24. *Evam tu Brahmaṇo varsham evaṁ varsha-śataṁ cha tat | śatam hi tasya varshāṇām param āyur mahātmanaḥ | 25. Ekam asya vyatītaṁ tu parārddham Brahmaṇo 'nagha | tasyānte 'bhūd mahākalpaḥ Pādmaḥ ity abhiviśrutaḥ | dvitīyasya*

dissolution, which occurs at the end of each Kalpa, or day of Brahmā, is called *naimittika*, incidental, occasional, or contingent. (See Wilson's Vishṇu Purana, vol. i. of Dr. Hall's edition, p. 52, with the editor's note; and vol. ii. p. 269. For an account of the other dissolutions of the universe I refer to the same work, vol. i. p. 113, and to pp. 630–633 of the original 4to. edition.)

Of this elaborate system of Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, of enormous duration, no traces are found in the hymns of the Rig-veda. Their authors were, indeed, familiar with the word *Yuga*,[78] which frequently occurs in the sense of age, generation, or tribe. Thus in i. 139, 8; iii. 26, 3; vi. 8, 5; vi. 15, 8; vi. 36, 5; x. 94, 12, the phrase *yuge yuge*[79] means "in every age." In iii. 33, 8; x. 10, 10, we have *uttarā yugāni*, "future ages," and in x. 72, 1, *uttare yuge*, "in a later age;" in vii. 70, 4, *pūrvāṇi yugāni*, "former ages,"[80] and in i. 184, 3, *yuga jūrṇā*, "past ages." In i. 92, 11; i. 103, 4; i. 115, 2; i. 124, 2; i. 144, 4;[81] ii. 2, 2; v. 52, 4; vi. 16, 23; vii. 9, 4; viii. 46, 12; viii. 51, 9; ix. 12, 7;[82] x. 27, 19; x. 140, 6[83] (in all of which places, except i. 115, 2, the word is combined with *manushyā*, *mānushā*, *manushaḥ*, or *janānām*), *yuga* seems to denote "generations" of men, or

parārddhasya varttamānasya vai dvija | Vārāhaḥ iti kalpo 'yam prathamaḥ parikalpitaḥ |

[78] In Professor Willson's Dictionary three senses are assigned to *yuga* (neuter) (1) a pair; (2) an age as the Kṛita, Tretā, etc.; (3) a lustre, or period of five years. When used as masculine the word means, according to the same authority, (1) a yoke; (2) a measure of four cubits, etc.; (3) a particular drug.

[79] Sāyana, on iii. 36, 3, explains it by *pratidinam*, "every day;" on vi. 8, 5; vi. 15, 8; vi. 36, 5, by *kāle kāle*, "at every time."

[80] Sāyana takes the phrase for former "couples of husbands and wives," *mithunāni jāyāpatirūpāṇi*.

[81] In i. 92, 11 and i. 124, 2, Ushas (the Dawn) is spoken of as, *praminatī manushyā yugāni*, "wearing away human terms of existence, or generations." In commenting on the former text Sāyana explains *yugāni* as equivalent to *kṛita-tretādīni*, "the Kṛita, Tretā, and other ages," whilst in explaining the second, he takes the same word as signifying *yugopalakshitān nimeshādi-kālāvayavān*, "the seconds and other component parts of time indicated by the word," or as equivalent to *yugmāni*, "the conjunctions of men,"—since the dawn scatters abroad to their several occupations men who had been previously congregated together!" In his note on i. 144, 4, he gives an option of two different senses: *manoḥ sambhandhīni yugāni jāyāpati-rupāṇi hotradhvaryurūpāṇi vā |* "couples consisting of husband and wife, or of the hotṛi and adhvaryu priests."

[82] This verse, ix. 12, 7, is also found in Sāma V. ii. 552, where, however, *yujā* is substituted for *yugā*.

[83] This verse occurs also in Sāma V. ii. 1171, and Vāj. S. xii. 111.

rather, in some places, "tribes" of men. In v. 73, 3, the phrase *nāhushā yugā* must have a similar meaning. In i. 158, 6, it is said that the rishi Dīrghatamas became worn out in the tenth *yuga*; on which Professor Wilson remarks (R. V. vol. ii. 104, note): "The scholiast understands *yuga* in its ordinary interpretation; but the *yuga* of five years is perhaps intended, a lustrum, which would be nothing marvellous." Professor Aufrecht proposes to render, "in the tenth stage of life." The first passage of the Rig-veda, in which there is any indication of a considerable mundane period being denoted, is x. 72, 2 f., where "a first," or, "an earlier age (*yuga*) of the gods" is mentioned (*devānām pūrvye yuge; devānām prathame yuge*) when "the existent sprang from the non-existent" (*asataḥ sad ajāyata*); but no allusion is made to its length. In the same indefinite way reference is made in x. 97, 1, to certain "plants which were produced before the gods,—three ages (*yugas*) earlier" (*yāḥ oshadhīḥ pūrvāḥ jātāḥ devebhyas triyugam purā*). In one verse of the Atharva-veda, however, the word *yuga* is so employed as to lead to the supposition that a period of very long duration is intended. It is there said, viii. 2, 21: *śatañ te ayutañ hāyanān dve yuge tṛiṇi chatvāri kṛiṇmaḥ* | "we allot to thee a hundred, ten thousand, years, two, three, four ages (*yugas*)."[84] As we may with probability assume that the periods here mentioned proceed in the ascending scale of duration, two *yugas*, and perhaps even one *yuga*, must be supposed to exceed 10,000 years.

The earliest comparison between divine and human periods of duration of which I am aware is found in the text of the Taitt. Br. quoted above in a note to p. 42: "A year is one day of the gods.[85] But so far as that passage itself shows, there is no reason to imagine that the statement it contains was anything more than an isolated idea, or that the conception had, at the time when the Brāhmaṇas were compiled, been developed, and a system of immense mundane periods, whether

[84] For the context of this line see Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, page 42.

[85] An analogous idea is found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa xiv. 7, 1, 33 ff. (=Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad pp. 817 ff. of Cal. ed.) *atha ye śatam manushyāṇām ānandāḥ sa ekaḥ pitṛiṇāñ jitalokānām ānandaḥ* | "now a hundred pleasures of men are one pleasure of the Pitṛis who have conquered the worlds." And so on in the same way; a hundred pleasures of the Pitṛis equalling one pleasure of the Karmadevas (or gods who have become so by works); a hundred pleasures of the latter equalling one pleasure of the gods who were born such, etc.

human or divine, had been elaborated. That, however, the authors of the Brāhmanas were becoming familiar with the idea of extravagantly large numbers is clear from the passage in the Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2, quoted above, p. 41, in the note on Manu xii. 50, where it is said that the creators were engaged in a sacrifice for 100,000 years.

Professor Roth is of opinion (see his remarks under the word Kṛita in his Lexicon) that according to the earlier conception stated in Manu i. 69, and the Mahābhārata (12,826 ff.), the four Yugas—Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali, with their mornings and evenings, consisted respectively of no more than 4,800; 3,600; 2,400; and 1,200 ordinary years of mortals; and that it was the commentators on Manu, and the compilers of the Purāṇas, who first converted the years of which they were made up into divine years. The verse of Manu to which Professor Roth refers (i. 69), and the one which follows, are certainly quite silent about the years composing the Kṛita age being divine years:

Chatvāry āhuḥ sahasrāṇi varshāṇāṁ tu kṛitaṁ yugam | tasya tāvachchhatī sandhyā sandhyāṁśchaścha tathāvidhaḥ | 70. Itareshu sasandhyeshu sasandhāṁśeshu cha trishu | ekāpāyena varttante sahasrāṇi śatāni cha | "They say that four thousand years compose the kṛita yuga, with as many hundred years for its morning and the same for its evening. 70. In the other three yugas, with their mornings and evenings, the thousands and hundreds are diminished successively by one."

Verse 71 is as follows: *Yad etat parisankhyātam ādāv eva chaturyugam | etad dvādaśa-sāhasraṁ devānāṁ yugam uchyate |* which, as explained by Medhātithi, may be thus rendered: "Twelve thousand of these periods of four yugas, as above reckoned, are called a Yuga of the gods." Medhātithi's words, as quoted by Kullūka, are these: *Chaturyugair eva dvādaśa-sahasra-sankhyair divyam yugam |* "A divine Yuga is formed by four yugas to the number of twelve thousand." Kullūka, however, says that his predecessor's explanation is mistaken, and must not be adopted (*Medhātither bhramo nādarttavyaḥ*). His own opinion is that the system of yugas mentioned in vv. 69 and 71 are identical, both being made up of divine years. According to this view, we must translate v. 71 as follows: "The period of four yugas, consisting of twelve thousand years, which has been reckoned above, is called a Yuga of the gods." This certainly appears to be the

preferable translation, and it is confirmed by the tenor of verse 79. Verse 71, however, may represent a later stage of opinion, as it is not found in the following passage of the Mahābhārata, where the previous verse (69) is repeated, and verse 70 is expanded into three verses, though without any alteration of the sense:

M. Bh. iii. 12826 ff. — *Ādito manuja-vyāghra kṛitsnasya jagataḥ kshaye | chatvāry āhuḥ sahasrāṇi varshāṇāṁ tat kṛitaṁ yugam | tasya tāvachchhatī sandhyā sandhyāṁścha tathāvidhaḥ |*

"In the beginning, after the destruction of the entire universe, they say that there are four thousand years: that is the Kṛita Yuga, which has a morning of as many hundred years, and an evening of the same duration." And then, after enumerating in like manner the other three Yugas with their respective thousands and hundreds successively diminished by one, the speaker (the sage Mārkaṇḍeya) proceeds in verse 12831: *Eshā dvādaśahasrī yugākhyā parikīrttitā | etat sahasra-paryantam aho brāhmam udāhṛitam |* "This period of twelve thousand years is known by the appellation of the Yugas. A period extending to a thousand of these is called a day of Brahmā."

Nowhere, certainly, in this passage is any mention made of the years being divine years.

The earliest known text in which the names of the four Yugas are found is a verse occurring in the story of Śunaḥśepha in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vii. 15: *Kaliḥ śayāno bhavati sanjihānas tu dvāparaḥ | uttish-ṭhaṁs tretā bhavati kṛitaṁ sampadyate charan |* "A man while lying is the Kali; moving himself, he is the Dvāpara; rising, he is the Tretā; walking, he becomes the Kṛita."[86] But this brief allusion leaves us

[86] This verse has been already translated no less than six times; twice into German by Weber and Roth (Ind. Stud. i. 286 and 460), once into Latin by Streiter (see Ind. Stud. ix. 315), and thrice into English, by Wilson (Journ. R. A. S. for 1851, p. 99), Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 412), and Haug (Ait. Br. ii. 464). All these authors, except the last, concur in considering the verse as referring to the four Yugas. Dr. Haug, however, has the following note: "Sāyana does not give any explanation of this important passage, where the names of the Yugas are mentioned for the first time. These four names are, as is well known from other sources, . . . names of dice, used at gambling. The meaning of this Gāthā is, There is every success to be hoped; for the unluckiest die, the Kali is lying, two others are slowly moving and half fallen, but the luckiest, the Kṛita, is in full motion. The position of dice here given is indicatory of a fair chance of winning the game." Both Dr. Haug's translation and note are criticised by Professor Weber (Ind. Stud. ix. 319). Of the following verses, which occur in Manu ix. 301 f., the second is a paraphrase of that in the Aitareya Brāh-

quite in the dark as to the duration which was assigned to these *yugas* in the age when the Brāhmaṇa was compiled.

Sect. VII.—*Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa.*

I commence with the following general account of the cosmogony of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, extracted from Professor Wilson's Preface to his translation of that work, vol. i. p. xciii. :

"The first book of the six, into which the work is divided, is occupied chiefly with the details of creation, primary (*sarga*), and secondary (*pratisarga*); the first explains how the universe proceeds from Prakṛiti, or eternal crude matter;[87] the second, in what manner the forms of things are developed from the elementary substances previously evolved, or how they re-appear after their temporary destruction.[88] Both these creations are periodical; but the termination of the first occurs only at the end of the life of Brahmā, when not only all the gods and all other forms are annihilated, but the elements are again merged into primary substance, besides which only one spiritual being exists. The latter takes place at the end of every Kalpa or day of Brahmā, and affects only the forms of inferior creatures and lower worlds, leaving the substances of the universe entire, and sages and gods unharmed."[89]

mana: *Kṛitam tretā-yugaṁ chaiva dvāparaṁ kalir eva cha | rājno vṛittāni sarvāṇi rājā hi yugam uchyate |* 302. *Kaliḥ prasupto bhavati sa jāgrat dvāparam yugam | karmasv abhyudyatas tretā vicharaṁs tu kṛitaṁ yugam |* "301. The Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali yugas are all modes of a king's action; for a king is called a yuga. 302. While asleep he is the Kali; waking he is the Dvāpara age; intent upon action he is the Tretā, moving about he is the Kṛita." The former of these two verses of Manu is reproduced nearly verbatim in the M. Bh. xii. 3408; and the same idea is expanded in the same book of the same poem, vv. 2674 ff., 2682, 2684, 2686, 2693 ff. The words *kṛita*, *tretā*, *dvāpara*, and *kali*, are found in the Vāj.-Sanhitā, xxx. 18, and in the Taitt. Brāhmana, iii. 4, 1, 16; but in both places they denote dice, as does also the word *kṛita* in the Chhāndogya Upan. iv. 1, 4 (where see the commentary). On the Yugas the reader of German may also consult Weber's Indische Studien, i. pp. 39, 87 f., 282 ff.

[87] [See Book i. chapter ii.]

[88] [See the fourth and following chapters of Book i.]

[89] See Book i. at the close of chapter vii. p. 113 of vol. i. of Professor Wilson's translation, 2nd edition, and also p. 621 and 630 of the original 4to. edition. As regards,

I proceed with the details of the creation which took place in the Vārāha Kalpa, as described in book i. chapter 4, vv. 2, ff: :

Atīta-kalpāvasāne niśā-suptotthitaḥ prabhuḥ | sattvodriktas tato Brahmā śūnyaṁ lokam avaikshata | 3. Nārāyaṇaḥ paro 'chintyaḥ pareshām api sa prabhuḥ | Brahma-svarūpī bhavagān anādiḥ sarva-sambhavaḥ | . . . 6. Toyāntaḥ sa mahīṁ jñātvā jagaty ekārṇave prabhuḥ | anumānād tad-uddhāraṁ karttu-kāmaḥ prajāpatiḥ | 7. Akarot sa tanūm anyāṁ kalpādishu yathā purā | matsya-kūrmādikāṁ tadvad vārāhaṁ vapur āsthitaḥ | 8. Veda-yajnamayaṁ rūpam aśesha-jagataḥ sthitau | sthitaḥ sthirātmā sarvātmā paramātmā prajāpatiḥ | 9. Jana-loka-gataiḥ siddhair Sanakādyair abhishṭhutaḥ | praviveśa tadā toyam ātmādhāro dharā-dharaḥ | . . . . 45. Evaṁ śaṁstūyamānastu paramātmā mahīdharaḥ | ujjahāra mahīṁ kshipraṁ nyastavāṁś cha mahāmbhasi | 46. Tasyopari jalaughasya mahatī naur iva sthitā | vitatatatvāt tu dehasya na mahī yāti samplavam | tataḥ kshitiṁ samāṁ kṛitvā pṛithivyāṁ so 'chinod girīn | yathā-vibhāgam bhagavān anādiḥ purushottamaḥ | 47. Prāk-sarga-dagdhān akhilān parvatān pṛithivītale | amoghena prabhāvena sasarjāmogha-vāñchhitaḥ | 48. Bhuvi bhāgaṁ tataḥ kṛitvā sapta-dvīpān yathātathā | bhūr-ādyāṁś chaturo lokān pūrvavat samakalpayat | 49. Brahma-rūpadharo devas tato 'sau rajasā "vṛitaḥ | chakāra sṛishṭim bhagavāṁś chatur-vaktra-dharo Hariḥ | 50. nimitta-mātram evāsau sṛijyānāṁ sarga-karmaṇām | pradhāna-kāraṇībhūtā yato vai sṛijya-śaktayaḥ | 51. Nimitta-mātram muktvaikam nānyat kinchid apekshyate | nīyate tapatāṁ śreshṭha sva-śaktyā vastu vastutām |

"2. At the end of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, arising from his night slumber, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, beheld the universe void. 3. He (was) the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by other beings, the deity without beginning, the source of all things, existing in the form of Brahmā." [The verse given in Manu i. 10, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa (see above p. 35) is here quoted]. "6. This lord of creatures, discovering by inference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, (7) assumed another body. As formerly, at the beginnings of the Kalpas, he had taken the form of a fish,

however, the statement with which the paragraph concludes, compare vol. i. p. 50, as well as vol. ii. p. 269, of the same work.

a tortoise, and so forth,[90] (so now) entering the body of a boar (8),—a form composed of the vedas and of sacrifice,—the lord of creatures, who, throughout the entire continuance of the world, remains fixed, the universal soul, the supreme soul, self-sustained, the supporter of the earth (9),—being hymned by Sanaka and the other saints, who had (at the dissolution of the lower worlds) proceeded to Janaloka,—entered the water." [He is then addressed by the goddess Earth in a hymn of praise, as Vishṇu, and as the supreme Brahmă, vv. 10-24. The boar then rises from the lower regions, tossing up the earth with his tusk, and is again lauded by Sanandana and other saints in a second hymn, in the course of which he himself is identified with sacrifice, and his various members with its different instruments and accompaniments, vv. 25-44]. "45. Being thus lauded, the supreme soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted her up quickly and placed her upon the great waters. 46. Resting upon this mass of water, like a vast ship, she does not sink, owing to her expansion. Then, having levelled the earth, the divine eternal Purushottasna heaped together mountains according to their divisions. 47. He whose will cannot be frustrated, by his unfailing power, created on the surface of the earth all those mountains which had been burnt up in the former creation. 48. Having then divided the earth, just as it had been, into seven dvīpas, he formed the four worlds Bhūrloka and others as before. 49. Becoming next pervaded with the quality of passion, that divine being Hari, assuming the form of Brahmā, with four faces, effected the creation. 50. But he is merely the instrumental cause of the things to be created and of the creative operations, since the properties of the things to be created arise from Pradhāna as their (material) cause. 51. Excepting an instrumental cause alone, nothing else is required. Every substance (*vastu*) is brought into the state of substance (*vastutā*) by its own inherent power."[91]

[90] No mention is made in the Brāhmaṇas (as I have already observed) of any such periods as the Kalpas. But here an attempt is made to systematize the different stories scattered through those older works which variously describe the manner in which the creation was effected—with the view, perhaps, of reconciling the discrepancies in those free and artless speculations which offended the critical sense of a later age.

[91] See Professor Wilson's translation of these verses, and the new version proposed by the editor of the second edition, Dr. Hall, p. 66, note. I do not think the phrase

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[Before proceeding further with the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, I wish to quote or refer to some passages from the Taittirīya Sanhitā and Brāhmaṇa and from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which appear to furnish the original germs of the legends of the boar, fish, tortoise, and dwarf incarnations.

The first of these texts is from the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vii. 1, 5, 1 ff: *Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt | tasmin Prajāpatir vāyur bhūtvā acharat | sa imām apaśyat | taṁ varāho bhūtvā āharat | tām Viśvakarmā bhūtvā vyamārṭ | sā aprathata | sā prithivy abhavat | tat prithivyai prithivitvam | tasyām aśrāmyat Prajāpatiḥ | sa devān asṛijata Vasūn Rudrān Ādityān | te devāḥ Prajāpatim abruvan "prajāyāmahai" iti | so 'bravīd "yathā aham yushmāṁs tapasā asṛikshi evaṁ tapasi prajananam ichchhadhvam" iti | tebhyo 'gnim āyatanam prāyachhad "etena āyatanena śrāmyata" iti | te 'gninā āyatanena aśrāmyan | te saṁvatsare ekāṁ gām asṛijanta |*

"This universe was formerly waters, fluid. On it Prajāpati, becoming wind, moved.[92] He saw this (earth). Becoming a boar, he took her up. Becoming Viśvakarman, he wiped (the moisture from) her. She extended. She became the extended one (*prithivī*). From this the earth derives her designation as the extended one. In her Prajāpati performed arduous devotion. He created gods, Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas. The gods said to Prajāpati, 'let us be propagated.' He answered, 'As I have created you through austere fervour, so do ye seek after propagation in austere fervour.' He gave them Agni as a resting-place (saying), 'With this as a resting-place perform your devotion.' They (accordingly) performed devotion with Agni as a resting-place. In a year they created one cow, etc."[93]

sva-saktyā can be properly rendered, as Dr. Hall does, "by its potency." The reading of the MSS. in v. 50, *pradhāna-kāraṇībhūtāḥ* seems to me doubtful, as it would most naturally mean "have *become* the Pradhāna-cause." I conjecture *pradhāna-kāraṇodbhūtaḥ*, which gives the sense which seems to be required.

[92] It is possible that the idea assigned to the word Nārāyaṇa (see Manu i. 10, above), "he whose place of movement is the waters," may be connected with this passage. See also Genesis i. 2, "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

[93] After having noticed this passage in the Taittirīya Sanhitā, I became aware that it had been previously translated by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays i. 75, or p. 44 of Williams & Norgate's edition). Mr. Colebrooke prefaces his version by remarking, "The pre-

The second passage is from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 3, 5 ff. *Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt | tena Prajāpatir aśrāmyat "katham idaṁ syād" iti | so 'paśyat pushkara-parṇaṁ tishṭhat | so 'manyata "asti vai tad yasminn idam adhitishṭhati" iti | sa varāho rūpaṁ kritvā upanyamajjat | sa pṛithivīm adhaḥ ārchhat | tasyā upahatya udamajjat | tat pushkara-parṇe 'prathayat | yad "aprathata" tat pṛithivyai pṛithivitvam | "abhūd vai idam" iti tad bhūmyai bhūmitvam | tāṁ diśo 'nu vātaḥ samavahat | tāṁ śarkarābhir adṛiṁhat |*

"This (universe) was formerly water, fluid.[94] With that (water) Prajāpati practised arduous devotion (saying), 'how shall this (universe be (developed)?' He beheld a lotus-leaf standing.[95] He thought, 'there is somewhat on which this (lotus-leaf) rests.' He as a boar—having assumed that form—plunged beneath towards it. He found the earth down below. Breaking off (a portion of) her, he rose to the surface. He then extended it on the lotus-leaf. Inasmuch as he extended it, that is the extension of the extended one (the earth). This became (*abhūt*). From this the earth derives its name of *bhūmī*. The wind carried her, to the four quarters. He strengthened her with gravel, etc., etc.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 2, 11, has the following reference to the same idea, although here Prajāpati himself is not the boar:

Iyatī ha vai iyam agre pṛithivy āsa prādeśa-mātrī | tām Emūshaḥ iti varāhaḥ ujjaghāna | so 'syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatis tena eva enam etan-mithunena priyeṇa dhāmnā samardhayati kṛitsnaṁ karoti |

"Formerly this earth was only so large, of the size of a span. A boar called Emūsha raised her up. Her lord Prajāpati, therefore, prospers him with (the gift of) this pair, the object of his desire, and makes him complete."

Another of the incarnations referred to in the preceding passage of

sent extract was recommended for selection by its allusion to a mythological notion, which apparently gave origin to the story of the *Varāha-avatāra*, and from which an astronomical period, entitled *Calpa*, has perhaps been taken."

[94] The Commentator gives an alternative explanation, viz., that the word *salila* is the same as *sarira*, according to the text of the Veda, "these worlds are *sarira*" ("*ime vai lokāḥ sariram*" *iti śruteḥ*).

[95] "Supported upon the end of a long stalk" (*dīrghanālāgre 'vasthitam*), according to the Commentator. In a passage from the Taitt. Āranyaka, already quoted (p. 32, above), it is said that Prajāpati himself was born on a lotus-leaf.

the Vishṇu Purāṇa is foreshadowed in the following text from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 1, 5 :

Sa yat kūrmo nāma | etad vai rūpaṁ kṛitvā Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | yad asṛijata akarot tat | yad akarot tasmāt kūrmaḥ | kaśyapo vai kūrmaḥ | tasmād āhuḥ "sarvāḥ prajāḥ kāśyapyaḥ" iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo sau sa Ādityaḥ |

"As to its being called *kūrma* (a tortoise); Prajāpatị having taken this form, created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akarot*); since he made, he is (called) *kūrmaḥ*. The word *kaśyapa* means tortoise; hence men say all creatures are descendants of Kaśyapa. This tortoise is the same as Āditya."[96]

The oldest version of the story of the fish incarnation, which is to be found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 8, 1, 1 ff., will be quoted in the next chapter.

For the passages which appear to supply the germ of the dwarf incarnation, the reader may consult the fourth volume of this work, pp. 54–58 and 107 f.

It will have been noticed that in the passage above adduced from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, the word Nārāyaṇa is applied to Vishṇu, and that it is the last named deity who (though in the form of Brahmā) is said to have taken the form of a boar. In the verses formerly cited from Manu (i. 9, 10), however, Nārāyaṇa is an epithet, not of Vishṇu, but of Brahmā; and in the following text, from the Rāmāyaṇa, xi. 110, 3, it is Brahmā who is said to have become a boar :

Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt pṛithivī tatra nirmitā | tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha[97] *| sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām ityādi |*

"All was water only, and in it the earth was fashioned. Then arose

[96] With this compare the mention made of a tortoise in the passage cited above, p. 32, from the Taitt. Āranyaka.

[97] Such is the reading of Schlegel's edition, and of that which was recently printed at Bombay, both of which, no doubt, present the most ancient text of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Gauḍa recension, however, which deviates widely from the other, and appears to have modified it in conformity with more modern taste and ideas, has here also introduced a various reading in the second of the lines quoted in the text, and identifies Brahmā with Vishṇu in the following manner : *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur avyayaḥ* | "Then arose Brahmā the self-existent and imperishable *Vishṇu*."

Brahmā, the self existent, with the deities. He then, becoming a boar, raised up the earth," etc.

I now return to the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.]

The further process of cosmogony is thus described in chapter v.:

Maitreya uvācha | 1. *Yathā sasarjja devo'sau devarshi-pitṛi-dānavān* | *manushya-tiryag-vṛikshādīn bhū-vyoma-salilaukasaḥ* | 2. *Yad-guṇaṁ yat-svabhāvaṁ cha yad-rūpaṁ cha jagad dvija* | *sargādau sṛishṭavān Brahmā tad mamāchakshva vistarāt* | *Parāśara uvācha* | 3. *Maitreya kathayāmy esha śṛiṇushva susamāhitaḥ* | *yathā sasarjja devo'sau devādīn akhilān vibhuḥ* | *sṛishṭiṁ chintayatas tasya kalpādishu yathā purā* | *abuddhi-pūrvakaḥ sargaḥ prādurbhūtas tamomayaḥ* | 4. *Tamo moho mahāmohas tāmisro hy andha-saṁjnitaḥ* | *avidyā pancha-parvaishā prādurbhūtā mahātmanaḥ* | 5. *Panchadhā'vasthitaḥ sargo dhyāyato'pratibodhavān* | *vahir-anto-'prakāśaś cha saṁvṛittātmā nagātmakaḥ* | 6. *Mukhyā nagā yataś choktā mukhya-sargas tatas tv ayam* | 7. *Taṁ dṛishṭvā'sādhakaṁ sargam amanyad aparam punaḥ* | *tasyābhidhyāyataḥ sargas tiryak-srotā*[98] *'bhyavarttata* | 8. *Yasmāt tiryak pravṛittaḥ sa tiryak-srotas tataḥ smṛitaḥ* | 9. *Paśvādayas te vikhyātās tamaḥ-prayāḥ hy avedinaḥ* | *utpatha-grāhiṇaś chaiva te'jnāne jnāna-māninaḥ* | 10. *Ahaṁkṛitā ahammānā ashṭāviṁśad-vadhānvitāḥ* | *antaḥ-prakāśās te sarve āvṛitāś cha parasparam* | 11. *Tam apy asādhakam matvā dhyāyato'nyas tato'bhavat* | *ūrdhvasrotas tṛitīyas tu sāttvikorddhvam avarttata*[99] | 12. *Te sukha-prītibahulā bahir antaś cha nāvṛitāḥ*[100] | *prakāśā bahir antaś cha ūrdhva-sroto-bhavāḥ smṛitāḥ* | 13. *Tushṭy-ātmakas tṛitīyas tu deva-sargas tu yaḥ smṛitaḥ* | *tasmin sarge'bhavat prītir nishpanne Brahmaṇas tadā* | 14. *Tato'nyaṁ sa tadā dadhyau sādhakaṁ sargam uttamam* | *asādhakāṁs tu tān jnātvā mukhya-sargādi-sambhavān* | 15. *Tathā'bhidhyāyatas tasya satyābhidyāyinas tataḥ* | *prādurbhūtas tadā'vyaktād arvāk-srotas tu sādhakaḥ* | 16. *Yasmād arvāg vyavarttanta tato'rvāk-srotasas tu te* | *te cha prakāśa-bahulā tamodriktā*[101] *rajo'dhikāḥ* | *tasmāt te duḥkha-bahulā bhūyo bhūyaś cha kāriṇaḥ* | *prakāśā bahir antaś cha manushyā sādhakās tu te* | . . . . 23. *Ity ete tu samākhyātā nava sargāḥ Prajā-*

[98] *iti sandhir ārshaḥ.*—Comm.

[99] The reading of the Vāyu P., in the parallel passage, is *tasyābhidhyāyato nityaṁ sāttvikaḥ samavarttata* | *ūrdhvasrotas tṛitīyas tu sa chaivordhvaṁ vyavasthitaḥ* | The combination *sāttvikordhvam* in the text of the Vishṇu P. must be *ārsha.*

[100] For *nāvṛitāḥ* the Vāyu P. reads *saṁvṛitāḥ.*

[101] *Iti sandhirārshaḥ* | Comm. But there is a form *tama.* The Vāyu P. has *tamaḥ-saktāḥ.*

pateḥ | prākṛitā vaikritāś chaiva jagato mūla-hetavaḥ | sṛijato jagadīśasya kim anyach chhrotum ichhasi | Maitreya uvācha | 24. *Saṁkshepāt kathitaḥ sargo devādīnāṁ tvayā mune | vistarāch chhrotum ichhāmi tvatto munivarottama | Parāśara uvācha | karmabhir bhāvitāḥ pūrvaiḥ kuśalākuśalais tu tāḥ | khyātyā tayā hy anirmuktāḥ saṁhāre hy upasaṁhṛitāḥ |* 25. *Sthāvarāntāḥ surādyāścha prajā brahmaṁś chaturvidhāḥ | Brahmaṇaḥ kurvataḥ sṛishṭiṁ jajnire mānasīs tu tāḥ |* 26. *Tato devāsurapitṛīn mānushāṁś cha chatushṭayam | sisṛikshur ambhāṁsy etāni svam ātmānam ayūyujat |* 27. *Yuktātmanas tamomātrā udriktā 'bhūt Prajāpateḥ | sisṛikshor jaghanāt pūrvam asurāḥ jajnire tataḥ |* 28. *Utsasarja tatas tāṁ tu tamo-mātrātmikāṁ tanum | sā tu tyaktā tanus tena Maitreyābhūd vibhāvarī |* 29. *Sisṛikshur anya-deha-sthaḥ prītim āpa tataḥ surāḥ | sattvodriktāḥ samudbhūtāḥ mukhato Brahmaṇo dvija |* 30. *Tyaktā sā 'pi tanus tena sattva-prāyam abhūd dinam | tato hi balino rātrāv asurā devatā divā |* 31. *Sattvamātrātmikām eva tato 'nyāṁ jagṛihe tanum | pitṛivad manyamānasya pitaras tasya jajnire |* 32. *Utsasarja pitṛīn sṛishtvā tatas tām api sa prabhuḥ | sā chotsṛishṭā 'bhavat sandhyā dina-naktāntara-sthitiḥ |* 33. *Rajo-mātrātmikām anyāṁ jagṛihe sa tanuṁ tataḥ | rajo-mātrotkaṭā jātā manushyā dvija-sattama | tām apy āśu sa tatyāja tanum ādyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | jyotsnā samabhavat sā 'pi prāk-sandhyā yā 'bhidhīyate |* 34. *Jyotsnodgame tu balino manushyāḥ pitaras tathā | Maitreya sandhyā-samaye tasmād ete bhavanti vai |* 35. *Jyotsnā-rātry-ahanī sandhyā chatvāry etāni vai vibhoḥ | Brahmaṇas tu śarīrāṇi triguṇāpāśrayāṇi cha |* 36. *Rajo-mātrātmikām eva tato 'nyāṁ jagṛihe tanum | tataḥ kshud Brahmaṇo jātā jajne kopas tayā tataḥ |* 37. *Kshut-khāmān andhakāre 'tha so 'sṛijad bhagavāṁs tataḥ | Virūpāḥ śmaśrulā jātās te 'bhyadhāvaṁs tataḥ prabhum |* 38. *"Maivam bho rakshyatām esha" yair uktaṁ rākshasās tu te | ūchuḥ "khādāma" ity anye ye te yakshās tu yakshaṇāt |*

"Maitreya said: 1. Tell me in detail how at the beginning of the creation that deity Brahmā formed the gods, rishis, fathers, dānavas, men, beasts, trees, etc., dwelling respectively on the earth, in the sky, and in the water; 2. and with what qualities, with what nature, and of what form he made the world. Parāśara replied: 3. I declare to thee, Maitreya, how that deity created the gods and all other beings; listen with attention. While he was meditating on creation, as at the beginnings of the (previous) Kalpas, there appeared an insentient crea-

tion, composed of gloom (*tamas*). 4. Gloom, illusion, great illusion, darkness, and what is called utter darkness—such was the five-fold ignorance, which was manifested from that great Being, 5. as he was meditating—an insensible creation,[102] under five conditions, devoid of feeling either without or within,[103] closed up, motionless. 6. And since motionless objects are called the primary objects, this is called the primary (*mukhya*) creation.[104] 7. Beholding this creation to be ineffective, he again contemplated another. As he was desiring it the brute (*tiryaksrotas*) creation came forth. 8. Since (in its natural functions) it acts horizontally it is called Tiryaksrotas. 9. The (creatures composing it) are known as cattle, etc., distinguished mainly by darkness (*tamas*) ignorant, following irregular courses,[105] while in a state of ignorance having a conceit of knowledge, (10) self-regarding, self-esteeming, affected by the twenty-eight kinds of defects, endowed with inward feeling, and mutually closed. 11. As Brahmā, regarding this creation also as ineffective, was again meditating, another creation, the third, or *ūrdhvasrotas*, which was good, rose upward. 12. They (the creatures belonging to this creation) abounding in happiness and satisfaction, being unclosed both without and within, and possessed both of external and internal feeling, are called the offspring of the Ūrdhvasrotas creation. 13. This third creation, known as that of the gods, was one full of enjoyment. When it was completed, Brahmā was pleased. 14. He then contemplated another creation, effective and most excellent, since he regarded as ineffective the beings sprung from the primary and other creations. 15. While he, whose will is efficacious, was so desiring, the Arvāksrotas, an effective creation, was manifested.[106] 16. They

[102] The Vāyu P. here inserts an additional line, *sarvatas tamasā chaiva dīpaḥ kumbha-vad āvritaḥ* | "and covered on all sides with darkness, as a lamp by a jar."

[103] *Vahir-anto'prakāśascha* appears to be the true reading, as the Commentator renders the last word by *prakrishṭa-jnāna-śūnyaḥ*, "devoid of knowledge." But if this be the correct reading, it is ungrammatical, as *antaḥ* and *aprakāśa* would properly make *antar-aprakāśa*, not *anto'prakāśa*. But the Purāṇas have many forms which are irregular (*ārsha*, "peculiar to the rishis," "vedic," or "antiquated" as the Commentators style them). The Taylor MS. of the Vāyu Purāṇa reads in the parallel passage *bahir-antaḥ-prakāśaścha*.

[104] See Dr. Hall's note p. 70 on Professor Wilson's translation; and also the passage quoted above p. 16 from the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4, where the word *mukhya* is otherwise applied and explained.

[105] *Bhakshyādi-vivekak-hīnāḥ* | "Making no distinction in food, etc., etc." Comm.

[106] Compare M. Bh. xiv. 1038.

(the creatures belonging to it) are called Arvāksrotas, because (in their natural functions) they acted downwardly. And they abound in sensation (*prakāśa*) and are full of darkness (*tamas*) with a preponderance of passion (*rajas*). Hence they endure much suffering, and are constantly active, with both outward and inward feeling. These beings were men, and effective."[107]

In the next following verses, 17–22, the names of the different creations, described in the first part of this section, and in the second chapter of the first book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, are recapitulated, and two others, the Anugraha and the Kaumāra, are noticed, but not explained.[108]

The speaker Parāśara then adds: "23. Thus have the nine creations of Prajāpati, both Prākṛita and Vaikṛita, the radical causes of the world, been recounted. What else dost thou desire to hear regarding the creative lord of the world? Maitreya replies: 24. By thee, most excellent Muni, the creation of the gods and other beings has been summarily narrated: I desire to hear it from thee in detail. Parāśara rejoins: Called into (renewed) existence in consequence of former actions, good or bad, and unliberated from that destination when they were absorbed at the (former) dissolution of the world, (25) the four descriptions of creatures, beginning with things immovable and ending with gods, were produced, o Brāhman, from Brahmā when he was creating, and they sprang from his mind. 26. Being then desirous to create these streams (*ambhāṁsi*)[109]—the four classes of Gods, Asuras, Fathers, and Men, he concentrated himself. 27. Prajāpati, thus concentrated, received a body, which was formed of the quality of gloom (*tamás*); and as he desired to create, Asuras were first produced from his groin. 28. He then abandoned that body formed entirely of gloom; which when abandoned by him became night. 29. Desiring to create, when he had occupied another body, Brahmā experienced pleasure; and then gods, full of the quality of goodness, sprang from his mouth. 30. That body

[107] The Vāyu P. adds here: *Lakshaṇais tārakadyaiścha ashṭadhā cha vyavasthitāḥ | siddhātmāno manushyās te gandharva-saha-dharmiṇaḥ | ity esha taijasah sargo hy arvāksrotāḥ prakīrttitaḥ |* "Constituted with preservative(?) characteristics, and in an eightfold manner. These were men perfect in their essence, and in nature equal to Gandharvas. This was the lustrous creation known as Arvāksrotas."

[108] See Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's V. P. pp. 32 ff.; and pp. 74 ff.

[109] This word is borrowed from the passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 3, 8, 3, quoted above, p. 23. Most of the particulars in the rest of the narrative are imitated from another passage of the same Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 9, 5 ff., also quoted above, p. 28.

also, being abandoned by him, became day, which is almost entirely good. Hence the Asuras are powerful by night[110] and the gods by day. 31. He then assumed another body formed of pure goodness; and the Fathers were born from him, when he was regarding himself as a father.[111] 32. The Lord, after creating the Fathers, abandoned that body also; which, when so abandoned, became twilight, existing between day and night. 33. He next took another body entirely formed of passion; and men, in whom passion is violent, were produced. The primeval Prajāpati speedily discarded this body also, which became faint light (*jyotsnā*), which is called early twilight. 34. Hence, at the appearance of this faint light, men are strong, while the fathers are strong at evening-twilight. 35. Morning-twilight, night, day, and evening-twilight, these are the four bodies of Brahmā, and the receptacles of the three qualities. 36. Brahmā next took another body entirely formed of passion, from which sprang hunger, and through it anger was produced. 37. The Divine Being then in darkness created beings emaciated with hunger, which, hideous of aspect, and with long beards, rushed against the lord. 38. Those who said, 'Let him not be preserved' (*rakshyatām*) were called Rākshasas, whilst those others who cried, 'Let us eat (him)' were called Yakshas from 'eating' (*yakshanāt*).[112]

It is not necessary for my purpose that I should quote at length the conclusion of the section. It may suffice to say that verses 39 to 51 describe the creation of serpents from Brahmā's hair; of Bhūtas; of Gandharvas; of birds (*vayāṁsi*) from the creator's life (*vayas*), of sheep from his breast, of goats from his mouth, of kine from his belly and sides, and of horses,[113] elephants, and other animals from his feet; of plants from his hairs; of the different metres and vedas from his eastern, southern, western, and northern mouths. Verses 52 ff. contain a recapitulation of the creative operations, with some statement of the

[110] In the Rāmāyaṇa, Sundara Kāṇḍa 82, 13 f. (Gorresio's edit.) we read: *Rakshasāṁ rajanī-kālaḥ saṁyugeshu praśasyate* | 14. *Tasmād rājan niśā-yuddhe jayo 'smākaṁ na saṁśayaḥ* | "Night is the approved time for the Rakshases to fight. We should therefore undoubtedly conquer in a nocturnal conflict."

[111] This idea also is borrowed from Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 2.

[112] See Wilson's V. P. vol. i. p. 83, and Dr. Hall's note.

[113] See the passage from the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4 ff. quoted above, p. 16, where the same origin is ascribed to horses.

principles according to which they were conducted. Of these verses I quote only the following: 55. *Teshāṁ ye yāni karmāṇi prāk-sṛisṭhyāṁ pratipedire | tāny eva pratipadyante sṛijyamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ | . . .* 60. *Yathārtāv ṛitu-lingāni nānārūpāṇi paryaye | dṛiśyante tāni tānyeva tathā bhāvā yugādishu |* 61. *Karoty evaṁvidhāṁ sṛishṭim kalpādau sa punaḥ punaḥ | sisṛikshāśakti-yukto 'sau sṛijya-śakti-prachoditaḥ |* "These creatures, as they are reproduced time after time, discharge the same functions as they had fulfilled in the previous creation . . . 60. Just as, in each season of the year, all the various characteristics of that season are perceived, on its recurrence, to be the very same as they had been before; so too are the beings produced at the beginnings of the ages.[114] 61. Possessing both the will and the ability to create, and impelled by the powers inherent in the things to be created, the deity produces again and again a creation of the very same description at the beginning of every Kalpa."

The sixth section of the same book of the V. P., of which I shall cite the larger portion, professes to give a more detailed account of the creation of mankind.

V. P. i. 6, 1. *Maitreya uvācha | Arvāksrotas tu kathito bhavatā yas tu mānushaḥ | brahman vistarato brūhi Brahmā tam asṛijad yathā |* 2. *Yathā cha varṇān asṛijad yad-guṇāṁś cha mahāmune | yacheha teshāṁ smṛitaṁ karma viprādināṁ tad uchyatām | Parāśara uvācha |* 3. *Satyābhidhyāyinas tasya sisṛikshor Brahmaṇo jagat | ajāyanta dvijaśreshṭha sattvodriktā mukhāt prajāḥ |* 4. *Vakshaso rajasodriktās tathā 'nyā Brahmaṇo 'bhavan | rajasā tamasā chaiva samudriktās tathorutaḥ |* 5. *Padbhyām anyāḥ prajā Brahmā sasarjja dvija-sattama | tamaḥ-pradhānās tāḥ sarvāś chāturvarṇyam idaṁ tataḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāścha dvija-sattama | pādoru-vakshaḥ-sthalato mukhataś cha samudgatāḥ |* 6. *Yajna-nishpattaye sarvam etad Brahmā chakāra vai | chāturvarṇyam mahābhāga yajna-sādhanam uttamam |* 7. *Yajnair āpyāyitā devā vṛishṭy-utsargeṇa vai prajāḥ | āpyāyayante dharma-jna yājnāḥ kalyāṇa-hetavaḥ |* 8. *Nishpadyante narais tais tu sva-karmābhirataiḥ sadā | viruddhācharaṇāpetaiḥ sadbhiḥ sanmārga-gāmibhiḥ |* 9. *Svargāpavargau mānushyāt prāpnuvanti narā mune | yach chābhiruchitaṁ sthānaṁ tad yānti manujā dvija |* 10. *Prajās tāḥ Brahmaṇā sṛishṭāś chāturvarṇya-vyavasthitau | samyak śraddhā-samāchāra-pra-*

[114] Verses similar to this occur in Manu i. 30; and in the Mahābhārata xii. 8550 f.

vaṇā muni-sattama | 11. *Yathechhā-vāsa-niratāḥ sarvābādha-vivarjitāḥ* | *śuddhāntaḥ-karaṇāḥ śuddhāḥ sarvānushṭhāna-nirmalāḥ* | 14.[115] *Suddhe cha tāsām manasi śuddhe 'ntaḥ-saṁsthite Harau* | *śuddha-jnānam prapaśyanti Vishṇv-ākhyam yena tatpadam* | 15. *Tataḥ kālātmako yo 'sau sa chāṁśaḥ kathito Hareḥ* | *sa pātayaty agho ghoram alpam alpālpa-sāravat* | 16. *Adharma-vīja-bhūtaṁ tu tamo-lobha-samudbhavam* | *prajāsu tāsu Maitreya rāgādikam asādhakam* | 17. *Tataḥ sā sahajā siddhis tāsāṁ nātīva jāyate* | *rasollāsādayaś chānyāḥ siddhayo 'shṭau bhavanti yāḥ* | 18. *Tāsu kshīṇāsv aśeshāsu varddhamāne cha pātake* | *dvandvādi-bhava-duḥkhārttās tā bhavanti tataḥ prajāḥ* | 19. *Tato durgāṇi tāś chakrur vārkshyam pārvatam audakam* | *kṛitimaṁ cha tathā durgam pura-karvaṭakādi yat* | 20. *Gṛihāṇi cha yathānyāyaṁ teshu chakruḥ purādishu* | *śītātapādi-bādhānām praśamāya mahāmate* | 21. *Pratikāram imaṁ kṛitvā śītādes tāḥ prajāḥ punaḥ* | *vārttopāyaṁ tataś chakrur hasta-siddhaṁ cha karma-jam* | . . . 26. *Grāmyāraṇyāḥ smṛitā hy etā oshadhyaś cha chaturdaśa* | *yajna-nishpattaye yajnas tathā "sāṁ hetur uttamaḥ* | 27. *Etāś cha saha yajnena prajānāṁ karāṇam param* | *parāpara-vidaḥ prājnās tato yajnān vitanvate* | 28. *Ahany ahany anushṭhānam yajnānām munisattama* | *upakāra-karam puṁsāṁ kriyamāṇāch cha śānti-dam* | 29. *Teshāṁ tu kāla-sṛishto 'sau pāpa-vindur mahāmate* | *chetassu vavṛidhe chakrus te na yajneshu mānasam* | 30. *Veda-vādāṁs tathā devān yajnakarmādikaṁ cha yat* | *tat sarvaṁ nindamānās te yajna-vyāsedha-kāriṇaḥ* | 31. *Pravṛitti-mārga-vyuchchitti-kāriṇo veda-nindakāḥ* | *durātmāno durāchārā babhūvuḥ kuṭilāśayāḥ* | 32. *Saṁsiddhāyāṁ tu vārttāyām prajāḥ sṛishṭvā Prajāpatiḥ* | *maryādām sthāpayāmāsa yathā-sthānam yathā-guṇam* | 34. *Varnāṇām āśramāṇāṁ cha dharmān dharma-bhṛitāṁ vara* | *lokāṁś sarva-varṇānāṁ samyag dharmānupālinām* | 35. *Prājāpatyam brāhmaṇānāṁ smṛitaṁ sthānaṁ kriyāvatām* | *sthānam aindraṁ kshattriyānāṁ sangrāmeshv anivarttinām* | 36. *Vaiśyānām mārutam sthānaṁ sva-dharmam anuvarttinām* | *gāndharvaṁ śūdra-jātīnām paricharyāsu varttinām* |

"Maitreya says: 1. You have described to me the Arvāksrotas, or human, creation: declare to me, o Brahman, in detail the manner in which Brahmā formed it. 2. Tell me how, and with what qualities, he created the castes, and what are traditionally reputed to be the

[115] There are no verses numbered 12 and 13, the MSS. passing from the 11th to the 14th.

functions of the Brāhmans and others. Parāśara replies: 3. When, true to his design, Brahmā became desirous to create the world, creatures in whom goodness (*sattva*) prevailed sprang from his mouth; (4) others in whom passion (*rajas*) predominated came from his breast; others in whom both passion and darkness (*tamas*) were strong, proceded from his thighs; (5) others he created from his feet, whose chief characteristic was darkness. Of these was composed the system of four castes, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, who had respectively issued from his mouth, breast, thighs, and feet. 6. Brahmā formed this[116] entire fourfold institution of classes for the performance of sacrifice, of which it is an excellent instrument. 7. Nourished by sacrifices, the gods nourish mankind by discharging rain. Sacrifices, the causes of prosperity, (8) are constantly celebrated by virtuous men, devoted to their duties, who avoid wrong observances, and walk in the right path. 9. Men, in consequence of their humanity, obtain heaven and final liberation; and they proceed to the world which they desire. 10. These creatures formed by Brahmā in the condition of the four castes, (were) perfectly inclined to conduct springing from religious faith, (11) loving to dwell wherever they pleased, free from all sufferings, pure in heart, pure, spotless in all observances. 14. And in their pure minds,—the pure Hari dwelling within them,—(there existed) pure knowledge whereby they beheld his highest station, called (that of) Vishṇu.[117] 15. Afterwards that which is described as the portion of Hari consisting of Time[118] infused into those beings direful sin, in the form of desire and the like, ineffective (of man's end), small in amount, but gradually increasing in force, (16) the seed of unrighteousness, and sprung from darkness and cupidity. 17. Thenceforward their innate perfectness was but slightly evolved: and as all the other eight perfections called *rasollāsa* and the rest (18) declined, and sin increased, these creatures (mankind) were afflicted with suffering arising

[116] How does this agree with the statements made in the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4 ff. as quoted above, p. 16, and in the Taitt. Br. iii. 2, 3, 9, p. 21, that the Śūdra is incapacitated for sacrifice, and that anything he milks out is no oblation?

[117] This alludes to an expression in the Rig-veda, i. 22, 20. See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 54.

[118] In regard to *Kāla*, "Time," see Wilson's V. P. vol. i. p. 18 f., and the passages from the Atharva-veda, extracted in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 380 ff.

out of the pairs (of susceptibilities to pleasure and pain, etc., etc.) 19. They then constructed fastnesses among trees, on hills, or amid waters, as well as artificial fortresses, towns, villages, etc. 20. And in these towns, etc., they built houses on the proper plan, in order to counteract cold, heat, and other discomforts. 21. Having thus provided against cold, etc., they devised methods of livelihood depending upon labour, and executed by their hands." The kinds of grain which they cultivated are next described in the following verses 22 to 25. The text then proceeds, verse 26: "These are declared to be the fourteen kinds of grain, cultivated and wild, fitted for sacrifice; and sacrifice is an eminent cause of their existence. 27. These, too, along with sacrifice, are the most efficacious sources of progeny. Hence those who understand cause and effect celebrate sacrifices. 28. Their daily performance is beneficial to men, and delivers from sins committed. 29. But that drop of sin which had been created by time increased in men's hearts, and they disregarded sacrifice. 30. Reviling the Vedas, and the prescriptions of the Vedas, the gods, and all sacrificial rites, etc., obstructing oblations, (31) and cutting off the path of activity,[119] they became malignant, vicious, and perverse in their designs. 32. The means of subsistence being provided, Prajāpati, having created living beings, established a distinction according to their position and qualities (see verses 3 to 5 above), (and fixed) the duties of the castes and orders, and the worlds (to be attained after death) by all the castes which perfectly fulfilled their duties. 33. The world of Prajāpati is declared to be the (future) abode of those Brāhmans who are assiduous in religious rites; the realm of Indra the abode of those Kshattriyas who turn not back in battle; (34) that of the Maruts the abode of those Vaiśyas who fulfil their duties; and that of the Gandharvas the abode of the men of Śudra race who abide in their vocation of service." In the remaining verses of the chapter (35 to 39) the realms of blessedness destined for the reception of more eminent saints are briefly noticed, as well as the infernal regions, to which the wicked are doomed.

[119] *Pravṛitti-mārga-vyuchchhitti-kāriṇaḥ*. The Commentator ascribes this to the human race being no longer sufficiently propagated, for he adds the explanation: *yajñānanushṭhāne devair avarshaṇād annābhāvena prajā-vriddher asiddheḥ* | "because population did not increase from the want of food caused by the gods ceasing to send rain in consequence of the non-celebration of sacrifice."

At the beginning of the seventh section, without any further enquiry on the part of Maitreya, Parāśara proceeds as follows:

V. P. i. 7, 1. *Tato 'bhidhyāyatas tasya jajñire mānasīḥ prajāḥ | tachchharīra-samutpannaiḥ kāryais taiḥ kāraṇaiḥ saha | 2. Kshettrajñāḥ samavarttanta gātrebhyas tasya dhīmataḥ | te sarve samavarttanta ye mayā prāg udāhṛitāḥ | 3. Devādyāḥ sthāvarāntāś cha traiguṇya-vishaye sthitāḥ | evam bhūtāni sṛishṭāni charāṇi sthāvarāṇi cha | 4. Yadā 'sya tāḥ prajāḥ sarvā va vyavarddhanta dhīmataḥ | athānyān mānasān putrān sadṛiśān ātmano 'sṛijat | 5. Bhṛigum Pulastyam Pulahaṁ Kratum Angirasaṁ tathā | Marīchiṁ Dakshaṁ Atriṁ cha Vasishṭhaṁ chaiva mānasān | nava brahmāṇa ity ete purāṇe niśchayaṁ gatāḥ | 6. Sanandanādayo ye cha purvaṁ sṛishtās tu Vedhasā | na te lokeshv asajjanta nirapekshāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jñānā vīta-rāgā vimatsarāḥ | 7. Teshv evaṁ nirapeksheshu loka-sṛishṭau mahātmanaḥ | Brahmaṇo 'bhūd mahākrodhas trailokya-dahana-kshamaḥ | 8. Tasya krodhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vidīpitam | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt tadā sarvaṁ trailokyam akhilam mune | 9. Bhrūkuṭī-kuṭilāt tasya lalāṭāt krodha-dīpitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhnārka-sama-prabhaḥ | ardhanārī-nara-vapuḥ prachaṇḍo 'tiśarīravān | vibhajātmānam ity uktvā tam Brahmā 'ntardadhe punaḥ | 10. Tathokto 'sau dvidhā strītvam purushatvaṁ tathā 'karot | bibheda purushtvaṁ cha daśadhā chaikadhā cha saḥ | 11. Saumyāsaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ strītvaṁ cha sa prabhuḥ | bibheda bahudhā devaḥ svarūpair asitaiḥ sitaiḥ | 12. Tato Brahmā "tmasambhūtam pūrvaṁ svāyambhuvam prabhum | ātmānam eva kṛitavān prajāpālam Manuṁ dvija | 13. Śatarūpāṁ cha tāṁ nārīṁ tapo-nirdhūta-kalmashām | svāyambhuvo Manur devaḥ patnyarthaṁ jagṛihe vibhuḥ | 14. Tasmāch cha purushād devī Śatarūpā vyajāyata | Priyavratottānapādau Prasūtyākūti-sanjñitam | kanyā-dvayaṁ cha dharma-jña rūpaudārya-guṇānvitam | 15. Dadau Prasūtiṁ Dakshāyāthākūtiṁ Ruchaye purā ityādi |*

"1. Then from him, as he was desiring, there were born mental sons with effects and causes[120] derived from his body. 2. Embodied spirits sprang from the limbs of that wise Being. All those creatures sprang forth which have been already described by me, (3) beginning

[120] The Commentator explains these words *kāryais taiḥ kāranaiḥ saha* to mean "bodies and senses."

with gods and ending with motionless objects, and existing in the condition of the three qualities. Thus were created beings moving and stationary. 4. When none of these creatures of the Wise Being multiplied, he next formed other, mental, sons like to himself, (5) Bhṛigu, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Angiras, Marīchi, Daksha, Atri, and Vasishṭha, all born from his mind. These are the nine Brahmās who have been determined in the Purāṇas. 6. But Sanandana and the others who had been previously created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent to offspring. They had all attained to knowledge, were freed from desire, and devoid of envy. 7. As they were thus indifferent about the creation of the world, great wrath, sufficient to burn up the three worlds, arose in the mighty Brahmā. 8. The three worlds became entirely illuminated by the wreath of flame which sprang from his anger. 9. Then from his forehead, wrinkled by frowns and inflamed by fury, arose Rudra, luminous as the midday sun, with a body half male and half female, fiery, and huge in bulk. After saying to him, 'Divide thyself,' Brahmā vanished. 10. Being so addressed, Rudra severed himself into two, into a male and a female form. The god next divided his male body into eleven parts, (11) beautiful and hideous, gentle and ungentle; and his female figure into numerous portions with appearances black and white. 12. Brahmā then made the lord Svāyambhuva, who had formerly sprung from himself, and was none other than himself, to be Manu the protector of creatures. 13. The god Manu Svāyambhuva took for his wife the female Śatarūpā, who by austere fervour had become freed from all defilement. 14. To that Male the goddess Śatarūpā bore Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, and two daughters called Prasūti and Ākūti, distinguished by the qualities of beauty and magnanimity. 15. He of old gave Prasūti in marriage to Daksha, and Ākūti to Ruchi."

From a comparison of the preceding narratives of the creation of mankind, extracted from the fifth and sixth chapters of the First Book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, it will be seen that the details given in the different accounts are not consistent with each other. It is first of all stated in the fifth chapter (verse 16) that the arvāksrotas, or human creation was characterized by the qualities of darkness and passion. In the second account (verse 33) we are told that Brahmā assumed a body composed of passion, from which men, in whom that quality is power-

ful, were produced.[121] In neither of these narratives is the slightest allusion made to there having been any primeval and congenital distinction of classes. In the third statement given in the sixth chapter (verses 3 to 5) the human race is said to have been the result of a fourfold creation; and the four castes, produced from different parts of the creator's body, are declared to have been each especially characterized by different qualities (*guṇas*), viz., those who issued from his mouth by goodness (*sattva*), those who proceeded from his breast by passion (*rajas*), those who were produced from his thighs by both passion and darkness (*tamas*), and those who sprang from his feet by darkness. In the sequel of this account, however, no mention is made of any differences of conduct arising from innate diversities of disposition having been manifested in the earliest age by the members of the different classes. On the contrary, they are described (verses 10 ff.) in language applicable to a state of perfection which was universal and uniform, as full of faith, pure-hearted and devout. In like manner the declension in purity and goodness which ensued is not represented as peculiar to any of the classes, but as common to all. So far, therefore, the different castes seem, according to this account, to have been undistinguished by any variety of mental or moral constitution. And it is not until after the deterioration of the entire race has been related, that we are told (in verses 32 f.) that the separate duties of the several castes were fixed in accordance with their position and qualities. This sketch of the moral and religious history of mankind, in the earliest period, is thus deficient in failing to explain how beings, who were originally formed with very different ethical characters, should have been all equally excellent during their period of perfection, and have also experienced an uniform process of decline.

In regard to the variation between the two narratives of the creation found in the fifth chapterof the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Professor Wilson remarks as follows in a note to vol. i. p. 80: "These reiterated, and not always very congruous, accounts of the creation are explained by the Purāṇas as referring to different Kalpas or renovations of the world, and therefore involving no incompatibility. A better reason for their appearance

[121] Compare the passage given above at the close of Sect. V. pp. 41 ff., from Manu xii. 39 ff. and the remarks thereon.

is the probability that they have been borrowed from different original authorities."[122]

As regards the first of these explanations of the discrepancies in question, it must be observed that it is inapplicable to the case before us, as the text of the Vishṇu Purāṇa itself says nothing of the different accounts of the creation having reference to different Kalpas: and in absence of any intimation to the contrary we must naturally assume that the various portions of the consecutive narration in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, which are connected with each other by a series of questions and answers, must all have reference to the creation which took place at the commencement of the existing or Vārāha Kalpa, as stated in the opening verse of the fourth chapter. Professor Wilson's supposition that the various and discrepant accounts "have been borrowed from different original authorities" appears to have probability in its favour. I am unable to point out the source from which the first description of the creation, in the early part of the fifth chapter, verses 1 to 23, has been derived. But the second account, given in verses 26 to 35, has evidently drawn many of its details from the passages of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa ii. 2, 9, 5–9, and ii. 3, 8, 2 f., and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa xi. 1, 6, 6 ff. which I have quoted above. And it is possible that the references which are found in the former of these descriptions in the Vishṇu Purāṇa to different portions of the creation

[122] The discrepancies between current legends on different subjects are occasionally noticed in the text of the Vishṇu Purāṇa. Thus in the eighth chapter of the first book, v. 12, Maitreya, who had been told by Parāśara that S'rī was the daughter of Bhṛigu and Khyāti, enquires: *Kshīrābdhau S'rīḥ purotpannā śrūyate 'mṛita-manthane | Bhṛigoḥ Khyātyāṁ samutpannety etad āha katham bhavān |* "It is reported that S'rī was produced in the ocean of milk when ambrosia was churned. How do you say that she was born to Bhṛigu by Khyāti?" He receives for answer: 13. *Nityaiva sā jagan-mātā Vishṇoḥ S'rīr anapāyinī* (another MS. reads *anuyāyinī*) *yathā sarvagato Vishṇus tathaiveyaṁ dvijottama |* "S'rī, the mother of the world, and wife of Vishṇu, is eternal and undecaying" (or, according to the other reading, "is the eternal follower of Vishṇu"). "As he is omnipresent, so is she," and so on. The case of Daksha will be noticed further on in the text. On the method resorted to by the Commentators in cases of this description Professor Wilson observes in a note to p. 203 (4to. edition), "other calculations occur, the incompatibility of which is said, by the Commentators on our text and on that of the Bhāgavata, to arise from reference being made to different Kalpas; and they quote the same stanza to this effect: *Kvachit kvachit purāṇeshu virodho yadi lakshyate | kalpa-bhedādibhis tatra virodhaḥ sadbhir ishyate |* 'Whenever any contradictions in different Purāṇas are observed, they are ascribed by the pious to differences of Kalpas and the like.'"

being ineffective may have been suggested by some of the other details in the Brāhmaṇas, which I shall now proceed to cite. At all events some of the latter appear to have given rise to the statement in the fourth verse of the seventh chapter of the Vishṇu P. that the creatures formed by Brahmā did not multiply, as well as to various particulars in the narratives which will be quoted below from the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas. The Brāhmanas describe the creative operations of Prajāpati as having been attended with intense effort, and often followed by great exhaustion; and not only so, but they represent many of these attempts to bring living creatures of various kinds into existence, to sustain them after they were produced, and to ensure their propagation, as having been either altogether abortive, or only partially successful. The following quotations will afford illustrations of these different points:

Taitt. Br. i. 1, 10, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | sa ririchāno 'manyata | sa tapo 'tapyata | sa ātman vīryam apaśyat tad avarddhata |*

"Prajāpati created living beings. He felt himself emptied. He performed austere abstraction. He perceived vigour in himself. It increased, etc."

Taitt. Br. i. 2, 6, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ sṛishṭvā vṛitto*[123] *'śayat | taṁ devāḥ bhūtānāṁ rasaṁ tejaḥ sambhṛitya tena enam abhishajyan "mahān avavartti" iti |*

"Prajāpati after creating living beings lay exhausted. The gods, collecting the essence and vigour of existing things, cured him therewith, saying he has become great, etc."

Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 6, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ sṛishṭvā vyasraṁsata | sa hṛidayam bhūto 'śayat |*

"Prajāpati, after creating living beings, was paralysed. Becoming a heart, he slept."

S. P. Br. iii. 9, 1, 1. *Prajāpatir vai prajāḥ sasṛijāno ririchānaḥ iva amanyata | tasmāt parāchyaḥ prajāḥ āsuḥ | na asya prajāḥ śriye 'nnādyāya jajnire | 2. Sa aikshata "arikshy aham asmai (? yasmai) u kāmāya asṛikshi na me sa kāmaḥ samārdhi parāchyo mat-prajāḥ abhūvan na me prajāḥ śriye 'nnādyāya asthishata" iti | 3. Sa aikshata Prajāpatiḥ "kathaṁ nu punar ātmānam āpyāyayeya upa mā prajāḥ samāvartteraṁs tishṭheran me prajāḥ śriye annādyāya" iti | so 'rchhan śrāmyamś cha-*

[123] *Śrāntaḥ*—Comm.

chāra prajā-kāmaḥ | sa etām ekādaśinīm apaśyat | sa ekādaśinyā ishṭvā Prajāpatiḥ punar ātmānam āpyāyayata upa enam prajāḥ samāvarttanta atishṭhanta asya prajāḥ śriye 'nnādyāya sa vasīyān eva ishṭvā 'bhavat |

"Prajāpati when creating living beings felt himself as it were emptied. The living creatures went away from him. They were not produced so as to prosper and to eat food. 2. He considered: 'I have become emptied: the object for which I created them has not been fulfilled: they have gone away, and have not gained prosperity and food.' 3. He considered: 'how can I again replenish myself; and how shall my creatures return to me, and acquire prosperity and food?' Desirous of progeny, he went on worshipping and performing religious rites. He beheld this Ekādaśinī (Eleven); and sacrificing with it, he again replenished himself; his creatures returned to him, and gained prosperity and food. Having sacrificed, he became more brilliant."

S. P. Br. x. 4, 2, 2. *So 'yaṁ saṁvatsaraḥ Prajāpatiḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni sasṛije yach cha prāṇi yach cha aprāṇam ubhayān deva-manushyān | sa sarvāṇi bhūtāni sṛishṭvā ririchāna iva mene | sa mṛityor bibhiyāṅchakāra | 2. Sa ha īkshāṅchakre "kathaṁ nv aham imāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni punar ātmann āvapeya punar ātman dadhīya kathaṁ nv aham eva eshām sarveshām bhūtānām punar ātmā syām" iti |*

"This Year, (who is) Prajāpati, created all beings, both those which breathe and those that are without breath, both gods and men. Having created all beings he felt himself as it were emptied. He was afraid of death. 2. He reflected, 'How can I again unite all these beings with myself, again place them in myself? How can I alone be again the soul of all these beings?'"

S. P. Br. x. 4, 4, 1. *Prajapatiṁ vai prajāḥ sṛijamānam pāpmā mṛityur abhiparijaghāna | sa tapo 'tapyata sahasraṁ saṁvatsarān pāpmānaṁ vijihāsan |*

"Misery, death, smote Prajāpati, as he was creating living beings. He performed austere abstraction for a thousand years, with the view of shaking off misery."

S. P. Br. ii. 5, 1, 1. *Prajāpatir ha vai idam agre ekaḥ eva āsa | sa aikshata "kathaṁ nu prajāyeya" iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ asya prajāḥ sṛishṭāḥ parābabhūvuḥ | tāni imāni vayāṁsi | purusho vai Prajāpater nedishṭham | dvipād vai ayam purushaḥ | tasmād dvipādo vayāṁsi | 2. Sa aikshata Prajāpatiḥ | "yathā*

nv eva purā eko 'bhūvam evam u nv eva apy etarhy eka eva asmi" iti | sa dvitīyāḥ sasṛije | tāḥ asya parā eva babhūvuḥ | tad idaṁ kshudraṁ sarīsṛipaṁ yad anyat sarpebhyaḥ | tritīyāḥ sasṛije ity āhus tāḥ asya parā eva babhūvuḥ | te ime sarpāḥ . . . . | 3 So 'rchhan śrāmyan Prajāpatir īkshāṅchakre "kathaṁ nu me prajāḥ sṛishṭāḥ parābhavanti" iti | sa ha etad eva dadarśa "anaśanatayā vai me prajāḥ parābhavanti" iti | sa ātmanaḥ eva agre stanayoḥ paya āpyāyayāṅchakre | sa prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ asya prajāḥ sṛishṭāḥ stanāv eva abhipadya tās tataḥ sambabhūvuḥ | tāḥ imāḥ aparābhūtāḥ |

"1. Prajāpati alone was formerly this universe. He reflected, 'How can I be propagated?' He toiled in religious rites, and practised austere fervour. He created living beings. After being created by him they perished. They were these birds. Man is the thing nearest to Prajāpati. This being, man, is two-footed. Hence birds are two-footed creatures. Prajāpati reflected, 'As I was formerly but one, so am I now also only one.' He created a second set of living beings. They also perished. This was the class of small reptiles other than serpents. They say he created a third set of beings, which also perished. They were these serpents . . . 3. Worshipping and toiling in religious rites, Prajāpati reflected, 'How is it that my creatures perish after they have been formed?' He perceived this, 'they perish from want of food.' In his own presence he caused milk to be supplied to breasts. He created living beings, which resorting to the breasts were then preserved. These are the creatures which did not perish."

Taitt. Br. i. 6, 2, 1. *Vaiśvadevena vai Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ sṛishṭāḥ na prājāyanta | so 'gnir akāmayata "aham imāḥ prajanayeyam" iti | sa Prajāpataye śucham adadhāt | so 'śochat prajām ichhamānaḥ | tasmād yaṁ cha prajā bhunakti yaṁ cha na tāv ubhau śochataḥ prajām ichhamānau | tāsv Agnim apy asṛijat | tā Agnir adhyait* (2) *Somo reto 'dadhāt Savitā prājanayat | Sarasvatī vācham adadhāt | Pūshā 'poshayat | te vai ete triḥ saṁvatsarasya prayujyante ye devāḥ pushṭipatayaḥ | saṁvatsaro vai Prajāpatiḥ | saṁvatsareṇa eva asmai prajāḥ prājanayat | tāḥ prājāḥ jātāḥ Maruto 'ghnan "asmān api na prāyukshata" iti | 3. Sa etam Prajāpatir mārutaṁ saptakapālam apaśyat | taṁ niravapat | tato vai prajābhyo 'kalpata | . . . sa Prajāpatir aśochat "yāḥ pūrvāḥ prajāḥ asṛikshi Marutas tāḥ avadhishuḥ katham aparāḥ*

sṛijeya" iti | tasya śushma āṇḍam bhūtaṁ niravarttata | tad vyudaharat | tad aposhayat | tat prājāyata |

"Prajāpati formed living creatures by the vaiśvadeva (offering to the Viśvedevas). Being created they did not propagate. Agni desired' 'let me beget these creatures.' He imparted grief to Prajāpati. He grieved, desiring offspring. Hence he whom offspring blesses, and he whom it does not bless, both of them grieve, desiring progeny. Among them he created Agni also. Agni desired (?) them. Soma infused seed. Savitṛi begot them. Sarasvatī infused into them speech. Pūshan nourished them. These (gods) who are lords of nourishment are employed thrice in the year. Prajāpati is the Year. It was through the year that he generated offspring for him. The Maruts killed those creatures when they had been born, saying 'they have not employed us also. 3. Prajāpati saw this Māruta oblation in seven platters. He offered it. In consequence of it he became capable of producing offspring . . . . Prajāpati lamented, (saying) 'the Maruts have slain the former living beings whom I created. How can I create others?' His vigour sprang forth in the shape of an egg. He took it up. He cherished it. It became productive."

Taitt. Br. iii. 10, 9, 1. *Prajāpatir devān asṛijata | te pāpmanā sanditāḥ ajāyanta | tān vyadyat |*

"Prajāpati created gods. They were born bound by misery. He released them."

Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 9, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ asmāt sṛishṭāḥ parāchīr āyan | sa etam Prajāpatir odanam apaśyat | so 'nnam bhūto 'tishṭhat | tāḥ anyatra annādyam avitvā Prajāpatim prajāḥ upāvarttanta |*

"Prajāpati created living beings. They went away from him. He beheld this odana. He was turned into food. Having found food nowhere else, they returned to him."

Taitt. Br. i. 6, 4, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ Savitā bhūtvā prajāḥ asṛijata | tā enam atyamanyanta | ta asmād apākrāman | tā Varuṇo bhūtvā prajāḥ Varuṇena agrāhayat | tāḥ prajāḥ Varuṇa-gṛihītāḥ Prajāpatim punar upādhāvan nātham ichhamānāḥ |*

"Prajāpati, becoming Savitṛi, created living beings. They disregarded him, and went away from him. Becoming Varuṇa he caused Varuṇa to seize them. Being seized by Varuṇa, they again ran to Prajāpati, desiring help."

Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 1, 1. *Tato vai sa* (*Prajāpatiḥ*) *prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ asmat sṛishṭā apākrāman |*

"Prajāpati then created living beings. They went away from him."

I have perhaps quoted too many of these stories, which are all similar in character. But I was desirous to afford some idea of their number as well as of their tenor.

As regards the legend of Śatarūpā, referred to in the seventh chapter of the first book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, I shall make some further remarks in a future section, quoting a more detailed account given in the Matsya Purāṇa.

Of the two sons of Manu Svāyambhuva and Śatarūpā, the name of the second, Uttānapāda, seems to have been suggested by the appearance of the word Uttānapad in Rig-veda x. 72, 3, 4, as the designation (nowhere else traceable, I believe) of one of the intermediate agents in the creation.[124] A Priyavrata is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vii. 34, and also in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa x. 3, 5, 14, (where he has the patronymic of Rauhiṇāyana) but in both these texts he appears rather in the light of a religious teacher, who had lived not very long before the age of the author, than as a personage belonging to a very remote antiquity. Daksha also, who appears in this seventh chapter as one of the mindborn sons of Brahmā, is named in R. V. ii. 27, 1, as one of the Ādityas, and in the other hymn of the R.V. just alluded to, x. 72, vv. 4 and 5, he is noticed as being both the son and the father of the goddess Aditi. In the Ś. P. ii. 4, 4, he is identified with Prajāpati.[125] In regard to his origin various legends are discoverable in the Purāṇas. Besides the passage before us, there are others in the V. P. in which he is mentioned. In iv. 1, 5, it is said that he sprang from the right thumb of Brahmā, and that Aditi was his daughter (*Brahmaṇaścha dakshiṇāngushṭha-janmā Dakshaḥ | Prajāpater Dakshasyāpy Aditiḥ*). In another place, V. P. i. 15, 52, it is said that Daksha, although formerly the son of Brahmā, was born to the ten Prachetases by Mārishā (*Daśabhyas tu Prachetobhyo Mārishāyām Prajāpatiḥ | jajne Daksho mahābhāgo yaḥ pūrvam Brahmaṇo 'bhavat |*). This double pa-

[124] See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 10 f.

[125] See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 10 ff. 24, 101; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1865, pp. 72 ff.; Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 75.

rentage of Daksha appears to Maitreya, one of the interlocutors in the Purāṇa, to require explanation, and he accordingly enquires of his informant, vv. 60 ff.: *Angushṭhād dakshiṇad Dakshaḥ pūrvaṁ jātaḥ śrutam mayā | katham Prāchetaso bhūyaḥ sa sambhūto mahāmune | esha me saṁśayo brahman sumahān hṛidi varttate | yad dauhitraś cha somasya punaḥ śvaśuratāṁ gataḥ | Parāśara uvācha | utpattiś cha nirodhaś cha nityau bhūteshu vai mune | ṛishayo 'tra na muhyanti ye chānye divya-chakshushaḥ |* 61. *Yuge yuge bhavanty ete Dakshādyā muni-sattama | punaś chaiva nirudhyante vidvāṁs tatra na muhyati |* 62. *Kānishṭhyaṁ jyaishṭhyam apy eshām pūrvaṁ nābhūd dvijottama | tapa eva garīyo 'bhūt prabhāvaś chaiva kāraṇam |*

"60. I have heard that Daksha was formerly born from the right thumb of Brahmā. How was he again produced as the son of the Prachetases? This great doubt arises in my mind; and also (the question) how he, who was the daughter's son of Soma,[126] afterwards became his father-in-law. Parāśara answered: Both birth and destruction are perpetual among all creatures. Rishis, and others who have celestial insight, are not bewildered by this. In every age Daksha and the rest are born and are again destroyed: a wise man is not bewildered by this. Formerly, too, there was neither juniority nor seniority: austere fervour was the chief thing, and power was the cause (of distinction)."

The reader who desires further information regarding the part played by Daksha, whether as a progenitor of allegorical beings, or as a creator, may compare the accounts given in the sequel of the seventh and in the eleventh chapters of Book I. of the V. P. (pp. 108 ff. and 152 ff.) with that to be found in the fifteenth chapter (vol. ii. pp. 10 ff.).

I will merely add, in reference to Akūti, the second daughter of Manu Svāyambhuva and Śatarūpā, that the word is found in the Rig-veda with the signification of "will" or "design;" but appears to be personified in a passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 12, 9, 5 (the context of which has been cited above, p. 41), where it is said: *Irā patnī viśvasṛijām ākūtir apinaḍ haviḥ |* "Irā (Iḍā) was the wife of the creators. Akūti kneaded the oblation."

[126] See Wilson's V. P. vol. ii. p. 2, at the top.

SECT. VIII.—*Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas.*

I now proceed to extract from the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas the accounts which they supply of the creation, and which are to the same effect as those which have been quoted from the Viṣhṇu Purāṇa, although with many varieties of detail.

I shall first adduce a passage from the fifth chapter of the Vāyu (which to some extent runs parallel with the second chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa[127]), on account of its containing a different account from that generally given of the triad of gods who correspond to the triad of qualities (*guṇas*).

Vāyu Purāṇa, chapter v. verse 11. *Ahar-mukhe pravṛitte cha paraḥ prakṛiti-sambhavaḥ | kshobhayāmāsa yogena pareṇa parameśvaraḥ |* 12. *Pradhānam purusham chaiva praviśyāṇḍam Maheśvaraḥ |* 13. *Pradhānāt kshobhyamānāt tu rajo vai samavarttata | rajaḥ pravarttakaṁ tatra vījeshv api yathā jalam |* 14. *Guṇa-vaishamyam āsādya prasūyante hy adhishṭhitāḥ | guṇebhyaḥ kshobhyamāṇebhyas trayo devā vijajnire |* 15. *Āśritāḥ*[128] *paramā guhyāḥ sarvātmānaḥ śarīriṇaḥ | rajo Brahmā tamo hy Agniḥ sattvam Vishnur ajāyata |* 16. *Rajaḥ-prakāśako Brahmā srashṭṛitvena vyavasthitaḥ | tamaḥ-prakāśako 'gnis tu kālatvena vyavasthitaḥ |* 17. *Sattva-prakāśako Vishṇur audāsīnye vyavasthitaḥ | ete eva trayo lokā ete eva trayo guṇāḥ |* 18. *Ete eva trayo vedā ete eva trayo 'gnayaḥ | parasparāśritāḥ hy ete parasparam anuvratāḥ |* 19. *Paraspareṇa varttante dhārayanti parasparam | anyonya-mithunā hy ete hy anyonyam upajīvinaḥ |* 20. *Kshaṇaṁ viyogo na hy eshāṁ na tyajanti parasparam | Īśvaro hi paro devo Vishṇus tu mahataḥ paraḥ |* 21. *Brahmā tu rajosa-driktaḥ sargāyeha pravarttate | paraścha purusho jneyaḥ prakṛitiścha parā smṛitā |*

"11, 12. At the beginning of the day, the supreme Lord Maheśvara, sprung from Prakṛiti, entering the egg, agitated with extreme intentness both Pradhāna (= Prakṛiti) and Purusha. 13. From

[127] See pp. 27 and 41 f. of Wilson's V. P. vol. i.

[128] The Gaikowar MS. of the India office, No. 2102, reads *āsthitāḥ*, instead of *āśritāḥ*, the reading of the Taylor MS.

Pradhāna, when agitated, the quality of passion (*rajas*) arose, which was there a stimulating cause, as water is in seeds. 14. When an inequality in the Guṇas arises, then (the deities) who preside over them are generated. From the Guṇas thus agitated there sprang three gods (15), indwelling, supreme, mysterious, animating all things, embodied. The rajas quality was born as Brahmā, the tamas as Agni,[129] the sattva as Vishṇu. 16. Brahmā, the manifester of rajas, acts in the character of creator; Agni, the manifester of tamas, acts in the capacity of time; 17. Vishṇu, the manifester of sattva, abides in a condition of indifference. These deities are the three worlds, the three qualities, (18) the three Vedas, the three fires; they are mutually dependent, mutually devoted. 19. They exist through each other, and uphold each other; they are twin-parts of one another, they subsist through one another. 20. They are not for a moment separated; they never abandon one another. Iśvara (Mahādeva) is the supreme god; and Vishṇu is superior to Mahat (the principle of intelligence); while Brahmā, filled with rajas, engages in creation. Purusha is to be regarded as supreme, as Prakṛiti is also declared to be."

The sixth section of the Vāyu P., from which the next quotation will be made, corresponds to the fourth of the Vishṇu P. quoted above.

1. *Āpo hy agre samabhavan nashṭe 'gnau pṛithivī-tale | sāntarālaikalīne 'smin nashṭe sthāvara-jangame | 2. Ekārṇave tadā tasmin na prājnāyata kinchana | tadā sa bhagavān Brahmā sahasrākshaḥ sahasra-pāt | 3. Sahasra-śīrshā Purusho rukma-varṇo hy atīndriyaḥ | Brahmā Nārāyaṇākhyaḥ sa sushvāpa salile tadā | 4. Sattvodrekāt prabuddhas tu śūnyam lokam udīkshya saḥ | imam chodāharanty atra ślokam Nārāyaṇam prati | 5. Āpo nārā vai tanavaḥ*[130] *ity apām nāma śuśruma | apsu śete cha yat tasmāt tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ | 6. Tulyaṁ yuga-sahasrasya naiśam kālam upāsya saḥ | śarvary-ante prakurute brahmatvam sarga-kāraṇāt | 7. Brahmā tu salile tasmin vāyur bhūtvā tadā 'charat | niśāyām iva khadyotiḥ prāvṛiṭ-kāle tatas tataḥ | 8. Tatas tu salile tasmin vijnāyāntargatām mahīm | anumāṇād asammūḍho bhūmer uddharaṇam prati |*

[129] The Märk. P. chap. 46, verse 18, has the same line, but substitutes Rudra for Agni, thus: *Rajo Brahmā tamo Rudro Vishṇuḥ sattvaṁ jagat-patiḥ* | The two are often identified. See Vol. IV. of this work, 282 ff.

[130] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 57, with the translator's and editor's notes. Verses 1 to 6 are repeated towards the close of the 7th section of the Vāyu P. with variations.

9. *Akarot sa tanuṁ hy anyām kalpādishu yathā purā | tato mahātmā manasā divyaṁ rūpam achintayat |* 10. *Salilenāplutām bhūmim dṛishtvā sa tu samantataḥ | "kim nu rūpam mahat kṛitvā uddhareyam aham makām" |* 11. *Jala-krīḍā-suruchiram vārāhaṁ rūpam asmarat | adhṛishyaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ vāṅmayam dharma-saṁjnitam |*

"1. When fire had perished from the earth, and this entire world motionless and moving, together with all intermediate things, had been dissolved into one mass, and had been destroyed—waters first were produced. As the world formed at that time but one ocean, nothing could be distinguished. Then the divine Brahmā, Purusha, with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, (3) a thousand heads, of golden hue, beyond the reach of the senses—Brahmā, called Nārāyaṇa, slept on the water. 4. But awaking in consequence of the predominance (in him) of the sattva quality, and beholding the world a void—: Here they quote a verse regarding Nārāyaṇa: 5. 'The waters are the bodies of Nara: such is the name we have heard given to them; and because he sleeps upon them, he is called Nārāyaṇa.' 6. Having so continued for a nocturnal period equal to a thousand Yugas, at the end of the night he takes the character of Brahmā in order to create. 7. Brahmā then becoming Vāyu (wind) moved upon that water,[131] hither and thither, like a firefly at night in the rainy season. 8. Discovering then by inference that the earth lay within the waters, but unbewildered, (9) he took, for the purpose of raising it up, another body, as he had done at the beginnings of the (previous) Kalpas. Then that Great Being devised a celestial form. 10. Perceiving the earth to be entirely covered with water, (and asking himself) 'what great shape shall I assume in order that I may raise it up?'—he thought upon the form of a boar, brillant from aquatic play, invincible by all creatures, formed of speech, and bearing the name of righteousness."

The body of the boar is then described in detail, and afterwards the elevation of the earth from beneath the waters, and the restoration of its former shape, divisions, etc.[132]—the substance of the account being

[131] This statement, which is not in the corresponding passage of the Vishṇu P., is evidently borrowed, along with other particulars, from the text of the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vii. 1, 5, 1, quoted above p. 52.

[132] Following the passage of the Taittirīya Sanhitā, quoted above, the writer in one verse ascribes to Brahmā as Viśvakarman the arrangement of the earth, *tatas teshu viśīrneshu lokodadhi-girishv atha | Viśvakarmā vibhajate kalpādishu punaḥ punaḥ |*

much the same, but the particulars different from those of the parallel passage in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

Then follows a description of the creation coinciding in all essential points[133] with that quoted above, p. 55, from the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

The further account of the creation, however, corresponding to that which I have quoted from the next part of the same chapter of that Purāṇa, is not found in the same position in the Vāyu Purāṇa,[134] but is placed at the beginning of the ninth chapter, two others, entitled *Pratisandhi-kīrttana* and *Chaturāśrama-vibhāga*, being interposed as the seventh and eighth. With the view, however, of facilitating comparison between the various cosmogonies described in the two works, I shall preserve the order of the accounts as found in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and place the details given in the ninth chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa before those supplied in the eighth.

The ninth chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa, which is fuller in its details than the parallel passage in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, begins thus, without any specific reference to the contents of the preceding chapter:

Sūta uvācha | 1. *Tato 'bhidhyāyatas tasya jajnire mānasīḥ prajāḥ* | *tach-chharīra-samutpannaiḥ kāryais taiḥ kāraṇaiḥ saha* | 2. *Kshetrajnāḥ samavarttanta gātrebhyas tasya dhīmataḥ* | *tato devāsura-pitṛīn mānavaṁ cha chatushṭayam* | 3. *Sisṛikshur ambhāṁsy etāni svātmanā samayūyujat* | *yuktātmanas tatas tasya tamomātrā svayambhuvaḥ* | 4. *Tam abhidhyāyataḥ sargam prayatno 'bhūt Prajāpateḥ* | *tato 'sya jaghanāt pūrvam asurā jajnire sutāḥ* | 5. *Asuḥ prāṇaḥ smṛito viprais taj-janmānas tato 'surāḥ* | *yayā sṛishṭāsurās tanvā tāṁ tanuṁ sa vyapohata*[135] | 6. *Sā 'paviddhā tanus tena sadyo rātrir ajāyata* | *sā tamo-bahulā yasmāt tato rātris triyāmikā* | 7. *Āvritās tamasā rātrau prajās tasmāt svapanty uta* | *dṛishṭvā 'surāṁs tu deveśas tanum anyām apadyata* | 8. *Avyaktām sattva-bahulāṁ tatas tāṁ so 'bhyayūyujat* | *tatas tāṁ yunjatas tasya priyam āsīt prabhoḥ kila* | 9. *Tato mukhe samutpannā dīvyatas tasya devatāḥ* | *yato 'sya dīvyato jātās tena devāḥ*

[133] This is also the case with the details given in the Mārk. P. xlvii. 15-27 and ff.

[134] The Mārk. P. however observes the same order as the Vishṇu P.

[135] The reading in the passage of the Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 6, from which this narrative is borrowed (see above, p. 28), is *apāhata*,—which, however, does not prove that that verb with *vi* prefixed should necessarily be the true reading here; as the Taylor and Gaikowar MSS. have *vyapohata* throughout, and in one place *vyapohat*.

prakīrttitāḥ | 10. *Dhātur divīti yaḥ proktaḥ krīḍāyāṁ sa vibhāvyate* | *tasmāt* (? *yasmāt*) *tanvāṁ tu divyāyāṁ jajnire tena devatāḥ* | 11. *Devān sṛishṭvā 'tha deveśas tanum anyām apadyata* | *sattva-mātrātmikāṁ devas tato 'nyāṁ so 'bhyapadyata*[136] | 12. *Pitṛivad manyamānas tān putrān prādhyāyata prabhuḥ* | *pitaro hy upapakshābhyām*[137] *rātry-ahnor antarā 'sṛijat* | 13. *Tasmāt te pitaro devāḥ putratvaṁ tena teshu tat* | *yayā sṛishṭās tu pitaras tām tanuṁ sa vyapohata* | 14. *Sā 'paviddhā tanus tena sadyah sandhyā prajāyata* | *tasmād ahas tu dēvānām rātrir yā sā "surī smṛitā* | 15. *Tayor madhye tu vai paitrī yā tanuḥ sā garīyasī* | *tasmād devāsurāh sarve ṛishayo manavas tathā* | 16. *Te yuktās tām upāsante rātry-ahnor*[138] *madhyamāṁ tanum* | *tato 'nyāṁ sa punar Brahmā tanuṁ vai pratyapadyata* | 17. *Rajo-mātrātmikāṁ yāṁ tu manasā so 'sṛijat prabhuḥ* | *rajaḥ-prāyān tataḥ so 'tha mānasān asṛijat sutān* | 18. *Manasas tu tatas tasya mānasā jajnire prajāḥ* | *dṛishṭvā punaḥ prajāś chāpi svāṁ tanuṁ tām apohata* | 19. *Sā 'paviddhā tanus tena jyotsnā sadyas tv ajāyata* | *tasmād bhavanti saṁhṛishṭā jyotsnāyām udbhave prajāḥ* | 20. *Ity etās tanavas tena vyapaviddhā mahatmanā* | *sadyo rātry-ahanī chaiva sandhyā jyotsnā cha jajnire* | 21. *Jyotsnā sandhyā tathā 'haścha sattva-mātrātmakaṁ svayam* | *tamo-mātrātmikā rātriḥ sā vai tasmāt triyāmikā* | 22. *Tasmād devā divya-tanvā*[139] *dṛishṭāḥ sṛishṭā mukhāt tu vai* | *yasmāt teshām divā janma balinas tena te divā* | 23. *Tanvā yad asurān rātrau jaghanād asṛijat punaḥ* | *prāṇebhyo rātri-janmāno hy asahyā niśi tena te* | 24. *Etāny evam bhavishyāṇāṁ devānām asuraiḥ saha* | *pitṛīnām mānavānāṁ cha atītānāgateshu vai* | 25. *Manvantareshu sarveshu nimittāni bhavanti hi* | *jyotsnā rātry-ahanī sandhyā chatvāry ambhāṁsi tāni vai* | 26. *Bhānti yasmāt tato 'mbhāṁsi bhā-śabdo 'yam manīshibhiḥ* | *vyāpti-dīptyām nigadito pumāṁś chāha Prajāpatiḥ* | 27. *So 'mbhāṁsy etāni dṛishṭvā tu deva-dānava-mānavān* | *pitṛīṁś chaivāśṛijat so 'nyān ātmano vividhān punaḥ* | 28. *Tām utsṛijya tanuṁ kṛitsnāṁ tato 'nyām asṛijat prabhuḥ* | *mūrttiṁ rajas-tama-prāyām punar evābhyayūyujat* | 29. *Andhakāre kshudhāvishṭas tato 'nyāṁ sṛijate punaḥ* | *tena sṛishṭāḥ kshudhātmānas te 'mbhāṁsy ādātum udyatāḥ* | 30. "*Ambhāṁsy etāni rakshāma*" *uktavantaścha teshu ye* | *rākshasās te smṛitāḥ loke krodhātmāno niśācharāḥ* |

[136] This line is omitted in the Gaikowar MS.

[137] The Gaikowar MS. seems to read *upapārśvābhyām.*

[138] The Gaikowar MS. reads *Brahmaṇo madhyamāṁ tanum.*

[139] The Gaikowar MS. reads *divā tanvā.*

"Sūta says: 1. Then, as he was desiring, there sprang from him mind-born sons, with those effects and causes derived from his body. 2. Embodied spirits were produced from the bodies of that wise Being. 3. Then willing to create these four streams (*ambhāmsi*) gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men, he fixed his spirit in abstraction. As Svayambhū was thus fixed in abstraction, a body consisting of nothing but darkness (invested him). 4. While desiring this creation, Prajāpati put forth an effort. Then Asuras were first produced as sons from his groin. 5. *Asu* is declared by Brahmans to mean breath. From it these beings were produced; hence they are *Asuras*.[140] He cast aside the body with which the Asuras were created. 6. Being cast away by him, that body immediately became night. Inasmuch as darkness predominated in it, night consists of three watches. 7. Hence, being enveloped in darkness, all creatures sleep at night. Beholding the Asuras, however, the Lord of gods took another body, (8) imperceptible, and having a predominance of goodness, which he then fixed in abstraction. While he continued thus to fix it, he experienced pleasure. 9. Then as he was sporting, gods were produced in his mouth. As they were born from him, while he was sporting (*dīvyataḥ*), they are known as Devas (gods). 10. The root *div* is understood in the sense of sporting. As they were born in a sportive (*divya*)[141] body, they are called Devatās. 11. Having created the deities, the Lord of gods then took another body, consisting entirely of goodness (*sattva*). 12. Regarding himself as a father, he thought upon these sons: he created Fathers (*Pitṛis*) from his armpits in the interval between night and day. 13. Hence these Fathers are gods: therefore that sonship belongs to them. He cast aside the body with which the Fathers were created. 14. Being cast away by him, it straightway became twilight. Hence day belongs to the gods, and night is said to belong to the Asuras. 15. The body intermediate between them, which is that of the Fathers, is the most important. Hence gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men (16) worship intently this intermediate body of Brahmā. He then took again another body. But from that body, composed altogether of passion (*rajas*),

[140] This statement, which is not found in the parallel passage of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, is borrowed from Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 2, quoted above.

[141] *Divya* properly means "celestial." But from the play of words in the passage, the writer may intend it to have here the sense of "sportive."

which he created by his mind, he formed mind-born[142] sons who had almost entirely a passionate character. 18. Then from his mind sprang mind-born sons. Beholding again his creatures, he cast away that body of his. 19. Being thrown off by him it straightway became morning twilight. Hence living beings are gladdened by the rise of early twilight. 20. Such were the bodies which, when cast aside by the Great Being, became immediately night and day, twilight and early twilight. 21. Early twilight, twilight, and day have all the character of pure goodness. Night has entirely the character of darkness (*tamas*); and hence it consists of three watches. 22. Hence the gods are beheld with a celestial body, and they were created from the mouth. As they were created during the day, they are strong during that period. 23. Inasmuch as he created the Asuras from his groin at night, they, having been born from his breath, during the night, are unconquerable during that season. 24, 25. Thus these four streams, early twilight, night, day, and twilight, are the causes of gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men, in all the Manvantaras that are past, as well as in those that are to come. 26. As these (streams) shine, they are called *ambhāṁsi*. This root *bhā* is used by the intelligent in the senses of pervading and shining, and the Male, Prajāpati, declares (the fact). 27. Having beheld these streams (*ambhaṁsi*), gods, Dānavas, men, and fathers, he again created various others from himself. 28. Abandoning that entire body, the lord created another, a form consisting almost entirely of passion and darkness, and again fixed it in abstraction. 29. Being possessed with hunger in the darkness, he then created another. The hungry beings formed by him were bent on seizing the streams (*ambhaṁsi*). 30. Those of them, who said 'let us preserve (*rakshāma*) these streams,' are known in the world as Rākshasas, wrathful, and prowling about at night."

This description is followed by an account of the further creation corresponding with that given in the same sequence in the Vishṇu Purāṇa; and the rest of the chapter is occupied with other details which it is not necessary that I should notice. I therefore proceed to make some quotations from the eighth chapter, entitled *Chaturāśrama-vibhāga*, or "the distribution into four orders," which corresponds, in

[142] *Mānasān*. We might expect here however, *mānavān* or *mānushān*, "human," in conformity with the parallel passages both in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see above, p. 56), and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, xlviii. 11.

its general contents, with the sixth chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, book i., but is of far greater length, and, in fact, extremely prolix, as well as confused, full of repetitions, and not always very intelligible.

The chapter immediately preceding (*i.e.* the seventh), entitled *Pratisandhi-kīrttanam*, ends with the words: "I shall now declare to you the present Kalpa; understand." Sūta accordingly proceeds at the opening of the eighth chapter to repeat some verses, which have been already quoted from the beginning of the sixth chapter, descriptive of Brahmā's sleep during the night after the universe had been dissolved, and to recapitulate briefly the elevation of the earth from beneath the waters, its reconstruction, and the institution of Yugas. At verse 22 the narrative proceeds:

Kalpasyādau kṛitayuge prathame so 'sṛijat prajāḥ | 23. *Prāg uktā yā mayā tubhyam pūrva-kāle prajās tu tāḥ* | *tasmin samvarttamāne tu kalpe dagdhās tadā 'gninā* | 24. *Aprāptā yās tapo-lokaṁ jana-lokaṁ samāśritāḥ* | *pravarttati punaḥ sarge vījarthaṁ tā bhavanti hi* | 25. *Vījārthena sthitās tatra punaḥ sargasya kāraṇāt* | *tatas tāḥ sṛijyamānās tu santānārtham bhavanti hi* | 26. *Dharmārtha-kāma-mokshāṇām iha tāḥ sādhikāḥ smṛitāḥ* | *devāś cha pitaraśchaiva ṛishayo manavas tathā* | 27. *Tatas te tapasā yuktāḥ sthānāny āpūrayanti hi* | *Brahmaṇo mānasās te vai siddhātmāno bhavanti hi* | 28. *Ye sangādvesha-yuktena karmaṇā te divaṁ gatāḥ* | *āvarttamānā iha te sambhavanti yuge yuge* | 29. *Svakarma-phala-śeshena khyātyā chaiva tathātmikā* (*? tathātmakāḥ*) | *sambhavanti janāl lokāt karma-saṁśaya-bandhanāt* | 30. *Āśayaḥ kāraṇaṁ tatra boddhavyaṁ karmaṇā tu saḥ* | *taiḥ karmabhis tu jāyante janāl lokāt śubhāśubhaiḥ* | 31. *Gṛihṇanti te śarīrāṇi nānā-rūpāṇi yonishu* | *devādyāḥ sthāvarāntāś cha utpadyante parasparam* (*? paramparam*) | 32. *Teshāṁ ye yāni karmāṇi prāk-sṛishṭau pratipedire* | *tāny eva pratipadyante sṛijyamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ* | 33. *Hiṁsrāhiṁsre mṛidu-krūre dharmādharme ṛitānṛite* | *tadbhāvitāḥ prapadyante tasmāt tat tasya rochate* | 34. *Kalpeshv āsan vyatīteshu rūpa-nāmāni yāni cha* | *tāny evānāgate kāle prāyaśaḥ pratipedire* | 35. *Tasmāt tu nāma-rūpāṇi tāny eva pratipedire* | *punaḥ punas te kalpeshu jāyante nāma-rūpataḥ* | 36. *Tataḥ sarge hy avashṭabdhe sisṛikshor Brahmaṇas tu vai* | 37.[143] *Prajās tā dhyāyatas*

[143] The narrative in the 49th chapter of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (verses 3–13) begins at this verse, the 37th of the Vāyu Purāṇa, and coincides, though with verbal differences, with what follows down to verse 47. After that there is more variation.

tasya satyābhidhyāyinas tadā | mithunānāṁ sahasram tu so 'sṛijad vai mukhāt tadā | 38. *Janās te hy upapadyante sattvodriktāḥ suchetasaḥ*[144] | *sahasram anyad vakshasto mithunānāṁ sasarja ha* | 39. *Te sarve rajasodriktāḥ śushminaś chāpy aśushminaḥ*[145] | *sṛishṭvā sahasram anyat tu dvandvānām ūrutaḥ punaḥ* | 40. *Rajas-tamobhyām udriktā īhāśilās tu te smṛitāḥ | padbhyām sahasram anyat tu mithunānāṁ sasarja ha* | 41. *Udriktās tamasā sarve nihśrīkā hy alpa-tejasāḥ | tato vai harshamānās te dvandvotpannās tu prāṇinaḥ* | 42. *Anyonya-hṛichhayāvishṭā maithunāyopachakramuḥ | tataḥprabhṛiti kalpe 'smin maithunotpattir uchyate* | 43. *Māsi māsy ārttavaṁ yat tu na tadā "sīt tu yoshitām*[146] | *tasmāt tadā na sushuvuḥ sevitair api maithunaiḥ* | 44. *Āyusho 'nte prasūyante mithunāny eva tāḥ sakṛit | kunṭhakāḥ kunṭhikaś chaiva utpadyante mumūrshatām*[147] | 45. *Tataḥ prabhṛiti kalpe 'smin mithunānāṁ hi sambhavaḥ | dhyāne tu manasā tāsām prajānām jāyate sakṛit* | 46. *Śabdādi-vishayaḥ śuddhaḥ pratyekam pancha-lakshaṇaḥ | ity evam mānasī*[148] *pūrvam prāksṛishṭir yā Prajāpateḥ* | 47. *Tasyānvavāye sambhūtā yair idam pūritaṁ jagat | sarit-saraḥ-samudrāṁś cha sevante parvatān api* | 48. *Tadā nātyanta-śītoshṇā yuge tasmin charanti vai | pṛithvī-rasodbhavaṁ nāma āhāraṁ hy āharanti vai*[149] | 49. *Tāḥ prajāḥ kāma-chāriṇyo mānasīm siddhim āsthitāḥ | dharmādharmau na tāsv āstām nirviśeshāḥ prajās tu tāḥ* | 50. *Tulyam āyuḥ sukhaṁ rūpaṁ tāsāṁ tasmin kṛite yuge | dharmādharmau na tāsv āstām kalpādau tu kṛite yuge* | 51. *Svena svenādhikāreṇa jajnire te kṛite yuge | chatvāri tu sahasrāṇi varshāṇāṁ divyasankhyayā* | 52. *Ādyaṁ kṛita-yugam prāhuḥ sandhyānāṁ tu chatuḥśatam | tataḥ sahasraśas tāsa prajāsu prathitāsv api* | 53.[150] *Na tāsām pratighāto 'sti na dvandvaṁ nāpi cha klamaḥ | parvatodadhi-sevinyo hy aniketāśrayās tu tāḥ* | 54. *Viśokāḥ sattva-bahulāḥ hy ekānta-sukhitāḥ prajāḥ | tāḥ vai nishkāma-chāriṇyo nityam mudita-mānasāḥ* | 55. *Paśa-*

[144] For *suchetasaḥ* the Mārk. P. reads *sutejasaḥ*.

[145] For *aśushminaḥ* the Mārk. P. reads *amarshiṇaḥ*, "irascible."

[146] I have corrected this line from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 49, 9 *b*. The reading of the MSS. of the Vāyu Purāṇa cannot be correct. It appears to be: *māse māse 'rttavaṁ yad yat tat tadāsīd hi yoshitām* | The negative particle seems to be indispensable here.

[147] This half verse is not found in the Mārk. P.

[148] The Mārk. P. has *mānushī*, "human," instead of *mānasī*, "mental."

[149] This verse is not in the Mārk. P.; and after this point the verses which are common to both Purāṇas do not occur in the same places.

[150] Verses 53–56 coincide generally with verses 14–18 of the Mārk. P.

vaḥ pakshiṇaś chaiva na tadāsan sarīsṛipāḥ | nodbhijjā nārakaś[151] *chaiva te hy adharma-prasūtayaḥ | 56. Na mūla-phala-pushpaṁ cha nārttavam ṛitavo na cha | sarva-kāma-sukhaḥ kālo nātyarthaṁ hy ushṇa-śītatā*[152] *| 57. Manobhilashitāḥ kāmās tāsāṁ sarvatra sarvadā | uttishṭhanti pṛithivyāṁ vai tābhir dhyātā rasolvaṇāḥ | 58. Balavarṇa-karī tāsām siddhiḥ sā roga-nāśinī | asaṁskāryyaiḥ śarīraiś cha prajās tāḥ sthirayauvanāḥ | 59. Tāsāṁ viśuddhāt sankalpāj jāyante mithunāḥ prajāḥ | samam janma cha rūpaṁ chd mriyante chaiva tāḥ samam | 60. Tadā satyam alobhaś cha kshamā tushṭiḥ sukhaṁ damaḥ | nirviśeshās tu tāḥ sarvā rūpāyuḥśīla-cheshṭitaiḥ | 61. Abuddhipūrvakaṁ vṛittam prajānāṁ jāyate svayam | apravṛittiḥ kṛita-yuge karmaṇoḥ śubhapāpayoḥ | 62. Varṇāśrama-vyavasthāś cha na tadā "san na sankarah | anichhādvesha-yuktās te varttayanti parasparam | 63. Tulya-rūpāyushaḥ sarvāḥ adhamottama-varjitāḥ*[153] *| sukha-prāyā hy aśokāś cha udpadyante kṛite yuge | 64. Nitya-prahṛishṭa-manaso mahāsattvā mahābalāḥ | lābhālābhau na tāsv āstām mitrāmitre priyāpriye | 65. Manasā vishayas tāsāṁ nirīhāṇām pravarttate | na lipsanti hi tā'nyoyaṁ nānugṛihṇanti chaiva hi | 66. Dhyānam paraṁ kṛita-yuge tretāyāṁ jnānam uchyate | pravṛittaṁ dvāpare yajnaṁ dānam kali-yuge varam | 67. Sattvaṁ kṛitaṁ rajas tretā dvāparaṁ tu rajas-tamau | kalau tamas tu vijneyam yuga-vṛitta-vaśena tu | 68. Kālaḥ kṛite yuge tv esha tasya sankhyāṁ nibodhata | chatvāri tu sahasrāṇi varshāṇāṁ tat kṛitaṁ yugam | 69. Sandhyāṁśau tasya divyāni śatāny ashṭau cha sankhyayā | tadā tāsām babhūvāyur na cha kleśa-vipattayaḥ*[154] *| 70. Tataḥ kṛitayuge tasmin sandhyāṁśe hi gate tu vai | pādāvaśishṭo bhavati yuga-dharmas tu sarvaśaḥ | 71. Sandhyāyām apy atītāyām anta-kāle yugasya vai | pādaśas chāvaśishṭe tu sandhyā-dharme yugasya tu | 72. Evaṁ kṛite tu niḥśeshe siddhis tv antardadhe tadā | tasyāṁ cha siddhau bhrashṭāyām mānasyām abhavat tataḥ | 73. Siddhir*

[151] The Mārk. P. has *nakrāḥ*, "crocodiles," in its enumeration.

[152] The Mārk. P. here inserts some other lines, 18*b*–21*a*, instead of 57 and 58*a* of the Vāyu P.

[153] The Mārk. P. inserts here the following verses: 24. *Chatvāri tu sahasrāṇi varshāṇām mānushāṇi tu | āyuḥ-pramāṇāṁ jīvanti na cha kleśād vipattayaḥ | 25. Kvachit kvachit punaḥ sā bhūt kshitir bhāgyena sarvaśaḥ | kālena gachhatā nāśam upayānti yathā prajāḥ | 26. Tathā tāḥ kramaśaḥ nāśaṁ jagmuḥ sarvatra siddhayaḥ | tāsu sarvāsu nashṭāsu nabhasaḥ prachyutā narāḥ (latāḥ* in one MS.) *| prāyaśaḥ kalpavṛikshās te sambhūtā gṛiha-saṁsthitāḥ |*

[154] Instead of *babhūvāyuḥ*, etc., the Gaikowar MS. has *prayuktāni na cha kleśo babhūva ha |*

anyā yuge tasmiṁs tretāyām antare kṛitā | sargādau yā mayā 'shṭau tu mānasyo vai prakīrttitāḥ | 74. *Ashṭau tāḥ krama-yogena siddhayo yānti sankshayam | kalpādau mānasī hy ekā siddhir bhavati sā kṛite |* 75. *Manvantareshu sarveshu chatur-yuga-vibhāgaśaḥ | varṇāśramāchāra-kṛitaḥ karma-siddhodbhavaḥ (karma-siddhyudbhavaḥ?) smṛitaḥ |* 76. *Sandhyā kṛitasya pādena sandhyā pādena chāṁśataḥ | kṛita-sandhyāṁśakā hy ete trīṁs trīn pādān parasparam |* 77. *Hrasanti yuga-dharmais te tapaḥ-śruta-balāyushaiḥ | tataḥ kritāṁśe kshīṇe tu babhūva tad-anantaram |* 78. *Tretā-yugam amanyanta kṛitāṁśam ṛishi-sattamāḥ | tasmin kshīṇe kṛitāṁśe tu tach-chhishṭāsu prajāsv iha |* 79. *Kalpādau sampravṛittāyās tretāyāḥ pramukhe tadā | praṇaśyati tadā siddhiḥ kāla-yogena nānyathā |* 80. *Tasyāṁ siddhau praṇashṭāyām anyā siddhir avarttata | apām saukshmye pratigate tadā meghātmanā tu vai |* 81. *Meghebhyaḥ stanayitnubhyaḥ pravṛittaṁ vṛishṭi-sarjjanam | sakṛid eva tayā vṛishṭyā saṁyukte pṛithivī-tale |* 82. *Prādurāsaṁs tadā tāsāṁ vṛikshās tu griha-saṁsthitāḥ*[155] *| sarva-pratyupabhogas tu tāsāṁ tebhyaḥ prajāyate |* 83. *Varttayanti hi tebhyas tās tretā-yuga-mukhe prajāḥ | tataḥ kālena mahatā tāsām eva viparyayāt |* 84. *Rāgalobhātmako bhāvas tadā hy ākasmiko 'bhavat | yat tad bhavati nārīṇāṁ jīvitānte tad ārtavam |* 85. *Tadā tad vai na bhavati punar yuga-balena tu | tāsām punaḥ pravṛitte tu māse māse tad ārttavam (-ve?) |* 86. *Tatas tenaiva yogena varttatām maithune tadā | tāsāṁ tāt-kāla-bhāvitvād māsi māsy upayachhatām |* 87. *Akāle hy ārttavotpattir garbhotpattir ajāyata | viparyyayena tāsāṁ tu tena kālena bhāvinā|* 88. *Praṇaśyanti tataḥ sarve vṛikshās te gṛihasaṁsthitāḥ | tatas teshu praṇashṭeshu vibhrāntā vyākulendriyāḥ |* 89. *Abhidhyāyanti tāṁ siddhiṁ satyābhidhyāyinas tadā | prādurbabhūvus tāsāṁ tu vṛikshās te gṛihasaṁsthitāḥ |* 90.[156] *Vastrāṇi cha prasūyante phaleshv ābharaṇāni cha | teshv eva jāyate tāsām gandha-varṇa-rasānvitam |* 91. *Amākshikam mahāvīryam puṭake puṭake madhu | tena tā varttayanti sma mukhe tretā-yugasya vai |* 92. *Hṛishṭa-tushṭās tayā siddhyā prajā vai vigata-jvarāḥ | punaḥ kālāntareṇaiva punar lobhāvṛitās tu tāḥ |* 93. *Vṛikshāṁs tān paryagṛihṇanta madhu chāmākshikam balāt | tāsāṁ tenāpachāreṇa punar lobha-kṛitena vai |* 94. *Praṇashṭā madhunā sārdham kalpa-vṛikshāḥ kva-*

[155] Verses 27–35 of the Mārk. P. correspond more or less to this and the following verses down to 93.

[156] This and the following verses correspond more or less closely to the Mārk. P. 30 ff.

chit kvachit | tasyām evālpa-śishṭāyāṁ sandhyā-kāla-vaśāt tadā | 95. varttatāṁ tu tadā tāsāṁ dvandvāny abhyutthitāni tu | śītavātātapais tīvrais tatas tāḥ duḥkhitā bhṛiśam | 96. Dvandvais tāḥ pīḍyamānās tu chakrur āvaraṇāni cha | kṛitvā dvandva-pratīkāram niketāni hi bhejire | 97. Pūrvaṁ nikāma-chārās te aniketāśrayā bhṛiśam | yathā-yogyaṁ yathā-prīti niketeshv avasan punaḥ | 98. Maru-dhanvasu nimneshu parvateshu darīshu cha[157] *| saṁśrayanti cha durgāṇi dhanvānam śāśvatodakam | 99. Yathā-yogaṁ yathā-kāmaṁ sameshu vishameshu cha | ārabdhās te niketā vai karttuṁ śītoshṇa-pāraṇam | 100. Tatas tā māpayāmāsuḥ kheṭāni cha purāṇi cha | grāmāṁś chaiva yathā-bhāgaṁ tathaivāntaḥ-purāṇi cha | . . . .* 123.[158] *Kṛiteshu teshu sthāneshu punaś chakrur gṛihāni cha | yathā cha pūrvam āsan vai vṛikshās tu gṛiha-saṁsthitāḥ | 124. Tathā karttuṁ samārabdhāś chintayitvā punaḥ punaḥ | vṛidhāś chaiva gatāḥ śākhā natāś chaivāparā gatāḥ | 125. Ata ūrdhvam gatās chānyā enam tiryaggatāḥ parāḥ | buddhyā 'nvishya tathā 'nyā yā vṛiksha-śākhā yathā gatāḥ | 126. Tathā kṛitās tu taiḥ śākhās tāsmāch chhālās tu tāḥ smṛitāḥ | evam prasiddhāḥ śākhābhyaḥ śālāś chaiva gṛihāṇi cha | 127. Tasmāt tā vai smṛitāḥ śālāḥ śālātvaṁ chaiva tāsu tat | prasīdati manas tāsu manaḥ prāsādayamś cha tāḥ | 128. Tasmād gṛihāṇi śālāś cha prāsādāś chaiva sanjñitāḥ | kṛitvā dvandvopaghātāṁs tān vārttopāyam achintayan | 129.*[159] *Nashṭeshu madhunā sārddhaṁ kalpa-vṛiksheshu vai tadā | vishāda-vyākulās tā vai prajās tṛishṇā-kshudhānvitāḥ | 130. Tataḥ prādurbabhau tāsāṁ siddhis tretā-yuge punaḥ | vārttārtha-sādhikā hy anyā vṛishṭis tāsāṁ hi kāmataḥ | 131. Tāsāṁ vṛishṭy-udakānīha yāni nimnair gatāni tu | vṛishṭyā nimnā(?) nirabhavan srotaḥ-khātāni nimnagāḥ | 132. Evaṁ nadyaḥ pravṛittās tu dvitīye vṛishṭi-sarjane | ye purastād apām stokā āpannāḥ pṛithivītale | 133. Apām bhūmeś cha saṁyogād oshadhyas tāsu chābhavan | pushpa-mūlaphalinyas tv oshadhyas tāḥ prajajnire | 134. Aphāla-kṛishṭās chānuptā grāmyāraṇyaś chaturdaśa | ṛitu-pushpa-phalāśchaiva vṛikshāḥ gulmāś cha jajnire | 135. Prādurbhavaś cha tretāyām ādyo 'yam aushadhasya tu | tenaushadhena varttante prajās tretāyuge tadā | 136. Tataḥ punar abhūt tāsāṁ rāgo lobhaś cha sarvaśaḥ | avaśyam-*

[157] I have corrected this line from Mārk. P. xlix. 35.

[158] Verses 52–54 of the Mārk. P. correspond in substance to verses 123–128 of the Vāyu P.

[159] Verses 55–62 of the Mārk. P. correspond to verses 129–137 of the Vāyu P.

bhāvinā 'rthena tretā-yuga-vaśena tu | 137. *Tatas tāḥ paryagṛihṇanta nadīḥ kshetrāṇi parvatān* | *vṛikshān gulmaushadhīś chaiva prasahya tu yathā-balam* | 138. *Siddhātmānas tu ye pūrvam vyākhyātaḥ prāk kṛite mayā* | *Brahmaṇo mānasās te vai utpannā ye janād iha* | 139. *Śāntāś cha śushmiṇaś chaiva karmiṇo duḥkhinas tadā* | *tataḥ pravarttamānās te tretāyāṁ jajnire punaḥ* | 140. *Brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrā drohijanās tathā* | *bhāvitāḥ pūrva-jātīshu karmabhiś cha śubhāśubhaiḥ* | 141. *Itas tebhyo 'balā ye tu śatyaśīlā hy ahiṁsakāḥ* | *vīta-lobhā jitātmāno nivasanti sma teshu vai* | 142. *Pratigṛihṇanti kurvanti tebhyaś chānye 'lpa-tejasaḥ* | *evaṁ vipratipanneshu prapanneshu parasparam* | 143. *Tena dosheṇa teshāṁ tā oshadhyo mishatāṁ tadā*[159] | *praṇashṭā kriyamāṇā vai mushṭibhyāṁ sikatā yathā* | 144.[161] *Agrasad bhūr yuga-balād grāmyāraṇyāś chaturdaśa* | *phalam gṛihṇanti pushpaiścha phalaiḥ patraiḥ punaḥ punaḥ* | 145.[162] *Tatas tāsu praṇashṭāsu vibhrāntās tāḥ prajās tadā* | *Svayambhuvam prabhuṁ jagmuḥ kshudhāvishṭāḥ prajāpatim* | 146. *vṛitty-artham abhilipsantaḥ ādau tretā-yugasya tu* | *Brahmā Svayambhūr bhagavān jnātvā tāsām manīshitam* | 147. *Yuktam pratyaksha-dṛishṭena darśanena vichāryya cha* | *grastāḥ pṛithivyā oshadhyo jnātvā pratyaduhat punaḥ* | 148. *Kṛitvā vatsaṁ sumerum tu dudoha pṛithivīm imām* | *dugdheyaṁ gaus tadā tena vījāni pṛithivī-tale* | 149. *Jajnire tāni vījāni grāmyāraṇyās tu tāḥ punaḥ* | *oshadhyaḥ phala-pākāntāḥ śaṇa-saptadaśās tu tāḥ* | . . . . 155. *Utpannāḥ prathamaṁ hy etā ādau tretā-yugasya tu* | 156. *Aphāla-kṛishṭā oshadhyo grāmyāraṇyās tu sarvaśaḥ* | *vṛikshā gulmalatā-vallyo vīrudhas tṛiṇa-jātayaḥ* | 157. *Mūlaiḥ phalaiś cha rohiṇyo 'gṛihṇan pushpaiś cha yāḥ phalam* | *pṛithvī dugdhā tu vījāni yāni pūrvaṁ Svayambhuvā* | 158. *Ṛitu-pushpa-phalās tā vai oshadhyo jajnire tv iha* | [163] *yadā prasṛishṭā oshadyo na prarohanti tāḥ punaḥ* | 159. *Tataḥ sa tāsāṁ vṛitty-artham vārttopāyaṁ chakāra ha* | *Brahmā Svayambhūr bhagavān hasta-siddhaṁ tu karma-jam* | 160. *Tataḥ-prabhṛity athaushadhyaḥ kṛishṭa-pachyās tū jajnire* | *saṁsiddhāyāṁ tu vārttāyāṁ tatas tāsāṁ Svayambhuvaḥ* | 161. *Maryādāḥ sthāpayāmāsa yathārabdhāḥ parasparam* | [164] *ye vai parigṛihītāras tāsām āsan badhātmakāḥ* | 162. *Itareshāṁ kṛita-trāṇān sthāpayāmāsa kshattriyān* | *upatishṭhanti ye tān*

[159] Märk. P. verse 63*a*.
[161] Märk. P. verse 68*b*.
[162] Verses 64–67 of the Märk. P. correspond to verses 145–149 of the Vāyu P.
[163] Verses 73–75 of the Märk. P. correspond to verses 158*b*–160*a* of the Vāyu P.
[164] This with all what follows down to verse 171 is omitted in the Märk. P.

vai yāvanto nirbhayās tathā | 163. *Satyam brahma yathā bhūtam bruvanto brāhmaṇās tu te* | *ye chānye 'py abalās teshāṁ vaiśasaṁ karma saṁsthitāḥ* | 164. *Kīnāśā nāśayanti sma pṛithivyām prāg atandritāḥ* | *vaiśyān eva tu tān āhuḥ kīnāśān vṛitti-sādhakān* | 165. *Śochantaś cha dravantaś cha paricharyyāsu ye ratāḥ* | *nistejaso 'lpa-vīryyāś cha śūdrān tān abravīt tu saḥ* | 166. *Teshāṁ karmāṇi dharmāṁś cha Brahmā 'nuvyadadhāt prabhuḥ* | *saṁsthitau prakṛitāyāṁ tu chāturvarṇyasya sarvasaḥ* | 167. *'Punaḥ prajās tu tā mohāt tān dharmān nānvapālayan* | *varṇa-dharmair ajīvantyo vyarudhyanta parasparam* | 168. *Brahmā tam artham buddhvā tu yāthātathyena vai prabhuḥ* | *kshattriyāṇām balam daṇḍam yuddhaṁ ājīvam ādiśat* | 169. *Yājanādhyayanam chaiva tṛitīyaṁ cha parigraham* | *brāhmaṇānāṁ vibhus teshām karmāṇy etāny athādiśat* | 170. *Pāśupālyaṁ vāṇijyaṁ cha kṛishiṁ chaiva viśāṁ dadau* | *śilpājīvam bhṛitiṁ chaiva śūdrāṇāṁ vyadadhāt prabhuḥ* | 171. *Sāmānyāni tu karmāṇi brahma-kshattra-viśām punaḥ* | *yājanādhyayanaṁ dānam sāmānyāni tu teshu vai* | 172. *Karmājīvaṁ tato datvā tebhyaś chaiva parasparam* | *lokāntareshu sthānāni teshāṁ siddhyāy*[165] *adāt prabhuḥ* | 173.[166] *Prājāpatyaṁ brāhmaṇānām smṛitaṁ sthānaṁ kṛiyāvatām* | *sthānaṁ aindraṁ kshattriyāṇām saṅgrāmeshv apalāyinām* | 174. *Vaiśyānām mārutaṁ sthānaṁ sva-dharmam upajīvinām* | *gāndharvaṁ śūdra-jātīnām pratichāreṇa* (*parichāreṇa*?) *tishṭhatām* | 175. *Sthānāny etāni varṇānāṁ vyasyāchāravatāṁ svayam* | *tataḥ sthiteshu varṇeshu sthāpayāmāsa chāśramān* | 176. *Gṛihastham brahmachāriṇaṁ vānaprastham sabhikshukam* | *āśramāṁś chaturo hy etān pūrvam asthāpayat prabhuḥ* | 177. *Varṇa-karmāṇi ye kechit teshām iha na kurvate* | *kṛita-karmakshitiḥ*(?) *prāhur āśrama-sthāna-vāsinaḥ* | 178. *Brahmā tān sthāpayāmāsa āśramān nāma nāmataḥ* | *nirdeśārthaṁ tatas teshām Brahmā dharmān prābhāshata* | 179. *Prasthānāni cha teshāṁ vai yamāṁścha niyamāṁś cha ha* | *chāturvarṇyātmakaḥ pūrvaṁ gṛihasthas tv āśramaḥ smṛitaḥ* | 180. *Trāyāṇām āśramāṇāṁ cha pratishṭhā yonir eva cha* | *yathākramam pravakshyāmi yamaiś cha niyamaiś cha taiḥ* | . . . . 190. *Vedāḥ sāṅgāś cha yajñāś cha vratāni niyamāś cha ye* | 191. *Na siddhyanti prādushṭasya bhāvadoshe upāgate* | *bahiḥ-karmāṇi sarvāni prasiddhyanti* (*na siddhyanti*?) *kadāchana* |

[165] I conjecture *siddhyāy adāt* to be the proper reading. The MSS. have *siddhyādadāt*, or *siddhyādadāt*, etc.

[166] Verses 173 f. are found in the Mārk. P. verses 77 f.; but all that follows down to verse 193 is omitted there.

192. *Antar-bhāva-pradushṭasya kurvato 'hi parākramāt | sarvasvam api yo dadyāt kalushenāntarātmanā | 193. Na tena dharma-bhāk sa syād bhāva eva hi kāraṇam | . . . . 199. Evaṁ varṇāsramāṇāṁ vai pratibhāge kṛite tadā | 200. Yadā 'sya na vyavardhanta prajā varṇāśramatmikāḥ | tato 'nyā mānasīḥ so 'tha tretā-madhye 'sṛijat prajāḥ | 201. Ātmanas tāḥ śarīrāchcha tulyāś chaivātmanā tu vai | tasmin tretā-yuge prāpte madhyam prāpte krameṇa tu | 202. Tato 'nyā manasīs tatra prajāḥ srashṭum prachakrame | tataḥ satva-rajodriktāḥ prajāḥ so 'thāsrijat prabhuḥ | 203. Dharmārtha-kāma-mokshāṇāṁ vārttāyāś chaiva sādhikāḥ | devāś cha pitaraś chaiva ṛishayo manavas tathā | 204. Yugānurūpā dharmeṇa yair imā vichitāḥ prajāḥ | upasthite tadā tasmin prajādharme (-sarge?) Svayambhuvaḥ | 205. Abhidadhyau prajāḥ sarvā nānārūpās tu mānasīḥ | pūrvoktā yā mayā tubhyaṁ jana-lokaṁ samāsritāḥ | 206. Kalpe 'tīte tu tā hy āsan devādyās tu prajā iha | dhyāyatas tasya tāḥ sarvāḥ sambhūty-artham upasthitāḥ | 207. Manvantara-krameṇeha kanishṭhe prathame matāḥ | khyātyā 'nubandhais tais tais tu sarvārthair iha bhāvitāḥ | 208. Kuśalākuśala-prāyaiḥ karmabhis taiḥ sadā prajāḥ | tat-karma-phala-śeshena upashṭabdhāḥ prajajnire | 209. Devāsura-pitṛitvais tu paśu-pakshi-sarīsṛipaiḥ | vṛiksha-nāraka-kīṭatvais tais tair bhāvair upasthitāḥ | ādhīnārtham prajānāṁ cha ātmanā vai vinirmame |*

"22. At the beginning of the Kalpa, in the first Kṛita age, he created those living beings (23) which I have formerly described to thee; but in the olden time, at the close of the Kalpa, those creatures were burnt up by fire. 24. Those of them who did not reach the Tapoloka took refuge in the Janaloka; and when the creation again commences, they form its seed. 25. Existing there as a seed for the sake of another creation, they then, as they are created, are produced with a view to progeny. 26. These are declared to accomplish, in the present state (the four ends of human life, viz.), duty, the acquisition of wealth, the gratification of love, and the attainment of final liberation, — both gods, Fathers, Rishis, and Manus. 27. They, then, filled with austere fervour, replenish (all) places. These are the mental sons of Brahmā, perfect in their nature. 28. Those who ascended to the sky by works characterized by devotion to external objects, but not by hatred, return to this world and are born in every age. 29. As the result of their works, and of their destination, (returning) from the Janaloka, they are born of the same character (as

before), in consequence of the (previous) deeds by which they are bound.[167] 30. It is to be understood that the cause of this is their tendency (or fate), which itself is the result of works. In consequence of these works, good or bad, they return from Janaloka and are born, (31) and receive various bodies in (different) wombs. They are produced again and again in all states, from that of gods to that of motionless substances. 32. These creatures, as they are born time after time, receive the same functions as they had obtained in each previous creation. 33. Destructiveness and undestructiveness, mildness and cruelty, righteousness and unrighteousness, truth and falsehood—actuated by such dispositions as these, they obtain (their several conditions); and hence particular actions are agreeable to particular creatures. 34. And in succeeding periods they for the most part obtain the forms and the names which they had in the past Kalpas. 35. Hence they obtain the same names and forms. In the different Kalpas they are born with the same name and form. 36. Afterwards, when the creation had been suspended, as Brahmā was desirous to create, (37) and, fixed in his design, was meditating upon offspring,—he created from his mouth a thousand couples of living beings, (38) who were born with an abundance of goodness (*sattva*) and full of intelligence.[168] He then created another thousand couples from his breast: (39) they all abounded in passion (*rajas*) and were both vigorous and destitute of vigour.[169] After creating from his thighs another thousand pairs, (40) in whom both passion and darkness (*tamas*) prevailed, and who are described as active,—he formed from his feet yet another thousand couples (41) who were all full of darkness, inglorious, and of little vigour. Then the creatures sprung from the couples (or thus produced in couples) rejoicing, (42) and filled with mutual love, began to cohabit. From that period sexual intercourse is said to have arisen in this Kalpa. 43. But at that time women had no monthly discharge: and they consequently bore no children, although cohabit-

[167] *Karma-saṁśaya-bandhanāt.* I am unable to state the sense of *saṁśaya* in this compound.

[168] *Suchetasaḥ.* The reading of the Mārk. P. *sutejasaḥ*, "full of vigour," is recommended, as an epithet of the Brāhmans, by its being in opposition to *alpa-tejasaḥ*, "of little vigour," which is applied to the Śūdras a few lines below.

[169] The reading of the Mārk. P. *amarshinaḥ*, "irascible," gives a better sense than *aśushminaḥ*, "devoid of vigour," which the Vāyu P. has.

ation was practised. 44. At the end of their lives they once bore twins. Weak-minded boys and girls were produced when (their parents) were on the point of death. 45. From that period commenced, in this Kalpa, the birth of twins; and such offspring was once only born to these creatures by a mental effort, in meditation (46),—(offspring which was) receptive (?) of sound and the other objects of sense, pure, and in every case distinguished by five marks. Such was formerly the early mental creation of Prajapāti. 47. Those creatures by whom the world was replenished, born as the descendants of this stock, frequented rivers, lakes, seas, and mountains. 48. In that age (*yuga*) they lived unaffected by excessive cold or heat, and appropriated the food which was produced from the essences of the earth. 49. They acted according to their pleasure, existing in a state of mental perfection. They were characterized neither by righteousness nor unrighteousness; were marked by no distinctions. 50. In that Kṛita yuga, in the beginning of the Kalpa, their age, happiness, and form were alike: they were neither righteous nor unrighteous. 51. In the Kṛita age they were produced each with authority over himself. Four thousand years, according to the calculation of the gods, (52) and four hundred years for each of the morning and evening twilights, are said to form the first, or Kṛita, age.[170] Then, although these creatures were multiplied by thousands, (53) they suffered no impediment, no susceptibility to the pairs of opposites (pleasure and pain, cold and heat, etc.) and no fatigue. They frequented mountains and seas, and did not dwell in houses. 54. They never sorrowed, were full of goodness (*sattva*), and supremely happy; acted from no impulse of desire,[171] and lived in continual delight. 55. There were at that time no beasts, birds, reptiles, or plants,[172] (for these things are produced by unrighteousness),[173] (56) no roots, fruits,

[170] The first of the verses, which will be quoted below, in a note on verse 63, from the Mārk. P., seems to be more in place than the description of the Kṛita age given here, of which the substance is repeated in verses 68 and 69.

[171] Perhaps we should read here *nikāma-chāriṇyo* instead of *nishkāma-*: if so, the sense will be, "they moved about at will."

[172] The text adds here *nārakāḥ* or *narakāḥ*, which may mean "hellish creatures."

[173] This, although agreeing with what is said further on in verses 82, 133, and 155, does not seem in consonance with what is stated in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, verse 45, where it is declared: *oshadhyaḥ phala-mūlinyo romabhyas tasya jajnire | tretā-yuga-mukhe Brahmā kalpasyādau dvijottama | sṛishṭvā paśv-oshadhīḥ samyag yuyoja sa tadā 'dhvare* | "Plants bearing roots and fruits sprang from his hairs. At the com-

flowers, productions of the seasons, nor seasons. The time brought with it every object of desire and every enjoyment. There was no excess of heat or cold. 57. The things which these people desired sprang up from the earth everywhere and always, when thought of, and had a powerful relish. 58. That perfection of theirs both produced strength and beauty, and annihilated disease. With bodies, which needed no decoration, they enjoyed perpetual youth. 59. From their pure will alone twin children were produced. Their form was the same. They were born and died together. 60. Then truth, contentment, patience, satisfaction, happiness, and self-command prevailed. They were all without distinction in respect of form, term of life, disposition and actions. 61. The means of subsistence were produced spontaneously without forethought on their parts. In the Kṛita age they engaged in no works which were either virtuous or sinful. 62. And there were then no distinctions of castes or orders, and no mixture of castes. Men acted towards each other without any feeling of love or hatred. 63. In the Kṛita age they were born alike in form and duration of life, without any distinction of lower and higher,[174] with abundant happiness, free from grief, (64) with hearts continually exulting, great in dignity

mencement of the Tretā age Brahmā—having at the beginning of the Kalpa created animals and plants—employed them in sacrifice." Although the order of the words renders the sense in some degree uncertain, it appears to be that which Prof. Wilson assigns in his translation (i. 84), "Brahmā, having created, in the commencement of the Kalpa, various [animals and] plants, employed them in sacrifices in the beginning of the Tretā age." This interpretation is supported by the Commentator, who remarks: *Tad evaṁ kalpasyādāv eva paśūn oshadhīś cha sṛishṭvā 'nantaraṁ tretā-yuga-mukhe prāpte sati samyag grāmyāraṇya-vyasthāyā tadā 'dhvare sānatayā* (*samyaktayā* ?) *yuyoja kṛita-yuge yajnasyāpravṛitteḥ* | "Having then thus at the very beginning of the Kalpa created animals and plants, he afterwards, when the commencement of the Tretā age arrived, employed them properly, according to the distinction of domestic and wild, in sacrifice,—since sacrifice did not prevail in the Kṛita age." This agrees with the course of the preceding narrative which makes no allusion to plants and animals having been produced in a different Yuga from the other beings whose creation had been previously described. (See Wilson i. 82–84.) The parallel passage in the Vāyu P. x. 44–46, is confused.

[174] The Mārk. P. xlix. 24 inserts here the following lines: "They lived for four thousand years of mortals, as the measure of their existence, and suffered no calamities from distress. 25. In some places the earth again enjoyed prosperity in every respect. As through lapse of time the creatures were destroyed, so too those perfections everywhere gradually perished. 26. When they had all been destroyed, creeping-plants fell from the sky, which had nearly the character of Kalpa-trees (*i.e.* trees which yield all that is desired), and resembled houses."

and in force. There existed among them no such things as gain or loss, friendship or enmity, liking or dislike. 65. It was through the mind (alone, *i.e.* without passion?) that these disinterested beings acted towards each other. They neither desired anything from one another; nor shewed any kindness to each other.[175] Contemplation is declared to be supreme in the Kṛita age, knowledge in the Tretā; sacrifice began in the Dvāpara; liberality is the highest merit in the Kali. 67. The Kṛita age is goodness (*sattva*), the Tretā is passion (*rajas*), the Dvāpara is passion and darkness (*tamas*), in the Kali it is to be understood that darkness (prevails), according to the necessary course of these ages. 68. The following is the time in the Kṛita age: understand its amount. Four thousand years constitute the Kṛita; (69) and its twilights endure for eight hundred divine years. Then their life was (so long?)[176] and no distresses or calamities befel them. 70. Afterwards, when the twilight in the Kṛita was gone, the righteousness peculiar to that age was in all respects reduced to a quarter (of its original sum). 71. When further the twilight had passed, at the close of the Yuga, and the righteousness peculiar to the twilight had been reduced to a quarter, (72) and when the Kṛita had thus come altogether to an end, — then perfection vanished. When this mental perfection had been destroyed, there arose (73) another perfection formed in the period of the Tretā age. The eight mental perfections, which I declared (to have existed) at the creation, (74) were gradually extinguished. At the beginning of the Kalpa mental perfection alone (existed), viz., that which existed in the Kṛita age. 75. In all the Manvantaras there is declared to arise a perfection proceeding from works, produced by the discharge of the duties belonging to castes and orders, according to the fourfold division of Yugas. 76. The (morning) twilight (deteriorates) by a quarter of the (entire) Kṛita,—and the evening twilight by (another) quarter;—(thus) the Kṛita, the morning twilight, and the evening

[175] This representation of the condition of mankind during the Kṛita age, the period of ideal goodness, was no doubt sketched in conformity with the opinions which prevailed at the period when the Purāṇa was compiled; when dispassion was regarded as the highest state of perfection.

[176] It would seem as if the writer here meant to state that the period of life was that which in the verse of the Mārk. P. (xlix. 24), quoted in the note on verse 63, it is declared to have been. But the expression here is, from some cause or other, imperfect.

twilight (together) deteriorate successively to the extent of three quarters, in the duties peculiar to the Yuga, and in austere fervour, sacred knowledge, strength, and length of life.[177] Then after the evening of the Kṛita had died out, (78) the Tretā age succeeded,—(which) the most excellent rishis regarded as the evening of the Kṛita. But when the evening of the Kṛita had died out, (79) from the influence of time, and for no other reason, perfection disappeared from among the creatures who survived at the commencement of the Tretā age which ensued at the beginning of the Kalpa. 80. When that perfection had perished, another perfection arose. The subtile form of water having returned in the form of cloud (to the sky),[178] (81) rain began to be discharged from the thundering clouds. The earth having once received that rain, (82) trees resembling houses[179] were provided for these creatures. From them all means of enjoyment were produced. 83. Men derived their subsistence from them at the beginning of the Tretā. Subsequently, after a great length of time, owing to their ill fortune, (84) the passions of desire and covetousness arose in their hearts uncaused. The monthly discharge, which occurred at the end of women's lives, (85) did not then take place: but as it commenced again, owing to the force of the age (*yuga*), (86) and as the couples, in consequence of it, began to cohabit, and approached each other monthly, from necessity occasioned by the time,—(87) an unseasonable[179a] production of the monthly discharge, and of pregnancy ensued. Then through their misfortune, and owing to that fated time, (88) all those house-like trees perished. When these had been destroyed, men disturbed and agitated, (89) but genuine in their desire, longed after that perfection (which they had lost). Then those house-like trees appeared to them; (90) and among their fruits yielded clothes and jewels. On these trees too, in the hollow of every leaf, there was produced, (91) without the aid of bees, honey of great potency, having scent, colour, and flavour. By this means they subsisted at the beginning of the Tretā, (92) delighted with this per-

[177] Such is the only sense I can extract from these rather obscure lines.

[178] Such is the only sense of the words here rendered which occurs to me.

[179] *Gṛiha-saṁsthitāḥ.* Professor Wilson, in his Dictionary, gives "like, resembling," among the meanings of *saṁsthita.*

[179a] Instead of *ākāle*, "out of season," Professor Aufrecht suggests *ākāle*, "in season," as the proper reading.

fection and free from trouble. Again, through the lapse of time, becoming greedy, (93) they seized by force those trees, and that honey produced without bees. And then, owing to that misconduct of theirs, occasioned by cupidity, (94) the Kalpa trees, together with their honey, were in some places destroyed. As but little of it[180] remained, owing to the effects of the period of twilight, (95) the pairs (of opposites, as pleasure and pain, etc.) arose in men when existing (in this state); and they became greatly distressed by sharp cold winds, and heats. 96. Being thus afflicted by these opposites, they adopted means of shelter: and to counteract the opposites they resorted to houses. 97. Formerly they had moved about at their will, and had not dwelt at all in houses: but subsequently they abode in dwellings, as they found suitable and pleasant, (98) in barren deserts, in valleys, on mountains, in caves; and took refuge in fortresses,—(in a) desert with perpetual water.[181] 99. As a protection against cold and heat they began to construct houses on even and uneven places, according to opportunity and at their pleasure. 100. They then measured out towns, cities, villages, and private apartments, according to the distribution of each." [The following verses 101–107 give an account of the different measures of length and breadth, which is followed, in verses 108–122, by a description of the various kinds of fortresses, towns, and villages, their shapes and sizes, and of roads. The author then proceeds in verse 123:] "These places having been made, they next constructed houses; and as formerly trees existed, formed like houses,[182] (124) so did they (now) begin to erect them, after repeated consideration. (Some) boughs are spread out, others are bent down, (125) others rise upwards, while others again stretch horizontally. After examining thus by reflection how the different boughs of trees branch out, (126) they constructed in like manner the apartments (*śākhāḥ*) (of their houses): hence they

[180] "Perfection" seems to be here intended. If so, it would seem as if this line had been separated from its proper context.

[181] *Dhanvānam sāśvatodakam.* Perhaps we should read here with the Märk. P. xlix. 35, *vārkshyam pārvatam audakam* "(fortresses) protected by trees, built on mountains, or surrounded by water."

[182] Whatever may be thought of this rendering of the phrase, *vṛikshāḥ gṛihasaṁsthitāḥ*, the Märk. P. (xlix. 52), at least, is quite clear: *gṛihākārā yathā pūrvaṁ teshām āsan mahīruhāḥ | tathā saṁsmṛitya tat sarvaṁ chakrur veśmāni tāḥ prajāḥ |* "As they had formerly had trees with the shape of houses, so recalling all that to mind, these people built their dwellings."

are called rooms (*śālāḥ*).[183] In this way rooms and houses derive their appellation from branches. 127. Hence rooms are called *śālā*, and in that their character as rooms (*śālātvam*) consists. And inasmuch as the mind takes pleasure in them, and as they have gladdened (*prāsādayan*), the mind, (128) houses, rooms, and palaces are termed respectively *gṛiha*, *śālā*, and *prāsāda*. Having adopted these means of defence against the 'opposites,' they devised methods of subsistence. 129. The kalpa-trees having been destroyed along with their honey, those creatures, afflicted with thirst and hunger, became disquieted by dejection. 130. Then again another perfection arose for them in the Tretā age,—which fulfilled the purpose of subsistence,—viz., rain at their pleasure. 131. The rain-water, which flowed into the hollows, burst out in the form of springs, water-courses, and rivers,[184] through the rain. 132. Thus at the second fall of rain rivers began to flow. When the drops of water first reached the ground, then (133) from the conjunction of the waters and the earth plants sprang up among them, which bore both flowers, roots, and fruits. 134. Fourteen kinds of plants, cultivated and wild, were produced without ploughing or sowing, as well as trees and shrubs which bore flowers and fruit at the proper season. 135. This was the first appearance of plants in the Tretā age, and by them men subsisted at that period. 136. Then there again arose among them, universally, desire and cupidity, through a necessary process, and as a result of the Tretā age. 137. They then appropriated to themselves, by force and violence, rivers, fields, hills, trees, shrubs, and plants. 138. Those perfect beings, who were described by me as existing formerly in the Kṛita, — the mind-born children of Brahmā, who had been produced in this world when they came from the Janaloka,—(139) who were (some) tranquil, (some) fiery, (some) active, and (others) distressed,—were again born in the Tretā, (140) as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and injurious men, governed by the good and bad actions (performed) in former births. 141. Then those who were weaker than they, being truthful and innocent, dwelt among them, free from cupidity, and self-restrained; (142) whilst

[183] The reasoning here does not seem very cogent, as the two words *śākhā* and *śālā* do not appear to have any close connection. But such unsuccessful attempts at etymology are frequent in Sanskrit works.

[184] The text here does not seem to be in a satisfactory state. The Calc. edition of the Mārk. P. reads *vṛishṭyāvaruddhair abhavat*, etc.

others, less glorious than they, took and did.[185] When they had thus become opposed to each other,—(143) through their misconduct, while they struggled together, the plants were destroyed, being seized with their fists like gravel. 144. Then the earth swallowed up the fourteen kinds of cultivated and wild plants, in consequence of the influence exerted by the Yuga: for men had seized again and again the fruit, together with the flowers and leaves. 145. After the plants had perished, the famished people, becoming bewildered, repaired to Svayambhū the lord of creatures, (146) in the beginning of the Tretā age, seeking the means of subsistence.[186] Learning what they desired, (147) and determining by intuition what was proper to be done, the Lord Brahmā Svayambhū, knowing that the plants had been swallowed up by the earth, milked them back. 148. Taking Sumeru as a calf, he milked this earth. When this earth (or cow)[187] was milked by him, roots were

[185] It is difficult to extract any satisfactory sense out of this line.

[186] The S'. P. Br. ii. 4, 2, 1, also speaks of different classes of creatures applying to the creator for food: *Prajāpatiṁ vai bhūtāny upāsīdan | prajāḥ vai bhūtāni | "vi no dhehi yathā jīvāma" iti | tato devā yajnopavītino bhūtvā dakshiṇaṁ jānv āchya upāsīdan | tān abravīd "yajno vo 'nnam amṛitatvaṁ va ūrg vaḥ sūryo vo jyotir" iti | 2. Atha enam pitaraḥ prāchīnāvītinaḥ savyaṁ jānv āchya upāsīdan | tān abravīd "māsi māsi vo 'śanām svadhā vo manojavo vas' chandramā vo jyotir" iti | 3. Atha enam manushyāḥ prāvṛitāḥ upasthaṁ kṛitvā upāsīdan | tān abravīt "sāyam prātar vo 'śanam prajāḥ vo mṛityur vo 'gnir vo jyotir" iti | 4. Atha enam paśavaḥ upāsīdan | tebhyaḥ svaisham eva chakāra "yadā eva yūyam kadācha labhādhvai yadi kāle yady anākāle atha eva aśnātha" iti | tasmād ete yadā kadācha labhante yadi kāle yady anākāle atha eva aśnanti | 5. Atha ha enam śas'vad apy asurāḥ upasedur ity āhuḥ | tebhyas tamas cha māyāṁ cha pradadāu | asty aha eva asura-māyā iti iva | parābhūtā ha tv eva tāḥ prajāḥ | tāḥ imāḥ prajās tathaiva upajīvanti yathaiva ābhyaḥ Prajāpatir adadāt |* "All beings resorted to Prajāpati,—(creatures are beings),—(saying) 'provide for us that we may live.' Then the gods, wearing the sacrificial cord, and bending the right knee, approached him. To them he said, 'let sacrifice be your food, your immortality your strength, the sun your light.' 2. Then the Fathers, wearing the sacrificial cord on their right shoulders, and bending the left knee, approached him. To them he said, 'you shall eat monthly, your oblation (*svadhā*) shall be your rapidity of thought, the moon your light.' 3. Then men, clothed, and inclining their bodies, approached him. To them he said, 'ye shall eat morning and evening, your offspring shall be your death, Agni your light.' 4. Then cattle repaired to him. To them he accorded their desire, (saying), 'Whensoever ye find anything, whether at the proper season or not, eat it.' Hence whenever they find anything, whether at the proper season or not, they eat it. 5. Then they say that the Asuras again and again resorted to him. To them he gave darkness (*tamas*) and illusion. There is, indeed, such a thing as the illusion, as it were, of the Asuras. But those creatures succumbed. These creatures subsist in the very manner which Prajāpati allotted to them."

[187] *Gauḥ* means both.

produced again in the ground,—(149) those plants, whereof hemp is the seventeenth, which end with the ripening of fruits." [The plants fit for domestic use, and for sacrifice are then enumerated in verses 150–155.] "155. All these plants, domestic and wild, were for the first time[188] produced at the beginning of the Tretā age, (156) without cultivation, trees, shrubs, and the various sorts of creepers and grasses, both those which produce roots as their fruits, and those which bear fruit after flowering. The seeds for which the earth was formerly milked by Svayambhū (158) now became plants bearing flowers and fruits in their season. When these plants, though created, did not afterwards grow, (159) the divine Brahmā Svayambhū devised for the people means of subsistence depending on labour effected by their hands. 160. From that time forward the plants were produced and ripened through cultivation. The means of subsistence having been provided, Svayambhū (161) established divisions among them according to their tendencies.[189] Those of them who were rapacious, and destructive, (162) he ordained to be Kshattriyas, protectors of the others.[190] As many men as attended on these, fearless, (163) speaking truth and propounding sacred knowledge (*brahma*) with exactness, (were made) Brāhmans. Those others of them who had previously been feeble, engaged in the work of slaughter,[191] who, as cultivators (*kīnāśāḥ*), had been destructive, and were active in connection with the ground, were called Vaiśyas, husbandmen (*kīṇāśān*), providers of subsistence. 165. And he designated as Sūdras those who grieved (*śochantaḥ*), and ran (*dravantaḥ*),[192] who were addicted to menial tasks, inglorious and feeble.

[188] See the note on verse 55, above.

[189] *Yathārarabhāḥ.* The Märk. P. has *yathā-nyāyaṁ yathā-guṇam*, "according to fitness and their qualities."

[190] *Itareshāṁ krita-trāṇān.* The M. Bh. xii. 2247, thus explains the word Kshattriya: *brāhmaṇānāṁ kshata-trāṇāt tataḥ kshattriya uchyate* | "(a king) is called Kshattriya because he protects Brāhmans from injuries."

[191] *Vaiśasaṁ karma.* The former word has the senses of (1) "hindrance, impediment," and (2) "slaughter," assigned to it in Wilson's Dictionary.

[192] The reader who is familiar with the etymologies given in Yāska's Nirukta, or in Professor Wilson's Dictionary on Indian authority, will not be surprised at the absurdity of the attempts made here by the Purāṇa-writer to explain the origin of the words Kshattriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. To account for the last of these names he combines the roots *śuch*, "to grieve," and *dru*, "to run," dropping, however, of necessity the last letter (*ch*) of the former. The word *kshattriya* is really derived from *kshattra*, "royal power;" and *vaiśya* comes from *viś*, "people," and means "a man of the people."

166. Brahmā determined the respective functions and duties of all these persons. But after the system of the four castes had been in all respects established, (167) those men from infatuation did not fulfil their several duties. Not living conformably to those class-duties, they came into mutual conflict. 168. Having become aware of this fact, precisely as it stood, the Lord Brahmā prescribed force, criminal justice, and war, as the profession of the Kshattriyas. 169. He then appointed these, viz., the duty of officiating at sacrifices, sacred study, and the receipt of presents, to be the functions of Brāhmans. 170. The care of cattle, traffic, and agriculture, he allotted as the work of the Vaiśyas; and the practice of the mechanical arts, and service, he assigned as that of the Śūdras. 171. The duties common to Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas were the offering of sacrifice, study, and liberality. 172. Having distributed to the classes their respective functions and occupations, the Lord then allotted to them abodes in other worlds for their perfection. 173. The world of Prajāpati is declared to be the (destined) abode of Brāhmans practising rites; Indra's world that of Kshattriyas who do not flee in battle; (174) the world of the Maruts that of Vaiśyas who fulfil their proper duty; the world of the Gandharvas that of men of Śūdra birth who abide in the work of service. 175. Having allotted these as the future abodes of (the men of the different) classes, who should be correct in their conduct, he ordained orders (*āśramas*) in the classes which had been established. 176. The Lord formerly instituted the four orders of householder, religious student, dweller in the woods, and mendicant. 177. To those of them who do not in this world perform the duties of their castes, the men who dwell in hermitages apply the appellation of 'destroyer of works.' 178. Brahmā established these orders by name, and in explanation of them he declared their duties, (179) their methods of procedure, and their various rites. First of all there is the order of householder, which belongs to all the four classes, (180) and is the foundation and source of the other three orders. I shall declare them in order with their several observances." [The following verses 181–189, which detail these duties, need not be cited here. I shall, however, quote verses 190 ff. for their excellent moral tone.] "190. The Vedas, with their appendages, sacrifices, fasts, and ceremonies, (191) avail not to a depraved man, when his disposition has become corrupted. All external rites are

fruitless (192) to one who is inwardly debased, however energetically he may perform them. A man who bestows even the whole of his substance with a defiled heart will thereby acquire no merit—of which a good disposition is the only cause." [After giving some further particulars about the celestial abodes of the righteous, verses 194–198, the writer proceeds:] "199. When—after the division into castes and orders had thus been made—(200) the people living under that system did not multiply, Brahmā formed other mind-born creatures in the middle of the Tretā (201) from his own body and resembling himself. When the Tretā age had arrived, and had gradually reached its middle, (202) the Lord then began to form other mind-born creatures. He next formed creatures in whom goodness (*sattva*) and passion (*rajas*) predominated, (203) and who were capable of attaining (the four objects of human pursuit) righteousness, wealth, love, and final liberation, together with the means of subsistence. Gods, too, and Fathers, and Rishis, and Manus (were formed), (204) by whom these creatures were classified (?) according to their natures in conformity with the Yuga. When this character(?) of his offspring had been attained, Brahmā (205) longed after mental offspring of all kinds and of various forms. Those creatures, whom I described to you as having taken refuge in Janaloka, (206) at the end of the Kalpa, all these arrived here, when he thought upon them, in order to be reproduced in the form of gods and other beings. 207. According to the course of the Manvantaras the least were esteemed the first (?), being swayed by destiny, and by connections and circumstances of every description. 208. These creatures were always born, under the controuling influence of, and as a recompence for their good or bad deeds. 209. He by himself formed those creatures which arrived in their several characters of gods, asuras, fathers, cattle, birds, reptiles, trees, and insects, in order that they might be subjected (anew) to the condition of creatures."[193]

The substance of the curious speculations on the origin and primeval condition of mankind contained in the preceding passage may be stated as follows: In verses 22–34 we are told that the creatures, who at the close of the preceding Kalpa had been driven by the mundane conflagration to Janaloka, now formed the seed of the new creation, which took place in the Kṛita Yuga, at the commencement of the present

[193] I confess that I have had great difficulty in attaching any sense to the last words.

Kalpa. These were mind-born sons of Brahmā, perfect in nature, and they peopled the world. As a rule, we are informed, those beings who have formerly been elevated from the earth to higher regions, return again and again to this world, and, as a result of their previous works, are born in every age, in every possible variety of condition, exhibiting the same dispositions and fulfilling the same functions as in their former states of existence. It is next stated, verses 35–40, that when creation had, in some way not explained, come to a stand-still, four classes of human beings, consisting each of a thousand pairs of males and females, characterized respectively by different qualities, physical and moral, were produced from different members of the Creator's body.[194] These creatures sought to propagate the race, but abortively, for the reason specified (43). Children however were produced by mental effort (45 and 59), and in considerable numbers (52). The state of physical happiness, absolute and universal equality, moral perfection, and complete dispassion, in which mankind then existed, is depicted (48–65). The means of subsistence and enjoyment, which they are said to have drawn from the earth (48 and 57), were not of the ordinary kind, as we are informed (55 f.) that neither animals nor plants, which are the products of unrighteousness, existed at that period. No division into castes or orders prevailed during that age of perfection (62). A gradual declension, however, had been going on, and at the end of the Kṛita Yuga, the perfection peculiar to it had altogether disappeared (70–79). Another kind of perfection, peculiar to the Tretā, however, subsequently arose (73 and 80), and in the different Yugas there has existed a perfection springing from the performance of the duties belonging to each caste and order (75). The perfection described as prevailing in the Tretā was of a physical kind, consisting in the production of rain and the growth of trees, shaped like houses, which at the same time yielded the materials of all sorts of enjoyments (80–82). Passion, however, in its various forms began to take the place of the previous dispassion (84). The constitution of women, which had formerly incapacitated them for effective impregnation, became ultimately so modified as to ensure the successful propagation of the species, which

[194] This statement agrees with that in the Mārk. P. xlix. 3 ff. but differs from that already given from the Vishṇu P. in so far as the latter does not specify the numbers created, or say anything about pairs being formed.

accordingly proceeded (84–87).[195] We have then the destruction, and subsequent reproduction of the trees, formed like houses, described (88–91). These trees now produced clothes and jewels, as well as honey without bees, and enabled mankind to live in happiness and enjoyment. Again, however, the trees disappeared in consequence of the cupidity which led to their misuse (92–94). The absence of perfection occasioned suffering of various kinds, from moral as well as physical causes, and men were now driven to construct houses, which they had hitherto found unnecessary (96–99 and 123), and to congregate in towns and cities (100). Their houses were built after the model furnished by trees (123–128). The hunger and thirst which men endured from the loss of the trees which had formerly yielded all the means of subsistence and enjoyment, were relieved by means of a new perfection which appeared in the shape of rain, and the streams thereby generated, and by the growth of plants, which now sprang up for the first time as a result of the conjunction of water and earth (130–135 and 155). Desire and cupidity, however, now again arose and led to acts of violent appropriation (136 f.). At this juncture the perfect mind-born sons of Brahmā, of different dispositions, who had formerly existed in the Kṛita age, were reproduced in the Tretā as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and destructive men, as a result of their actions in their former existence (138–140). But in consequence of their dissensions and rapacity, the earth swallowed up all the existing plants (142–144). Under the pressure of the distress thus occasioned the inhabitants of the earth resorted to Brahmā, who milked the earth, through the medium of mount Sumeru acting as a calf, and recovered the plants which had disappeared (145–149). As, however, these plants did not propagate themselves spontaneously, Brahmā introduced agriculture (158–160). Having thus provided the means of subsistence, he divided the people into classes according to their characteristics (160–165). But as these classes did not perform their several duties, and came into mutual conflict, Brahmā prescribed their respective functions with greater precision (166–171); and assigned the future celestial abodes which the members of each class might attain by their fulfilment (172–174). He then ordained the four orders of householder, religious

[195] It is not quite clear, however, what is intended by the word *akāle*, "out of season," in verse 87. See the emendation proposed above in the note on that verse.

student, etc. (175–190). After a few verses in praise of moral purity (190–193), the abodes and destinies of the eminently righteous are set forth (194–199). Just when we had arrived at a point in the narrative, from which we might have imagined that it had only to be carried on further to afford us a sufficient explanation of the state of things existing up to the present age, we are suddenly arrested (199–202) by being informed that the people distributed according to the system of castes and orders did not multiply, and are introduced to a new mind-born creation, which took place in the Tretā age, to remedy this failure. We are next told (203) of what appears to be another creation of beings endowed with goodness and passion. And, finally, a yet further re-incorporation of previously existing souls is described as having taken place (205–209). It would thus seem that after all we are left without any account of the origin of the system of castes which prevailed when the Purāṇa was compiled. The only suppositions on which this conclusion can be avoided are either (1) that the cessation in the increase of the generation alluded to in verse 200, which led to the new creation, was not universal, that the race than existing did not entirely die out, but that the old blood was re-invigorated by that of the newly created beings; or (2) that the other set of creatures, mentioned in verse 203, as characterized by goodness and passion, were the progenitors of the present race of men. On these points, however, the text throws no light.

The preceding account of the creation of mankind and of the vicissitudes and deterioration of society, is in some places obscure and confused, and its several parts do not appear to be consistent with each other. At the outset the writer describes the creation of four thousand pairs of human beings, of whom each separate set of one thousand is distinguished by widely different innate characters, the first class having the quality of goodness, the second that of passion, the third those of passion and darkness, and the fourth that of darkness. Nevertheless (as in the parallel passage of the Vishṇu Purāṇa) we cannot find in the narrative the least trace of those inherent differences of character having for a long time manifested themselves by producing dissimilarity either of moral conduct or of physical condition; for the perfection, which is described as existing in the Kṛita age, is spoken of as if it was universal; and not only is no distinction alluded to as prevailing at this period between

the component parts of society, but we are expressly told that no castes or orders then existed. The deterioration also, which ensued towards the end of the Kṛita age, is described as general, and not peculiar to any class. How is this complete uniformity, first of perfection, and afterwards of declension, which, for anything that appears to the contrary, is predicated of the descendants of the whole of the four thousand pairs, to be reconciled with the assertion that each thousand of those pairs was characterized by different innate qualities? The difficulty is not removed by saying that the writer supposed that these inherent varieties of character existed in a latent or dormant state in the different classes, and were afterwards developed in their descendants; for he distinctly declares (verse 54) in general terms that mankind were at that period *sattva-bahulāḥ, i.e.* "possessed the quality of goodness in abundance;" and in the earlier part of the subsequent narrative no allusion is made to the different qualities at first ascribed to the four sets of a thousand pairs being separately developed in the members of the four classes respectively. In verse 74, indeed, it appears to be assumed that the division into castes had existed from the creation; for we there find an assertion that in "all the Manvantaras, according to the division of the four yugas," (including apparently the Kṛita) "there is declared to have existed a perfection effected by the observances of the castes and orders, and arising from the fulfilment of works;" but how is this to be reconciled with the express statement of verses 60 and 61, that "in the Kṛita age no works were performed which were either virtuous or sinful," and that "there then existed neither distinctions of caste or order, nor any mixture of castes?" In the Tretā age the state of deterioration continued, but no reference is made of any separation of classes till we come to verse 138, where it is said that the beings who in the Kṛita age had existed as the perfect mind-born sons of Brahmā, were now, as a consequence of their former actions, recalled into human existence, and in conformity with their previous characters as calm, fiery, laborious, or depressed, became Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and men of violence. These creatures, after they had been furnished with the means of subsistence, were eventually divided into classes, according to their varieties of disposition, character, and occupation; and as at first they did not fulfil their proper duties, but encroached upon each others'

provinces, their functions were afterwards more stringently defined and the means of enforcing obedience were provided. Here it is intimated that different sets of beings were born as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, on account of the different qualities which they had manifested in a previous existence, and that in conformity with those same characteristics they were afterwards formally distributed into castes. This description is therefore so far consistent with itself. The difference of caste is made to depend upon the dispositions of the soul. But how are we to reconcile this postulation of different characters formerly exhibited with the description given in the previous part of the narrative, where we are informed that, in the earlier parts, at least, of the Kṛita age, all men were alike perfect, and that no actions were performed which were either virtuous or vicious? If such was the case at that period, how could the beings who then existed have manifested those differences of disposition and character which are asserted to have been the causes of their being subsequently reborn as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Sūdras, and Vaiśyas? It may be admitted that the differences of character, which are attributed in the Purāṇa to the four primeval sets of a thousand pairs of human beings, correspond to those qualities which are described as having subsequently given rise to the division into castes; but the assertion of such a state of uniform and universal perfection, as is said to have intervened between the creation of mankind and the realization of caste, seems incompatible with the existence of any such original distinctions of a moral character.

As regards this entire account when compared with the other two descriptions of the creation given in the previous part of this section, the same remarks are applicable as have been made in the last section, p. 65 f., on the corresponding passages from the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

The chapter which I have just translated and examined, is followed immediately by the one of which I have already in a preceding page quoted the commencement, descriptive of the creation of Asuras, Gods, Fathers, etc., from the different bodies assumed and cast off successively by Brahmā.

I shall now give an extract from the following, or tenth chapter, in which the the legend of Śatarūpā is related.

Sūta uvācha | 1. *Evambhūteshu lokeshu Brahmaṇā loka-karttṛiṇā*[196] |

[196] This form *karttṛiṇā* (one which, as is well known, may be optionally employed in

yadā tāḥ na pravarttante prajāḥ kenāpi hetunā | 2. Tamo-mātrāvṛito Brahmā tadā-prabhṛiti duḥkhitaḥ | tataḥ sa vidadhe buddhim arthaniśchaya-gāminīm | 3. Athātmani samasrākshīt tamo-mātrāṁ nijātmikām | rajaḥ-sattvam parājitya varttamānaṁ sa dharmataḥ | 4. Tapyate tena duḥkhena śokaṁ chakre jagat-patiḥ | tamas tu vyanudat tasmād rajas tach cha samāvṛinot | 5. Tat tamaḥ pratinuttaṁ vai mithunaṁ samvyajāyata | adharmaś charaṇāj jajne hiṁsā śokād ajāyata | 6. Tatas tasmin samudbhūte mithune charaṇātmani | tataś cha bhagavān āsīt prītiśchainam aśiśriyat | 7. Svāṁ tanuṁ sa tato Brahmā tām apohad abhāsvarām | dvidhā 'karot sa taṁ deham ardhena purusho 'bhavat | 8. Ardhena nārī sā tasya Śatarūpā vyajāyata | prākṛitām bhūta-dhātrīm tāṁ kāmād vai sṛishṭavān vibhuḥ | 9. Sā divam pṛithivīṁ chaiva mahimnā vyāpya dhishṭhitā | Brahmaṇaḥ sā tanuḥ pūrvā divam āvṛitya tishṭhati | 10. Yā tv ardhāt sṛijate nārī Śatarūpā vyajāyata | sā devī niyataṁ taptvā tapaḥ parama-duścharam | bharttāram dīptayaśasam Purusham pratyapadyata | 11. Sa vai Svāyambhuvaḥ pūrvam Purusho Manur uchyate | tasyaikasaptati-yugam Manvantaram ihochyate | 12. Labdhvā tu purushaḥ patnīṁ Śatarūpām ayonijām | tayā sa ramate sārddham tasmāt sā Ratir uchyate | 13. Prathamaḥ samprayogaḥ sa kalpādau samavarttata | Virājam asṛijad Brahmā so 'bhavat Purusho Virāṭ | 14. Sa samrāṭ māsarūpāt tu vairājas tu Manuḥ smṛitaḥ | sa vairājaḥ prajā-sargaḥ sa sarge purusho Manuḥ | 15. Vairājāt purushād vīrāch chhatarūpā vyajāyata | Priyavratottānapādau putrau putravatāṁ varau |

"1. When the worlds had thus been formed by Brahmā their creator, but the creatures, for some reason did not engage in action,[197] (2) Brahmā, enveloped in gloom, and thenceforward dejected, formed a resolution tending to ascertain the fact. 3. He then created in himself (a body) of his own, formed of pure gloom (*tamas*), having overpowered the passion (*rajas*) and goodness (*sattva*) which existed (in him) naturally. 4. The Lord of the world was afflicted with that suffering, and la-

the neuter, but not in the masculine) is here used for metrical reasons. Such irregularities are, as we have seen, designated by the Commentators as *ārsha*. It is unlikely that Brahman should be here used in a neuter sense.

[197] The true reading here may be *pravarddhante*, in which case the sense will be "did not multiply." Compare the parallel passage in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 4, p. 64.

mented.[198] He then dispelled the gloom, and covered over the passion. 5. The gloom, when scattered, was formed into a pair.[199] Unrighteousness arose from activity (?), and mischief sprang from sorrow. 6. That active (?) pair having been produced, he became glorious (?) and pleasure took possession of him. 7. Brahmā after that cast off that body of his, which was devoid of lustre, and divided his person into two parts; with the half he became a male (*purusha*) (8) and with the half a female: it was Śatarūpā who was so produced to him. Under the impulse of lust he created her a material supporter of beings. 9. By her magnitude she pervaded both heaven and earth. That former body of Brahmā invests the sky. 10. This divine female Śatarūpā, who was born to him from his half, as he was creating, by incessantly practising austere fervour of a highly arduous description, acquired for herself as a husband a Male (*purusha*) of glorious renown. He is called of old the Male, Manu Svāyambhuva; and his period (*manvantara*) is declared to extend to seventy-one Yugas. 12. This Male, having obtained for his wife, Śatarūpā, not sprung from any womb, lived in dalliance with her (*ramate*); and from this she is called Rati (the female personification of sexual love). 13. This was the first cohabitation practised in the beginning of the Kalpa. Brahmā created Virāj; he was the Male, Virāj. 14. He is the sovereign (*samrāj*), from his having the form of a month; and Manu is known as the son of Virāj.[200] This creation of living beings is called that of Virāj. In this creation Manu is the male. 15. Śatarūpā bore to the heroic Purusha, son of Virāj, two sons, Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, the most eminent of these who have sons." This is followed by a further genealogy, into which I will not enter.

By comparing this account with the one extracted above, p. 64 f., from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 1 ff., it will be seen that while it makes no allusion to the production of Rudra, as related in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (which, as well as the birth of the mental sons of Brahmā, the Vāyu Purāṇa had described in the preceding chapter, verses 67–83), it is somewhat fuller in regard to the legend of Śatarūpā; and although it

[198] With this account of Brahmā's dejection and grief the accounts quoted above pp. 68 ff. from the Brāhmaṇas may be compared.

[199] Compare the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 7, 9 ff. quoted in p. 64 f.

[200] Compare the account given in Manu's Institutes, above, p. 36.

does not allow that Brahmā cohabited with his daughter, and assigns to her another husband, Manu Svāyambhūva, it describes the creator as having been actuated by carnal desire in generating her. I shall give further illustrations of this story in the next section.

Sect. IX.—*Legend of Brahmā and his daughter, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and of Śatarūpā, according to the Matsya Purāṇa.*

The story which forms the subject of the present section is noticed at some length in the fourth volume of this work, pp. 38–46, where one of the oldest passages in which it is related, is quoted from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 4, 1 ff., together with one of a comparatively late age from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, iii. 12, 28 ff. As however the legend, though repulsive in its character, is not without interest as illustrating the opinions which Indian mythologists have entertained regarding their deities, I shall quote two other texts in which it is narrated.

The first, from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 33, has, no doubt (along with the passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa just referred to, and another from the same work, xiv. 4, 2, 1 ff., quoted above, in p. 24 ff.), furnished the ideas which are expanded in the later versions of the story. It is as follows:

Prajāpatir vai svāṁ duhitaram abhyadhyāyat | Divam ity anye āhur Ushasam ity anye | tām ṛiśyo bhūtvā rohităm bhūtām abhyait | tam devā apaśyan | "akṛitaṁ vai Prajāpatiḥ karoti" iti | te tam aichhan yaḥ enam ārishyati | etam anyonyasmin na avindan | teshām yā eva ghoratamās tanvaḥ āsaṁs tāḥ ekadhā samabharan | tāḥ sambhṛitāḥ esha devo 'bhavat | tad asya etad bhūtavan-nāma | bhavati vai sa yo 'sya etad evaṁ nāma veda | taṁ devā abruvann "ayaṁ vai Prajāpatir akṛitam akar imam vidhya" iti | sa "tathā" ity abravīt | "sa vai vo varaṁ vriṇai" iti | "vriṇīshva" iti | sa etam eva varam avriṇīta paśūnām ādhipatyam | tad asya etat paśuman-nāma | paśumān bhavati yo 'sya etad evaṁ nāma veda | tam abhyāyatya avidhyat | sa viddhaḥ ūrddhve udaprăpatad ityādi[201] |

[201] See the translation of this passage given by Dr. Haug in his Aitareya Brāhmaṇa

"Prajāpati lusted after his own daughter. Some call her the Sky, others Ushas. Becoming a buck, he approached her after she had become a doe. The gods saw him; (and said) Prajāpati does a deed which was never done (before).[202] They sought some one who should take vengeance on him. Such a person they did not find among themselves. They then gathered together their most dreadful bodies. These when combined formed this god (Rudra). Hence (arises) his name connected with Bhūta (*Bhūtapati*). That man flourishes[203] who thus knows this name of his. The gods said to him, 'This Prajāpati has done a deed which was never done before: pierce him.' He replied, 'so be it,' (adding), 'let me ask a boon of you.' They rejoined, 'ask.' He asked for this boon, viz., lordship over cattle. Hence arises his name connected with Paśu (*Paśupati*). He who thus knows his name, becomes the owner of cattle. He then attacked (Prajāpati) and pierced him. He, when pierced, soared upwards," etc. etc.

The second passage I proposed to cite is from the Matsya Purāṇa, chapter iii. verses 32 ff.: *Etad tattvātmakaṁ kṛitvā jagad dvedhā ajījanat* | 33. *Sāvitrīm loka-siddhyartham hṛidi kṛitvā samāsthitaḥ* | *tataḥ sanjapatas tasya bhitvā deham akalmasham* | 34. *strī-rūpam arddham akarod arddham purusha-rūpavat* | *Satarūpā cha sā khyātā Sāvitrī cha nigadyate* | 35. *Sarasvaty atha Gāyatrī Brahmāṇī cha parantapa* | *tataḥ sa Brahmadevās tām ātmajām ity akalpayat* | 36. *Dṛishṭvā tāṁ vyathitas tāvat kāma-vāṇārdito vibhuḥ* | "*aho rūpam aho rūpam*" *ity uvācha tadā 'vyayaḥ* | 37. *Tato Vasishṭha-pramukhā* "*bhagiṇīm*" *iti chukruśuḥ* | *Brahmā na kinchid dadṛise tan-mukhālokanād ṛite* | 38. "*Aho rūpam aho rūpām*" *iti āha punaḥ punaḥ* | *tataḥ praṇāma-namrāṁ tām punas tām abhyalokayat* | 39. *Atha pradakshiṇām chakre sā pitur varavarṇinī* | *putrehhyo lajjitasyāsya tad-rūpāloka-nechhayā* | 40. *Āvirbhūtaṁ tato vaktram dakshiṇam pāṇḍu-gaṇḍavat* |

vol. ii. pp. 218 ff.; and the remarks on this translation by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, ix. 217 ff.; and also Professor Roth's explanation of the word *bhūtavat* in his Lexicon.

[202] This seems to be imitated in the line of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 30, quoted in vol. iv. of this work, p. 40: *naitat pūrvaiḥ kṛitaṁ tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare* | "This was never done by those before thee, nor will those after thee do it."

[203] *Bhavati.* In the Brāhmaṇas this verb has frequently the sense of prospering, as opposed to *parābhavati*, "he perishes." See Böthlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s. v., and the passages there referred to.

vismaya-sphurad-oshṭhaṁ cha pāśchātyam udagāt tataḥ | 41. *Chaturtham abhavat paśchād vāmaṁ kāma-śarāturam* | *tato 'nyad abhavat tasya kāmāturatayā tathā* | 42. *Utpatantyās tadā "kāśe ālokena kutūhalāt* | *sṛishṭy-arthaṁ yat kṛitam tena tapaḥ paramadāruṇam* | 43. *Tat sarvam nāśam agamat sva-sutopagamechhayā* | *tenāśu*[204] *vaktram abhavat panchamaṁ tasya dhīmataḥ* | 44. *Āvirbhavaj jaṭābhiścha tad vaktranchāvṛiṇot prabhuḥ* | *tatas tān abravīd Brahmā putrān ātma-samudbhavān* | 45. "*Prajāḥ sṛijadhvam abhitaḥ sa-devāsura-mānushāḥ*" | *evam uktās tataḥ sarve sasṛijur vividhāḥ prajāḥ* | 46. *Gateshu teshu sṛishṭyartham praṇāmāvanatām imām* | *upayeme sa viśvātmā S'atarūpām aninditām* | 47. *Sambabhūva tayā sārddham atikāmāturo vibhuḥ* | *salajjāṁ chakame devaḥ kamalodara-mandire* | 48. *Yāvad abda-śataṁ divyaṁ yathā 'nyaḥ prākṛito janaḥ* | *tataḥ kālena mahatā tasyāḥ putro 'bhavad Manuḥ* | 49. *Svāyambhuva iti khyātaḥ sa Virāḍ iti naḥ śrutam* | *tad-rūpa-guṇa-sāmānyād adhipūrusha uchyate* | 50. *Vairājā yatra te jātāḥ bahavaḥ saṁśita-vratāḥ* | *Svāyambhuvā mahābhāgāḥ sapta sapta tathā 'pare* | 51. *Svārochishādyāḥ sarve te Brahma-tulya-svarūpiṇaḥ* | *Auttami-pramukhās tadvad yeshāṁ tvaṁ saptamo 'dhunā* | (*Adhyāya.* 4.) *Manur uvācha* | 1. *Aho kashṭataraṁ chaitad angajāgamanaṁ vibhoḥ* | *Kathaṁ na dosham agamat karmaṇā tena Padmajaḥ* | 2. *Parasparañcha sambandhaḥ sagotrāṇām abhūt katham* | *vaivāhikas tat-sutānām chhindi me saṁśayaṁ vibho* | *Matsya uvācha* | 3. *Divyeyam ādi-sṛishṭis tu rajo-guṇa-samudbhavā* | *atīndriyendriyā tadvad atīndriya-śarīrikā* | 4. *Divya-tejomayī bhūpa divya-jnāna-samudbhavā* | *na chānyair abhitaḥ śakyā jnātuṁ vai māṁsa-chakshushā* | 5. *Yathā bhujangāḥ sarpāṇām ākāśe sarva-pakshiṇām* | *vidanti mārgām divyānāṁ divyā eva na mānavāḥ* | 6. *Kāryākāryeṇa devāścha śubhāśubha-phala-pradāḥ* | *yasmāt tasmād na rājendra tad-vichāro nṛiṇāṁ śubhaḥ* | 7. *Anyachcha sarva-devānām adhishṭhātā chaturmukhaḥ* | *gāyatrī Brahmaṇas tadvad anga-bhūtā nigadyate* | 8. *Amūrtta-mūrttimad vāpi mithunancha prachakshate* | *Viranchir. yatra bhagavāns tatra devī Sarasvatī* | 9. *Bhāratī yatra yatraiva tatra tatra Prajāpatiḥ* | *yathātapena rahitā chhāyā vai* (? *na*) *dṛiśyate kvachit* | 10. *Gāyatrī Brahmaṇaḥ pārśvam tathaiva na vimunchati* | *veda-rāśiḥ smṛito Brahmā Sāvitrī tad-adhishṭhitā* | 11. *Tasmād na kaśchid doshaḥ syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoḥ* | *tathāpi lajjāvanataḥ Prajāpatir abhūt purā* | 12. *Sva-sutopagamād Brāhmā śaśāpa Kusumāyudham* | *yasmād mamāpi*

[204] Instead of *tenāśu* the Gaikowar MS. reads *tenordhva.*

bhavatā manaḥ saṁkshobhitaṁ śaraiḥ | 13. *Tasmāt tvad-deham achirād Rudro bhasmīkarishyati* | *tataḥ prasādayāmāsa Kāmadevas Chaturmukham* | 14. " *Na mām akāraṇaṁ śaptuṁ tvam ihārhasi mām ava* | *aham evaṁ-vidhaḥ sṛishṭas tvayaiva chaturānana* | 15. *Indriya-kshobha-janakaḥ sarveshām eva dehinām* | *strī-puṁsor avichāreṇa mayā sarvatra sarvadā* | 16. *Kshobhyam manaḥ prayatnena tvayaivoktam purā vibho* | *tasmād anaparādhena tvayā śaptas tathā vibho* | 17. *Kuru prasādam bhagavan sva-śarīrāptaye punaḥ* | *Brahmā uvācha* | 18. *Vaivasvate 'ntare prāpte Yādavānvaya-sambhavaḥ* | *Rāmo nāma yadṛā martyo mat-sattva-balam āśritaḥ* | 19. *Avatīryyāsura-dhvaṁsī Dvārakām adhivatsyati* | *tad-dhātus tat-samaścha*[205] *tvaṁ tadā putratvam eshyasi ityādi* |

" 32. Having thus formed the universe, consisting of the principles, he generated a twofold creation, (33) having, with a view to the completion of the world, placed and kept Sāvitrī in his heart. Then as he was muttering prayers, he divided his spotless body (34) and gave to the half the form of a woman, and to the half that of a male. (This female) is called Śatarūpā, Sāvitrī, (35) Sarasvatī, Gāyatrī, and Brahmāṇī. Brahmā then took her for his daughter. 36. Beholding her, the imperishable deity, distressed, tortured with the arrows of love, exclaimed, 'o what beauty! o what beauty!' 37. Then (his sons) headed by Vasishṭha, cried aloud, '(our) sister.' Brahmā saw nothing else, looking only at her face; (38) and exclaimed again and again, 'o what beauty! o what beauty!' He then again gazed upon her, as she bend forward in obeisance. 39. The fair woman then made a circuit round her father. As on account of his sons he felt ashamed; from his desire of gazing on her beauty (40) there appeared (on his head) a southern face with pale cheeks; and there was afterwards manifested a western face with lips quivering with astonishment. 41. A fourth was subsequently formed, beautiful, disquieted by the arrows of love. Then another was produced from the disturbing influence of the same passion, (42) and from eagerness in gazing after her as she rose upwards in the sky. That austere fervour, extremely dreadful, which Brahmā had practised with a view to creation, (43) was entirely lost through his desire to approach his daughter (carnally). Through this was produced speedily the fifth face (or, according to one MS., the upper,

[205] Such appears to be the reading of the Gaikowar MS. The original reading of the Taylor MS. has been erased, and another substituted, *tatas tat-samaye tvam cha.*

the fifth face) of the wise deity, (44) which appeared with matted hair, and which he covered up. Brahmā then said to the sons who had sprung from him, (45) 'create living beings everywhere, gods, asuras, and men.' They, being thus addressed, created beings of various kinds. 46. When they had gone away for the purpose of creating, he, who is the universe, took for his wife the unblamed Śatarūpā. 47. Sickened with love, he cohabited with her: like any ordinary being, he loved her,—though she was full of shame—embowered in the hollow of a lotus, (48) for a hundred years of the gods. A long time after, a son was born to her, Manu (49) called Svāyambhuva, who, as we have heard, is Virāj. From their community of form and qualities he is called Adhipūrusha.[206] 50. From him were sprung those numerous Vairājas, steadfast in religious observances, those seven glorious sons of Svayambhū, and those other seven Manus, (51) beginning with Svārochisha and Auttami, in form equal to Brahmā, of whom thou[207] art now the seventh. (4th chapter) 1. Manu says: 'Ah! this is most afflicting, this entrance of love into the god. How was it that the lotus-born did not incur guilt by that act? 2. And how did a matrimonial connection take place between persons of the same family who were sprung from him? Solve this doubt of mine, o Lord. The Fish replied: 3. This primeval creation was celestial, produced from the quality of passion (*rajas*); it had senses removed beyond the cognizance of sense, and bodies of the same description, (4) was possessed of celestial energy, derived from celestial knowledge, and cannot be perfectly perceived by others with the eye of flesh. 5. Just as serpents know the path of serpents, and (beings living) in the sky know the path of all sorts of birds, so too the celestials alone, and not men, know the way of celestials. 6. And since it is the gods who award the recompence, favourable or unfavourable, according as good or bad deeds have been done,—it is not good for men to examine this (question). 7. Furthermore, the four-faced (Brahmā) is the ruler of all the gods, and in like manner the Gāyatrī is delared to be a member of Brahmā. 8. And, as

[206] Compare the Purusha Sukta, above p. 8, in the fifth verse of which the words *Virājo adhi pūrushah* occur. If the last two words are combined they give the name in the text.

[207] This account is given by the deity represented as incarnate in a Fish, to Manu Vaivasvata.

they say, there is a pair consisting of the formless, and of that which has form. Wherever the divine Viranchi (Brahmā) is, there is also the goddess Sarasvatī. 9. Wherever Bhāratī (a name of Sarasvatī) is, there is also Prajāpati. Just as shadow is nowhere seen without sunshine, (10) so Gāyatrī never forsakes the side of Brahmā. He is called the collected Veda, and Sāvitrī rests upon him; (11) there can therefore be no fault in his approaching her. Nevertheless, Brahmā, the lord of creatures, was bowed down with shame, (12) because he had approached his own daugther, and cursed Kusumāyudha [208] (Kāma), (in these words) 'As even my mind has been agitated by thy arrows, Rudra shall speedily reduce thy body to ashes.' Kāmadeva then propitiated the four-faced deity, saying, (14) 'Thou oughtest not to curse me without cause: preserve me. It is by thee thyself that I have been created with such a character, (15) an agitator of the organs of sense of all embodied creatures. The minds both of men and women must always and everywhere (16) be energetically stirred up by me without hesitation: this thou thyself hast formerly declared. It is therefore without any fault of mine that I have been thus cursed by thee. 17. Be gracious, lord, that I may recover my body.' Brahmā answered: 18. 'When the Vaivasvata Manvantara shall have arrived, a mortal, named Rāma, sprung from the Yādava race, deriving force from my essence, (19) and, becoming incarnate as a destroyer of Asuras, shall inhabit Dvārakā. Thou shalt then become a son of his substance and like to him," etc.

The narrator of this legend does not hesitate to depict in the strongest colours (though without the least approach to grossness) the helpless subjection of Brahmā to the influence of sexual desire. This illicit indulgence was regarded by the authors of the Satapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas as in the highest degree scandalous, and they do not attempt to palliate its enormity by any mystical explanation, such as that which we find in the Matsya Purāṇa. Whether this apology proceeded from the original narrator, or from a later writer of a more sensitive disposition, who perceived its inconsistency with any elevated idea of the superior powers, is difficult to say. It is quite possible that the same writer who gave his fancy scope in describing the unbecoming scene, of which the substance had been handed down in works regarded

[208] The word means "He whose weapons are flowers."

as authoritative, may also have thought it necessary to discover some device for counteracting the scandal. On the other hand, the original writer seems to cut himself off from the privilege of resorting to any mystical refinements to explain away the offence, by having in the first instance represented Brahmā's indulgence as on a level with that of ordinary beings. And even after the apology has been concluded, we are still told that Brahmā could not help feeling ashamed of what he had done. The writer of the explanation ought to have perceived that if his defence was of any value, the deity for whom he was apologizing had no ground for humiliation. But he did not venture to expunge the popular features of the story. The grounds on which the apology proceeds are partly of the same character as those which the writer of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa assumes in the passage (x. 33, 27 ff.) which is given in the fourth volume of this work, pp. 42 f., viz., that the gods are not to be judged on the same principles as men,—that "the celestials have laws of their own" (*sunt superis sua jura*). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa has, however, different measures for Brahmā and for Krishṇa; for whilst the adultery of the latter is defended in the verses just referred to, no desire is shown to vindicate the former in the other passage, iii. 12, 28 ff., adduced in the same volume, page 40.

As regards the details of the story according to the different Purāṇas, I may observe that while the Vishṇu, the Vāyu (see above, pp. 65, and 106), and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, xl. 13 f., represent Śatarūpā as the wife of Manu Svāyambhuva, the Matsya Purāṇa, as we have just seen, declares her to have been the spouse of Brahmā himself, and the mother of Manu Svāyambhuva.[209] This is repeated in the twenty-sixth verse of the fourth chapter:

Yā sā dehārddha-sambhūtā Gāyatrī brahma-vādinī | jananī yā Manor devī Śatarūpā Śatendriyā | 27. *Ratir Manas Tapo Buddhir mahad-ādi-samudbhavā*[210] | *tataḥ sa Śatarūpāyāṁ saptāpatyāny ajījanat* | 28. *Ye Marīchyādayaḥ putrāḥ mānasās tasya dhīmataḥ | teshām ayam abhūl lokaḥ sarva-jñānātmakaḥ purā* | 29. *Tato 'śrijad Vāmadevam triśūla-vara-dhārinam | Sanatkumārañcha vibhum pūrveshām api pūrvajam* | 30.

[209] Compare the account given in Manu's Institutes (above, p. 36), which does not coincide in all particulars with any of the Purāṇas here quoted.

[210] In this line the original readings are in several places erased in the Taylor MS. I have endeavoured to restore it with the help of the Gaikowar MS.

Vāmadevaś tu bhagavān asṛijad mukhato dvijān | rājanyān asṛijad bāhvor Viṭ-śūdrāv, ūru-pādayoḥ | . . . . 35. Svāyambhuvo Manur dhīmāṁs tapas taptvā suduścharam | patnīm avāpa rūpāḍhyām Anantām nāma nāmataḥ | Priyavratottānapādau Manus tasyām ajījanat |

"She who was produced from the half of his body, Gāyatrī the declarer of sacred science, she who was the mother of Manu, the goddess Śatarūpā (*i.e.* having a hundred forms), Śatendriyā (*i.e.* having a hundred senses), (27) (was also) Rati, Mind, Austere Fervour, Intellect, sprung from Mahat and the other principles. He then begot upon Śatarūpā seven sons. 28. This world, composed of all knowledge, sprang from Marīchi, and the others who were the mind-born sons of that wise Being. He next created Vāmadeva (Mahādeva), the wielder of the excellent trident, and the lord Sanatkumāra, born before the earliest. 30. Then the divine Vāmadeva created Brāhmans from his mouth, Rājanyas from his breast, the Viś and the Śūdra from his thighs and feet." [After describing in the following verses some other creations of Vāmadeva, the writer proceeds in verse 35:] "The wise Manu Svāyambhuva, having practised austere fervour of the most arduous kind, obtained a beautiful wife named Anantā. On her he begot Priyavrata and Uttānapāda."

Having made Manu the son of Śatarūpā, the writer was obliged to give him another female for a wife, as we see he has here done.

It will be observed that in this passage Vāmadeva—and not Brahmā, as in the other Purāṇas—is described as the creator of the four castes.

Sect. X.—*Quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa on the Creation, and on the Origin of Castes.*

The substance of the first of the following passages has already been stated above in a note on page 36. Part of it is also quoted in p. 54, and it is more fully cited in the fourth volume of this work, p. 29, but for facility of reference I repeat it here.

Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay edition) ii. 110, 1. *Kruddham ājñāya Rāmaṁ tu Vasishṭhaḥ pratyuvācha ha | Jābālir api jānīte lokasyāsya gatāgatim | 2. Nivarttayitu-kāmas tu tvām etad vākyam abravīt | imām loka-samut-*

pattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me | 3. *Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt pṛithivī tatra nirmitā* | *tataḥ samabhavat Brahmā Svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha* | 4. *Sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām* | *asṛijach cha jagat sarvaṁ saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ* | 5. *Ākāśaprabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nitya avyayaḥ* | *tasmād Marīchiḥ sanjajne Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ* | 6. *Vivasvān Kaśyapāj jajne Manur Vaivasvataḥ svayam* | *sa tu prajāpatiḥ pūrvam Ikshvākus tu Manoḥ sutaḥ* | 7. *Yasyeyam prathamaṁ dattā samṛiddhā Manunā mahī* | *tam Ikshvākum Ayodhyāyāṁ rājānaṁ viddhi pūrvakam* |

"1. Perceiving Rāma to be incensed[211] Vasishṭha replied: 'Jābāli also knows the destruction and renovation of this world. 2. But he spoke as he did from a desire to induce you to return. Learn from me, lord of the earth, this (account of) the origin of the world. 3. The universe was nothing but water. In it the earth was fashioned. Then Brahmā Svayambhū came into existence, with the deities. He next, becoming a boar, raised up the earth, and created the entire world, with the saints his sons. 5. Brahmā, the eternal, unchanging, and undecaying, was produced from the æther (*ākāśa*). From him sprang Marīchi, of whom Kaśyapa was the son. 6. From Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat: and from him was descended Manu, who was formerly the lord of creatures (*prajāpati*). Ikshvāku[212] was the son of Manu (7) and to him this prosperous earth was formerly given by his father. Know that this Ikshvāku was the former king in Ayodhyā."

The account which I next quote does not agree with the last in its details, as, besides representing the Prajāpatis or sons of Brahmā to be seventeen in number, it places Marīchi, Kaśyapa, and Vivasvat in the same rank as contemporaries, while the former narrative declares them to have been respectively father, son, and grandson.

Rāmāyaṇa iii. 14, 5. *Rāmasya vachanaṁ śrutvā kulam ātmānam eva cha* | *āchachakshe dvijas tasmai sarva-bhūta-samudbhavam* | 6. *Pūrvakāle mahābāho ye prajāpatayo 'bhavan* | *tān me nigadataḥ sarvān āditaḥ śṛiṇu Rāghava* | 7. *Kardamaḥ prathamas teshāṁ Vikṛitas tad-anantaram* | *S'eshaś cha Saṁśrayaś chaiva Bahuputraś cha vīryavān* | 8.

[211] On account of a materialistic and immoral argument which had been addressed to him by Jābāli to induce him to disregard his deceased father's arrangements regarding the succession to the throne. See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xix. pp. 303 ff.

[212] The name Ikshvāku occurs in R. V. x. 60, 4. See Professor Max Müller's article in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, pp. 451 and 462.

Sthāṇur Marīchir Atriś cha Kratuś chaiva mahābalaḥ | Pulastyaś chāṅgirāś chaiva Prachetāḥ Pulahas tathā | 9. Daksho Vivasvān aparo 'rishṭanemiś cha Rāghava | Kaśyapaś cha mahatejās teshām āsīch cha paśchimaḥ | 10. Prajāpates tu Dakshasya babhūvur iti viśrutāḥ | shashṭir duhitaro Rāma yaśasvinyo mahāyasāḥ | 11. Kaśyapaḥ pratijagrāha tāsām ashṭau sumadhyamāḥ | Aditiṁ cha Ditiṁ chaiva Danūm api cha Kālakām | 12. Tāmrāṁ Krodhavaśāṁ chaiva Manuṁ[213] *chāpy Analām api | tās tu kanyās tataḥ prītaḥ Kaśyapaḥ punar abravīt | 13. Putrāṁs trailokya-bhartṛīn vai janayishyatha mat-samān | Aditis tan-mānāḥ Rāma Ditiścha Danūr eva cha | 14. Kālakā cha mahābāho śeshās tv amanaso*[214] *'bhavan | Adityāṁ jajnire devās trayastriṁśad arindama | 15. Ādityā Vasavo Rudrā Aśvinau cha parantapa | . . . . 29. Manur manushyān janayat Kāśyapasya mahātmanaḥ | brāhmaṇān kshattriyān vaiśyān śūdrāṅś cha manujarshabha | 30. Mukhato brāhmaṇā jātāḥ urasaḥ kshattriyās tathā | ūrubhyāṁ jajnire vaiśyāḥ padbhyāṁ śūdrā iti śrutiḥ | 31. Sarvān puṇya-phalān vṛikshān Analā 'pi vyajāyata |*

"5. Having heard the words of Rāma, the bird (*Jaṭāyus*) made known to him his own race, and himself, and the origin of all beings. 6. 'Listen while I declare to you from the commencement all the Prajāpatis (lords of creatures) who came into existence in the earliest time. 7. Kardama was the first, then Vikṛita, Śesha, Samśraya, the energetic Bahuputra, (8) Sthāṇu, Marīchi, Atri, the strong Kratu, Pulastya, Angiras, Prachetas, Pulaha, (9) Daksha, then Vivasvat, Arishṭanemi, and the glorious Kaśyapa, who was the last. 10. The Prajāpati Daksha is famed to have had sixty daughters. 11. Of these Kaśyapa took in marriage eight elegant maidens, Aditi, Diti, Danū, Kālakā, (12) Tāmrā, Krodhavaśā, Manu,[215] and Analā. Kaśyapa, pleased, then said

[213] *Balām Atibalām api.*—Gorr. [214] *Manoratha-hīnāḥ.*—Comm.

[215] I should have doubted whether Manu could have been the right reading here, but that it occurs again in verse 29, where it is in like manner followed in verse 31 by Analā, so that it would certainly seem that the name Manu is intended to stand for a female, the daughter of Daksha. The Gauḍa recension, followed by Signor Gorresio (iii. 20, 12), adopts an entirely different reading at the end of the line, viz. *Balām Atibalām api*, "Balā and Atibalā," instead of Manu and Analā. I see that Professor Roth s.v. adduces the authority of the Amara Kosha and of the Commentator on Pāṇini for stating that the word sometimes means "the wife of Manu." In the following text of the Mahābhārata i. 2553, also, Manu appears to be the name of a female: *Anavadyām Manuṁ Vaṁśām Asurām Mārgaṇapriyām | Anūpām Subhagām Bhāsīm iti Prādhā vyajāyata |* "Prādhā (daughter of Daksha) bore Anavadyā, Manu, Vaṁśā, Asurā, Mārgaṇapriyā, Anūpā, Subhagā, and Bhāsī.

to these maids, (13) 'ye shall bring forth sons like to me, preservers of the three worlds.' Aditi, Diti, Danū, (14) and Kālakā assented; but the others did not agree. Thirty-three gods were borne by Aditi, the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, and the two Aśvins." [The following verses 15–28 detail the offspring of Diti, Danū, Kālakā, Tāmrā, Krodhavaśā, as well as of Kraunchī, Bhāsī, Śyenī, Dhṛitarāshṭrī, and Śukī the daughters of Kālakā, and of the daughters of Krodhavaśā. (Compare the Mahābharata, i. 2620–2635; and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii. pp. 72 f.) After this we come upon Manu and the creation of mankind.] "29. Manu, (wife) of Kaśyapa,[216] produced men, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras. 30. 'Brāhmans were born from the mouth, Kshattriyas from the breast, Vāiśyas from the thighs, and Śūdras from the feet,' so says the Veda. 31. Analā gave birth to all trees with pure fruits."

It is singular to observe that in this passage, after having represented men of all castes as sprung from Manu, the writer next adds a verse to state, on the authority of the Veda, that the different castes were produced from the different parts of the body out of which they issued. Unless Manu's body be here meant, there is a contradiction between the two statements. If Manu's body is meant, the assertion conflicts with the common account. And if the Manu here mentioned is, as appears from the context, a woman, we should naturally conclude that her offspring was born in the ordinary way; especially as she is said to have been one of the wives of Kaśyapa.

The next passage from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, 74, 8 f., describes the condition of men in the Kṛita age, and the subsequent introduction of the caste system in the Tretā. The description purports to have been occasioned by an incident which had occurred just before. A Brāhman had come to the door of Rāma's palace in Ayodhyā, carrying the body of his dead son,[217] and bewailing his loss, the blame

[216] The text reads Kāśyapa, "a descendant of Kāśyapa," who, according to Rām. ii. 110, 6, ought to be Vivasvat. But as it is stated in the preceding part of this passage iii. 14, 11 f. that Manu was one of Kāśyapa's eight wives, we must here read Kāśyapa. The Gauḍa recension reads (iii. 20, 30) *Manur manushyāṁś cha tathā janayāmāsa Rāghava*, instead of the corresponding line in the Bombay edition.

[217] The boy is said, in 73, 5, to have been *aprāpta-yauvanam bālam pancha-varsha-sahasrakam* | "a boy of five thousand years who had not attained to puberty!" The Commentator says that *varsha* here means not a year, but a day (*varsha-śabdo 'tra*

of which (as he was himself unconscious of any fault) he attributed to some misconduct on the part of the king. Rāma in consequence convoked his councillors, when the divine sage Nārada spoke as follows:

8. *Śṛiṇu rājan yathā 'kāle prāpto bālasya sankshayaḥ | śrutvā karttavyatāṁ rājan kurushva Raghunandana | 9. purā kṛita-yuge rājan brāhmaṇā vai tapasvinaḥ | 10. Abrāhmaṇas tadā rājan na tapasvī kathanchana | tasmin yuge prajvalite brahmabhūte tv anāvṛite | 11. Amṛityavas tadā sarve jajnire dīrgha-darśinaḥ | tatas tretā-yugaṁ nāma mānavānāṁ vapushmatām | 12. Kshattriyā yatra jāyante pūrveṇa tapasā 'nvitāḥ | vīryyeṇa tapasā chaiva te 'dhikāḥ pūrva-janmani | mānavā ye mahātmānas tatra tretā-yuge yuge | 13. Brahma kshattraṁ cha tat sarvaṁ yat pūrvam avaraṁ cha yat | yugayor ubhayor asīt sama-vīryya-samanvitam | 14. Apaśyantas tu te sarve viśesham adhikaṁ tataḥ | sthāpanaṁ chakrire tatra chāturvarṇyasya sammatam | 15. Tasmin yuge prajvalite dharmabhūte hy anāvṛite | adharmaḥ pādam ekaṁ tu pātayat pṛithivītale | . . . . 19. Pātite tv anṛite tasminn adharmeṇa mahītale | śubhāny evācharal lokaḥ satya-dharma-parāyaṇaḥ | 20. Tretā-yuge cha varttante brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāś cha ye | tapo 'tapyanta te sarve śuśrūshām apare janāḥ | 21. Sva-dharmaḥ paramas teshāṁ vaiśya-śūdraṁ tadā "gamat | pūjāṁ cha sarva-varṇānāṁ śūdrāś chakrur viśeshataḥ | . . . . . 23. Tataḥ pādam adharmasya dvitīyam avātārayat | tato dvāpara-sankhyā sā yugasya samajāyata | 24. Tasmin dvāparā-sankhye tu varttamāne yuga-kshaye | adharmaś chānritaṁ chaiva vavṛidhe purusharshabha | 25. Asmin dvāpara-sankhyāte tapo vaiśyān samāviśat | tribhyo yugebhyas trīn varṇān kramād vai tapa āviśat | 26. Tribhyo yugebhyas trīn varṇān dharmaścha parinishṭhitaḥ | na śūdro labhate dharmaṁ yugatas tu nararshabha | 27. Hīna-varṇo nṛipa-śreshṭha tapyate sumahat tapaḥ | bhavishyachchhūdrayonyāṁ hi tapaś-charyā kalau yuge | 28. adharmaḥ paramo rājan dvāpare śūdra-janmanaḥ | sa vai vishaya-paryante tava rājan mahātapāḥ | 29. Adya tapyati durbuddhis tena bāla-badho hy ayam |*

Nārada speaks: 8. "Hear, o king, how the boy's untimely death occurred: and having heard the truth regarding what ought to be

dinaparaḥ),—just as it does in the ritual prescription that a man should perform a sacrifice lasting a thousand years ("*sahasra-saṁvatsaraṁ satram upāsīta*" *iti vat*),—and that thus some interpreters made out the boy's age to be sixteen, and others under fourteen. But this would be a most unusual mode of reckoning age.

done, do it. 9. Formerly, in the Kṛita age, Brāhmans alone practised austere fervour (*tapas*). 10. None who was not a Brāhman did so in that enlightened age, instinct with divine knowledge (or, with Brahma), unclouded (by darkness). 11. At that period all were born immortal, and far-sighted. Then (came) the Tretā age, the era of embodied men, (12) in which the Kshattriyas were born, distinguished still by their former austere fervour; although those men who were great in the Tretā age had been greater, both in energy and austere fervour, in the former birth. 13. All the Brāhmaṇs and Kshattriyas, both the former and the later, were of equal energy in both Yugas.[218] 14. But not perceiving any more distinction (between the then existing men) they all[219] next established the approved system of the four castes. 15. Yet in that enlightened age, instinct with righteousness, unclouded (by darkness), unrighteousness planted one foot upon the earth." [After some other remarks (verses 16–18), which are in parts obscure, the writer proceeds:] 19. "But, although this falsehood had been planted upon the earth by unrighteousness, the people, devoted to true righteousness, practised salutary observances. 20. Those Brāhmans and Kshattriyas who lived in the Tretā practised austere fervour, and the rest of mankind obedience. 21. (The principle that) their own duty was the chief thing pervaded the Vaiśyas and Śūdras among them: and the Śūdras especially paid honour to all the (other) classes. . . . . 23. Next the second foot of unrighteousness was planted on the earth, and the number of the Dvāpara (the third yuga) was produced. 24. When this deterioration of the age numbered as the Dvāpara, had come into existence,

[218] The Commentator says, this means that in the Kṛita age the Brāhmans were superior, and the Kshattriyas inferior (as the latter had not then the prerogative of practising *tapas*), but that in the Tretā both classes were equal (*ubhayor yugayor madhye kṛita-yuge brahma pūrvam tapo-vīryābhyām utkṛishṭam kshattraṁ chāvaraṁ cha tābhyāṁ tapo-vīryābhyāṁ nyūnam āsīt | tat sarvam brahma-kshattra-rūpam ubhayam tretāyām sama-vīrya-samanvitam āsīt | kṛite kshattriyānām tapasy anadhikārāt tadyugīyebhyo brāhmaṇebhyas teshām nyūnatā | tretāyām tu ubhayo rapi tapo-'dhikārād ubhāv api tapo-vīryābhyām samau* | But in the previous verse (12) it is said that the Kshattriyas were born in the Tretā distinguished by their former *tapas*. But perhaps they were formerly Brahmans, according to verses 9, 10, and 12.

[219] Manu and other legislators of that age, according to the Commentator (*Manvādayaḥ sarve tātkālikāḥ dharma-pravarttanādhikṛitāḥ*). He adds that in the Kṛita age all the castes were spontaneously devoted to their several duties, although no fixed system had been prescribed (*kṛite tu vinaiva sthāpanam svayam eva 'sarve varṇāḥ sva-sva-dharma-ratāḥ*).

unrighteousness and falsehood increased. 25. In this age, numbered as the Dvāpara, austere fervour entered into the Vaiśyas. Thus in the course of three ages it entered into three castes; (26) and in the three ages righteousness (*dharma*) was established in three castes. But the Śūdra does not attain to righteousness through the (lapse of these three) ages. 27. A man of low caste performs a great act of austere fervour. Such observance will belong to the future race of Śūdras in the Kali age, (28) but is unrighteous in the extreme if practised by that caste in the Dvāpara. On the outskirts of thy territory such a foolish person, of intense fervour, is practising austerity. Hence this slaughter of the boy."

Here then was a clue to the mystery of the young Brāhman's death. A presumptuous Śūdra, paying no regard to the fact that in the age[220] in which he lived the prerogative of practising self-mortification had not yet descended to the humble class to which he belonged, had been guilty of seeking to secure a store of religious merit by its exercise. Rāma mounts his car Pushpaka, makes search in different regions, and at length comes upon a person who was engaged in the manner alleged. The Śūdra, on being questioned, avows his caste, and his desire to conquer for himself the rank of a god by the self-mortification he was undergoing. Rāma instantly cuts off the offender's head. The gods applaud the deed, and a shower of flowers descends from the sky upon the vindicator of righteousness. Having been invited to solicit a boon from the gods, he asks that the Brāhman boy may be resuscitated, and is informed that he was restored to life at the same moment when the Śūdra was slain. (Sections 75 and 76.)[221]

The following curious account of the creation of mankind, among whom it states that no distinction of class (or colour) originally existed, is given in the Uttara Kānda, xxx. 19 ff., where Brahmā says to Indra:

Amarendra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ sṛishṭās tathā prabho | eka-varṇāḥ sama-bhāshā eka-rūpāś cha sarvaśaḥ | 20. *Tāsāṁ nāsti viśesho hi darśane lakshaṇe 'pi vā | tato 'ham ekāgramanās tāḥ prajāḥ samachintayam* | 21. *So 'ham tāsāṁ viśeshārtham striyam ekām vinirmame | yad yat prajānām pratyangam viśishṭaṁ tat tad uddhṛitam* | 22. *Tato mayā*

[220] The Tretā, according to the Commentator.

[221] See the Rev. Professor Banerjea's Dialogues on the Hindu philosophy, pp. 44 ff., where attention had previously been drawn to the story.

rūpa-guṇair ahalyā strī vinirmitā | halam nāmeha vairūpyaṁ halyaṁ tat-prabhavam bhavet | 23. Yasyā na vidyate halyam tenāhalyeti viśrutā | Ahalyety eva cha mayā tasyā nāma prakīrttitam | 24. Nirmitāyāṁ cha devendra tasyām nāryāṁ surarshabha | bhavishyatīti kasyaishā mama chintā tato 'bhavat | 25. Tvaṁ tu Śakra tadā nārīṁ jānīshe manasā prabho | sthānādhikatayā patnī mamaisheti purandara | 26. Sa mayā nyāsa-bhūtā tu Gautamasya mahātmanaḥ | nyastā bahūni varshāṇi tena niryātitā cha ha | 27. Tatas tasya parijnāya mahāsthairyam mahāmuneḥ | jnātvā tapasi siddhiṁ cha patny-arthaṁ sparśitā tadā | 28. Sa tayā saha dharmātmā ramate sma mahāmuniḥ | āsan nirāśā devās tu Gautame dattayā tayā | 29. Tvaṁ kruddhas tv iha kāmātmā gatvā tasyāśramam muneḥ | dṛishṭavāṁś cha tadā tām strīṁ dīptām agniśikhām iva | 30. Sā tvayā dharshitā Śakra kāmārttena samanyunā | dṛishṭas tvaṁ cha tadā tena āśrame paramarshiṇā | 31. Tataḥ kruddhena tenāsi śaptaḥ paramatejasā | gato 'si yena devendra daśā-bhāga-viparyayam |

"19. O chief of the immortals (Indra) all creatures were formed by my will of one class (or colour), with the same speech, and uniform in every respect. 20. There was no distinction between them in appearance, or in characteristic marks. I then intently reflected on these creatures. 21. To distinguish between them I fashioned one woman. Whatever was most excellent in the several members of different creatures was taken from them, (22) and with this (aggregate) I formed a female, faultless in beauty and in all her qualities. *Hala* means 'ugliness,' and *halya*, 'what is produced from ugliness.' 23. The woman in whom there is no *halya*, is called *Ahalyā*. And this was her name to which I gave currency. 24. When this female had been fashioned, I anxiously considered to whom she should belong. 25. Thou, Indra, didst, from the eminence of thy rank, determine in thy mind, 'She must be my spouse.' 26. I, however, gave her in trust to the great Gautama; and after having retained her in charge for many years, he restored her. 27. Knowing then the great steadfastness of that distinguished Muni, and the perfection of his austere fervour, I, in due form, gave her to him for his wife. 28. The holy sage lived with her in the enjoyment of connubial love. But the gods were filled with despair when she had been given away to Gautama. 29. And thou, Indra, angry, as well as inflamed with lust, wentest to the Muni's hermitage,

and didst behold that female brilliant as the flame of fire. 30. She was then corrupted by thee who wert tormented by lust, as well as heated by anger.[222] But thou wert then seen by the eminent rishi in the hermitage, (31) and cursed by that glorious being in his indignation. Thou didst in consequence fall into a reverse of condition and fortune," etc., etc.

SECT. XI.—*Extracts from the Mahābhārata on the same subjects.*

The first passage which I shall adduce is from the Ādi Parvan, or first book, verses 2517 ff.:

Vaiśampāyana uvācha | hanta te kathayishyāmi namaskṛitya Svayambhuve | surādīnām ahaṁ samyak lokānām prabhavāpyayam | Brahmaṇo mānasāḥ putrāḥ viditāḥ shaṇ-maharshayaḥ | Marīchir Atry-angirasau Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ | Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu prajā imāḥ | prajajnire mahābhāgā Daksha-kanyās trayodaśa | 2520. Aditir Ditir Danuḥ Kālā Danāyuḥ Siṁhikā tathā | Krodhā Pradhā eha Viśvā cha Vinatā Kapilā Muniḥ | Kadrūś cha manujavyāghra Daksha-kanyaiva Bhārata | etāsāṁ vīrya-sampannam putra-pautram anantakam |

"Vaiśampayana said: I shall, after making obeisance to Svayambhū, relate to thee exactly the production and destruction of the gods and other beings. Six[223] great rishis are known as the mind-born sons

[222] In regard to this story of Indra and Ahalyā, as well as to that of Brahmā and his daughter, above referred to, see the explanation given by Kumārila Bhatta, as quoted by Professor Max Müller in his Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 529 f. The name of Ahalyā is there allegorically interpreted of the night, to which this name is said to have been given because it is absorbed in the day (*ahani līyamānatayā*). Indra is the sun.

[223] Another passage (S'ānti-p. 7569 ff.) raises the number of Brahmā's sons to seven by adding Vasishṭha: *Ekaḥ Svayambhūr bhagavān ādyo Brahmā sanātanaḥ | Brahmaṇaḥ sapta vai putrā mahātmānaḥ Svayambhuvaḥ | Marīchir Atry-Angirasau Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ | Vaśishṭhaś'cha mahābhāgaḥ sadṛiśo vai Svayambhuvā | sapta Brahmāṇa ity ete purāṇe niśchayaṁ gatāḥ |* "There is one primeval eternal lord, Brahmā Svayambhū; who had seven great sons, Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasishṭha, who was like Svayambhū. These are the seven Brahmās who have been ascertained in the Puranic records." In another part of the same S'āntiparvan, verses 12685 ff., however, the Prajāpatis are increased to twenty-one: *Brahmā Sthāṇur Manur Daksho Bhṛigur Dharmas tathā Yamaḥ | Marīchir Angirā 'triścha Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ | Vaśishṭhaḥ Parameshṭhī cha Vivasvān Soma eva cha | Kardamaś chāpi yaḥ proktaḥ Krodho Vikṛīta eva cha | ekaviṁśatir utpannās te prajāpatayaḥ smṛitāḥ |* "There are reputed to have been twenty-one Prajāpatis produced, viz. Brahmā, Sthāṇu, Manu, Daksha, Bhṛigu, Dharma, Yama, Marīchi,

of Brahmā, viz., Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu. Kaśyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kaśyapa sprang these creatures. There were born to Daksha thirteen daughters of eminent rank, (2520) Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kālā, Danāyu, Simhikā, Krodhā, Pradhā, Viśvā, Vinatā, Kapilā, and Muni.[224] Kadrū also was of the number. These daughters had valorous sons and grandsons innumerable."

Daksha, however, had other daughters, as we learn further on in verses 2574 ff., where the manner of his own birth also is related:

Dakshas tv ajāyatāngushṭhād dakshiṇād bhagavān ṛishiḥ | Brahmaṇaḥ pṛithivīpāla śāntātmā sumahātapāḥ | vāmād ajāyatāngushṭhād bhāryā tasya mahātmanaḥ | tasyām panchāśatam kanyāḥ sa evājanayad muniḥ | . . . . 2577. *Dadau cha daśa Dharmāya saptaviṁśatim Indave | divyena vidhina rājan Kaśyapāya trayodaśa |* . . . . . 2581. *Paitāmahaḥ Manur devas tāsya putraḥ prajāpatiḥ | tasyāshṭau Vasavaḥ putrās teshām vakshyāmi vistaram |* . . . . . 2595. *Stanaṁ tu dakshiṇam bhitvā Brahmaṇo nara-vigrahaḥ | nissṛito bhagavān Dharmaḥ sarva-loka-sukhāvahaḥ | trayas tasya varāḥ putrāḥ sarva-bhūta-manoharāḥ | S'amaḥ Kāmaś cha Harshaś cha tejasā loka-dhāriṇaḥ |* . . . . . 2610. *Ārushī to Manoḥ kanyā tasya patnī manīshiṇaḥ |* . . . . . 2614. *Dvau putrau Brahmaṇas tv anyau yayos tishṭhati lakshaṇam | loke Dhātā Vidhātā cha yau sthitau Manunā saha | tayor eva svasā devī Lakshmī padma-gṛihā śubhā | tasyās tu mānasāḥ putrās turagāḥ vyoma-chāriṇaḥ |* . . . . . 2617. *Prajānām annakāmānām anyonya-paribhakshaṇāt | Adharmas tatra sanjātaḥ sarva-bhūta-vināśakaḥ | tasyāpi Nirṛitir bhāryā nairṛitā yena Rākshasāḥ | ghorās tasyās trayaḥ putrāḥ pāpa-karma-ratāḥ sadā | Bhayo Mahābhayas chaiva Mṛityur bhūtāntakas tathā | na tasya bhāryā putro vā kaśchid asty antako hi saḥ |*

Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasishṭha, Parameshṭhin, Vivasvat, Soma, the person called Kardama, Krodha, and Vikrīta." (Here, however, only twenty names are specified including Brahmā himself.) Compare this list with those quoted above, p. 116, from the Rāmāyaṇa, iii. 14, 7 ff., from Manu in p. 36, and from the Vishṇu P. in p. 65.

[224] That Muni is a name, and not an epithet, is shown (1) by the fact that we have otherwise only twelve names; and (2) by her descendants, both gods and gandharvas, being afterwards enumerated in verses 2550 ff. (*ity ete deva-gandharvā Mauneyāḥ parikīrttitāḥ*). Kapilā, another of the thirteen daughters of Daksha is said to have been the mother of Ambrosia, Brāhmans, kine, Gandharvas and Apsarasas (*amṛitam brāhmaṇā gāvo gandharvāpsarasas tathā | apatyam kapilāyās tu purāṇe parikīrtitam |*).

"2574. Daksha, the glorious rishi, tranquil in spirit, and great in austere fervour, sprang from the right thumb of Brahmā.[225] From the left thumb sprang that great Muni's wife, on whom he begot fifty[226] daughters. Of these he gave ten to Dharma, twenty-seven to Indu (Soma),[227] and according to the celestial system, thirteen to Kaśyapa." I proceed with some other details given in the verses I have extracted: 2581. "Pitāmaha's descendant, Manu, the god and the lord of creatures, was his (it does not clearly appear whose) son. The eight Vasus, whom I shall detail, were his sons. . . . . 2595. Dividing the right breast of Brahmā, the glorious Dharma (Righteousness), issued in a human form, bringing happiness to all people. He had three eminent sons, Sama, Kāma, and Harsha (Tranquillity, Love, and Joy), who are the delight of all creatures, and by their might support the world. . . . . 2610. Arushī, the daughter of Manu, was the wife of that sage (Chyavana, son of Bhrigu). . . . . 2614. There are two other sons of Brahmā, whose mark remains in the world, Dhātṛi,[228] and Vidhātṛi, who remained with Manu. Their sister was the beautiful goddess Lakshmī,[229] whose home is in the lotus. Her mind-born sons are the steeds who move in the sky. . . . . 2617. When the creatures who were desirous of food, had devoured one another, Adharma (Unrighteousness) was produced, the destroyer of all beings. His wife was Nirṛiti, and hence the Rākshasas are called Nairṛitas, or the offspring of Nirṛiti. She had three dreadful sons, continually addicted to evil deeds, Bhaya Mahābhaya (Fear and Terror) and Mṛityu (Death) the ender of beings. He has neither wife, nor any son, for he is the ender."[230]

The next passage gives a different account of the origin of Daksha; and describes the descent of mankind from Manu:

Adip. 3128. *Tejobhir uditāḥ sarve maharshi-sama-tejasaḥ | daśa Pra-*

[225] See above, p. 72 f. The Matsya P. also states that Daksha sprang from Brahmā's right thumb, Dharma from his nipple, Kāma from his heart, etc.

[226] The passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, quoted above, p. 116, affirms that they were sixty in number. Compare Wilson's Vishṇu P. vol. i. pp. 109 ff., and vol. ii. pp. 19 ff.

[227] The Taitt. Sanhitā, ii. 3, 5, 1, says Prajāpati had thirty-three daughters, whom he gave to King Soma (*Prajāpates trayastriṁśad duhitara āsan | tāḥ Somāya rājne 'dadāt*).

[228] Dhātṛi had been previously mentioned, in verse 2523, as one of the sons of Aditi. See also Wilson's Vishṇu P. ii. 152.

[229] See Wilson's Vishṇu P. i. pp. 109, 118 ff., 144 ff. and 152.

[230] The Vishṇu P. (Wilson, i. 112) says he had five children.

chetasaḥ putrāḥ santaḥ punya-janāḥ smṛitāḥ | mukhajenāgninā yais te pūrvaṁ dagdhā mahaujasaḥ | tebhyaḥ Prāchetaso jajne Daksho Dakshād imāḥ prajāḥ | sambhūtāḥ purusha-vyāghra sa hi loka-pitāmahaḥ | Vīriṇyā saha sangamya Dakshaḥ Prāchetaso muniḥ | ātma-tulyān ajanayat sahasraṁ śaṁsita-vratān | sahasra-sankhyān sambhūtān Daksha-putrāṁś cha Nāradaḥ | moksham adhyāpayāmāsa sānkhya-jnānam anuttamam | tataḥ panchāśataṁ kanyāḥ putrikāḥ abhisandadhe | Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ Dakshaḥ sisṛikshur Janamejaya | dadau cha daśa Dharmāya Kaśyapāya trayodaśa | kālasya nayane yuktāḥ saptaviṁśatim Indave | 3135. *Trayodaśānām patnīnām yā tu Dākshāyaṇī varā | Mārīchaḥ Kaśyapas tasyām Ādityān samajījanat | Indrādīn vīryya-sampannān Vivasvantam athāpi cha | Vivasvataḥ suto jajne Yamo Vaivasvataḥ prabhuḥ | Mārtaṇḍasya Manur dhīmān ajāyata sutaḥ prabhuḥ | Yamaś chāpi suto jajne khyātas tasyānujaḥ prabhuḥ | dharmātmā sa Manur dhīmān yatra vaṁśaḥ pratishṭhitaḥ | Manor vaṁśo mānavānām tato 'yam prathito 'bhavat | brahma-kshatrādayas tasmād Manor jātās tu mānavāḥ | tato 'bhavad mahārāja brahma kshattreṇa sangatam |* 3140. *Brāhmaṇā mānavās teshām sāngam vedam adhārayan | Venam Dhṛishṇuṁ Narishyantam Nābhāgekshvākum eva cha | Kārūsham atha Śāryatiṁ tathā chaivāshṭamīm Ilām | Pṛishadhraṁ navamam prāhuḥ kshattra-dharma-parāyaṇam | Nābhāgāriśhṭa-daśamān Manoḥ putrān prachakshate | pañchāśat tu Manoḥ putrās tathaivānye 'bhavan kshitau | anyonya-bhedāt te sarve vineśur iti naḥ śrutam | Purūravas tato vidvān Ilāyaṁ samapadyata | sā vai tasyābhavad mātā pitā chaiveti naḥ śrutam |*

"3128. Born all with splendour, like that of great rishis, the ten sons of Prachetas are reputed to have been virtuous and holy; and by them the glorious beings[231] were formerly burnt up by fire springing from their mouths. From them was born Daksha Prāchetasa;[232] and from Daksha, the Parent of the world (were produced), these creatures. Cohabiting with Vīriṇī, the Muni Daksha begot a thousand sons like himself, famous

[231] "Trees and plants," according to the Commentator (*mahāprabhāvā vṛikshaushadhayāḥ*). Compare Wilson's Vishṇu P. ii. p. 1.

[232] The same account of Daksha's birth is given in the Śāntip. 7573: *Daśānāṁ tanayas tv eko Daksho nāma prajāpatiḥ | tasya dve nāmanī loke Dakshaḥ Ka iti chochyate |* "These ten Prachetases had one son called Daksha, the lord of creatures. He is commonly called by two names, Daksha and Ka." (Compare vol. iv. of this work, p. 13, note 30, and p. 24; and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 1, 19, and ii. 4, 4, 1, there quoted.) The following verse 7574 tells us that Kaśyapa also had two names, the other being Arishṭanemi. See Rām. iii. 14, 9, quoted above.

for their religious observances, to whom Nārada taught the doctrine of final liberation, the unequalled knowledge of the Sānkhya. Desirous of creating offspring, the Prajāpati Daksha next formed fifty daughters, of whom he gave ten to Dharma, thirteen to Kaśyapa, and twenty-seven, devoted to the regulation of time,[233] to Indu (Soma). . . . . 3135. On Dākshāyanī,[234] the most excellent of his thirteen wives, Kaśyapa, the son of Marīchi, begot the Ādityas, headed by Indra and distinguished by their energy, and also Vivasvat.[235] To Vivasvat was born a son, the mighty Yama Vaivasvata. To Mārtaṇḍa (*i.e.* Vivasvat, the Sun) was born the wise and mighty Manu, and also the renowned Yama, his (Manu's) younger brother. Righteous was this wise Manu, on whom a race was founded. Hence this (family) of men became known as the race of Manu. Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and other men sprang from this Manu. From him, o king, came the Brāhman conjoined with the Kshattriya. 3140. Among them the Brāhmans, children of Manu, held the Veda with the Vedāngas. The children of Manu are said to have been Vena, Dhṛishṇu, Narishyanta, Nābhāga, Ikshvāku, Kārusha, Śaryāti, Ilā the eight, Pṛishadra the ninth, who was addicted to the duties of a Kshattriya, and Nābhāgārishṭa the tenth. Manu had also fifty other sons; but they all, as we have heard, perished in consequence of mutual dissensions. Subsequently the wise Purūravas was born of Ilā, who, we heard, was both his mother and his father."

The tradition, followed in this passage, which assigns to all the castes one common ancestor, removed by several stages from the creator, is, of course, in conflict with the account which assigns to them a fourfold descent from the body of Brahmā himself.

The Śāntiparvan, verses 2749 ff., contains an account of the origin of castes which has evidently proceeded from an extreme assertor of the dignity of the Brahmanical order. The description given of the prerogatives of the priestly class is precisely in the style, and partly in almost the identical words, of the most extravagant declarations of

[233] This phrase *kālasya nayane yuktāḥ* had previously occurred in verse 2580, where it is followed by the words *sarvā nakshatra-yoginyo loka-yātrā-vidhānataḥ* | "all identified with the lunar asterisms, and appointed to regulate the life of men." See also Vishṇu P. i. 15, 56, and Professor Wilson's translation ii. p. 10, note 1, and p. 28, note 1.

[234] *i.e.* Aditi. See verses 2520, 2522, and 2600 of this same book.

[235] The account in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 5 ff., agrees with this in making Kaśyapa son of Marīchi, and father of Vivasvat.

Manu (i. 99 f.) on the same subject. In other places, however, the Mahābhārata contains explanations of a very different character regarding the origin of the distinctions, social and professional, which prevailed at the period of its composition. A comparison of these various passages will afford an illustration of the fact already intimated in p. 6,[236] that this gigantic poem is made up of heterogeneous elements, the products of different ages, and representing widely different dogmatical tendencies, the later portions having been introduced by successive editors of the work to support their own particular views, without any regard to their inconsistency with its earlier contents. In fact, a work so vast, the unaided compilation of which would have taxed all the powers of a Didymus Chalkenterus, could scarcely have been created in any other way than that of gradual accretion. And some supposition of this kind is certainly necessary in order to explain such discrepancies as will be found between the passages I have to quote, of which the three first are the productions of believers (real or pretended) in the existence of a natural distinction between their own Brahmanical order and the other classes of the community, while the two by which these three are followed have emanated from fair and moderate writers who had rational views of the essential unity of mankind, and of the superiority of moral and religious character to any factitious divisions of a social description.

In the first passage, Bhīshma, the great uncle of the Pāndus, when describing to Yudhishthira the duties of kings, introduces one of those ancient stories which are so frequently appealed to in the Mahābhārata. Without a minute study of the poem it would be difficult to say whether these are ever based on old traditions, or are anything more than mere vehicles invented to convey the individual views of the writers who narrate them. Bhīshma says, Śāntiparvan, 2749 :

Ya eva tu sato rakshed asataś cha nivarttayet | sa eva rājnā karttavyo rājan rāja-purohitaḥ | 2750. Atrāpy udāharantīmam itihāsam purātanam | Purūravasa Ailasya saṁvādam Mātariśvanaḥ | Purūravā uvācha | Kutaḥ svid brāhmaṇo jāta varṇāś chāpi kutas trayaḥ | kasmāchcha bhavati śreshṭhas tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | Mātariśvovācha | Brahmaṇo mukhataḥ sṛishṭo brāhmaṇo rāja-sattama | bāhubhyāṁ kshattriyaḥ sṛishṭa ūrubhyāṁ vaiśya eva cha | varṇānām parichāryyārtham trayāṇām Bha-

[236] See also the fourth volume of this work, pp. 141 ff. and 152.

ratarshabha | varṇaś chaturthaḥ sambhūtaḥ padbhyām śūdro vinirmitaḥ | brāhmaṇo jāyamāno hi pṛithivyām anujāyate[237] *| īśvaraḥ sarva-bhūtānām dharma-koshasya guptaye | 2755. Ataḥ pṛithivyā yantāram kshattriyaṁ daṇḍa-dhāraṇe | dvitīyam Daṇḍam akarot prajānām anutṛiptaye | vaiśyas tu dhana-dhānyena trīn varṇān bibhṛiyād imān | śūdro hy etān parichared iti Brahmānuśāsanam | Aila uvācha | dvijasya kshattrabandhor vā kasyeyam pṛithivī bhavet | dharmataḥ saha vittena samyag Vāyo prachakshva me | Vāyur uvācha | viprasya sarvam evaitad yat kinchij jagatīgatam | jyeshṭhenābhijaneneha tad dharma-kuśalā viduḥ | svam eva brāhmaṇo bhunkte svam vaste svaṁ dadāti cha | gurur hi sarva-varṇānāṁ jyeshṭhaḥ śreshṭhaś cha vai dvijaḥ | 2760. Paty-abhāve yathaiva strī devaram kurute patim | esha te prathamaḥ kalpaḥ āpady anyo bhaved ataḥ |*

"2749. The king should appoint to be his royal priest[238] a man who will protect the good, and restrain the wicked. 2750. On this subject they relate this following ancient story of a conversation between Purūravas the son of Ilā, and Mātariśvan (Vāyu, the Wind-god). Purūravas said: You must explain to me whence the Brāhman, and whence the (other) three castes were produced, and whence the superiority (of the first) arises. Mātariśvan answered: The Brāhman was created from Brahmā's mouth, the Kshattriya from his arms, the Vaiśya from his thighs, while for the purpose of serving these three

[237] Manu, i. 99, has *adhi jāyate*.

[238] *Rāja-purohitaḥ*. The king's priest (*rāja-purohitaḥ*) is here represented as one who should be a confidential and virtuous minister of state. Such is not, however, the character always assigned to this class of persons. In Manu xii. 46, quoted above (p. 41f.), the purohita is placed in a lower class than other Brāhmans. And in the following verse (4527) of the Anuśāsanaparvan, taken from a story in which the Rishis utter maledictions against anyone who should have stolen certain lotus roots, part of the curse spoken by Viśvāmitra is as follows: *varshācharo 'stu bhṛitako rājnaś chāstu purohitaḥ | ayājyasya bhavatv ṛitvig visa-stainyaṁ karoti yaḥ |* "Let the man who steals lotus roots be a hireling trafficker in rain incantations (?) and the *domestic priest of a king*, and the priest of one for whom no Brāhman should officiate." Again, in verse 4579, the same person says: *karotu bhṛitako 'varshāṁ rājnaś chāstu purohitaḥ | ṛitvig astu hy ayājyasya yas te harati pushkaram |* "Let him who steals thy lotus perform as a hireling incantations to cause drought, and be a king's domestic priest, and the priest of one for whom no Brāhman should officiate." I have had partly to guess at the sense of the words *varshācharaḥ* and *avarshām*. The Commentator does not explain the former; and interprets the latter (for which the Edinburgh MS. reads *avarshāḥ*) by *vṛishti-nibandham*, "causing drought." He adds, *papishṭhāḥ eva avarshāḥ*, "those who cause drought are most wicked."

castes was produced the fourth class, the Śūdra, fashioned from his feet. The Brāhman, as soon as born, becomes the lord of all beings upon the earth, for the purpose of protecting the treasure of righteousness. 2755. Then (the creator) constituted the Kshattriya the controuler of the earth, a second Yama to bear the rod, for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Brahmā's ordinance that the Vaiśya should sustain these three classes with money and grain, and that the Śūdra should serve them. The son of Ilā then enquired: Tell me, Vāyu, to whom the earth, with its wealth, rightfully belongs, to the Brāhman or the Kshattriya? Vāyu replied: All this, whatever exists in the world, is the Brāhman's property[239] by right of primogeniture: this is known to those who are skilled in the laws of duty. It is his own which the Brāhman eats, puts on, and bestows. He is the chief of all the castes, the first-born and the most excellent. Just as a woman when she has lost her (first) husband, takes her brother in law for a second; so the Brāhman is thy first resource in calamity; afterwards another may arise."

A great deal is shortly afterwards added about the advantages of concord between Brāhmans and Kshattriyas. Such verses as the following (2802): "From the dissensions of Brāhmans and Kshattriyas the people incur intolerable suffering" (*mitho bhedād brāhmaṇa-kshattriyāṇām prajā duḥkhaṁ dussahaṁ chāviśanti*) afford tolerably clear evidence that the interests of these two classes must frequently have clashed.

In the same strain as the preceding passage is the following:

Vanaparvan, 13436. *Nādhyāpanād yājanād vā anyasmād vā pratigrahāt | dosho bhavati viprāṇāṁ jvalitāgni-samā dvijāḥ | durvedā vā suvedā vā prākṛitāḥ saṁskṛitās tathā | brāhmaṇā nāvamantavyā bhasmachannā ivāgnayaḥ | yathā śmaśāne dīptavjāḥ pāvako naiva dushyati | evaṁ vidvān avidvān vā brāhmaṇo daivatam mahat | prākāraiś cha puradvāraiḥ prāsādaiś cha pṛithag-vidhaiḥ | nagarāṇi na śobhante hīnāni brāhmaṇottamaiḥ | vedādhyā vṛitta-sampannā jnānavantas tapasvinaḥ | yatra tishṭhanti vai viprās tan-nāma nagaraṁ nṛipa | vraje vā py athavā*

[239] Kullūka, the Commentator on Manu (i. 100), is obliged to admit that this is only spoken in a panegyrical or hyperbolical way, and that property is here used in a figurative sense, since theft is afterwards predicated by Manu of Brāhmans as well as others ("*svam" iti stutyā uchyate | svam iva svaṁ na tu svam eva | brāhmaṇasyāpi Manunā steyasya vakshyamāṇatvāt*).

'ranye yatra santi bahu-śrutāḥ | tat tad nagaram ity āhuḥ pārtha tīrthaṁ cha tad bhavet |

"No blame accrues to Brāhmans from teaching or sacrificing, or from receiving money in any other way: Brāhmans are like flaming fire. Whether ill or well versed in the Veda, whether untrained or accomplished, Brāhmans must never be despised, like fires covered by ashes. Just as fire does not lose its purity by blazing even in a cemetery, so too, whether learned or unlearned, a Brāhman is a great deity. Cities are not rendered magnificent by ramparts, gates, or palaces of various kinds, if they are destitute of excellent Brāhmans. 13440. The place where Brāhmans, rich in the Veda, perfect in their conduct, and austerely fervid, reside, is (really) a city (*nagara*). Wherever there are men abounding in Vedic lore, whether it be a cattle-pen, or a forest, that is called a city, and that will be a sacred locality."

The following verses from the Anuśāsanap. 2160 ff. are even more extreme in their character, and are, in fact, perfectly sublime in their insolence:

Brāhmaṇānām paribhavād asurāḥ salile śayāḥ | brāhmaṇānām prasādāch cha devāḥ svarga-nivāsinaḥ | aśakyaṁ srashṭum ākāśam achālyo himavān giriḥ | adhāryyā setunā Gangā durjayā brāhmaṇā bhuvi | na brāhmaṇa-virodhena sakyā śāstuṁ vasundharā | brāhmaṇā hi mahātmāno devānām api devatāḥ | tān pūjayasva satatam dānena paricharyyayā | yadīchhasi mahīm bhoktum imām sāgara-mekhalām |

"Through the prowess of the Brāhmans the Asuras were prostrated on the waters; by the favour of the Brāhmans the gods inhabit heaven. The ether cannot be created; the mountain Himavat cannot be shaken; the Gangā cannot be stemmed by a dam; the Brāhmans cannot be conquered by any one upon earth. The world cannot be ruled in opposition to the Brāhmans; for the mighty Brāhmans are the deities even of the gods. If thou desire to possess the sea-girt earth, honour them continually with gifts and with service."

The next passage seems to be self-contradictory, as it appears to set out with the supposition that the distinction of castes arose after the creation; while it goes on to assert the separate origin of the four classes:

Śāntiparvan, 10861. *Janaka uvācha | varṇo viśesha-varṇānām maharshe kena jāyate | etad ichhāmy ahaṁ jnātum tad brūhi vadatāṁ vara | yad etaj jāyate 'patyaṁ sa evāyam iti śrutiḥ | katham brāhmaṇato jāto*

viśeshe grahaṇaṁ gataḥ | Parāśara uvācha | Evam etad mahārāja yena jātaḥ sa eva saḥ | tapasas tv apakarsheṇa jātigrahaṇatāṁ gataḥ | sukshetrāchcha suvījāch cha puṇyo bhavati sambhavaḥ | ato 'nyatarato hīnād avaro nāma jāyate | 10865. *Vaktrād bhujābhyām ūrubhyām padbhyāṁ chaivātha jajnire | sṛijataḥ Prajāpater lokān iti dharmavido viduḥ | mukhajā brāhmaṇās tāta bāhujāḥ kshattriyāḥ smṛitāḥ | ūrujāḥ dhanino rājan pādajāḥ parichārakāḥ | chaturṇām eva varṇānām āgamaḥ purusharshabha | ato 'nye vyatiriktā ye te vai sankarajāḥ smṛitāḥ |* . . . . . 10870. *Janaka uvācha | Brahmaṇaikena jātānām nānātvaṁ gotrataḥ katham | bahūnīha hi loke vai gotrāṇi muni sattama | yatra tatra kathaṁ jātāḥ svayonim* (? *suyonim*) *munayo gatāḥ | śuddha-yonau samutpannā viyonau cha tathā 'pare | Parāśara uvācha | rājan naitad bhaved grāhyam apakṛishṭena janmanā | matātmanāṁ samutpattis tapasā bhāvitatmanām | utpādya putrān munayo nṛipate yatra tatra ha | svenaiva tapasā teshām ṛishitvam pradadhuḥ punaḥ |* . . . . 10876. *Ete svām prakṛitim prāptā Vaideha tapasośrayāt | pratishṭhitā veda-vido damena tapasaiva hi |*

"Janaka asks: 10861. How, o great rishi, does the caste of the separate classes arise? Tell me, as I desire to know. According to the Veda, the offspring which is born (to any one) is the very man himself. How does offspring born of a Brāhman fall into distinct classes? Parāśara replied: It is just as you say, o great king. A son is the very same as he by whom he was begotten; but from decline of austere fervour, (men) have become included under different classes. And from good soil and good seed a pure production arises, whilst from those which are different and faulty springs an inferior production. Those acquainted with duty know that men were born from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Prajāpati when he was creating the worlds. The Brāhmans sprang from his mouth, the Kshattriyas from his arms, the merchants from his thighs, and the servants from his feet. The scriptural tradition speaks only of four classes. The men not included in these are declared to have sprung from a mixture (of the four). . . . . 10870. Janaka asked: How is there a difference in race between men sprung from one and the same Brahmā? for there are now many races in the world. How have Munis born anywhere (indiscriminately) entered into a good family; some of them having sprung from a pure source and others from an inferior stock? Parāśara replied: It would not be credible that noble-minded men, whose souls

had been perfected by austere fervour, should have been the offspring of a degraded birth. Munis who had begotten sons in an indiscriminate way conferred on them the position of rishis by their own austere fervour." The speaker then names a number of sages (10876) "famed for their acquaintance with the Veda, and for their self-command and austere fervour," as "having all attained to their respective conditions by practising the latter observance."

In the latter verses the speaker appears to admit, at the very moment that he denies, the degraded origin of some of the renowned saints of Indian antiquity. What else is the meaning of the verse, "Munis who had begotten sons in an indiscriminate way conferred on them the position of rishis by their own austere fervour?" No doubt it is intended to represent those as exceptional times: but while we refuse to admit this assumption, we may find some reason to suppose that the irregularities, as they were afterwards considered to be, which this assumption was intended to explain away, were really samples of the state of things which commonly prevailed in earlier ages.

The next extract declares that there is a natural distinction between the Brāhmans and the other castes; and appears to intimate that the barrier so constituted can only be overpassed when the soul re-appears in another body in another birth:

Anuśāsana-parva, 6570. *Deva uvācha | Brāhmaṇyaṁ devi dushprāpyaṁ nisargād brāhmaṇaḥ śubhe | kshattriyo vaiśyaśūdrau vā nisargād iti me matiḥ | karmaṇā dushkṛiteneha sthānād bhraśyati vai dvijaḥ | jyeshṭham varṇam anuprāpya tasmād raksheta vai dvijaḥ | sthito brāhmaṇa-dharmeṇa brāhmaṇyam upajīvati | kshattriyo vā 'tha vaiśyo vā brahmabhūyam sa gachhati | yas tu brahmatvam utsṛijya kshāttraṁ dharmaṁ nishevate | brāhmaṇyāt sa paribhrashṭaḥ kshattra-yonau prajāyate | vaiśya-karma cha yo vipro lobha-moha-vyapāśrayaḥ | brāhmaṇyaṁ durlabham prāpya karoty alpa-matiḥ sadā | sa dvijo vaiśyatām eti vaiśyo vā śūdratām iyat | sva-dharmāt prachyuto vipras tataḥ śūdratvam āpnute | . . . .* 6590. *Ebhis tu karmabhir devi śubhair ācharitais tathā | śūdro brāhmaṇatām yāti vaiśyaḥ kshattriyatāṁ vrajet | śūdra-karmāṇi sarvāṇi yathānyāyam yathāvidhi | śuśrūshām paricharyyāṁ cha jyeshṭhe varṇe prayatnataḥ | kuryād ityādi |*

Mahādeva says: 6570. "Brāhmanhood, o fair goddess, is difficult to

be attained. A man, whether he be a Brāhman, Kshattriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra, is such by nature; this is my opinion. By evil deeds a twice-born man falls from his position. Then let a twice-born man who has attained to the highest caste, keep it. The Kshattriya, or Vaiśya, who lives in the condition of a Brāhman, by practising the duties of one, attains to Brāhmanhood. But he who abandons the state of a Brāhman and practises the duty of a Kshattriya, falls from Brāhmanhood and is born in a Kshattriya womb. And the foolish Brāhman, who, having attained that Brāhmanhood which is so hard to get, follows the profession of a Vaiśya, under the influence of cupidity and delusion, falls into the condition of a Vaiśya. (In like manner) a Vaiśya may sink into the state of a Śūdra. A Brāhman who falls away from his own duty becomes afterwards a Śūdra. . . . . 6590. But by practising the following good works, o goddess, a Śūdra becomes a Brāhman, and a Vaiśya becomes a Kshattriya: Let him actively perform all the functions of a Śūdra according to propriety and rule, *i.e.* obedience and service to the highest caste," etc.

The next passage is the first of those which I have already noted, as in spirit and tenor very different from the preceding. The conversation which it records arose as follows: Yudhishthira found his brother Bhīmasena caught in the coils of a serpent, which, it turned out, was no other than the famous king Nahusha, who by his sacrifices, austerities, etc., had formerly raised himself to the sovereignty of the three worlds; but had been reduced to the condition in which he was now seen, as a punishment for his pride and contempt of the Brāhmans. He promises to let Bhīmaseva go, if Yudhishthira will answer certain questions. Yudhishthira agrees, and remarks that the serpent was acquainted with whatever a Brāhman ought to know. Whereupon the Serpent proceeds:

Vana-parva, verses 12469 ff: *Sarpa uvācha | brāhmaṇaḥ ko bhaved rājan vedyaṁ kiṁ cha Yudhishṭhira* | 12470. *Bravīhy atimatim tvāṁ hi vākyair anumimīmahe | Yudhishṭhira uvācha | satyaṁ dānam kshamā śīlam ānṛiśaṁsyaṁ tapo ghṛiṇā | dṛiśyante yatra nāgendra sa brāhmaṇaḥ iti smṛitiḥ | vedyaṁ sarpa param Brahma nirduḥkham asukham cha yat | yatra gatvā na śochanti bhavataḥ kiṁ vivakshitam | Sarpa uvācha | chāturvarṇyam pramāṇaṁ cha satyaṁ cha brahma chaiva hi | Śūdreshv api cha satyaṁ cha dānam akrodha eva cha | ānṛiśamsyam ahiṁsā cha ghṛiṇā chaiva Yudhishṭhira | vedyāṁ yach chātra nirduḥkham asukhaṁ cha na-*

rādhipa | tābhyāṁ hīnam padaṁ chānyad na tad astīti lakshaye | Yudhishthira uvācha | 12475. *Śūdre tu yad bhavel lakshma dvije tach cha na vidyate | na vai śūdro bhavech chhūdro brāhmaṇo na cha brāhmaṇaḥ | yatraital lakshyate sarpa vṛittam sa brāhmaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ | yatraitad na bhavet sarpa tam śūdram iti nirddiśet | yat punar bhavatā proktam na vedyaṁ vidyatīti cha | tābhyāṁ hīnam ato 'nyatra padaṁ nāstīti ched api | evam etad matam sarpa tābhyāṁ hīnaṁ na vidyate | yathā śītoshṇayor madhye bhaved noshṇaṁ na śītatā | evam vai sukha-duḥkhābhyām hīnaṁ nāsti padaṁ kvachit | eshā ṇama matiḥ sarpa yathā vā manyate bhavān | Sarpa uvācha |* 12480. *Yadi te vṛittato rājan brāhmaṇaḥ prasamīkshitaḥ | vṛithā jātis tadā "yushman kṛitir yāvad na vidyate | Yudhishṭhira uvācha | jātir atra mahāsarpa manushyatve mahāmate | sankarāt sarva-varṇānāṁ dushparīkshyeti me matiḥ | sarve sarvāsv apatyāni janayanti sadā narāḥ | vāṅ maithunam atho janma maraṇaṁ cha samam nṛiṇām | idam ārsham pramāṇaṁ cha "ye yajāmahe" ity api | tasmāch chhīlam pradhāneshṭaṁ vidur ye tattvadarśinaḥ | "prāṅ nābhi-varddhanāt puṁso jāta-karma vidhīyate" |* 12485. *"tadā 'sya mātā sāvitrī pitā tv āchāryya uchyate" | "Tāvach chhūdra-samo hy esha yāvad vede na jāyate" | tasminn evam mati-dvaidhe Manuḥ Svāyambhuvo 'bravīt | kṛita-kṛityāḥ punar varṇā yadi vṛittaṁ na vidyate | sankaras tatra nāgendra balavān prasamīkshitaḥ | yatredānīm mahāsarpa samskṛitaṁ vṛittam iskyate | tam brāhmanam aham pūrvam uktavān bhujagottama |*

"12469. The Serpent said: Who may be a Brāhman, and what is the thing to be known, o Yudhishthira;—tell me, since by thy words I infer thee to be a person of extreme intelligence. Yudhishthira replied: 12470. The Smṛiti declares, o chief of Serpents, that he is a Brāhman, in whom truth, liberality, patience, virtue, innocence, austere fervour, and compassion are seen. And the thing to be known is the supreme Brahma, free from pain, as well as from pleasure,—to whom, when men have attained, they no longer sorrow. What is your opinion? The Serpent replied: The Veda (*brahma*) is beneficial to all the four castes and is authoritative and true.[240] And so we find in

[240] Such is the sense assigned by the Commentator to this line, the drift of which is not very clear. The comment runs thus: *Sarpas tu brāhmaṇa-padena jāti-mātram vivakshitvā śūdre tal lakshaṇaṁ vyabhichārayati "chāturvarṇyam" iti sārddhena | chaturṇāṁ varṇānaṁ hitam | satyam pramānaṁ cha dharma-vyapasthāpakam brahma vedaḥ | śūdrāchāra-smṛiter api veda-mūlakatvāt sarvo 'py āchārādiḥ śruti-mūlakaḥ*

Śūdras also truth, liberality, calmness, innocence, harmlessness, and compassion. And as for the thing to be known, which is free from pain and pleasure, I perceive that there is no other thing free from these two influences. Yudhishthira rejoined: 12475. The qualities characteristic of a Śūdra do not exist in a Brāhman (nor *vice versâ*). (Were it otherwise) the Śūdra would not be a Śūdra, nor the Brāhman a Brāhman.[241] The person in whom this regulated practice is perceived is declared to be a Brāhman; and the man, in whom it is absent, should be designated as a Śūdra. And as to what you say further, that there is nothing other than this (Brahma) to be known, which is free from the susceptibilities in question; this is also (my own) opinion, that there is nothing free from them. Just as between cold and heat there can be neither heat nor cold, so there is nothing free from the feeling of pleasure and pain. Such is my view; or how do you consider? The Serpent remarked: 12480. If a man is regarded by you as being a Brāhman only in consequence of his conduct, then birth is vain until action is shown. Yudhishthira replied: O most sapient Serpent, birth is difficult to be discriminated in the present condition

ity arthaḥ | evaṁ cha satyādikaṁ yadi śūdre 'py asti tarhi so 'pi brāhmaṇa eva syād iti āha "śūdreshv api" iti | "The serpent, however, understanding by the term Brāhman mere birth, shows in a śloka and a half that Yudhishthira's definition fails by being applicable also to a Śūdra. *Chāturvarṇya* means 'beneficial to the four castes.' (Such is the Veda), which is also 'true' and 'authoritative,' as establishing what is duty. Inasmuch as the Smṛiti which prescribes a Śūdra's conduct is itself founded on the Veda; all conduct, etc., is based on the Veda. And so if (the characters of) truth, etc., are found also in a Śūdra, he too must be a Brāhman—such is his argument in the words 'In Śūdras also.'" According to this explanation the connection between the first line and the second and third may be as follows: The Veda is beneficial to all the castes, and therefore Śūdras also, having the advantage of its guidance, although at second hand, may practise all the virtues you enumerate; but would you therefore call them Brāhmans?

[241] This verse is not very lucid; but the sense may be that which I have assigned. The Commentator says: *Itaras tu brāhmaṇa-padena brahma-vidaṁ vivakshitvā śūdrāder api brāhmaṇatvam abhyupagamya pariharati "Śūdre tv" iti | Śūdra-lakshya-kāmādikaṁ na brāhmaṇe 'sti na brāhmaṇa-lakshya-śamādikaṁ śūdre 'sti ity arthaḥ | śūdre 'pi śamādy-upeto brāhmaṇaḥ | brāhmaṇo 'pi kāmādy-upetaḥ śūdra eva ity arthaḥ* | "The other (Yudhishthira), however, understanding by the word Brāhmaṇa one who knows the Veda (or, Brahma), and conceding the fact of a Śūdra's Brāhmanhood, obviates by the words 'but in a Śūdra,' etc. (the objection thence drawn). The qualities, lust, etc., distinctive of a Śūdra, do not exist in a Brāhman, nor do the qualities tranquillity, etc., characteristic of a Brāhman exist in a Śūdra. A Śūdra distinguished by the latter is a Brāhman; while a Brāhman characterized by lust, etc., is a Śūdra."

of humanity, on account of the confusion of all castes.[242] All (sorts of)

[242] In the tenth vol. of his Indische Studien, p. 83, Professor Weber adduces some curious evidence of the little confidence entertained in ancient times by the Indians in the chastity of their women. He refers to the following passages: (1) Nidāna Sutra, iii. 8. *Uchchāvacha-charaṇāḥ striyo bhavanti | saha deva-sākshye cha manushya-sākshye cha yeshām putro vakshye teshām putro bhavishyāmi | yāṁścha putrāṇ vakshye te me putrāḥ bhavishyanti* | "Women are irregular in their conduct. Of whatsoever men, I, taking gods and men to witness, shall declare myself to be the son, I shall be their son; and they whom I shall name as my sons shall be so." (2) S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2, 1, 40. *Atha yad "brāhmaṇaḥ" ityāha | anaddhā iva vai asya ataḥ purā jānam bhavati | idaṁ hy āhuḥ "rakshāṁsi yoshitam anusachante tad uta rakshāṁsy eva reta ādadhati iti | atha atra addhā jāyate yo brāhmaṇo yo yajnāj jāyate | tasmād api rājanyaṁ vā vaiśyaṁ vā "brāhmaṇaḥ" ity eva brūyāt | brāhmaṇo hi jāyate yo yajnāj jāyate | tasmād āhuḥ "na savana-kṛitaṁ hanyad enasvī ha eva savana-kṛitā" iti* | "Now as regards what he says '(this) Brāhman (has been consecrated):' before this his birth is uncertain. For they say this that 'Rakshases follow after women, and therefore that it is Rakshases who inject seed into them.'" (Compare what it said of the Gandharvas in Atharva V. iv. 37, 116, and Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, p. 301.) So then he is certainly born who is born from sacred science (*brahma*) and from sacrifice. Wherefore also let him address a Rājanya or a Vaiśya as 'Brāhman,' for he is born from sacred science (*brāhma*, and consequently a Brāhman) who is born from sacrifice. Hence they say 'let no one slay an offerer of a libation, for he incurs (the) sin (of Brahmanicide?) by so doing." (3) On the next passage of the S'. P. Br. ii. 5, 2, 20, Professor Weber remarks that it is assumed that the wife of the person offering the Varuṇa praghāsa must have one or more paramours: *Atha pratipras'hātā pratiparaiti | sa patnīm udāneshyan pṛichhati 'kena* (*jāreṇa* Comm.) *charasi' iti | Varuṇyaṁ vai etat strī karoti yad anyasya saty anyena charati | atho "na id me 'ntaḥ-śalpā juhuvad" iti tasmāt pṛichhati | niruktaṁ vai enaḥ kanīyo bhavati | satyaṁ hi bhavati | tasmād vā iva pṛichhati | sā yad na pratijānīta jnātibhyo ha asyai tad ahitaṁ syāt* | "The pratiprasthātṛi (one of the priests) returns. Being about to bring forward the wife, he asks her, 'with what (paramour) dost thou keep company?' For it is an offence incurring punishment from Varuṇa that being the wife of one man she keeps company with another. He enquires 'in order that she may not sacrifice with me while she feels an inward pang.' For a sin when declared becomes less: for it is not attended with falsehood. Therefore he enquires. If she does not confess, it will be ill for her relations." (This passage is explained in Kātyāyana's S'rauta Sūtras, v. 5, 6–11.) (4) S'. P. Br. i. 3, 2, 21. *Tad u ha uvācha Yājnavalkyo "yathādishṭam patnyāḥ astu | kas tad ādriyeta yat parapuṁsā vā patnī syāt"* | "Yājnavalkya said this (in opposition to the doctrine of some other teachers): 'let the prescribed rule be followed regarding a wife. Who would mind his wife consorting with other men?'" The last clause has reference to the consequence which the other teachers said would follow from adopting the course they disapproved, viz., that the wife of the man who did so would become an adulteress. (5) Taitt. S. v. 6, 8, 3. *Na agniṁ chitvā rāmām upeyād "ayonau reto dhasyāmi" iti | na dvitīyaṁ chitvā 'nyasya strīyam upeyāt | na tṛitīyaṁ chitvā kānchana upeyāt | reto vai etad nidhatte yad agniṁ chinute | yad upeyād retasā vyṛidhyeta* | "Let not a man, after preparing the altar for the sacred fire, approach a woman (a S'ūdra-woman, according to the Commentator), (considering) that in doing so, he would be discharging seed into an improper place. Let no man, after a second time preparing the fire-

men are continually begetting children on all (sorts of) women. The speech, the mode of propagation, the birth, the death of all mankind are alike. The text which follows is Vedic and authoritative: 'We who (are called upon) we recite the text.'[243] Hence those men who have an insight into truth know that virtuous character is the thing chiefly to be desired. 'The natal rites of a male are enjoined to be performed before the section of the umbilical cord (Manu, ii. 29). Then Sāvitrī (the Gāyatrī, Manu ii. 77) becomes his mother and his

altar, approach another man's wife. Let no man, after a third time preparing the fire-altar, approach any woman: for in preparing the fire-altar he is discharging seed. Should he approach (a woman in these forbidden cases) he will miscarry with his seed." This prohibition of adultery in a certain case, seems to prove that it was no uncommon occurrence, and is calculated, as Professor Weber remarks, to throw great doubt on the purity of blood in the old Indian families.

[243] To explain the last elliptical expression I will quote part of the Commentator's remarks on the beginning of Yudhishthira's reply: *Vāgādīnām iva maithunasyāpi sādhāraṇyāj jātir durjneyā | tathā chā śrutiḥ "na chaitad vidmo brāhmaṇāḥ smo vayam abrāhmaṇā vā" iti brāhmaṇya-samśayaṁ upanyasyati | nanu jāty-aniśchaye katham "brāhmaṇo 'ham" ityādy abhimāna-purassaram yāgādau pravartteta ity āśankyāha "idam ārsham" iti | atra "ye yajāmahe" ity anena cha ye vayaṁ smo brāhmaṇāḥ anye vā te vayam yajāmahe iti brāhmaṇye 'navadhāraṇaṁ darśitam | mantra-lingam api "ya evāsmi sa san yaje" iti | . . . . Tasmād āchāra eva brāhmaṇya-niśchayahetur veda-prāmāṇyād ity upasaṁharati |* "As the mode of propagation is common to all the castes, just as speech, etc. are, birth is difficult to be determined. And accordingly, by the words: 'We know not this, whether we are Brāhmans or no Brāhmans,' the Veda signifies a doubt as to Brāhmanhood. Then, having raised the difficulty 'how, if birth is undetermined, can a man engage in sacrifice, etc., with the previous consciousness that he is a Brāhman, etc.?' the author answers in the words 'this text is Vedic, etc.' It is both shewn by the words 'we who . . . . recite,' (which mean) 'we, whoever we are,—Brāhmans or others,—we recite,' that the fact of Brāhmanhood is unascertained; and this is also a characteristic of the formula, 'whosoever I am, being he who I am, I recite.'" The comment concludes: "Hence he briefly infers from the authoritative character of the Veda, that conduct is the cause of certainty in regard to Brāhmanhood." Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out to me that the words *ye yajāmahe* occur in S'. P. Br. i. 5, 2, 16, and in Taitt. S. i. 16, 11, 1. The Commentator on the last-named passage refers in explanation of them to As'valāyana's S'rauta Sūtras, i. 5, 4 f., where it is said that these two words constitute the formula called *āguḥ*, which comes in at the beginning of all the *yājyās* which are unaccompanied by any *anuyāja*. The Commentator interprets the two words thus: *sarve "ye" vayaṁ hotāro 'dhvaryuṇā "yaja" iti preshitās te vayam "yajāmahe" yājyām paṭhāmaḥ |* "All we hotri priests who are called upon by the adhvaryu by the word 'recite,' we recite, *i.e.* repeat the *yājyā*." (See Haug's Ait. Br. ii. p. 133, and note 11.) Prof. Aufrecht thinks the words in the Commentator's note *ya evāsmi sa san yaje* may be a free adaptation of Atharva V. vi. 123, 3, 4. It does not appear from what source the words *na chaitad vidmaḥ* etc. are derived.

religious teacher his father (Manu, ii. 170, 225). 12485. Until he is born in the Veda, he is on a level with a Śūdra' (Manu, ii. 172);—so, in this diversity of opinions did Manu Svāyambhuva declare. The castes (though they have done nothing) will have done all they need do,[244] if no fixed rules of conduct are observed. In such a case there is considered to be a gross confusion of castes. I have already declared that he is a Brāhman in whom purity of conduct is recognized."

The next passage from the Śāntiparvan, verses 6930 ff., is even more explicit than the last in denying any natural distinction between the people of the different castes:

Bhṛigur uvācha | Asṛijad brāhmaṇān evam pūrvam Brahmā prajāpatīn | ātma-tejo'bhinirvṛittān bhāskarāgni-sama-prabhān | tataḥ satyaṁ cha dharmaṁ cha tapo brahma cha śāśvatam | āchāram chaiva śauchaṁ cha svargāya vidadhe prabhuḥ | deva-dānava-gandharvā daityāsura-mahoragāḥ | yaksha-rākshasa-nāgāś cha piśāchā manujās tathā | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cha dvija-sattama | ye chānye bhūta-sanghānāṁ varṇās tāṁs chāpi nirmame | brāhmaṇānāṁ sito varṇaḥ kshattriyāṇaṁ cha lohitaḥ | vaiśyānām pītako varṇaḥ śūdrāṇām asitas tatha | 6935. *Bharadvāja uvācha | Chāturvarṇyasya varṇena yadi varṇo vibhidyate | sarveshāṁ khalu varṇāṇāṁ dṛiśyate varṇa-sankaraḥ | kāmaḥ krodho bhayaṁ lobhaḥ śokaś chintā kshudhā śramaḥ | sarveshāṁ naḥ*[245] *prabhavati kasmād varṇo vibhidyate | sveda-mūtra-purīshāṇi śleshmā pittaṁ sa-śoṇitam | tanuḥ ksharati sarveshāṁ kasmād varṇo vibhajyate | jangamānām asaṁkhyeyāḥ sthāvarāṇāṁ cha jātayaḥ | teshāṁ vividha-varṇānāṁ kuto varṇa-viniśchayaḥ | Bhṛigur uvācha | Na viśesho 'sti varṇānāṁ sarvam brāhmam idaṁ jagat | Brahmaṇā pūrva sṛishṭaṁ hi karmabhir varṇatāṁ gatam* | 6940. *Kāma-bhoga-priyās tīkshṇāḥ krodhanāḥ priya-sāhasāḥ* |

[244] The Commentator thus explains the word *kṛita-kṛitya : Kṛita-kṛityāḥ śūdra-tulyāḥ | tathā cha smṛitiḥ "na śūdre pātakaṁ kinchid na cha saṁskāram arhati" iti teshāṁ saṁskārānarhatva-nishpāpatvābhidānat kṛita-kṛityatvam darśayati | tadvat traivarṇikā api syur ity arthaḥ* | "*Kṛita kṛityāḥ* (*lit.* having done what was to be done) means, like S'ūdras; so the Smṛiti (when it says), 'No sin exists in a S'ūdra, nor is he fit for purificatory rites,' shews, by declaring the unfitness of this class for such rites, and its freedom from sin, that it has the character of *kṛita-kṛityatvatva*, *i.e.* of having done all it had to do. And such (in the event supposed) would be the case with men of the three (upper) classes also."

[245] The Calcutta edition reads *na*, "not," which cannot be right. The MS. in the Library of the Edinburgh University has *naḥ*, "of us."

tyakta-svadharmā raktāngās te dvijāḥ kshattratāṁ gatāḥ | gobhyo vṛittiṁ samāsthāya pītāḥ kṛishy-upajīvinaḥ | sva-dharmān nānutishṭhanti te dvijā vaiśyatāṁ gatāḥ | hiṁsānṛita-priyā lubdhāḥ sarva-karmopajīvinaḥ | kṛishṇāḥ śaucha-paribhrashṭās te dvijāḥ śūdratāṁ gatāḥ | ity etaiḥ karmabhir vyastā dvijā varṇāntaraṁ gātāḥ | dharmo yajña-kriyā teshāṁ nityaṁ na pratishidhyate | ity ete chaturo varṇā yeshām brāhmī sarasvatī | vihitā Brahmaṇā pūrvaṁ lobhāt tv ajnānatāṁ gātāḥ | 6945. *Brāhmaṇā brahma-tantra-sthās*[246] *tapas teshāṁ na naśyati | brahma dhārayatāṁ nityaṁ vratāni niyamāṁs tathā | brahma chaiva paraṁ sṛishṭaṁ ye na jānanti te 'dvijāḥ | teshām bahuvidhāś tv anyās tatra tatra hi jātayaḥ | piśāchā rākshasāḥ pretā vividhā mlechha-jātayaḥ | prāṇashṭa-jnāna-vijnānāḥ svachhandāchāra-cheshṭitāḥ | prajā brāhmaṇa-saṁskārāḥ sva-karma-kṛita-niśchayāḥ | ṛishibhiḥ svena tapasā sṛijyante chāpare paraiḥ | ādi-deva-samudbhūtā brahma-mūlā 'kshayā 'vyayā | sā sṛishṭir mānasī nāma dharma-tantra-parāyaṇā |* 6950. *Bharadvāja uvācha | Brāhmaṇaḥ kena bhavati kshattriyo vā dvijottama | vaiśyaḥ śūdraś cha viprarshe tad brūhi vadatāṁ vara | Bhṛigur uvācha | Jata-karmādibhir yas tu saṁskāraiḥ saṁskṛitaḥ śuchih | vedādhyayana-sampannaḥ shaṭsu karmasv avasthitaḥ | śauchāchāra-sthitaḥ samyag vighasāśī guru-priyaḥ | nitya-vratī satyaparaḥ sa vai brāhmaṇa uchyate | satyaṁ dānam athādroha ānṛiśaṁsyaṁ trapā ghṛiṇā | tapaś cha dṛiśyate yatra sa brāhmaṇa iti smṛitaḥ | kshattra-jaṁ sevate karma vedādhyayana-sangataḥ | dānādāna-ratir yas tu sa vai kshattriya uchyate |* 6955. *Viśaty āśu paśubhyaś cha kṛishy-ādāna-ratiḥ śuchih | vedādhyayana-sampannaḥ sa vaiśyaḥ iti sanjnitāḥ | sarva-bhakshya-ratir nityaṁ sarva-karma-karo 'śuchih | tyakta-vedas tv anāchāraḥ sa vai śūdraḥ iti smṛitaḥ | śūdre chaitad bhavel lakshyaṁ dvije tach cha na vidyate | sa vai śūdro bhavech chhūdro brāhmaṇo brāhmaṇo na cha |*

"Bhṛigu replied: 6930. 'Brahmā thus formerly created the Prajāpatis, Brahmanic,[247] penetrated by his own energy, and in splendour equalling the sun and fire. The lord then formed truth, righteousness, austere fervour, and the eternal veda (or sacred science), virtuous practice, and purity for (the attainment of) heaven. He also formed the gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Daityas, Asuras, Mahoragas, Yakshas,

[246] *Brahma-tantram = vedoktānushṭhānam* | Comm.

[247] *Brāhmaṇān*, "Brāhmans," is the word employed. It may mean here "sons of Brahmā."

Rākshasas, Nāgas, Piśāchas, and men, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, as well as all other classes (*varṇāḥ*) of beings. The colour (*varṇa*) of the Brāhmans was white; that of the Kshattriyas red; that of the Vaiśyas yellow, and that of the Śūdras black.'[248] 6935. Bharadvāja here rejoins: 'If the caste (*varṇa*) of the four classes is distinguished by their colour (*varṇa*), then a confusion of all the castes is observable. Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, apprehension, hunger, fatigue, prevail over us all: by what, then, is caste discriminated? Sweat, urine, excrement, phlegm, bile, and blood (are common to all); the bodies of all decay: by what then is caste discriminated? There are innumerable kinds of things moving and stationary: how is the class (*varṇa*) of these various objects to be determined?' Bhṛigu replies: 'There is no difference of castes:[249] this world, having been at first created by Brahmā entirely Brahmanic,[250]

[248] It is somewhat strange, as Professor Weber remarks in a note to p. 215 of his German translation of the Vajra Sūchī, that in the passage of the Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa xi. 6, which he there quotes, a white colour is ascribed to the Vaiśya and a dark hue to the Rājanya. The words are these: *Yach chhuklānām (brihīnām) ādityebhyo nirvapati tasmāch chhukla iva vaiśyo jāyate | yat kṛishṇānām vāruṇām tasmād dhūmra iva rājanyaḥ |* "Since the Vaiśya offers an oblation of white (rice) to the Ādityas, he is born as it were white; and as the Vāruṇa oblation is of black (rice) the Rājanya is as it were dusky."

[249] Compare with this the words attributed in Śāntiparvan, verses 2819 ff., to King Muchukunda, who had been reproached by the god Kuvera with trusting for victory to the aid of his domestic priest instead of to his own prowess: *Muchukundas tataḥ kruddhaḥ pratyuvācha Dhaneśvaram | nyāya-pūrvam asaṁrabdham asambhrāntam idaṁ vachaḥ | brahma kshattram idaṁ sṛishṭam eka-yoni svayambhuvā | pṛithag-balavidhānaṁ tanna lokam paripālayet | tapo-mantra-balam nityam brāhmaṇeshu pratishṭhitam | astra-bālu-balam nityaṁ kshattriyeshu pratishṭhitam | tābhyāṁ sambhūya karttavyam prajānām paripālanam |* "Muchukunda then, incensed, addressed to the Lord of riches these reasonable words, which did not partake of his anger or excitement: 'Brāhmans and Kshattriyas were created by Brahmā from the same womb (or source) with different forces appointed to them: this cannot (neither of these separate forces can?) protect the world. The force of austere fervour and of sacred texts abides constantly in the Brāhmans; and that of weapons and their own arms in the Kshattriyas. By these two forces combined the people must be protected."

[250] *Brāhmam* is the word employed. That it is to be understood in the sense of "Brāhmanical" appears from the following lines in which the word *dvijāḥ* must be taken in the special signification of Brāhmans and not of "twice-born men" (who may be either Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, or Vaiśyas) in general. The Brāhman is considered to have been formed of the essence of Brahmā, and to represent the original type of perfect humanity as it existed at the creation. The Commentator takes the word *brāhmam* as = *brāhmaṇa-jātimat*, "having the caste of Brāhmans;" and he explains the different colours mentioned in the next verses as follows: red (*rakta*)

became (afterwards) separated into castes in consequence of works. 6940. Those Brāhmans (*lit.* twice-born men), who were fond of sensual pleasure, fiery, irascible, prone to violence, who had forsaken their duty, and were red-limbed, fell into the condition of Kshattriyas. Those Brāhmans, who derived their livelihood from kine, who were yellow, who subsisted by agriculture, and who neglected to practise their duties, entered into the state of Vaiśyas. Those Brāhmans, who were addicted to mischief and falsehood, who were covetous, who lived by all kinds of work, who were black and had fallen from purity, sank into the condition of Śūdras. Being separated from each other by these works, the Brāhmans became divided into different castes. Duty and the rites of sacrifice have not been always forbidden to (any of) them. Such are the four classes for whom the Brahmanic[251] Sarasvatī was at first designed by Brahmā, but who through their cupidity fell into ignorance. 6945. Brāhmans live agreeably to the prescriptions of the Veda; while they continually hold fast the Veda, and observances, and ceremonies, their austere fervour (*tapas*) does not perish. And sacred science was created the highest thing: they who are ignorant of it are no twice-born men. Of these there are various other classes in different places, Piśāchas, Rākshasas, Pretas, various tribes of Mlechhas, who have lost all knowledge sacred and profane, and practise whatever observances they please. And different sorts of creatures with the purificatory rites of Brāhmans, and discerning their own duties, are created by different rishis through their own austere fervour. This creation, sprung from the primal god, having its root in Brahma, undecaying, imperishable, is called the mind-born creation, and is devoted to the prescriptions of duty.' 6950. Bharadvāya again enquires: 'What is that in virtue of which a man is a Brāhman, a Kshattriya,

means "formed of the quality of passion" (*rajo-guṇa-maya*); yellow (*pīta*) "formed of the qualities of passion and darkness" (*rajas-tamo-maya*), and black (*krishṇa* or *asita*) "formed of darkness only" (*kevala-tamomaya*).

[251] *Brāhmī.* This word is thus interpreted by the Commentator: *vedamayī | chaturṇām api varṇānām Brahmaṇā pūrvam vihitā | lobha-doshena tu ajnānatāṁ tamobhāvaṁ gatāḥ śūdrāḥ anadhikāriṇo vede jātāḥ |* "Sarasvatī, consisting of the Veda, was formerly designed by Brahmā for all the four castes: but the Śūdras having through cupidity fallen into 'ignorance,' *i.e.* a condition of darkness, lost their right to the Veda." See Indische Studien, ii. 194, note, where Professor Weber understands this passage to import that in ancient times the Śūdras spoke the language of the Āryas.

a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra; tell me, o most eloquent Brahman rishi.' Bhrigu replies: 'He who is pure, consecrated by the natal and other ceremonies, who has completely studied the Veda, lives in the practice of the six ceremonies, performs perfectly the rites of purification, who eats the remains of oblations, is attached to his religious teacher, is constant in religious observances, and devoted to truth,—is called a Brāhman. 6953. He in whom are seen truth, liberality, inoffensiveness, harmlessness, modesty, compassion, and austere fervour,—is declared to be a Brāhman. He who practises the duty arising out of the kingly office, who is addicted to the study of the Veda, and who delights in giving and receiving,[253]—is called a Kshattriya. 6955. He who readily occupies himself with cattle,[253] who is devoted to agriculture and acquisition, who is pure, and is perfect in the study of the Veda,—is denominated a Vaiśya. 6956. He who is habitually addicted to all kinds of food, performs all kinds of work, who is unclean, who has abandoned the Veda, and does not practise pure observances,—is traditionally called a Śūdra. And this (which I have stated) is the mark of a Śūdra, and it is not found in a Brāhman: (such) a Śūdra will remain a Śūdra, while the Brāhman (who so acts) will be no Brāhman.''[254]

The passage next to be quoted recognizes, indeed, the existence of castes in the Kṛita age, but represents the members of them all as having been perfect in their character and condition, and as not differing from one another in any essential respects.

It is related in the Vanaparvan that Bhīmasena, one of the Pāndus,

[252] *Dānam viprebhyaḥ | ādānam prajabhyaḥ*, "Giving to Brāhmans, receiving from his subjects."—Comm.

[253] *Paśūn vāṇijyāya upayoginaḥ upalabdhvā viśati pratishṭhām labhate* | "Who perceiving cattle to be useful for trade, 'enters,' obtains a basis (for his operations)."—Comm. As we have seen above p. 97, these etymologies are frequently far-fetched and absurd.

[254] On this verse the Commentator annotates as follows: *etat satyādi-saptakam dvije traivarṇike | dharma eva varṇa-vibhāge kāraṇaṁ na jātir ity arthaḥ* | "These seven virtues, beginning with truth (mentioned in verse 6953), exist in the twice-born man of the first three classes. The sense is that righteousness, and not birth, is the cause of the division into classes." This explanation is not very lucid. But the sense seems to be that the seven good qualities referred to are the proper characteristics of the three upper castes, while the defects specified in verse 6956 are the proper distinctive marks of the Śūdras. Thus the Śūdra who has the four defects will remain a Śūdra, but a Brāhman who has them will be no Brāhman.

in the course of a conversation with his brother[255] Hanūmat the monkey chief, had requested information on the subject of the Yugas and their characteristics. Hanūmat's reply is given in verses 11234 ff.:

Kṛitaṁ nāma yugaṁ tāta yatra dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ | kṛitam eva na karttavyaṁ tasmin kāle yugottame | na tatra dharmāḥ sīdanti kshīyante na cha vai prajāḥ | tataḥ kṛita-yugam nāma kālena guṇatāṁ gatam | deva-dānava-gandharva-yaksha-rākshasa-pannagāḥ | nāsan kṛita-yuge tāta tadā na kraya-vikrayaḥ[256] *| na sāma-ṛig-yajur-varṇāḥ*[257] *kriyā nāsīch cha mānavī | abhidhyāya phalaṁ tatra dharmaḥ sannyāsa eva cha | na tasmin yuga-saṁsarge vyādhayo nendriya-kshayaḥ | nāsūyā nāpi ruditam na darpo nāpi vaikṛitaṁ*[258] *| na vigrahaḥ*[259] *kutas tandrī na dvesho na cha paiśunam | 11240. Na bhayaṁ nāpi santāpo na chershyā na cha matsaraḥ | tataḥ paramakam Brahma sā gatir yoginām parā | ātmā cha sarva-bhūtānāṁ śuklo Nārāyaṇas tadā | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrāścha kṛita-lakshaṇāḥ | kṛite yuge samabhavan sva-karma-niratāḥ prajāḥ | samāśrayaṁ samāchāraṁ sama-jnānaṁ cha kevalam | tadā hi sāmakarmāṇo varṇā dharmān avāpnuvan | eka-deva-sadā-yuktāḥ eka-mantra-vidhi-kriyāḥ | pṛithagdharmās tv eka-vedā dharmam ekam anuvratāḥ | chāturaśramya-yuktena karmaṇā kāla-yoginā | 11245. Akāma-phala-saṁyogāt prāpnuvanti parām gatim | ātma-yoga-samāyukto dharmo 'yaṁ kṛita-lakshaṇaḥ | kṛite yuge chatushpādāś chāturvarṇyasya śāśvataḥ | etat kṛita-yugaṁ nāma traiguṇya-parivarjjitam | tretām api nibodha tvaṁ tasmin sattram pravarttate | pādena hrasate dharmo raktatām yāti chāchyutaḥ | satya-pravṛittāś cha narāḥ kriyā-dharma-parāyaṇāḥ | tato yajnāḥ pravarttante dharmāścha vividhāḥ kriyāḥ | tretāyām bhāva-sankalpāḥ kriyā-dāna-phalopagāḥ | prachalanti na vai dharmāt tapo-dāna-parāyaṇāḥ | 11250. Sva-dharma-sthāḥ kriyāvanto narās tretā-yuge 'bhavan | dvāpare tu yuge dharmo dvibhāgonaḥ pravarttate | Vishnur vai pītatāṁ yāti chaturdhā veda eva cha | tato 'nye cha chatur-vedās trivedāś cha tathā pare | dvi-vedāś chaika-vedāś chāpy anṛichaś cha tathā pare | evaṁ śāstreshu bhinneshu bahudhā nīyate kriyā | tapo-dāna-pravṛittā cha rājasī bhavati prajā | eka-vedasya chājnānād vedās te bahavaḥ*

[255] Both were sons of Vāyu. See verses 11134, 11169 f. and 11176 f. of this same book. The Rāmāyaṇa is mentioned in verse 11177.

[256] The MS. in the Edinburgh University Library reads as the last pāda: *dānādhyayana-viśramāḥ.*

[257] The Edinburgh MS. reads *vedāḥ* instead *varṇāḥ.*

[258] *Kapaṭam*—Comm. [259] *Vairam*—Comm.

kṛitāḥ | sattvasya cheha vibhraṁśāt satye[260] *kaśchid avasthitaḥ | sattvāt prachyavamānānāṁ vyādhayo bahavo 'bhavan | 11255. Kāmāś chopadravāśchaiva tadā vai daiva-kāritāḥ | yair ardyamānāḥ subhṛiśam tapas tapyanti mānavāḥ | kāma-kāmāḥ svarga-kāmā yajnāṁs tanvanti chāpare | evaṁ dvāparam āsādya prajāḥ kshīyanty adharmataḥ | pādenaikena Kaunteya dharmaḥ kali-yuge sthitaḥ | tāmasaṁ yugam āsādya kṛishṇo bhavati Keśavaḥ | vedāchārāḥ praśāmyanti dharma-yajna-kriyās tathā | ītayo vyādhayas trandrī doshāḥ krodhādayās tathā | upadravāś cha varttante ādhayah kshud bhayam tathā | yugeshv āvarttamāneshu dharmo vyāvarttate punaḥ | dharme vyāvarttamāne tu loko vyāvarttate punaḥ | loke kshīṇe kshayaṁ yānti bhāvā loka-pravarttakāḥ | yuga-kshaya-kṛitā dharmāḥ prārthanāni vikurvate | etat kaliyugaṁ nāma achirād yat pravarttate | yugānuvarttanaṁ tv etat kurvanti chirajīvinaḥ |*

"11234. The Kṛita is that age in which righteousness is eternal. In the time of that most excellent of Yugas (everything) had been done (*kṛita*), and nothing (remained) to be done. Duties did not then languish, nor did the people decline. Afterwards, through (the influence of) time, this yuga fell into a state of inferiority.[261] In that age there were neither Gods,[262] Dānavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, nor Pannagas; no buying or selling went on; the Vedas were not classed[263] as Sāman, Ṛich, and Yajush; no efforts were made by men:[264] the fruit (of the earth was obtained) by their mere wish: righteousness and abandonment of the world (prevailed).

[260] The Edinburgh MS. reads *sattve* instead of *satye*.

[261] In thus rendering, I follow the Commentator, whose gloss is this: *Mukhyam apy amukhyatām gatam* | "although the chief, it fell into inferiority." In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon this line is quoted under the word *guṇatā*, to which the sense of "superiority, excellence," is assigned.

[262] Compare with this the verses of the Vāyu Purāṇa quoted in p. 90, which state that in the Kṛita age there were neither plants nor animals; which are the products of unrighteousness.

[263] I do not venture to translate "there was then no [division of the Veda into] Sāman, Ṛich, and Yajush, nor any castes," (1) because the Edinburgh MS. reads *vedāḥ* instead of *varṇāḥ*, and the Commentator does not allude to the word *varṇāḥ*; and (2) castes (*varṇāḥ*) are referred to below (verses 11242 f.) as existing, though without much distinction of character. The Commentator explains: *trayī-dharmasya chitta-śuddhy-arthatvāt tasyāś cha tadānīṁ svabhāvatvāt na sāmādīny āsan* | "As the object of the triple veda is purity of heart, and as that existed naturally at that period, there were no (divisions of) Sāman, etc."

[264] I follow the Commentator whose gloss is: "*Mānavī kriyā*" *kṛishy-ādy-ārambha-bhūta | kintu "abhidhyāya phalam," sankalpād eva sarvam sampadyate |*

No disease or decline of the organs of sense arose through the influence of the age; there was no malice, weeping, pride, or deceit; no contention, and how could there be any lassitude? no hatred, cruelty, (11240) fear, affliction, jealousy, or envy. Hence the supreme Brahma was the transcendent resort of those Yogins. Then Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all beings, was white.[265] Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras possessed the characteristics of the Kṛita.[266] In that age were born creatures devoted to their duties. They were alike in the object of their trust, in observances and in their knowledge. At that period the castes, alike in their functions, fulfilled their duties, were unceasingly devoted to one deity, and used one formula (*mantra*), one rule, and one rite. Though they had separate duties, they had but one Veda, and practised one duty.[267] By works connected with the four orders, and dependent on conjunctures of time,[268] (11245) but unaffected by desire, or (hope of) reward, they attained to supreme felicity. This complete and eternal righteousness of the four castes during the Kṛita was marked by the character of that age and sought after union with the supreme soul. The Kṛita age was free from the three qualities.[269] Understand now the Tretā, in which sacrifice commenced,[270] righteousness decreased by a fourth, Vishnu became red;

[265] In verse 12981 of this same Vanaparvan the god says of himself: *śvetaḥ kṛita-yuge varṇaḥ pītas tretāyuge mama | rakto dvāparam āsādya kṛishṇaḥ kali-yuge tathā |* "My colour in the Kṛita age is white, in the Tretā yellow, when I reach the Dvāpara it is red, and in the Kali black."

[266] The Commentator's gloss is: *kṛitāni svataḥ siddhāni lakshaṇāni śamo damas tapa ity-ādīni yeshāṁ te |* "They were men whose characteristics, tranquillity, etc, were effected, spontaneously accomplished." On verse 11245 he explains the same term *kṛita-lakshaṇaḥ* by *kṛita-yuga-sūchakaḥ*, "indicative of the Kṛita age."

[267] The different clauses of this line can only be reconciled on the supposition that the general principle of duty, and the details of the duties are distinguished. *Dharma* is the word used in both parts of the verse for "duty."

[268] *Kāla-yoginā*. The Commentator explains: *kālo darśādiḥ | tad-yuktena |* "connected with time, *i.e.* the appearance of the new moon, etc."

[269] And yet we are told in the Vāyu P. that the creation itself proceeded from the influence of the quality of passion (see above, p. 75), and that the four castes when originally produced were characterized in different ways by the three qualities, pp. 62 and 89.

[270] Compare S'ānti-parva, 13088. *Idam kṛita-yugaṁ nāma kālaḥ śreshṭhaḥ pravarttitaḥ | ahiṁsyā yajna-paśavo yuge'smin na tad anyathā | chatushpāt sakalo dharmo bhavishyaty atra vai surāḥ | tatas tretā-yugaṁ nāma trayī yatra bhavishyati | prokshitā yatra paśavo badham prāpsyanti vai makhe |* "This Kṛita age is the most excellent of periods: then victims are not allowed to be slaughtered; complete and

and men adhered to truth, and were devoted to a righteousness dependent on ceremonies. Then sacrifices prevailed, with holy acts and a variety of rites. In the Tretā men acted with an object in view, seeking after reward for their rites and their gifts, and no longer disposed to austerities and to liberality from (a simple feeling of) duty. 11250. In this age, however, they were devoted to their own duties, and to religious ceremonies. In the Dvāpara age righteousness was diminished by two quarters, Vishṇu became yellow, and the Veda fourfold. Some studied four Vedas, others three, others two, others one, and some none at all.[271] The scriptures being thus divided, ceremonies were celebrated in a great variety of ways; and the people being occupied with austerity and the bestowal of gifts, became full of passion (*rājasī*). Owing to ignorance of the one Veda, Vedas were multiplied. And now from the decline of goodness (*sattva*) few only adhered to truth. When men had fallen away from goodness, many diseases, (11255) desires and calamities, caused by destiny, assailed them, by which they were severely afflicted, and driven to practice austerities. Others desiring enjoyments and heavenly bliss, offered sacrifices. Thus, when they had reached the Dvāpara, men declined through unrighteousness. In the Kali righteousness remained to the extent of one-fourth only. Arrived in that age of darkness, Vishṇu became black: practices enjoined by the Vedas, works of righteousness, and rites of sacrifice, ceased. Calamities, diseases, fatigue, faults, such as anger, etc., distresses, anxiety, hunger, fear, prevailed. As the ages revolve, righteousness again declines. When this takes place, the people also decline. When they decay, the impulses which actuate them also decay. The practices generated by this declension of the Yugas frustrate men's aims. Such is the Kali Yuga which has existed for a short time. Those who are long-lived act in conformity with the character of the age."

The next passage from the same book (the Vana-parvan) does not make any allusion to the Yugas, but depicts the primeval perfection of mankind with some traits peculiar to itself, and then goes on to describe their decline. Mārkandeya is the speaker.

perfect righteousness will prevail. Next is the Tretā in which the triple veda will come into existence; and animals will be slain in sacrifice." See note 65, page 39, above.

[271] The Commentator explains *anṛichas* ("without the Rig-veda") by *kṛita-kṛityāḥ*. On the sense of the latter word see above.

12619. *Nirmalāni śarīrāṇi viśuddhāni śarīriṇām | sasarja dharmatantrāṇi pūrvotpannaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | amogha-phala-sankalpāḥ suvratāḥ satyavādinaḥ | brahma-bhūtā narāḥ puṇyāḥ purāṇāḥ kuru-sattama | sarve devaiḥ samāḥ yānti svachhandena nabhas-talam | tataś cha punar āyānti sarve svachhanda-chāriṇaḥ | svachhanda-maraṇāś chāsan narāḥ svachhanda-chāriṇaḥ | alpa-bādhā nirātankāḥ siddhārthā nirupadravāḥ | drashṭāro deva-sanghānām ṛishīṇāṁ cha mahātmanām | pratyakshāḥ sarva-dharmāṇām dāntā vigata-matsarāḥ | āsan varsha-sahasrīyās tathā putra-sahasriṇaḥ |* 12625. *Tataḥ kālāntare 'nyasmin pṛithivī-tala-chāriṇaḥ | kāma-krodhādhibhūtās te māyā-vyājopajīviṇaḥ | lobha-mohābhibhūtās te saktā dehais tato narāḥ | aśubhaiḥ karmabhiḥ pāpās tiryañ-niraya-gāminaḥ |*

"The first-born Prajāpati formed the bodies of corporeal creatures pure, spotless, and obedient to duty. The holy men of old were not frustrated in the results at which they aimed; they were religious, truth-speaking, and partook of Brahma's nature. Being all like gods they ascended to the sky and returned at will. They died too when they desired, suffered few annoyances, were free from disease, accomplished all their objects, and endured no oppression. Self-subdued and free from envy, they beheld the gods[272] and the mighty rishis, and had an intuitive perception of all duties.[273] They lived for a thousand years, and had each a thousand sons. Then at a later period of time, the in-

[272] See the passage from S'ankara's Commentary on the Brahma Sūtras i. 3, 32, in the 3rd vol. of this work, pp. 49 f., and note 49 in p. 95; and S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 3, 4, 4, *ubhaye ha vai idam agre saha āsur devāś cha manushyās cha | tad yad ha sma manushyāṇāṁ na bhavati tad ha devān yāchante "idaṁ vai no nāsti idaṁ no 'stv" iti | te tasyai eva yāchnyāyai dveshena devās tirobhūtā "na id hinasāni na id dveshyo 'sāni" iti |* "Gods and men, together, were both originally (component parts of) this world. Whatever men had not they asked from the gods, saying, 'We have not this; let us have it.' From dislike of this solicitation the gods disappeared, (saying each of them) 'let me not hurt (them), let me not be hateful.'" Compare also the passage of the S'. P. Br. iii. 6, 2, 26, referred to by Professor Weber in Indische Studien, x. 158: *Te ha sma ete ubhaye deva-manushyāḥ pitaraḥ sampibante | sā eshā sampā | te ha sma dṛiśyamānā eva purā sampibante uta etarhy adṛiśyamānāḥ |* "Both gods, men, and fathers drink together. This is their symposium. Formerly they drank together visibly: now they do so unseen." Compare also Plato, Philebus, 18: Καὶ δὴ μὲν παλαιοί, κρείττονες ἡμῶν καὶ ἐγγυτέρω θεῶν οἰκοῦντες, ταυτην φημην παρέδοσαν, "And the ancients who were better than ourselves, and dwelt nearer to the gods, have handed down this tradition."

[273] Compare the passage of the Nirukta, i. 20, beginning, *sākshāt-kṛita-dharmāṇa ṛishayo babhūvuḥ*, quoted in the 2nd vol. of this work, p. 174.

habitants of the earth became subject to desire and anger, and subsisted by deceit and fraud. Governed by cupidity and delusion, devoted to carnal pursuits, sinful men by their evil deeds walked in crooked paths leading to hell," etc., etc.

At the end of the chapter of the Bhīshmaparvan, entitled *Jambū-khaṇḍa-nirmāṇa*, there is a paragraph in which Sanjaya gives an account of the four yugas in Bhāratavarsha (Hindustan), and of the condition of mankind during each of those periods. After stating the names and order of the yugas, the speaker proceeds:

389. *Chatvāri tu sahasrāṇi varshāṇāṁ Kuru-sattama | āyuḥ-sankhyā kṛita-yuge sankhyātā rāja-sattama | tathā trīṇi sahasrāṇi tretāyāṁ manujādhipa | dve sahasre dvāpare cha bhuvi tishṭhanti sāmpratam | na pramāṇa-sthitir hy asti tishye 'smin Bharatarshabha | garbha-sthāś cha mriyante cha tathā jātā mriyanti cha | mahābalā mahāsattvāḥ prajñā-guṇa-samanvitāḥ | prajāyante cha jātāś cha śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ | jātāḥ kṛita-yuge rājan dhaninaḥ priya-darśinaḥ | prajāyante cha jātāś cha munayo vai tapodhanāḥ | mahotsāhāḥ mahātmāno dhārmikāḥ satya-vādinaḥ | priyadarśanā vapushmanto mahāvīryā dhanurdharāḥ | varārhā yudhi jāyante kshattriyāḥ śūra-sattamāḥ | tretāyāṁ kshattriyā rājan sarve vai chakravarttinaḥ | āyushmanto mahāvīrā dhanurdhara-varā yudhi | jāyante kshattriyā vīrās tretāyāṁ vaśa-varttinaḥ | sarve varṇā mahārāja jāyante dvāpare sati | mahotsāhā vīryavantaḥ paraspara-jayaishiṇaḥ | tejasā 'lpena saṁyuktāḥ krodhanāḥ purushā nṛipa | lubdhā anṛitakāś chaiva tishye jāyanti Bhārata | īrshā mānas tathā krodho māyā 'sūyā tathaiva cha | tishye bhavati bhūtānāṁ rāgo lobhaś cha Bhārata | sankshepo vartā rājan dvāpare 'smin narādhipa |*

"389. Four thousand years are specified as the duration of life in the Kṛita age,[274] three thousand in the Tretā, and two thousand form the period at present established on earth in the Dvāpara. There is no fixed measure in the Tishya (Kali): embryos die in the womb, as well as children after their birth. Men of great strength, goodness, wisdom, and virtue were born, and born too in hundreds and thousands. In the Kṛita age men were produced opulent and beautiful, as well as munis rich in austere fervour. Energetic, mighty, righteous, veracious, beautiful, well-formed, valorous, bow-carrying, (395) heroic Kshattriyas,

[274] See above, p. 91, note 174.

distinguished in battle, were born.[275] In the Tretā all sovereigns were Kshattriyas. Heroic Kshattriyas were born in the Tretā, long-lived, great warriors, carrying bows in the fight, and living subject to authority. During the Dvāpara all castes are produced, energetic, valorous, striving for victory over one another. In the Tishya age are born men of little vigour, irascible, covetous, and mendacious. During that period, envy, pride, anger, delusion, ill-will, desire, and cupidity prevail among all beings. During this Dvāpara age there is some restriction."

As it is here stated that men of all castes were born in the Dvāpara, while Brāhmans and Kshattriyas only are spoken of as previously existing, it is to be presumed that the writer intends to intimate that no Vaiśyas or Śūdras existed during the Kṛita and Tretā ages. This accords with the account given in the passage quoted above from the Uttara Kānda of the Rāmāyaṇa, chapter 74, as well as with other texts which will be quoted below.

The following verses might be taken for a rationalistic explanation of the traditions regarding the yugas; but may be intended as nothing more than a hyperbolical expression of the good or bad effects of a king's more or less active discharge of his duties:

Śānti-parva, 2674. *Kālo vā kāraṇaṁ rājṇo rājā vā kāla-kāraṇam | iti te saṁśayo mā bhūd rājā kālasya kāraṇam | daṇḍa-nītyāṁ yadā rājā samyak kārtsnyena varttate | tadā kṛita-yugam nāma kāla-sṛishṭam pravarttate | . . . .* 2682. *Daṇḍa-nītyāṁ yadā rājā trīn aṁśān anuvarttate | chaturtham aṁśam utsṛijya tadā tretā pravarttate | . . . .* 2684. *Arddhaṁ tyaktvā yadā rājā nīty-artham anuvarttate | tatas tu dvāparaṁ nāma sa kālaḥ sampravarttate | . . . .* 2686. *Daṇḍa-nītim parityajya yadā kārttsnyena bhūmipaḥ | prajāḥ kliśnāty ayogena pravartteta tadā kaliḥ | . . . .* 2693. *Rājā kṛita-yuga-srashṭā tretāyā dvāparasya cha | yugasya cha chaturthasya rājā bhavati kāraṇam |*

"2674. The time is either the cause of the king, or the king is the cause of the time. Do not doubt (which of these alternatives is true): the king is the cause of the time. When a king occupies himself fully in criminal justice, then the Kṛita age, brought into existence by time,

[275] It does not appear clearly whether we are to suppose them to have been produced in the Kṛita, or in the Tretā, as in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, quoted in page 119.

prevails." [Then follows a description of the results of such good government: righteousness alone is practised; prosperity reigns; the seasons are pleasant and salubrious; longevity is universal; no widows are seen; and the earth yields her increase without cultivation.] "2682. When the king practises criminal justice only to the extent of three parts, abandoning the fourth, then the Tretā prevails." [Then evil is introduced to the extent of a fourth, and the earth has to be tilled.] "2684. When the king administers justice with the omission of a half, then the period called the Dvāpara prevails." [Then evil is increased to a half, and the earth even when tilled yields only half her produce.] "2686. When, relinquishing criminal law altogether, the king actively oppresses his subjects, then the Kali age prevails." [Then the state of things, which existed in the Kṛita age, is nearly reversed.] "2693. The king is the creator of the Kṛita, Tretā, and Dvāpara ages, and the cause also of the fourth yuga."

The next extract is on the same subject of the duties of a king, and on the yugas as forms of his action (see Manu, ix. 301, quoted above, p. 49):

Sānti-parvan, 3406. *Karma śūdre kṛishir vaiśye daṇḍa-nītiś cha rājani | brahmacharyyaṁ tapo mantrāḥ satyaṁ chāpi dvijātishu | teshāṁ yaḥ kshattriyo veda vastrāṇām iva śodhanam*[276] *| śīla-doshān vinirharttum sa pitā sa prajāpatiḥ | kṛitaṁ tretā dvāparaṁ cha kaliś Bharatarshabha | rāja-vṛittāni sarvāṇi rājaiva yugam uchyate | chāturvarṇyaṁ tathā vedāś chāturāśramyam eva cha | sarvam pramuhyate hy etad yadā rājā pramādyati |*

"3406. Labour (should be found) in a Śūdra, agriculture in a Vaiśya, criminal justice in a King, continence, austere fervour, and the use of sacred texts in a Brāhman. The Kshattriya, who knows how to separate their good and bad qualities, (as (a washerman) understands the cleansing of clothes), is a father and lord of his subjects. The Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali, are all modes of a King's action. It is a King who is called by the name of Yuga. The four castes, the Vedas, and the four orders, are all thrown into disorder when the king is regardless."

[276] This comparison is more fully expressed in a preceding verse (3404): *Yo na jānāti nirharttuṁ vastrāṇāṁ rajako malam | raktānāṁ vā śodhayituṁ yathā nāsti tathaiva saḥ |*

In two of the preceding passages different colours are represented as characteristic either of particular castes (Sānti-p. verses 6934 ff.), or of particular yugas (Vana-p. verses 11241 ff.). Colours (though not ranked in the same order of goodness) are similarly connected with moral and physical conditions in verses 10058 ff. of the Sāntiparvan, of which I shall offer a few specimens:

Shaḍ jīva-varṇāḥ paramam pramāṇaṁ kṛishṇo dhūmro nīlam athāsya madhyam | raktam punaḥ sahyataraṁ sukhaṁ tu hāridra-varṇam susukhaṁ cha śuklam | parantu śuklam vimalaṁ viśokaṁ gata-klamaṁ siddhyati dānavendra | gatvā tu yoni-prabhavāṇi daitya sahasraśaḥ siddhim upaiti jīvaḥ | 10060. . . . . *Gatiḥ punar varṇa-kṛitā prajānāṁ varṇas tathā kāla-kṛito 'surendra* | . . . . 10062. *Kṛishṇasya varṇasya gatir nikṛishṭā sa sajate narake pachyamānaḥ* |

"10058. Six colours of living creatures are of principal importance, black, dusky, and blue which lies between them; then red is more tolerable, yellow is happiness, and white is extreme happiness. White is perfect, being exempted from stain, sorrow, and exhaustion; (possessed of it) a being going through (various) births, arrives at perfection in a thousand forms. 10060. . . . . Thus destination is caused by colour, and colour is caused by time. . . . . 10062. The destination of the black colour is bad. When it has produced its results, it clings to hell."

The next passage, from the Harivanśa, assigns to each of the four castes a separate origin, but at the same time gives an explanation of their diversity which differs from any that we have yet encountered: unless, indeed, any one is prepared to maintain that the four principles, out of which the castes are here represented to have arisen, are respectively identical with the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Brahmā! This passage, however, corresponds with one of those already quoted in associating different colours with the several castes. The question with which the passage opens refers to an account which had been given in the preceding section (verses 11799 ff.) of the creation of Bhṛigu and Angiras, to both of whom the epithet "progenitor of Brāhmans" (*brahma-vaṁśa-kara*) is applied. No mention is made there of Kshattriyas or any other castes. M. Langlois, the French translator of the Harivanśa, remarks that the distinction between the age of the Brāhmans and that of the Kshattriyas is an unusual one, and receives

no explanation in the context. But in two of the passages which have been quoted above (1) from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, chapter 74 (p. 119), and (2) from the Bhīshma-parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 393 ff. (p. 149), I think we find indications that the Kṛita Yuga was regarded as an age in which Brāhmans alone existed, nd that Kshattriyas only began to be born in the Tretā.

Harivaṁśa, 11808. *Janameya uvācha | Śrutam brahma-yugam brahman yugānām prathamaṁ yugam | kshattrasyāpi yugam brahman śrotum ichchhāmi tattvataḥ | sasaṁkshepaṁ savistaraṁ niyamaiḥ bahubhiś chitam | upāya-jnaiś cha kathitaṁ kratubhiś chopaśobhitam | Vaiśampāyana uvācha |* 11810. *Etat te kathayishyāmi yajna-karmabhir architam | dāna-dharmaiś cha vividhaiḥ prajābhir upaśobhitam | te 'ngushṭha-mātrā munayaḥ ādattāḥ sūrya-raśmibhiḥ | moksha-prāptena vidhinā nirābādhena karmaṇā | pravritte chāpravritte cha nityam Brahma-parāyaṇāḥ | parāyaṇasya sangamya Brahmaṇas tu mahīpate | śrī-vrittāḥ pāvanāś chaiva brāhmaṇāś cha mahīpate | chārita-brahmacharyyāś cha brahmajnānena bodhitāḥ | pūrṇe yuga-sahasrānte prabhāve pralayāṁ gatāḥ | brāhmaṇā vritta-sampannā jnāna-siddhāḥ samāhitāḥ |* 11815. *Vyatiriktendriyo Vishṇur yogātmā brahma-sambhavah | Dakshaḥ prajāpatir bhūtvā sṛijate vipulāḥ prajāḥ | aksharād brāhmaṇāḥ saumyāḥ ksharāt kshattriya-bāndhavāḥ | vaiśyā vikārataś chaiva śūdrāḥ dhūma-vikārataḥ | śveta-lohitakair varṇaiḥ pītair nīlaiś cha brāhmaṇāḥ | abhinirvarttitāḥ varṇāṁś chintayānena Vishṇunā | tato varṇatvam āpannāḥ prajā loke chaturvidhāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś chaiva mahīpate | ekalingāḥ pṛithag-dharmā dvipādāḥ paramādbhutāḥ | yātanayā 'bhisampannā gati-jnāḥ sarva-karmasu | trayāṇāṁ varṇa-jātānāṁ veda-proktāḥ kriyāḥ smṛitāḥ | tena brāhmaṇa-yogena vaishṇavena mahīpate | prajnayā tejasā yogāt tasmāt Prāchetasaḥ prabhuḥ | Vishṇur eva mahāyogī karmaṇām antaraṁ gataḥ | tato nirvāṇa-sambhūtāḥ śūdrāḥ karma-vivarjitāḥ | tasmād nārhanti saṁskāram na hy atra brahma vidyate | yathā 'gnau dhūma-sanghāto hy araṇyā mathyamānayā | prādurbhūto visarpan vai nopayujyati karmaṇi | evaṁ śūdrā visarpanto bhuvi kārtsnyena janmanā | na saṁskṛitena*[277] *dharmeṇa veda-proktena karmaṇā |*

"Janamejaya says: 11808. I have heard, o Brāhman, the (description of the) Brahma Yuga, the first of the ages. I desire also to be accurately informed, both summarily and in detail, about the age of the

[277] The printed text reads *nāsaṁskṛitena;* but *na saṁskṛitena* seems necessary.

Kshattriyas, with its numerous observances, illustrated as it was by sacrifices, and described as it has been by men skilled in the art of narration. Vaiśampāyana replied: 11810. I shall describe to you that age revered for its sacrifices and distinguished for its various works of liberality, as well as for its people. Those Munis of the size of a thumb had been absorbed by the sun's rays. Following a rule of life leading to final emancipation, practising unobstructed ceremonies, both in action and in abstinence from action constantly intent upon Brahma, united to Brahma as the highest object,—Brāhmans glorious and sanctified in their conduct, leading a life of continence, disciplined by the knowledge of Brahma,—Brāhmans complete in their observances, perfect in knowledge, and contemplative,—when at the end of a thousand yugas, their majesty was full, these Munis became involved in the dissolution of the world. 11815. Then Vishṇu sprung from Brahma, removed beyond the sphere of sense, absorbed in contemplation, became the Prajāpati Daksha, and formed numerous creatures. The Brāhmans, beautiful (or, dear to Soma),[278] were formed from an imperishable (*akshara*), the Kshattriyas from a perishable (*kshara*), element, the Vaiśyas from alteration, the Śūdras from a modification of smoke. While Vishṇu was thinking upon the castes (*varṇān*), Brāhmans were formed with white, red, yellow, and blue colours (*varṇaiḥ*).[279] Hence in the world men have become divided into castes, being of four descriptions, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, one in form, distinct in their duties, two-footed, very wonderful, full of energy(?), skilled in expedients in all their occupations. 11820. Rites are declared to be prescribed by the Vedas for the three (highest) castes. By that contemplation practised by the being sprung from Brahma (see v. 11815) —by that practised in his character as Vishṇu,—the Lord Prāchetasa (Daksha), *i.e.* Vishṇu the great contemplator (*yogin*), passed through his wisdom and energy from that state of meditation into the sphere of works.[280] Next the Śūdras, produced from extinction, are destitute

[278] In verse 11802, we read *abhishichya tu Somaṁ cha yauvarājye Pitāmahaḥ | brāhmaṇānāṁ cha rājānaṁ śāśvataṁ rajanī-charam* | "Brahmā also inaugurated Soma as the heir to the kingdom, as the king of the Brāhmans who walks eternally through the night."

[279] This play upon the two senses of the word *varṇa* will be noticed.

[280] I do not profess to be certain that I have succeeded in discovering the proper meaning of this last sentence.

of rites. Hence they are not entitled to be admitted to the purificatory ceremonies, nor does sacred science belong to them. Just as the cloud of smoke which rises from the fire on the friction of the fuel, and is dissipated, is of no service in the sacrificial rite, so too the Śūdras wandering over the earth, are altogether (useless for purposes of sacrifice) owing to their birth, their mode of life devoid of purity and their want of the observances prescribed in the Veda."

The next extract gives an account at variance with all that precedes, as it does not assign to all the Brāhmans themselves the same origin, but describes the various kinds of officiating priests as having been formed from different members of Vishṇu's body :

Harivaṁśa, 11355. *Evam ekārṇave bhūte śete loke mahādyutiḥ | prachhādya salilaṁ sarvaṁ Harir Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ | mahato rajaso madhye mahārṇava-samasya vai | virajasko mahābāhur aksharam brāhmaṇā viduḥ | ātma-rūpa-prakāśena tapasā saṁvṛitaḥ prabhuḥ | trikam āchhādya kālaṁ tu tataḥ sushvāpa sas tadā | purusho yajna ity evaṁ yat param parikīrttitam | yach chānyat purushākhyaṁ tu tat sarvam purushottamaḥ | ye cha yajnaparā viprā ṛitvijā iti sanjnitāḥ | ātma-dehāt purā bhūtā yajnebhyaḥ śrūyatāṁ tadā |* 11360. *Brahmāṇam paramaṁ vaktrād udgātāraṁ cha sāma-gāṁ | hotāraṁ atha chādhvaryyuṁ bāhubhyām asṛijat prabhuḥ | brāhmāṇo brāhmaṇatvāch cha prastotāraṁ cha sarvaśaḥ | tam maitrāvaruṇam sṛishṭvā pratishṭhātāram eva cha | udarāt pratiharttāram potāraṁ chaiva Bhārata | achhāvākam athorubhyām neshṭāraṁ chaiva Bhārata | pāṇibhyām athachāgnīdhram brahmaṇyaṁ chaiva yajñiyam | grāvāṇam atha bāhubhyām unnetāraṁ cha yājnikam | evam evaisha bhagavān shoḍaśaitān jagatpatiḥ | pravaktṛīn sarva-yajnānām ṛitvijo 'sṛijad uttamān | tad esha vai yajnamayaḥ purusho veda-saṁjnitaḥ | vedāś cha tanmayāḥ sarve sāngopanishada-kriyāḥ |*

Vaisampāyana said: 1135. "Thus the glorious Lord Hari Nārāyaṇa, covering the entire waters, slept on (the world) which had become one sea, in the midst of the vast expanse of fluid[281] (*rajas*), resembling a mighty ocean, himself free from passion (*virajaskaḥ*), with mighty arms:—Brāhmans know him as the undecaying. Invested through austere fervour with the light of his own form, and clothed with triple time (past, present, and future), the Lord then slept. Purushottama

[281] *Rajas* is said in two places of the Nirukta, iv. 19, and x. 44, to have the sense of "water."

(Vishṇu) is whatever is declared to be the highest, Purusha the sacrifice, and everything else which is known by the name of Purusha. Hear how the Brāhmans devoted to sacrifice, and called *ṛitvijes*, were formerly produced by him from his own body for offering sacrifices. 11360. The Lord created from his mouth the brāhman, who is the chief, and the udgātṛi, who chaunts the Sāman; from his arms the hotṛi and the adhvaryu. He then . . . .[282] created the prastotṛi, the maitrāvaruṇa, and the pratishṭhātṛi; from his belly the pratiharttṛi and the potṛi, from his thighs the achhāvāka and the neshṭṛi, from his hands the agnīdhra and the sacrificial brahmaṇya, from his arms the grāvan and the sacrificial unnetṛi. Thus did the divine Lord of the world create these sixteen excellent ṛitvijes, the utterers of all sacrifices. Therefore this Purusha is formed of sacrifice and is called the Veda; and all the Vedas with the Vedāngas, Upanishads, and ceremonies, are formed of his essence."

Sect. XII.—*Extracts from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa on the same subject.*

I will conclude my quotations from the Purāṇas on the subject of the origin of mankind and of castes with a few passages from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The first extract reproduces some of the ideas of the Purusha Sūkta[283] more closely than any of the Puranic accounts yet given.

ii. 5, 34. *Varsha-pūga-sahasrānte tad aṇḍam udake śayam | kālakarma-svabhāva-stho jīvo 'jīvam ajīvayat | 35. Sa eva Purushas tasmād aṇḍam nirbhedya nirgatah | sahasrorv-anghri-bāhv-akshah sahasrānanaśīrshavān | 36. Yasyehāvayavair lokān kalpayanti manīshiṇah | kaṭy-*

[282] I am unable to make a proper sense out of the words *brahmaṇo brāhmaṇatvāch cha*, which, however, as I learn from Dr. FitzEdward Hall, are found (with only a difference of long and short vowels) in the best MSS. to which he has access, as well as in the Bombay edition. One of the sixteen priests, the Brāhmanāchhaṁsin, is not found in the enumeration, and his name may therefore have stood at the beginning of the line. Instead of the inept reading *sarvaśah*, at the end, the author may perhaps have written *vakshasah*, "from his chest," as, indeed, one MS. reads in the next line. The Bombay edition reads *pṛishṭhāt*, "from the back," instead of *sṛishṭvā*.

[283] M. Burnouf remarks in the Preface to the first vol. of his edition of the Bhāgavata, pp. cxxii. ff., on the manner in which its author has gone back to Vedic sources for his materials. The same thing is noticed by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, i. 286, note.

ādibhir adhaḥ sapta saptordhvaṁ jaghanādibhiḥ | 37. *Purushasya mukham brahma kshatram etasya bāhavaḥ* | *ūrvor vaiśyo bhagavataḥ padbhyāṁ śūdro vyajāyata* | 38. *Bhūrlokaḥ kalpitaḥ padbhyām bhuvarloko 'sya nābhitaḥ* | *hṛidā svarloka uraśā maharloko mahātmanaḥ* |

"34. At the end of many thousand years the living soul which resides in time, action, and natural quality gave life to that lifeless egg floating on the water. 35. Purusha then having burst the egg, issued from it with a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads. 36. With his members the sages fashion the worlds, the seven lower worlds with his loins, etc., and the seven upper worlds with his groin, etc. 37. The Brāhman (was) the mouth of Purusha, the Kshattriya his arms, the Vaiśya was born from the thighs, the Śūdra from the feet of the divine being. The earth was formed from his feet, the air from his navel; the heaven by the heart, and the maharloka by the breast of the mighty one."

In the following verse the figurative character of the representation is manifest:

ii. 1, 37. *Brahmānanaṁ kshattra-bhujo mahātmā viḍ-ūrur anghri-śrita-kṛishṇa-varṇaḥ* |

"The Brāhman is his mouth; he is Kshattriya-armed, that great One, Vaiśya-thighed, and has the black caste abiding in his feet."

The next passage is more in accord with the ordinary representation, though here, too, the mystical view is introduced at the close:

iii. 22, 2. *Brahmā 'sṛijat sva-mukhato yushmān ātma-parīpsayā* | *chhandomayas tapo-vidyā-yoga-yuktān alampaṭān* | 3. *Tat-trāṇāyā-sṛijach chāsmān doḥ-sahasrāt sahasra-pāt* | *hṛidayaṁ tasya hi brahma kshattram angam prachakshate* |

"Brahmā, who is formed of the Veda (*chhandas*), with a view to the recognition of himself, created you (the Brāhmans) who are characterized by austere fervour, science, devotion and chastity, from his mouth. For their protection he, the thousand-footed, created us (the Kshattriyas) from his thousand arms: for they declare the Brāhman to be his heart, and the Kshattriya his body."

iii. 6, 29 ff. contains another reference to the production of the castes:

29. *Mukhato 'varttata brahma Purushasya Kurūdvaha* | *yastūn-mukhatvād varṇānām mukhyo 'bhūd brāhmaṇo guruḥ* | 30. *Bāhubhyo 'varttata kshattraṁ kshattriyas tad-anuvrataḥ* | *yo jātas trāyate varṇān*

paurushaḥ kaṇṭaka-kshatāt | 31. *Viśo 'varttanta tasyorvor loka-vṛitti-karīr vibhoḥ* | *vaiśyas tad-udbhavo vārttāṁ nṛiṇāṁ yaḥ samavarttayat* | 32. *Padbhyām bhagavato jajne śuśrūshā dharma-siddhaye* | *tasyāṁ jātaḥ purā śūdro yad-vṛittyā tushyate Hariḥ* | 33. *Ete varṇāḥ sva-dharmeṇa yajanti sva-guruṁ Harim* | *śraddhayā "tma-viśuddhyarthaṁ yaj jātāḥ saha vṛittibhiḥ* |

"29. From the mouth of Purusha, o descendant of Kuru, issued divine knowledge (*brahma*), and the Brāhman, who through his production from the mouth became the chief of the castes and the preceptor. 30. From his arms issued kingly power (*kshattra*), and the Kshattriya devoted to that function, who, springing from Purusha, as soon as born defends the castes from the injury of enemies. 31. From the thighs of the Lord issued the arts,[284] affording subsistence to the world; and from them was produced the Vaiśya who provided the maintenance of mankind. 32. From the feet of the divine Being sprang service for the fulfilment of duty. In it the Śūdra was formerly born, with whose function Hari is well satisfied. By fulfilling their own duties, with faith, for the purification of their souls, these castes worship Hari their parent, from whom they have sprung together with their functions."

In viii. 5, 41, we find the following:

Vipro mukhād brahma cha yasya guhyaṁ rājanya āsīd bhujayor balaṁ cha | *ūrvor viḍ ojo 'nghrir aveda-śūdrau prasīdatāṁ naḥ sa mahā-vibhūtiḥ* |

"May that Being of great glory be gracious to us, from whose mouth sprang the Brāhman and the mysterious Veda, from whose arms came the Rājanya and force, from whose thighs issued the Viś and energy, and whose foot is no-veda (*aveda*) and the Śūdra."

The same work gives the following very brief account of the *Arvāk-srotas* creation, which is described with somewhat more detail in the passages extracted above from the Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas:

iii. 20, 25. *Arvāk-srotas tu navamaḥ kshattar eka-vidho nṛiṇām* | *rajo 'dhikāḥ karma-parāḥ duḥkhe cha sukha-māninaḥ* |

[284] The word so rendered is *viśaḥ*, which in the hymns of the Rig-veda has always the sense of "people." Here, however, it seems to have the sense assigned in the text, if one may judge from the analogy of the following verse, in which the Śūdra is said to be produced from his special function, *śuśrūshā*, "service." The Commentator explains *viśaḥ* = *kṛishy-ādi-vyavasāyāḥ*, "the professions of agriculture," etc.

"The Arvaksrotas creation was of one description,[285] viz., of men, in whom the quality of passion abounded, who were addicted to works, and imagined that in pain they experienced pleasure."

In vi. 6, 40, a new account is given of the origin of mankind. We are there told:

Aryamṇo Mātṛikā patnī tayoś Charshaṇayaḥ sutāḥ | yatra vai mānushī jātir Brahmaṇā chopakalpitā |

"The wife of Aryaman (the son of Aditi) was Mātṛikā. The Charshaṇis were the sons of this pair, and among them the race of men was formed by Brahmā." The word *charshaṇi* signifies "men," or "people" in the Veda.

In the following verse (which forms part of the legend of Purūravas, quoted in the 3rd vol. of this work, pp. 27 ff.) it is declared that in the Kṛita age there was only one caste:

ix. 14, 48. *Eka eva purā vedaḥ praṇavaḥ sarva-vāṅmayaḥ | devo Nārāyaṇo nānya eko 'gnir varṇa eva cha | Purūravasa evāsīt trayī tretā-mukhe nṛipa |*

"There was formerly but one Veda, the *praṇava* (the monosyllable *Om*), the essence of all speech; only one god, Nārāyaṇa, one Agni, and (one) caste. From Purūravas came the triple Veda, in the beginning of the Tretā."

Some of the Commentator's remarks on this text will be found in vol. iii. p. 29. He says the one caste was called "Hansa" (*varṇaś cha eka eva haṁso nāma*), and concludes his note by remarking: "The meaning is this: In the Kṛita age when the quality of goodness predominated in men, they were almost all absorbed in meditation; but in the Tretā, when passion prevailed, the method of works was manifested by the division of the Vedas, etc."

[285] The Sānkhya Kārikā, 53, says: *ashṭa-vikalpo daivas tairyagyonyaś cha panchadhā bhavati mānushyaś chaika-vidhaḥ samāsato bhautikaḥ sargaḥ*; which is thus translated by Mr. Colebrooke (in Wilson's Sānkhya Kārikā, p. 164): "The divine kind is of eight sorts; the grovelling is five-fold; mankind is single in its class. This, briefly, is the world of living beings." The Commentator Gaudapāda shortly explains the words *mānushyaś chaikavidhaḥ* by *mānushayonir ekaiva*, "the source of production of mankind is one only." Vijnāna Bhikshu, the Commentator on the Sānkhya Pravachana, iii. 46, paraphrases the same words thus, *mānushya-sargaś chaika-prakāraḥ*, "the human creation is of one sort."

Sect. XIII.—*Results of this Chapter.*

The details which I have supplied in the course of this chapter must have rendered it abundantly evident that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent account of the origin of castes; but, on the contrary, present the greatest varieties of speculation on this subject. Explanations mystical, mythical, and rationalistic, are all offered in turn; and the freest scope is given by the individual writers to fanciful and arbitrary conjecture.

First: we have the set of accounts in which the four castes are said to have sprung from progenitors who were separately created; but in regard to the manner of their creation we find the greatest diversity of statement. The most common story is that the castes issued from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Purusha, or Brahmā. The oldest extant passage in which this idea occurs, and from which all the later myths of a similar tenor have no doubt been borrowed, is, as we have seen, to be found in the Purusha Sūkta; but it is doubtful whether, in the form in which it is there presented, this representation is anything more than an allegory. In some of the texts which I have quoted from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, traces of the same allegorical character may be perceived; but in Manu and the Puranas the mystical import of the Vedic text disappears, and the figurative narration is hardened into a literal statement of fact. In other passages, where a separate origin is assigned to the castes, they are variously said to have sprung from the words Bhūḥ, Bhuvah, Svah; from different Vedas; from different sets of prayers; from the gods, and the asuras; from nonentity (pp. 17–21), and from the imperishable, the perishable, and other principles (Harivaṁśa, 11816). In the chapters of the Vishṇu, Vāyu, and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, where castes are described as coeval with the creation, and as having been naturally distinguished by different guṇas, or qualities, involving varieties of moral character, we are nevertheless allowed to infer that those qualities exerted no influence on the classes in whom they were inherent, as the condition of the whole race during the Kṛita age is described as one of uniform perfection and happiness; while the actual separation into castes did

not take place, according to the Vāyu Purāṇa, until men had become deteriorated in the Tretā age.

Second: in various passages from the Brāhmanas, Epic poems, and Puranas, the creation of mankind is, as we have seen, described without the least allusion to any separate production of the progenitors of the four castes (pp. 23–27, and elsewhere). And whilst in the chapters where they relate the distinct formation of the castes, the Puranas, as has been observed, assign different natural dispositions to each class, they elsewhere represent all mankind as being at the creation uniformly distinguished by the quality of passion. In one of the texts I have quoted (p. 26 f.) men are said to be the offspring of Vivasvat; in another his son Manu is said to be their progenitor; whilst in a third they are said to be descended from a female of the same name. The passage which declares Manu to have been the father of the human race explicitly affirms that men of all the four castes were descended from him. In another remarkable text the Mahābhārata categorically asserts that originally there was no distinction of classes, the existing distribution having arisen out of differences of character and occupation. Similarly, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in one place informs us that in the Kṛita age there was but one caste; and this view appears also to be taken in some passages which I have adduced from the Epic poems.

In these circumstances we may fairly conclude that the separate origination of the four castes was far from being an article of belief universally received by Indian antiquity.

I shall now proceed to enquire what opinion the writers of the older Vedic hymns appear to have entertained in regard to the origin of the race to which they themselves belonged.

CHAPTER II.

TRADITION OF THE DESCENT OF THE INDIAN RACE FROM MANU.[1]

It appears from the considerations urged in the preceding chapter that in all probability the Purusha Sūkta belongs to the most recent portion of the Rig-veda Sanhitā, and that it is at least doubtful whether the verse in which it connects the four castes with the different members of the creator's body is not allegorical. And we have seen that even if that representation is to be taken as a literal account of the creation of the different classes, it cannot, in the face of many other statements of a different tenor, and of great antiquity, be regarded as expressing the fixed belief of the writers of the period immediately succeeding the collection of the hymns in regard to the origin of the social divisions which prevailed in their own time. But the notions entertained of the origin of caste at the date of the Purusha Sūkta, whatever they may have been, will afford no criterion of the state of opinion on the same subject in an earlier age; and it therefore remains to enquire whether those hymns of the Rig-veda, which appear to be the most ancient, contain either (1) any tradition regarding the origin of mankind, or of the Indian tribes; or (2) any allusion to the existence, in the community contemporary with their composition, of separate classes corresponding to those afterwards known as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras; and if they embrace any reference of the latter kind, whether they afford any explanation of the manner in which these orders of men came to occupy their respective positions

[1] On the subjects treated in this chapter compare my article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx. for 1863, pp. 406 ff., where a reference is made to the other writers who had previously treated of them, such as M. Nève, Mythe des Ribhavas, etc.

in society. We shall find on examination that the hymns supply some information on both these branches of enquiry.

Numerous references are undoubtedly to be found in all parts of the hymn-collection to a variety of ranks, classes, and professions; of which an account will be given in the next chapter; but no hint is anywhere discoverable, except in the single text of the Purusha Sūkta, of those classes being distinguished from each other by any original difference of race. If, however, the early Vedic Indians had all along believed in the quadruple production of their nation from the different members of Purusha, one might naturally have expected to find allusions to such a variety of birth running through the hymns. But nothing, I repeat, of this kind is to be traced. On the contrary it appears from a considerable number of passages that at least the superior ranks of the community were regarded as being of one stock, the Aryan, and as having one common ancestor. This chapter will therefore embrace, First, the texts which are found in the hymns regarding the origin of the Indian tribes, and the history of their progenitor, and Secondly those passages which occur in the Brāhmaṇas, and other later works in which the statements of the early Vedic poets on these subjects are re-echoed or developed.

Sect. I.—*Manu as the progenitor of the Āryan Indians and the institutor of religious rites according to the Hymns of the Rig-veda.*

In this section I shall first quote the texts which allude to Manu as father (which must of course be understood to designate him as the actual human progenitor of the authors of the hymns, and of the bulk of the people to whom they addressed themselves); and then adduce those which speak of him as the institutor of religious rites, or as the object of divine protection.

(1) The following texts are of the first class:

i. 80, 16. *Yām Atharvā Manush pitā Dadhyañ dhiyam atnata | tasmin brahmāṇi pūrvathā Indre ukthā samagmata |*

"Prayers and hymns were formerly congregated in that Indra, in the ceremony which Atharvan, father Manu, and Dadhyanch celebrated."[2]

[2] This verse is quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 34, where the words *Manush pitā*,

i. 114, 2. *Yat śaṁ cha yoś cha Manur āyeje pitā tad aśyāma tava Rudra praṇītishu* |

"Whatever prosperity or succour father Manu obtained by sacrifice, may we gain all that under thy guidance, O Rudra."

ii. 33, 13. *Yā vo bheshajā Marutaḥ śuchīni yā śantamā vṛishaṇo yā mayobhū* | *yāni Manur avṛiṇīta pitā naḥ tā śaṁ cha yoś cha Rudrasya vaśmi* |

"Those pure remedies of yours, O Maruts, those which are most auspicious, ye vigorous gods, those which are beneficent, those which our[3] father Manu chose, those, and the blessing and succour of Rudra, I desire."

viii. 52, 1 (Sāma-veda, i. 355). *Sa pūrvyo mahānām veno kratubhir ānaje* | *yasya dvārā Manush pitā deveshu dhiyaḥ ānaje* |

"That ancient friend hath been equipped with the powers of the mighty (gods). Father Manu has prepared hymns to him, as portals of access to the gods."[4]

"father Manu," are explained as meaning *Manuścha pitā mānavānām*, "Manu the father of men." Sāyana, the Commentator on the Rig-veda, interprets them as meaning *sarvāsām prajānām pitṛibhūto Manuścha*, "Manu the father of all creatures." In R.V., x. 82, 3, the words "our father and generator" (*yo naḥ pitā janitā*), are applied to Vis'vakarman, the creator of the universe. The word "father" in the R.V. is often applied to Dyaus, the Sky, and "mother" to the Earth, as in vi. 51 5. (Compare Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1864, pp. 55 ff.) But in these passages it is not neeessary to suppose that the words are employed in any other than a figurative sense; although in a hymn to the Earth in the Atharva-veda, xii. 1, we find the following verse (the 15th): *Tvaj-jātas tvayi charanti martyās tvam bibharshi dvipadas tvaṁ chatushpadaḥ* | *taveme pṛithivi pancha-mānavāḥ yebhyo jyotir amṛitam martyebhyaḥ udyan sūryo raśmibhir ātanoti* | "Mortals born of thee live on thee: thou supportest both bipeds and quadrupeds. Thine, o Earth, are these five races of men, these mortals on whom the sun rising, sheds undying light with his rays;"—where it might almost appear as if the poet meant to represent mankind as actually generated by the earth. Brihaspati (iv. 50, 6; vi. 73, 1) and the other gods, as Indra, are called "father," or compared to fathers (vii. 52, 3); as are Rudra, vi. 49, 10; and the Rishi, R.V., x. 81, 1; x. 82, 1, 3, 4. S'. P. Br., i. 5, 3, 2, has *Prajāpatau pitari;* and Taitt. Br. iii. 9, 22, 1, *Prajāpatim pitaram*. In both the last places Prajāpati is referred to as the father of the gods.

[3] It is to be observed that while in the two preceeding passages Manu is styled merely "father Manu," he is here called "*our* father Manu" (*Manuḥ pitā naḥ*).

[4] I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for the above translation of this, to me, obscure verse. Sāyaṇa explains it thus: *Sa pūrvyo mukhyo mahānām pūjyānām yajamānānām kratubhiḥ karmabhir nimittabhūtair venaḥ kāntas teshām haviḥ kāmayamānaḥ ānaje āgachhati* | *yasyendrasya dvārā dvārāṇi prāptyupāyāni dhiyaḥ karmaṇi deveshv eteshu madhye pitā sarveshām pālako Manur ānaje prāpa* | *ānajiḥ prāpti-*

The sense of the next text is less clear, but it appears at least to allude to the common designation of Manu as a father:

x. 100, 5. *Yajno Manuḥ pramatir naḥ pitā hi kam* |

"Sacrifice is Manu, our protecting father."

The following verse, according to the Commentator at least, speaks of the *paternal* or *ancestral* path of Manu. Professor Aufrecht thinks it need not mean more than the ancestral human path:

viii. 30. 3. *Te nas trādhvam te avata te u no adhi vochata | mā naḥ pathaḥ pitryād mānavād adhi dūram naishṭa parāvatah* |

"Do ye (gods) deliver, protect, and intercede for us; do not lead us far away from the paternal path of Manu.[5]

As in the preceding passages Manu is spoken of as the progenitor of the worshippers, so in the following the same persons may perhaps be spoken of as his descendants, although it is also true that the phrases employed may be merely equivalent to "children of men."

i. 68, 4. *Hotā nishatto Manor apatye sa chit nu āsām patiḥ rayīnām* |

"He (Agni) who abides among the offspring of Manu as the invoker (of the gods), is even the lord of these riches."[6]

karmā | "This chief one, in consequence of the rites of the venerable sacrificers, desiring their oblation, comes,—he (Indra) as means of attaining whom Manu the preserver of all has obtained rites among these gods." Professor Benfey renders the verse, where it occurs in the Sāma-veda, thus: "He is the chief of the rich, through works the dear one enlightens him, whose doors father Manu has, and illuminates observances towards the gods." From Prof. Benfey's note to the passage (p. 230) it appears that the Commentator on the Sāma-veda explains *ānaje* by *vyaktīkaroti ātmānam*, "makes himself distinct" (herein differing from Sāyana), Manu by *jnātā sarvasya = Indraḥ*, "the knower of all, Indra," and *ānaje*, where it occurs the second time, by *āgamayati*, "causes to come." Such are the differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of some parts of the hymns.

[5] On this verse Sāyana comments thus: *Sarveshām Manuḥ pitā tataḥ āgatāt | parāvatah | pitā Manur dūram mārgam chakre | tasmāt patho mārgāt no asmān mā naishṭa mā nayata | apanayanam mā kuruta ity arthaḥ | sarvadā brahmacharyyāgnihotrādi-karmāṇi yena mārgeṇa bhavanti tam eva asmān nayata | kintu dūram ya etad-vyatirikto viprakṛishṭo mārgo 'sti tasmād adhi adhikam ity arthaḥ asmān apanayata* | "'Of Manu' means, come from Manu who is the father of all. 'Distant:' Father Manu journeyed along a distant path. Do not lead us away from that path. Lead us along that path in which continence, the agnihotra sacrifice, and other duties have always been practised. But lead us away from the distant path which is different from that."

[6] The Commentator here explains "the offspring of Manu" as offspring or creatures in the form of worshippers (*yajamāna-svarūpāyām prajāyām*); and adds that according to a Brāhmaṇa "creatures are sprung from Manu" ("*Mānavyo hi prajāḥ*"

iii. 3, 6. *Agnir devebhir manushaścha jantubhis tanvāno yajnam purupeśasam dhiyā* |

"Agni, together with the gods, and the children (*jantubhih*) of Manush, celebrating a multiform sacrifice with hymns," etc.

In the following texts reference is made to the *people* of Manu, the word for "people" being *viś*, from which *vaiśya*, "a man of the people," is derived:

iv. 37, 1. *Upa no Vājāḥ adhvaram Ṛibhukshāḥ devāḥ yāta pathībhir devayānaiḥ | yathā yajnam manusho vikshu āsu dadhidve raṇvāḥ sudineshu ahnām* |

"Ye gods, Vājas, and Ribhukshans, come to our sacrifice by the path travelled by the gods, that ye, pleasing deities, may institute a sacrifice among these people of Manush (*Manusho vikshu*) on auspicious days."

vi. 14, 2. *Agnim hotāram īḷate yajneshu manusho viśaḥ* |

"The people of Manush praise in the sacrifices Agni the invoker."

viii. 23, 13. *Yad vai ū viśpatiḥ śitaḥ suprīto manusho viśi | viśvā id Agniḥ prati rakshāṁsi sedhati* |

"Whenever Agni, lord of the people,[7] kindled, abides gratified among the people of Manush, he repels all Rakshases."

(2.) From the preceding texts it appears that the authors of the hymns regarded Manu as the progenitor of their race. But (as is clear from many other passages) they also looked upon him as the first person by whom the sacrificial fire had been kindled, and as the institutor of the ceremonial of worship; though the tradition is not always consistent on this subject. In one of the verses already quoted (i. 80, 16) Manu is mentioned in this way, along with Atharvan and

iti hi brāhmaṇam). Yāska (Nir. iii. 7) gives the following derivations of the word *manushya*, "man:" *Manushyāḥ kasmāt | matvā karmāṇi sīvyanti | manasyamānena sṛishṭāḥ . . . . | Manor apatyam Manusho vā* | "From what are men (named)? Because after reflection they sew together works; (or) because they were created by one who reflected (or, according to Durga, "rejoiced") . . . . (or) because they are the offspring of Manu, or Manush."

[7] *Viśpati.* Compare vi. 48, 8, where it is said: *viśvāsām gṛihapatir viśām asi tvam Agne mānushīnam* | "Agni, thou art the master of the house of all human people (or, people sprung from Manush);" and x. 80, 6, *Agnim viśaḥ īlate mānushīr yāḥ Agnim Manusho Nahusho vi jātāḥ* | "Human people (or, people descended from Manush) praise Agni: (people) sprung from Manush, from Nahush, (praise) Agni." Or if *manushaḥ* be the nom. plur. the last clause will run thus: "men sprung from Nahush (praise) Agni."

Dadhyanch, as having celebrated religious rites in ancient times. The following further passages refer to him as a kindler of fire, and offerer of oblations:

i. 36, 19. *Ni tvām Agne Manur dadhe jyotir janāya śaśvate* |

"Manu has placed (or ordained) thee, Agni, a light to all the people."

i. 76, 5. *Yathā viprasya Manusho havirbhir devān ayajaḥ kavibhiḥ kaviḥ san* | *eva hotaḥ satyatara tvam adya Agne mandrayā juhvā yajasva* |

"As thou, thyself a sage, didst, with the sages, worship the gods with the oblations of the wise Manush, so to-day, Agni, most true invoker, worship them with a cheerful flame."

v. 45, 6. *Ā ita dhiyam kṛiṇavāma sakhāyah . . . . yayā Manur Viśiśipram jigāya . . . .*

"Come, friends, let us perform the prayer . . . . whereby Manu conquered Viśiśipra . . . .

viii. 10. 2. *Yad vā yajnam Manave sammimikshathur eva it Kāṇvasya bodhatam* |

"Or if ye (Aśvins) sprinkled the sacrifice for Manu, think in like manner of the descendant of Kanva."

ix. 96, 11. *Tvayā hi naḥ pitarah Soma pūrve karmāṇi chakruḥ pavamāna dhīrāḥ* | . . . . 12. *Yathā apavathāḥ Manave vayodhāh amitrahā varivovid havishmān* | *eva pavasva . . . .*

"For through thee, O pure Soma, our early fathers, who were wise, performed their rites . . . 12. As thou didst flow clear for Manu, thou upholder of life, destroyer of foes, possessor of wealth, rich in oblations, so (now) flow clear." . . . .

x. 63, 7. *Yebhyo hotrām prathamām āyeje Manuḥ samiddhāgnir manasā sapta hotṛibhiḥ* | *tā Ādityā abhayam śarma yachhata . . . .*

"O ye Ādityas, to whom Manu, when he had kindled fire, presented along with seven hotṛi priests the first oblation with a prayer, bestow on us secure protection."

x. 69, 3. "*Yat te Manur yad anīkam Sumitrah samīdhe Agne tad idam navīyaḥ*"[8] |

[8] The S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 4, 2, 5) thus explains the words *deveddho Manviddhah*:—*Manviddhaḥ iti* | *Manur hy etam agre aindhha* | *tasmād āha* "*Manviddhaḥ*" *iti* | "The gods formerly kindled it (fire): hence it is called 'god-kindled.' Manu formerly kindled it: and hence it is called 'kindled by Manu.'" The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (ii. 34), however, explains the word *Manv-iddhah* from the fact that "*men* kindle it" (*imam hi manushyā indhate*).

"That lustre of thine which Manu, which Sumitra, kindled is this same which is now renewed."

In conformity with the preceding texts, the following may be understood as declaring that the sacrificial fire had been first kindled by Manu:

i. 13, 4 (= S.V. ii. 700). *Agne sukhatame rathe devān īḷitaḥ ā vaha | asi hotā Manurhitaḥ |*

"O Agni, lauded, bring the gods hither in a most pleasant chariot. Thou art the invoker (of the gods) placed by Manush." [9]

i. 14, 11. *Tvam hotā Manurhito 'gne yajneshu sīdasi | saḥ imam no adhvaram yaja |*

"Thou, Agni, the invoker placed by Manush, art present at the sacrifices: do thou present this our oblation." (See also R.V. iii. 2, 15.)

vi. 16, 9. *Tvam hotā Manurhitaḥ . . . .*

"Thou art the invoker placed by Manush . . . ."

viii. 19, 21. *Īḷe girā Manurhitam yam devā dūtam aratim ni erire | yajishṭham havya-vāhanam |*

"With a hymn I laud that adorable bearer of oblations placed by Manush,[10] whom the gods have sent as a ministering messenger."

[9] The compound word which I have here rendered "placed by Manush" is in the original *Manur-hita*. Professor Aufrecht would render it "given to man," and quotes i. 36, 10, in support of this view. The sense I have given is supported by i. 36, 19, where the same root, *dhā*, from which *hita* (originally *dhita*) comes, is used, joined with the particle *ni*. The same participle *hita* is used in vi. 16, 1, where it is said: *Tvam Agne yajnānām hotā sarveshām hitaḥ | devebhir mānushe jane |* "Thou, Agni, hast been placed, or ordained, among the race of Manush by the gods as the invoker at all sacrifices." The fact that Agni is here said to have been placed by the gods among the race of Manush does not forbid us to suppose that there are other passages in which, either inconsistently, or from a different point of view, Agni may have been said to be placed by Manu. The compound *manur-hita* occurs also in the following texts, where, however, it has probably the sense of "good for man," viz.: i. 106, 5. *Bṛihaspate sadam id naḥ sugaṁ kṛidhi śaṁ yor yat te manur-hitam tad īmahe |* "Brihaspati, do us always good: we desire that blessing and protection of thine which is *good for man*." (Sāyana says that here *manur-hitam* means either "placed in thee by Manu, *i.e.*, Brahmā," or, "favourable to man." Benfey, in loco, renders "destined for man.") vi. 70, 2. *Rājantī asya bhuvanasya rodasī asme retaḥ sinchataṁ yad manur-hitam |* "Heaven and earth, ruling over this world, drop on us that seed which is *good for man*." x. 26, 5. *Ṛishiḥ sa yo manur-hitaḥ |* "He (Pūshan) who is a rishi *kind to man*," etc. Professor Roth *s.v.* gives only the latter sense.

[10] Though the word *manur-hita* is here interpreted by Sāyana as meaning "placed by Manu Prajāpati who sacrificed," it might also signify "friendly to men," as Agni is also said to have been sent by the gods.

viii. 34, 8. *Ā tvā hotā Manurhito devatrā vakshad īḍyaḥ* |

"May the adorable invoker placed by Manu bring thee (Indra) hither among the gods," etc.

There is also a class of passages in which the example of Manush may be referred to by the phrase *manush-vat*, "like Manush," or, "as in the case of Manush."[11] Thus in i. 44, 11, it is said:

Ni tvā yajnasya sādhanam Agne hotāram ṛitvijam manushvad deva dhīmahi . . . . |

"Divine Agni, we, like Manush, place thee, the accomplisher of the sacrifice, the invoker, the priest," etc.

v. 21, 1. *Manushvat tvā ni dhīmahi Manushvat sam idhīmahi* | *Agne Manushvad Angiro devān devayate yaja* |

"Agni, we place thee like Manush, we kindle thee like Manush. Agni, Angiras, worship the gods like Manush, for him who adores them."

vii. 2, 3. *Manushvad Agnim Manunā samiddham sam adhvarāya sadam in mahema* |

"Let us, like Manush, continually invoke to the sacrifice Agni who was kindled by Manu."

viii. 27, 7. *Suta-somāso Varuṇa havāmahe Manushvad iddhāgnayaḥ* |

"We invoke thee, Varuṇa, having poured out soma, and having kindled fire, like Manush."

viii. 43, 13. *Uta tvā Bhṛiguvat śuche Manushvad Agne āhuta* | *Angirasvad havāmahe* | . . . . 27. *Yam tvā janāsa indhate Manushvad Angirastama* | *Agne sa bodhi me vachaḥ* |

"Like Bhṛigu, like Manush, like Angiras, we invoke thee, bright Agni, who hast been invoked. . . . . 27. Agni, most like to Angiras, whom men kindle like Manush, attend to my words."

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 5, 1, 7, explains thus the word *Manushvat*:[12]—*Manur ha vai agre yajnena īje* | *tad anukṛitya imāḥ prajāḥ ya-*

[11] I should observe that Prof. Aufrecht thinks the phrase—except perhaps with the single exception of viii. 43, 13—means "amongst men." Prof. Roth gives only the sense "like men," "as among, or for, men."

[12] The same work in the same passage thus explains the phrase *Bharata-vat*. "He bears (*bharati*) the oblation to the gods; wherefore men say, Bharata (or 'the bearer') is Agni. Or, he is called Bharata (the 'sustainer') because, being breath, he sustains these creatures." This phrase may, however, refer to the example of King Bharata. See Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 5, 4, 14.

jante | tasmād āha "Manush-vad" iti | "Manor yajnaḥ" iti u vai āhuḥ | tasmād vā iva āhur "Manushvad" iti | "Manu formerly sacrificed with a sacrifice. Imitating this, these creatures sacrifice. He therefore says, *Manushvat*, 'like Manu.' Or, they say 'like Manu,' because men speak of the sacrifice as being Manu's."

It must, however, be admitted that Manu is not always spoken of in the hymns of the first, or only, kindler of fire or celebrator of religious rites. In i. 80, 16, already quoted, Atharvan and Dadhyanch are specified along with him as having offered sacrifice in early times.

In the following verses Atharvan is mentioned as having generated fire:

vi. 16, 13. *Imam tu tyam Atharva-vad Agnim mathanti vedhasaḥ |*

"The wise draw forth this Agni, as Atharvan did."

vi. 16, 13 (= S. V. i. 9; Vāj. Sanh. xi. 32). *Tvām Agne pushkarād adhy Atharvā nir amanthata . . . . |* 14. *Tam u tvā Dadhyañ ṛishiḥ putraḥ īdhe Atharvaṇaḥ |*

"Agni, Atharvan drew thee forth from the lotus leaf," etc. 14. "Thee the rishi Dadhyanch, son of Atharvan, kindled," etc.

[In the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the first of these verses is immediately preceded by the following words (xi. 32): *Atharvā tvā prathamo nir amanthad Agne |* "Atharvan was the first who drew thee forth, Agni."]

Again it is said in the Rig-veda, x. 21, 5. *Agnir jāto Atharvaṇā vidad viśvāni kāvyā | bhuvad dūto Vivasvataḥ |* "Agni, produced by Atharvan, knows all wisdom, and has become the messenger of Vivaswat."

In i. 83, 5, Atharvan is mentioned as the earliest institutor of sacrifice: *Yajnair Atharvā prathamaḥ pathas tate tataḥ sūryo vratapāḥ venaḥ ājani |* "Atharvan was the first who by sacrifices opened up paths; then the friendly Sun, the upholder of ordinances, was produced," etc.: so too in x. 92, 10. *Yajnair Atharvā prathamo vi dhārayad devā dakshair Bhṛigavaḥ sam chikitrire |* "Atharvan, the first, established (all things) with sacrifices. The divine Bhṛigus co-operated with their powers." [13]

[13] These two texts might, though not very probably, be understood to mean not that Atharvan was the first to employ sacrifice, but to use it for the purpose referred to in the context.

The next texts speak of the Bhṛigus as the institutors of sacrifice by fire:

i. 58, 6. *Dadhus tvā Bhṛigavo mānusheshv ā rayim na chārum suhavam janebhyaḥ | hotāram Agne |*

"The Bhṛigus have placed thee, o Agni, among men, as an invoker, like a beautiful treasure, and easily invoked for men," etc.

ii. 4, 2. *Imam vidhanto apām sadasthe dvitā adadhur Bhṛigavo vikshu Āyoḥ |*

"Worshipping him (Agni) in the receptacle of waters, the Bhṛigus placed him among the people of Āyu."

x. 46, 2. *Imam vidhanto apām sadasthe paśum na nashṭam padair anu gman | guhā chatantam uśijo namobhir ichhanto dhīrā Bhṛigavo avindan |*

"Worshipping him in the receptacle of waters, and desiring him with prostrations, the wise and longing Bhṛigus followed him with their steps, like a beast who had been lost, and found him lurking in concealment"[14] (i. 65, 1).

In other places, the gods, as well as different sages, are mentioned as introducing or practising worship by fire, or as bringing down the sacred flame from heaven:

i. 36, 10. *Yam tvā devāso manave dadhur iha yajishṭham havyavāhana | yam Kaṉvo Medhyātithir dhanaspṛitam yam Vṛishā yam Ūpastutaḥ |*

"Thou, o bearer of oblations, whom the gods placed here as an object of adoration to man (or Manu); whom Kaṉva, whom Medhyātithi, whom Vṛishan, whom Upastuta (have placed) a bringer of wealth," etc. Compare vi. 16, 1, quoted above, p. 167, note 9.

iii. 5, 10. *Yadī Bhṛigubhyaḥ pari Mātariśvā guhā santaṁ havyavāham samīdhe |*

"When Mātariśwan kindled for the Bhṛigus Agni, the bearer of oblations, who was in concealment."

x. 46, 9. *Dyāvā yam Agnim pṛithivī janishṭām āpas Tvashṭā Bhṛigavo yam sahobhiḥ | īḷenyam prathamam Mātariśvā devās tatakshur manave yajatram |*

"Mātariśwan and the gods have made, as the first adorable object of worship to man (or Manu), that Agni whom heaven and earth, whom

[14] In the following passages also the Bhṛigus are mentioned as connected with the worship of Agni: i. 71, 4; i. 127, 7; i. 143, 4; iii. 2, 4; iv. 7, 1; vi. 15, 2; viii. 43, 13; viii. 91, 4; x. 122, 5.

the waters, whom Tvashṭṛi, whom the Bhṛigus, have generated by their powers."

In the 8th verse the Āyus, and in the 10th the gods, as well as men, are said to have placed Agni.

In i. 60, 1; i. 93, 6; i. 148, 1; iii. 2, 13; iii. 5, 10; iii. 9, 5; vi. 8, 4, Mātariśvan is again spoken of as the bringer or generator of fire. (Compare note 1, in p. 416, of my article "On Manu the progenitor of the Āryan Indians," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx. for 1863.)

But to return to Manu. Although the distinction of having been the first to kindle fire is thus, in various passages, ascribed to Atharvan or the Bhṛigus, this does not disprove the fact that in other places, it is, somewhat inconsistently, assigned to Manu; and none of these other personages is ever brought forward as disputing with Manu the honour of having been the progenitor of the Aryan race. In this respect the Vedic tradition exhibits no variation, except that Yama also seems in some places to be represented as the first man. (See my article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1865, pp. 287 ff., and especially the words of the Atharva-veda, xviii. 3, 14. *Yo mamāra prathamo marttyānām* | "Who (Yama) died first of men.")

(III.) The following passages describe Manu as being the object of special favour or intervention on the part of some of the gods:

i. 112, 16. *Yābhir narā Śayave yābhir Atraye yābhiḥ purā Manave gātum īshathuḥ* | *yābhiḥ śārīr ājatam Śyūmaraśmaye tābhir u shu ūtibhir Aśvinā gatam* | 18. . . . . *Yabhir Manum śūram ishā samāvatam* |

"Come, Aświns, with those succours, whereby, o heroes, ye effected deliverance for Śayu, for Atri, and formerly for Manu, whereby ye shot arrows for Śyūmaraśmi. 18. . . . . whereby ye preserved the hero Manu with food."[15]

viii. 15, 5. *Yena jyotīṁshi Āyave Manave cha viveditha* | *mandāno asya barhisho vi rājasi* |

"Exulting in this (exhilaration), wherewith thou didst make known the luminaries to Āyu, and to Manu, thou art lord of the sacrificial grass."

[15] This passage, as far as it concerns Manu, is thus explained by Sāyaṇa: "And with those succours, whereby ye made a path, a road which was the cause of escape from poverty, by sowing barley and other kinds of grain, etc., for Manu, the royal rishi of that name; according to another text" (i. 117, 21).

When compared with the preceding verse it seems not improbable that the following text may refer to the same tradition, and that instead of *Vāyave* we should read *Āyave:*

vii. 91, 1. *Kuvid anga namasā ye vṛidhāsaḥ purā devā anavadyāsaḥ āsan | te Vāyave (Āyave ?) Manave bādhitāya avāsayan Ushasam Sūryena |*

"Certainly those gods who were magnified by worship were of old faultless. They displayed the dawn with the sun to Vāyu (Āyu ?), to Manu when distressed.

There is also a reference to the sky being displayed to Manu in the following verse, unless the word (*manu*) is to be there taken as an epithet of Purūravas, which does not seem a probable supposition:

i. 31, 4. *Tvam Agne Manave dyām avāśayaḥ Purūravase sukṛite sukṛittaraḥ |*

"Thou, Agni, didst display the sky to Manu, to the beneficent Purūravas, (thyself) more beneficent."

If Manu be taken for a proper name in vii. 91, 1, it may reasonably be understood in the same way in vi. 49, 13, where the person referred is similarly spoken of as distressed:

vi. 49, 13. *Yo rajāṁśi vimame pārthivāni triś chid Vishṇur Manave bādhitāya |*

"Vishṇu who thrice measured the terrestrial regions for Manu when distressed."

And in that case the word Manu may perhaps also be taken to denote a person in vii. 100, 4, *Vichakrame pṛithivīm esha etām kshetrāya Vishṇur Manave daśasyan |* "This Vishṇu strode over this earth, bestowing it on Manu for an abode." Although here the general sense of "man" would make an equally good sense.

I may introduce here another text in which, from its conjunction with other proper names, it must be held that the word Manu denotes a person.

i. 139, 9. *Dadhyañ ha me janusham pūrvo Angirāḥ Priyamedhaḥ Kaṇvo Atrir Manur vidus te me pūrve Manur viduḥ |*

"Dadhyanch, the ancient Angiras, Priyamedha, Kaṇva, Atri, Manu, know my (Paruchhepa's?) birth; they, my predecessors, Manu, know it.'

There are, as we have seen, some passages in the hymns in which it is doubtful whether the words *manu* and *manush* denote an

individual, or stand for man in general; and there are also texts in which the latter sense is clearly the only one that can be assigned. Such are the following:

(1.) *Manu* in the singular:

i. 130, 5. . . . . *Dhenur iva manave viśvadohaso janāya viśvadohasaḥ* |

"All-productive as a cow to *man*, all-productive to a person."

v. 2, 12. *Barhishmate manave śarma yaṁsad havishmate manave śarma yaṁsat* |

"That he may bestow protection on the *man* who sacrifices, on the *man* who offers oblations."

viii. 47, 4. *Manor viśvasya gha id ime Ādityāḥ rāya īśate . . . .* |

"These Ādityas are lords of every *man's* riches" . . . .

(2.) *Manu* in the plural:

viii. 18, 22. *Ye chid hi mṛityubandhavaḥ Ādityāḥ manavaḥ smasi* | *pra su naḥ āyur jīvase tiretana* |

"O ye Ādityas, prolong the days of us who are *men* who are of kin to death, that we may live."

x. 91, 9. *Yad devayanto dadhati prayāṁsi te havishmanto manavo vṛikta-barhishaḥ* |

"When these pious *men* sacrificing, and spreading the sacrificial grass, offer thee oblations."

(3.) *Manush* in the singular:

i. 167, 7. *Guhā charantī manusho na yoshā* |

"Like the wife of a *man* moving secretly."

vii. 70, 2. . . . *atāpi gharmo manusho duroṇe* |

"Fire has been kindled in the *man's* abode."

The same phrase *manusho duroṇe* occurs also in viii. 76, 2; x. 40, 13; x. 104, 4; x. 110, 1. In x. 99, 7, we find the words *druhvaṇe manushe*, "against the injurious man."

(4.) *Manush* in the plural:

iv. 6, 11. *Hotāram Agnim manusho nishedur namasyanta uśijaḥ śaṁsam āyoḥ* |

"*Men* offering worship, and eager, attend upon Agni the invoker, the object of man's (or Āyu's) praises."

In the following passages, if the word *Manu* is not to be understood as denoting a person, the progenitor of men, it seems, at all events, to designate his descendants, the favoured race to which the authors of

the hymns believed themselves to belong, and appears to be in some cases at least nearly synonymous with Ārya, the name by which they called men of their own stock and religion, in contradistinction to the Dasyus, a term by which we are either to understand hostile demons, or the rude aboriginal tribes:

i. 130, 8. *Indraḥ samatsu yajamānam āryam prāvad viśveshu śatamūtir ājishu . . . . | manave śāsad avratān tvacham kṛishṇām arandhayat* | [16]

"Indra who bestows a hundred succours in all conflicts . . . . has preserved the Ārya in the fights. Chastising the lawless, he has subjected the black skin to the man (*manave*)."

Compare i. 117, 21, where instead of *manu*, or *manush*, the word *manusha* is employed:

Yavaṁ vṛikeṇa Aśvinā vapantā isham duhantā manushāya dasrā | abhi dasyum bakureṇa dhamantā uru jyotiś chakrathur āryāya |

"Sowing barley with the wolf, ye, o potent Aśvins, milking out food for *man* (*manusha*), blowing away the Dasyu with the thunderbolt(?), have made a broad light for the Ārya." [17]

i. 175, 3. *Tvam hi śūraḥ sanitā chodayo manusho ratham | sahāvān dasyum avratam oshaḥ pātram na śochishā |*

"Thou, a hero, a benefactor, hast impelled the chariot of *man*: victorious, thou hast burnt up the rite-less Dasyu, as a vessel is consumed by a blaze."

ii. 20, 6. *Sa ha śruta Indro nāma deva ūrddhvo bhuvad manushe dasmatamaḥ | ava priyam arśasānasya sahvān śiro bharad dāsasya svadhāvān | 7. Sa vṛittrahā Indraḥ kṛishṇayonīḥ purandaro dāsīr airayad vi | ajanayad manave kshām apaścha satrā śaṁsam yajamānasya tūtot |*

"The god renowned as Indra hath arisen most mighty for the sake of *man*. Violent, self-reliant, he has smitten down the dear head of the destructive Dāsa. 7. Indra, the slayer of Vṛittra, the destroyer of cities, has scattered the Dasyu (hosts) sprung from a black womb. He

[16] A similar opposition between the word *āyu*, "man," and *dasyu* is to be noted in the following passage, vi. 14, 3: *nānā hi Agne avase spardhante rāyo aryaḥ | tūrvanto dasyum āyavo vrataiḥ sīkshanto avratam* | "In various ways, o Agni, the riches of the enemy emulously hasten to the help (of thy worshippers). The men destroy the Dasyu, and seek by rites to overcome the riteless."

[17] See Prof. Roth's explanation of this passage as given in a note to the article on Manu the progenitor of the Aryan Indians, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx. p. 418.

has produced for *man* the earth[18] and the waters; he has perfectly fulfilled the aspiration of his worshipper."

vi. 21, 11. *Nu me ā vācham upa yāhi vidvān viśvebhiḥ sūno sahaso yajatraiḥ | ye agnijihvāḥ ṛitasāpaḥ āsur ye manum chakrur uparam dasāya |*

"Do thou, o wise god, son of strength, approach my hymn with all the adorable (deities), who were fire-tongued, rite-frequenting, and made *man* superior to the Dāsa."

viii. 87, 5. *Abhi hi satya somapāḥ ubhe babhūtha rodasī | Indrāsi sunvato vṛidhaḥ patir divaḥ ¦ 6. Tvam hi śaśvatīnām Indra dartā purām asi | hantā dasyor manor vṛidhaḥ patir divaḥ |*

"5. For thou, o true soma-drinker, hast overcome both worlds. Indra, thou art the prosperer of him who makes libations, the lord of the sky. 6. Thou, Indra, art the destroyer of all the cities, the slayer of the Dasyu, the prosperer of *man*, the lord of the sky."

ix. 92, 5. *Tan nu satyam pavamānasya astu yatra viśve kāravaḥ saṁnasanta | jyotir yad ahne akṛiṇod u lokam prāvad manum dasyave kar abhīkam |*

"Let this be the true (abode) of the pure god (Soma) where all the sages have assembled; since he has made light and space for the day, has protected man, and repelled the Dasyu."

x. 49, 7. *Yad mā sāvo manushaḥ āha nirṇije ṛidhak kṛishe dāsaṁ kṛitvyam hathaiḥ |*

"When the libation of *man* calls me to splendour, I tear in pieces (?) with blows the vigorous Dāsa."

x. 73, 7. *Tvam jaghantha Namuchim makhasyum dāsam kṛiṇvānaḥ ṛishaye vimāyam | tvam chakartha manavè syonān patho devatrā anjasā iva yānān |*

"Thou hast slain the lusty Namuchi, making the Dāsa bereft of magic against the rishi: thou made for man beautiful paths leading as it were straightway to the gods."

It is to be observed that in none of these passages is the Brahmanical, or any other, caste singled out as having been the special object of divine protection. Men, or Āryas, are the favourites of the gods. And

[18] In iv. 26, 7, Indra says: "*Aham bhūmim adadām āryāya aham vṛishṭim dāśushe martyāya* | "I gave the earth to the Ārya; I gave rain to the sacrificing mortal."

even in such hymns as R.V. i. 112; i. 116; i. 117; i. 119, etc., where the Aśvins are celebrated as having interposed for the deliverance of many of their worshippers, whose names are there specified, we are nowhere informed that any of these were Brāhmans, although reference is often made to their being rishis.[19]

There is one other text of considerable interest and importance, R.V. iii. 34, 9, which, although it is unconnected with Manu, may be here cited, as it connects the word *ārya* with the term *varṇa*, "colour," which in later times came to signify "caste," as applied to the Brāhmans and other classes. It is this:

Sasānātyān uta sūryaṁ sasāna Indraḥ sasāna purubhojasaṁ gām | hiraṇyayam uta bhogaṁ sasāna hatvī dasyūn pra āryaṁ varṇam āvat |

"Indra bestowed horses, he bestowed the sun, he bestowed the many-nourishing cow, he bestowed golden wealth: having slain the Dasyu, he protected the Āryan colour."

It is to be observed that here the word *varṇa* is used in the singular. Thus all the persons coming under the designation of Ārya, are included under one class or colour, not several.[20]

We shall see in the next chapter that, irrespective of the verse of the Purusha Sūkta, there are in the Rig-veda Sanhitā a few texts in which the Brāhmans are mentioned alone of all the four castes, without any distinct reference being found anywhere to the second class as Rājanyas, or Kshattriyas, or to the third and fourth as Vaiśyas and Sūdras.

In the mean time I shall advert to some other phrases which are employed in the hymns, either to denote mankind in general, or to signify certain national or tribal divisions. The most important of these is that of the "five tribes," who are frequently referred to under the appellations of *pancha-kṛishṭayaḥ*, *pancha-kshitayaḥ*, *pancha-kshitayo mānushyyaḥ* (vii. 97, 1), *pancha-charshaṇayaḥ*, *pancha-janāḥ*, *pānchajanyā viś* (viii. 52, 7), *pancha bhūma* (vii. 69, 2), *pancha jātā* (vi. 61, 12).[21]

[19] See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, pp. 7 ff.

[20] Sāyaṇa, indeed, interprets the word *āryam varṇam* by *uttamam varṇaṁ traivarṇikam* | "the most excellent class consisting of the three upper castes;" but he of course explains according to the ideas of his own age. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva Śākhā (Adhvara Kāṇḍa, i. 6) it is stated that the upper three castes only were Āryas and fit to offer sacrifice (*ārya eva brāhmaṇo vā kshattriyo vā vaiśyo vā te hi yajniyāḥ*) see Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, p. 281.

[21] In iii. 49, 1, mention is made not of the five tribes, but of *all* the tribes: *Śaṁsa*

Some of these terms are occasionally used of the gods, as in x. 53, 4: *ūrjāda uta yajniyāsaḥ panchajanā mama hotraṁ jushadhvam* | "Ye five tribes who eat (sacrificial) food, and are worthy of adoration, receive my oblation with favour."[22]

On this verse Yāska remarks, Nirukta, iii. 8: "*Gandharvāḥ pitaro devā asurā rakshāṁsi*" *ity eke* | "*chatvāro varṇā nishādaḥ panchamaḥ*" *ity Aupamanyavaḥ* | "Some say the word denotes the Gandharvas, fathers, gods, asuras, and rakshases. Aupamanyava says it denotes the four castes and the Nishādas."[23]

If Aupamayava was right, the Nishādas also were admissible to the worship of the gods in the Vedic age, as the "five classes" are represented in various texts as votaries of Agni. Such are the following:

vi. 11, 4. *Āyuṁ na yaṁ namasā rātahavyāḥ anjanti suprayasam pancha janāḥ* |

"Agni, whom, abounding in oblations, the five tribes, bringing offerings, honour with prostrations, as if he were a man."

Sāyaṇa here defines the five tribes as "priests and offerers of sacrifices" (*ritvig-yajamāna-lakshanāḥ*).

ix. 65, 22. *Ye somāsaḥ . . sunvire . .* | 23. *Ye vā janeshu panchasu* |

mahām Indraṁ yasmin viśvā ā kṛishṭayaḥ somapāḥ kāmam avyan | "Praise the great Indra, in whom all the tribes drinking soma have obtained their desire."

[22] Compare x. 60, 4. "In whose worship Ikshvāku prospers, wealthy and foe-destroying, like the five tribes in the sky (*divīva pancha kṛishṭayaḥ*). Sāyaṇa, however, renders "His five tribes (the four castes and the Nishādas) are as (happy as) if in heaven." Prof. Müller, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, p. 462, renders, "as the five tribes in heaven."

[23] In his note on this passage in his "Illustrations of the Nirukta," p. 28, Prof. Roth remarks: "The conception of the five races which originally comprehended all mankind . . . is here transferred to the totality of the divine beings. Hence also arises the diversity of understanding, when the number has to be indicated." Prof. Roth then quotes part of Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 31, which I give a little more fully from Dr. Haug's edition: *Pānchajanyaṁ vai etad ukthaṁ yad vaiśvadevam* | *sarveshāṁ vai etat panchajanānām ukthaṁ deva-manushyāṇāṁ gandharvāpsarasāṁ sarpāṇāṁ cha pitṛīṇāṁ cha* | *eteshāṁ vai etat panchajanānām uktham* | *sarve enam panchajanā viduḥ* | *ā enam panchinyai janatāyai havino gachhanti ya evaṁ veda* | "This Vaiśvadeva uktha belongs to the five classes of beings. It belongs to all the five classes of gods, men, gandharvas and apsarases, serpents, and fathers. To these five classes belongs this uktha. All these five classes know him (who uses it). Those of this five-fold set of beings who are skilled in invocation come to the man who knows this." See Dr. Haug's Ait. Br. ii. 214, where it is said that Gandharvas and Apsarases are counted as one class.

"Or those soma-libations which have been poured out . . (23) among the five tribes."

x. 45, 6. *Vīḷuṁ chid adrim abhinat parāyan janāḥ yad agnim ayajanta pancha* |

"He (Agni), travelling afar, clove even the strong mountain, when the five tribes worshipped Agni."

vii. 15, 2. *Yaḥ pancha charshaṇīr abhi nishasāda dame dame* | *kavir gṛihapatir yuvā* |

"The wise and youthful master of the house (Agni) who has taken up his abode among the five tribes in every house."

In vi. 61, 12, Sarasvatī is spoken of as "augmenting or prospering the five tribes" (*pancha jātā vardhayantī*).

In viii. 52, 7, it is said: *Yat pānchajanyayā viśā Indre ghoshāḥ asṛikshata* | "When shouts were uttered to Indra by the people of the five tribes," etc.

In R.V. i. 117, 3, Atri is styled *ṛishim pāñchajanyam*, "a rishi belonging to the five tribes." In v. 32, 11, the epithet *satpatiḥ pāñchajanyaḥ*, "the good lord of the five tribes," is applied to Indra. And in ix. 66, 20, Agni is called the purified rishi, the priest of the five tribes (*pāñchajayaḥ purohitaḥ*).[24]

In other passages, however, it is far from clear that the "five races" are intended to be identified with the Aryas, or people of honourable race, to whom the authors of the hymns belonged. Such, perhaps, is the case in the following verse: ii. 2, 10. *Asmākaṁ dyumnam adhi pancha kṛishṭishu uchchā svar na śuśuchīta dushṭaram* | "May our glory shine aloft among the five tribes, like the heaven unsurpassable." See also vi. 46, 7, to be quoted below.

On the same subject, Professor Roth remarks as follows in his Lexicon under the word *kṛishṭi*: "The phrase *five races* is a designation of all nations, not merely of the Aryyan tribes. It is an ancient enumeration, of the origin of which we find no express explanation in the Vedic texts. We may compare the fact that the cosmical spaces or points of the compass are frequently enumerated as *five*, especially in

[24] See Mahābhārata, iii. 14160, as referred to by Roth under *jana*, where the birth of a being of five colours, apparently a form of Agni, is described, who was generated by five rishis, and who was known as the god of the five tribes (*pānchajanya*) and the producer of five races.

the following text of the A.V. iii. 24, 2: *imā yāḥ pancha pradiśo mānavīḥ pancha kṛishṭayaḥ* | 'these five regions; the five tribes sprung from Manu'; among which (regions) we should have here to reckon as the fifth the one lying in the middle (*dhruvā dik*, A.V. iv. 14, 8; xviii. 3, 34), that is, to regard the Aryyas as the central point, and round about them the nations of the four regions of the world. . . . . According to the Vedic usage, five cannot be considered as designating an indefinite number."

We cannot therefore regard the use of the term "five races" as affording any evidence of the existence of a rigidly defined caste-system at the period when it was in frequent use. The frequent reference to such a division, which fell into disuse in later times, rather proves the contrary. The caste-system was always a quadruple, not a quintuple, one; and although the Nishādas are added by Aupamanyava as a fifth division of the population, this class was esteemed too degraded to allow us to suppose that they could ever have formed part of a universally recognized five-fold division, of which all the parts appear to be regarded as standing on an equal, or nearly equal, footing.

It is supposed by Dr. Kuhn[25] that the "five tribes" are to be identified with the clans whose names are mentioned in the following verse: i. 108, 8. *Yad Indrāgnī Yadushu Turvaśeshu yad Druhyushv Anushu Pūrushu sthaḥ* | *ataḥ pari vṛishaṇāv ā hi yātam athā somasya pibataṁ sutasya* |

"If, o Indra and Agni, ye are abiding among the Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus, Pūrus,—come hither, vigorous heroes, from all quarters, and drink the Soma which has been poured out."

Although, however, these tribes are often mentioned separately in the Rig-veda, this is either the only, or almost the only, text in which they are all connected with one another. Their identity with the "five classes" is therefore doubtful.

There is another word employed in the Rig-veda to designate a race well known to the authors of the hymns, viz., *nahush*. We have already met with this term in a verse (x. 80, 6) I have quoted above, where it appears clearly to denote a tribe distinct from the descendants of Manush; and the adjective derived from it occurs in vi. 46, 7 (=

[25] See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 202, where Dr. Kuhn's paper in the Hall. Allg. Lit. Z. for 1846, p. 1086, is referred to.

S.V. i. 262), where also the tribes of Nahush appear to be discriminated from the five tribes, whoever these may be supposed to be. The words are these: *Yad Indra nāhushīshv ā ojo nṛimṇaṁ cha kṛishṭishu | yad vā pancha kshitīnāṁ dyumnam ā bhara satrā viśvāni pauṁsyā |* "Indra, whatever force or vigour exists in the tribes of Nahush, or whatever glory belongs to the five races, bring it (for us); yea all manly energies together."

Professor Roth (see his Lexicon, s. v.) regards the people designated by the word *nahush* as denoting men generally, but with the special sense of stranger, or neighbour, in opposition to members of the speaker's own community; and he explains the words of x. 80, 6, twice referred to above, as signifying "the sons of our own people, and of those who surround us."

These descendants of Nahush, whoever they may have been, are, however, distinctly spoken of in x. 80, 6 (the passage just adverted to), as worshippers of Agni, and can scarcely, therefore, have been regarded by the Aryas as altogether aliens from their race and worship.

Setting aside, as before, the Purusha Sūkta, there are few distinct references in the hymns of the Rig-veda to the creation of men, and none at all to the separate creation of castes. The following text ascribes the generation of mankind to Agni, R.V. i. 96, 2: *Sa pūrvayā nividā kavyatā āyor imāḥ prajāḥ ajanayad manūnām | vivasvatā chakshasā dyām apaś cha devā Agniṁ dhārayan draviṇodām |* "By the first nivid, by the wisdom of Āyu, he (Agni) created these children of men; by his gleaming light the earth and the waters: the gods sustained Agni the giver of riches."[26]

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa introduces this verse by the following passage: *Prajāpatir vai idam eka eva agre āsa | so 'kāmayata "prajāyeya bhūyān syām" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | sa vācham ayachhat | sa saṁvatsarasya parastād vyāharad dvādaśa kṛitvaḥ | dvādaśapadā vai eshā nivit | etām vāva tām nividaṁ vyāharat | tāṁ sarvāṇi bhūtāny anvasṛijyanta | tad etad ṛishiḥ paśyann abhyanūvacha "sa pūrvayā" ityādinā |* "Prajāpati alone was formerly this universe. He desired 'may I be propagated, and multiplied.' He practised austere fervour. He suppressed his voice. After a year he spoke twelve times. This nivid

[26] See Dr. Haug's translation in his Ait. Br. ii. 143; and Benfey's German version in his Orient und Occident, ii. 512.

consists of twelve words. This nivid he uttered. After it all beings were created. Beholding this the rishi uttered this verse, 'by the first nivid,'" etc.

The generation of "creatures" (*prajāḥ*) is ascribed in various texts to different gods, in iii. 55, 19[27] to Tvashṭṛi Savitṛi; in ix. 86, 28 to Soma; in viii. 85, 6 (*ya imā jajāna viśvā jātāni*) to Indra. In x. 54, 3 Indra is said to have "generated the father and mother (heaven and earth) from his own body" (*yan mātaraṁ cha pitaraṁ cha sākam ajanayathās tanvaḥ svāyāḥ*); while Viśvakarman, who in x. 81, 2, 3 is said to have generated heaven and earth, is also in x. 82, 3 called "our father and generator" (*yo naḥ pitā janitā*). All these passages are, however, too vague to afford us any insight into the ideas of their authors regarding the creation of the human race.

SECT. II.—*Legends and Notices regarding Manu from the Śatapatha, Aitareya, and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas, the Taittirīya Sanhitā, and the Chhāndogya Upanishad.*

The first passage which I adduce contains the very important legend of the deluge, which has already been quoted in the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 324 ff., and which has also been rendered into English by Professor Max Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 425 ff.) and by Professor M. Williams (Ind. Epic Poetry, p. 34), as well as into German by its earliest translator, Professor Weber, in the year 1849 (Ind. Studien, i. 163 f.).

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 8, 1, 1. *Manave ha vai prātar avanegyam udakam ājahrur yathā idam pāṇibhyām avanejanāya āharanti | evaṁ tasya avanenijānasya matsyaḥ pāṇī āpede | 2. Sa ha asmai vācham uvāda "bibhṛihi mā pārayishyāmi tvā" iti | "kasmād mā pārayishyasi" iti | "aughaḥ imāḥ sarvāḥ prajāḥ nirvoḍhā tatas tvā pārayitāsmi" iti | "Katham te bhṛitir" iti | 3. Sa ha uvācha "yāvad vai kshullakāḥ bhavāmo bahvī vai nas tāvad nāshṭrā bhavaty uta matsya eva matsyam gilati | kumbhyāṁ mā agre bibharāsi | sa yadā tām ativarahā atha karshūm khātvā tasyāṁ mā bibharāsi | sa yadā tām ativardhā atha mā samudram abhyavaharāsi | tarhi vai atināshṭro bhavitāsmi" iti | 4. Śaśvad*[28] *ha*

[27] Perhaps, however, we are to understand Tvashṭṛi's function of aiding in procreation to be here referred to.

[28] *Śaśvat-śabdo 'tra sāmarthyāt kshipra-vachanaḥ.*—Comm.

jhasha[29] *āsa sa hi jyeshṭham*[30] *vardhate | "atha itithīm samām tad aughaḥ āgantā tad mā nāvam upakalpya upāsāsai | sa aughe utthite nāvam āpadyāsai tatas tvā pārayitāsmi" iti |* 5. *Tam evam bhṛitvā samudram abhyavajahāra | sa yatithīm tat samām paridideśa tatithīm samām nāvam upakalpya upāsānchakre | sa aughe utthite nāvam āpede | tam sa matsyaḥ upanyāpupluve | tasya śṛinge nāvaḥ pāśaṁ pratimumocha | tena etam uttaram girim*[31] *atidudrāva*[32] | 6. *Sa ha uvācha "apīparam vai tvā vṛikshe nāvam pratibadhnīshva | taṁ tu tvā mā girau santam udakam antaśchhaitsīd yāvad yāvad udakaṁ samavāyāt tāvat tāvad anvavasarpāsi" iti | Sa ha tāvat tāvad eva anvavasasarpa | tad api etad uttarasya girer "Manor avasarpaṇam" iti | augho ha tāḥ sarvāḥ prajāḥ niruvāha atha iha Manur eva ekaḥ pariśiśishe |* 7. *Saḥ archan śrāmyaṁś chachāra prajākāmaḥ | tatra api pāka-yajnena īje | sa ghṛitam dadhi mastv āmikshām ity apsu juhuvānchakāra | tataḥ saṁvatsare yoshit sambabhūva | sā ha pibdamānā*[33] *iva udeyāya | tasyai ha sma ghṛitaṁ pade santishṭhate | tayā Mitrā-Varuṇau sanjagmāte |* 8. *Tāṁ ha ūchatuḥ "kā asi" iti | "Manor duhitā" iti | "āvayor brūshva" iti | "na" iti ha uvācha "yaḥ eva mām ajījanata tasya eva aham asmi" iti | tasyām apitvam*[34] *īshāte | tad vā jajnau tad vā na jajnāv*[35] *ati tu eva iyāya | sā Manum ājagāma |* 9. *Tām ha Manur uvācha "kā asi" iti | "tava duhitā" iti | "katham bhagavati mama duhitā" iti | "yāḥ amūr apsu āhutīr ahaushīr ghṛitaṁ dadhi mastv āmikshāṁ tato mām ajījanathāḥ | sā āśīr asmi tām mā yajne avakalpaya | yajne ched vai mā avakalpayishyasi bahuḥ prajayā paśubhir bhavishyasi yām u mayā kāncha āśisham āśāsishyase sā te sarvā samardhishyate" iti | tām etad madhye yajnasya avākalpayat | madhyaṁ hi etad yajnasya yad antarā prayājānuyājān |* 10. *Tayā archan śrāmyaṁs chachāra prajākāmaḥ | tayā imām prajātim prajajne yā iyam Manoḥ prajātiḥ | yām u enayā kāncha āśisham āśāsta sā asmai sarvā samārdhyata | sā eshā nidānena yad Iḍā | sa yo ha evam vidvān Iḍayā charati etām ha eva prajātim prajāyate yām Manuḥ prājāyata | yām u enayā kāncha āśisham āśāste sā asmai sarvā samṛidhyate |*

"1. In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing, as

[29] *Jhasho mahā-matsyaḥ.*—Comm. [30] *Jyeshṭham vriddhatamam.*—Comm.
[31] *Uttaram girim Himavantam.*—Comm. [32] Some MSS. read *adhidudrāva.*
[33] *Pibdamānā . . . ghṛita-prabhavatvāt ghṛitam sravantī susnighdhā udakād utthitā.*—Comm.
[34] *Apitvam bhāgaḥ | tam prārthitavantau.*—Comm.
[35] *Pratijnātavatī cha na cha pratijnātavatī.*—Comm.

men are in the habit of bringing it to wash with the hands. As he was thus washing, a fish[36] came into his hands, (2) (which spake to him) 'preserve me; I shall save thee.' (Manu enquired) 'From what wilt thou save me?' (The fish replied) 'A flood shall sweep away all these creatures;[37] from it I will rescue thee.' (Manu asked) 'How (shall) thy preservation (be effected)?' 3. The fish said: 'So long as we are small, we are in great peril, for fish devours fish; thou shalt preserve me first in a jar. When I grow too large for the jar, then thou shalt dig a trench, and preserve me in that. When I grow too large for the trench, then thou shalt carry me away to the ocean. I shall then be beyond the reach of danger.' 4. Straightway he became a large fish; for he waxes to the utmost. (He said) 'Now in such and such a year, then the flood will come; thou shalt, therefore, construct a ship, and resort to me; thou shalt embark in the ship when the flood rises, and I shall deliver thee from it.' 5. Having thus preserved the fish, Manu carried him away to the sea. Then in the same year which the fish had enjoined, he constructed a ship and resorted to him. When the flood rose, Manu embarked in the ship. The fish swam towards him. He fastened the cable of the ship to the fish's horn. By this means he passed over[38] this northern mountain.[39] 6. The fish said, 'I have delivered thee; fasten the ship to a tree. But lest the water should cut thee off whilst thou art on the mountain, as much as the water subsides, so much shalt thou descend after it.' He accordingly descended after it as much (as it subsided). Wherefore also this, viz., 'Manu's descent' is (the name) of the northern mountain. Now the flood had swept away all these creatures; so Manu alone was left here. 7. Desirous of offspring, he lived worshipping and toiling in arduous religious rites. Among these he also sacrificed with the *pāka* offering. He cast clarified butter, thickened milk, whey and curds, as an oblation into the waters. Thence in a year a woman was produced. She rose

[36] *Bhāvino 'rthasya siddhyarthaṁ devatā eva matsya-rūpeṇa ājagāma* | "To accomplish what was to follow, it was a deity which came in the form of a fish."—Comm.

[37] *Aughaḥ udaka-sanghātaḥ* | *sa imāḥ Bharatavarsha-nivāsinīḥ prajāḥ niḥśeshaṁ vodhā* | *deśāntaram prāpayitā* | "The flood will entirely carry these creatures abiding in Bharatavarsha;—will convey them to another country."—Comm.—I do not see why the verb *nirvoḍhā* should have the sense here assigned to it: at all events we are afterwards told that Manu alone was left after the flood.

[38] Or, if *adhidudrāva* be the true reading, "he hastened to."

[39] The Himavat or Himālaya, according to the Commentator.

up as it were unctuous.[40] Clarified butter adheres to her steps. Mitra and Varuṇa met her. They said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Manu's daughter,' (she replied). 'Say (thou art) ours,' (they rejoined). 'No,' she said, 'I am his who begot me.' They desired a share in her. She promised that, or she did not promise that; but passed onward. She came to Manu. 9. Manu said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Thy daughter,' she replied. 'How, glorious one,' asked Manu, '(art thou) my daughter?' 'Thou hast generated me,' she said, 'from those oblations, butter, thick milk, whey and curds, which thou didst cast into the waters. I am a benediction. Apply me in the sacrifice. If thou wilt employ me in the sacrifice, thou shalt abound in offspring and cattle. Whatever benediction thou wilt ask through me, shall accrue to thee.' He (accordingly) introduced her (as) that (which comes in) the middle of the sacrifice; for that is the middle of the sacrifice which (comes) between the introductory and concluding forms. 10. With her he lived worshipping and toiling in arduous religious rites, desirous of offspring. With her he begot[41] this offspring which is this offspring of Manu.[42] Whatever benediction he asked with her, was all vouchsafed to him. This is essentially that which is Iḍā. Whosoever, knowing this, lives with Iḍā, begets this offspring which Manu begot. Whatever benediction he asks with her, is all vouchsafed to him."

[40] Such is the rendering of *pibdamānā* given by the Commentator, who is followed by Professors Weber and Müller. Professor Roth in his Lexicon, *s. v.*, explains it by "firm," *i.e.* "the woman arose solid out of the fluid mass."

[41] I should observe that the same verb (*prajaṇe*) by which the generative act of Manu is here described, is in other passages of the same Brāhmaṇa (ii. 2, 4, 1; ii. 5, 1, 1; vi. 1, 1, 8; vi. 1, 3, 1; vii. 5, 2, 6; xi. 5, 8, 1) applied in another tense to the god Prajāpati, of whom it is said that he considered how he should *beget* progeny (*sa aikshata 'katham nu prajāyeya*). (Compare xi. 1, 6, 1.) In other parts of the same work, however, it is said that Prajāpati *created* (*asṛijata*) the waters (vi. 1, 1, 9), or creatures (*prajāḥ asṛijata*, vii. 4, 3, 5; x. 2, 2, 1); and the fact of the word "beget" being applied to Prajāpati, either in a figurative, or anthropomorphic sense, does not authorize us to suppose that the author of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in the passage before us (the legend of the deluge), intended to represent Manu as the creator of the human race, and not as their progenitor in the natural sense. (In R.V. ii. 33, 1; vi. 70, 3, we find the phrase *prajāyemahi prajābhiḥ | pra prajābhir jāyate* | "let us beget children," "he begets children.")

[42] Compare Taitt. Sanhitā, v. 1, 5, 6. "*Śivo bhava prajābhyām" ity āha prajābhya eva enam śamayati | "mānushībhyas tvām angiraḥ" ity āha mānavyo hi prajāḥ* | "He says, 'be auspicious to the twain offspring;' for he pacifies him from (injuring) the offspring. He says, '(We pacify) thee from (injuring) the human offspring, o Angiras.' For creatures are descended from Manu."

From this interesting legend we learn that, according to its author's belief, Manu was not the creator of mankind, as some later accounts considered him to have been, but himself belonged to an earlier race of living beings, which was entirely destroyed by the deluge which is described. The legend regards him as a representative of his generation, who, for some reason, perhaps his superior wisdom, or sanctity, or position, was selected out of the crowd of ordinary mortals to be rescued from the impending destruction. That he was regarded as a mere man, and not as a being of a superior order, is shown by the fact of his requiring the aid of a higher power to preserve him. A supernatural fish, apparently some divine person, conceived as taking the form of a creature which would be perfectly secure and at home in the midst of the raging waters, undertook to deliver him, and guided the ship on which he was directed to embark, through all dangers to its destined haven. No one but Manu took refuge in the ship, for he alone, the story expressly records, was preserved, while all the other living beings were overwhelmed. Finding himself the sole surviver when the waters subsided, he became desirous of progeny; and with intense devotion performed certain religious rites in the hope of realizing his wish through their efficacy. As a result of his oblations, a woman arose from the waters into which they had been cast. A male and a female now existed, the destined parents of a new race of men who sprang from their union, — a union the fruitfulness of which was assured by their assiduous practice of sacred ceremonies. From Manu and Iḍā, we are expressly told, the race known as that of Manu, *i.e.* the race of men, was produced. The legend says nothing whatever of this race being originally characterized by any distinction of castes, or about four sons, the ancestors of Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras being born to Manu and Iḍā. We must therefore suppose that the author of the legend intends to represent the early race of mankind, or at least the first inhabitants of Bharatavarsha, as descended from one common progenitor without any original varieties of caste, however different the professions and social position of their descendants afterwards became. We are consequently entitled to regard this legend of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as at variance with the common fable regarding the separate origin of the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras.

The following are some other passages in which Manu and Iḍā are both referred to:

Taitt. S. ii. 6, 7, 1. *Manuḥ pṛithivyāḥ yajniyam aichhat | sa ghṛitaṁ nishiktam avindat | so 'bravīt "ko 'sya īśvaro yajne 'pi karttor" iti | tāv abrūtām Mitrā-Varuṇau "gor eva āvām īśvarau karttoḥ svaḥ" iti | tau tato gāṁ śamairayatām | sā yatra yatra nyakrāmat tato ghṛitam apīḍyata | tasmād ghṛitapadī uchyate | tad asyai janma | . . . . 3. Iḍām upahvayate | paśavo vai Iḍā | paśūn eva upahvayate | chatur upahvayate | chatushpādo hi paśavaḥ | "Mānavī" ity āha | Manur hy etām agre 'paśyat | "ghṛitapadī" ity āha | yad eva asyai padād ghṛitam apīḍyata tasmād evam āha | "Maitrāvaruṇī" ity āha | Mitrāvaruṇau hy enām samairayatām |*

"Manu sought whatever upon earth was fit for sacrifice. He found butter poured out. He said, 'Who has power to employ this in sacrifice also?' Mitra and Varuṇa replied, 'We two have power to employ the cow.' They then sent forth the cow. Wherever she went forth, butter was pressed out. Hence she is called the 'butter-footed.' This is her birth . . . . 3. He calls upon Iḍā. Animals are Iḍā. He calls upon animals. He calls upon them four times. For animals are four-footed. He says 'Mānavī.' For Manu first saw her. He says 'Butter-footed.' He says so, because butter was pressed from her foot. He says 'Maitrāvaruṇī.' For Mitra and Varuṇa sent her forth." (Comp. Taitt. Br. iii. 7, 5, 6.)

Taitt. Br. i. 1, 4, 4. *Iḍā vai Mānavī yajñānukāśiny*[43] *āsīt | sā 'śriṇod "Asurā agnim adadhate" iti . . . . | 6. Sā 'bravīd Iḍā Manum "tathā vai aham tava agnim ādhāsyāmi yathā pra prajayā paśubhir mithunair janishyase praty asmin loke sthāsyasi abhi suvargaṁ lokaṁ jeshyasi" iti | gārhapatyam agre ādadhāt | . . . . gārhapatyena eva asmai prajām paśūn prājanayat |*

"Iḍā, the daughter of Manu, was a revealer of sacrifice. She heard, 'the Asuras are placing fire.' . . . . 6. Iḍā said to Manu, 'I shall so place thy fire that thou shalt increase in offspring, cattle, and twins; thou shalt be firmly established in this world, and shalt conquer the heavenly world.'[44]. She first placed the gārhapatya fire. It was

[43] *Yajna-tattva-prakāśana-samarthā.*—Comm.

[44] Compare the Kāṭhaka Br. viii. 4, quoted in Weber's Indische Studien, iii. 463, where Iḍā is said to have promised to Manu: *tathā te Agnim ādhāsyāmi yathā ma-*

through the gārhapatya that she produced for him offspring and cattle."

Taitt. S. i. 7. 1, 3. *Sarveṇa vai yajnena devāḥ suvargaṁ lokam āyan | pākayajnena Manur aśrāmyat | sā Iḍā Manum upāvarttata | tām devāsurāḥ vyahvayanta pratīchīm devāḥ parāchīm Asurāḥ | sā devān upāvarttata |*

"The gods arrived at the heavenly world by the whole sacrifice. Manu worshipped with the *pākayajna*. That Iḍā came to Manu. The gods and asuras called her away in different directions, the gods in front, the asuras behind. She came to the gods."

The following texts refer to Manu alone, as a celebrator of religious ceremonies:

Taitt. S. ii. 5, 9, 1. *"Agne mahāṅ asi" ity āha | mahān hy esha yad Agniḥ | "brāhmaṇa" ity āha | brāhmaṇo hy esha | "bhārata" ity āha | esha hi devebhyo havyam bharati | "deveddha" ity āha | devāḥ hy etam aindhata | "Manviddha" ity āha | Manur hy etam uttaro devebhyaḥ aindha |*

"He says, 'Agni, thou art great.' For this Agni is great. He says, 'o Brāhman.' For he is a Brāhmam. He says, 'o Bhārata.' For he bears the oblation to the gods. He says, 'kindled by the gods.' For the gods kindled him. He says, 'kindled by Manu.' For Manu kindled him after the gods.'

Taitt. S. vi. 2, 5, 2 f. *Trivrato vai Manur asīd dvivratā asurā ekavratā devāḥ | prātar madhyandine sāyaṁ tad Manor vratam āsīt pākayajnasya rūpam pushṭyai | prātaścha sāyāncha asurāṇāṁ nirmadhyam kshūdho rūpam | tatas te parābhavan | madhyandine madhyarāttre devānām tatas te 'bhavan suvargaṁ lokam āyan |*

"Manu performed three rites; the asuras two; the gods one. Manu's rite was in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, the form of a pākayajna for nourishment. That of the asuras was in the morning and evening, without any midday rite, a form of hunger. Hence they perished. That of the gods was at midday and midnight. Hence they prospered, and arrived at the heavenly world."

Taitt. S. vii. 5, 15, 3. *Etayā* (i.e. *abhijityā*) *vai Indram devāḥ ayājayan | tasmād "Indrasavaḥ" | etayā Manum manushyāḥ | tasmād "Manu-savaḥ" |*

nushyā devān upaprajanishyante | "I will so place Agni for thee, than men shall be born among the gods."

yathā Indro devānām yathā Manur manushyāṇām eva bhavati yaḥ evaṁ vidvān etayā ishṭyā yajate |

"With this (*abhijiti*) the gods sacrificed for Indra. Hence it is called 'Indra-sava.' Men sacrificed with it for Manu. Hence it is called 'Manu-sava.' As Indra is among gods, and Manu among men, so he becomes who thus knowing sacrifices with this oblation."

In Taitt. S. ii. 2, 10, 2, we find nearly the words which Kullūka quotes on Manu's Institutes, i. 1: *Yad vai kincha Manur avadat tad bheshajam* | "Whatever Manu said was a remedy."

In Śatapatha Br. vi. 6, 1, 19, Manu is called a Prajāpati: "*Prajāpataye Manave svāhā*" *iti* | *Prajāpatir vai Manuḥ* | *sa hi idam sarvam amanuta* | *Prajāpatir vai etad agre karma akarot* | "Svāhā to Manu the lord of creatures. Manu is a lord of creatures (*prajā-pati*) for he thought (*amanuta*) all this. The lord of creatures (*prajā-pati*) formerly did all this work."

The following story in its different versions also connects Manu with religious observances and represents him as very devout:

Ś. P. Br. i. 1, 4, 14 ff. *Manor ha vai ṛishabhah āsa* | *tasminn asura-ghnī sapatna-ghnī vāk pravishṭā āsa* | *tasya ha sma śvasathād ravathād asura-rākshasāni mṛidyamānāni yanti* | *te ha asurāh samūdire* "*pāpaṁ vata no 'yam ṛishabhaḥ sachate kathaṁ nv imaṁ dābhnuyāma*" *iti* | "*Kilātākulī*" *iti ha asura-brahmāv āsatuḥ* | *tau ha ūchatuḥ* "*śraddhā-devo vai Manuḥ* | *āvăm nu vedāva*" *iti* | *tau ha āgatya ūchatur* "*Mano yājayāva tvā*" *iti* | "*kena*" *iti* | "*anena ṛishabheṇa*" *iti* | "*tathā*" *iti* | *tasya ālabdhasya sā vāg apachakrāma* | *sā Manor eva jāyām Mānāvīm praviveśa* | *tasyai ha sma yatra vadantyai śṛiṇvanti tato ha sma eva asura-rākshasāni mṛidyamānāni yanti* | *te ha asurāh samūdire* "*ito vai naḥ pāpīyaḥ sachate bhūyo hi mānushī vāg vadati*" *iti* | *Kilātākulī ha eva ūchatuḥ* "*śraddhā-devo vai Manur āvăm nv eva vedāva*" *iti* | *tau ha āgatya ūchatur* "*Mano yājayāva tvā*" *iti* | "*kena*" *iti* | "*enayā eva jāyayā*" *iti* | "*tathā*" *iti* | *tasyai ālabdhāyai sā vāg apachakrāma sā yajnam eva yajna-pātrāṇi praviveśa* | *tato ha enāṁ na śekatur nirhantum* | *sā eshā asura-ghnī vāg udvadati* | *sa yasya ha evaṁ vidushaḥ etām atra vācham pratyudvādayanti pāpīyāṁso ha eva asya sapatnāḥ bhavanti* |

"Manu had a bull. Into it an Asura-slaying, enemy-slaying voice had entered. In consequence of this (bull's) snorting and bellowing, Asuras and Rakshasas were continually destroyed. Then the Asuras

said: 'This bull, alas, does us mischief; how shall we overcome him?' Now there were two priests of the Asuras called Kilāta and Akuli. They said: 'Manu is a devout believer: let us make trial of him.' They went and said to him, 'let us sacrifice for thee.' 'With what (victim)?' he asked. 'With this bull,' they replied. 'Be it so,' he answered. When it had been slaughtered, the voice departed out of it, and entered into Manu's wife Manāvī. Wherever they hear her speaking, the Asuras and Rākshasas continue to be destroyed in consequence of her voice. The Asuras said: 'She does us yet more mischief; for the human voice speaks more.' Kilāta and Akuli said, 'Manu is a devout believer: let us make trial of him.' They came and said to him, 'Manu, let us sacrifice for thee.' 'With what (victim)?" he asked. 'With this (thy) wife,' they replied. 'Be it so,' he answered. When she had been slaughtered the voice departed out of her and entered into the sacrifice and the sacrificial vessels. Thence they were unable to expel it. This is the Asura-slaying voice which speaks out (when the two stones are struck with the *śamyā*, as a part of the ceremonial). Wretched become the enemies of that man for whom, when he knows this, they cause this voice here to reverberate."

Taitt. Br. iii. 2, 5, 9. *Manoḥ śraddhā-devasya yajamānasya asura-ghnī vāg yajnāyudheshu pravishṭā āsīt | te 'surāḥ yāvanto yajnāyudhānām udvadatām upāśṛiṇvans te parābhavan |*

"An asura-slaying voice had entered into the sacrificial implements of the devout believer and sacrificer Manu. The Asuras, as many as heard the sacrificial implements sounding, were overcome."

Kāṭhaka Br. ii. 30, 1.[45] *Manor vai kapālāny āsan | taiṙ yāvato yāvato 'surān abhyupādadhāt te parābhavan | atha tarhi Ṭṙishṭhā-varūtrī*[46] *āstām asura-brahmau | tā asurāḥ abruvann "imāni shaṭ kapālāni yāchetham" iti | tau prataritvānā abhiprāpadyetām "Vāyave Agne Vāyave Indra" iti | "kiṁkāmau sthaḥ" ity abravīt | "imāni nau kapālāni dehi" iti | tāny ābhyām adadāt | tāny araṇyām parāhṛitya samapiṁshṭām | tad Manor gāvo 'bhivyatishṭhanta | tāni ṛishabhaḥ samaleṭ | tasya ruvato yāvanto 'surāḥ upāśṛiṇvaṁs te parābhavan |*

[45] Extracted from Weber's Indische Studien, iii. 461 f. A translation of this, as well as of the next passage, is given by Prof. Weber in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xviii. 284 ff.

[46] Roth in his Lexicon *s. v.* reads *Ṭṙishṇāvarūtrī*.

tau prātaritvānā abhiprāpadyetām "Vāyave Agne Vāyave Indra" iti | "kiṁkāmau sthaḥ" ity abravīt | "anena tvā ṛishabheṇa yājayāva" iti | tat patnīm yajur vadantīm pratyapadyata | tasyāḥ dyām vāg ātishṭhat | tasyāḥ vadantyāḥ yāvanto 'surāḥ upāśriṇvaṁs te parābhavan | tasmād naktaṁ strī chandrataraṁ vadati | tau prātaritvānā abhiprāpadyetām "Vāyave Agne Vāyave Indra" iti | "kiṁkāmau sthaḥ" ity abravīt | "anayā tvā patnyā yājayava" iti | sā paryagnikṛitā āsīt | atha Indro 'chāyad "Manvam śraddhādevam Trishṭhāvarūtrī asura-brahmau jāyayā vyardhayatam" iti | sa āgachhat | so 'bravīd "ābhyāṁ tvā yājayāni" iti | "na" ity abravīd "na vai aham anayor īśe" iti | atithipatir vāva atither īśe" ity abravīt | tā asmai prāyaśchhat | sa prativeśo vediṁ kurvann āsta | tā apṛiśchhatām "ko 'si" iti | "brāhmaṇaḥ" iti | "katamo brāhmaṇaḥ" iti | "kim brāhmaṇasya pitaram kim u pṛichhasi mātaram | śrutaṁ ched asmin vedyam sa pitā sa pitāmahaḥ" iti | tā avittām "Indro vai" iti | tau prāpatatām | tayor yāḥ prokshaṇīr āpaḥ āsaṁs tābhir anuvisṛijya śīrshe aśchhinat | tau vṛishaś cha yavāshaś cha abhavatām | tasmāt tau varsheshu śushyataḥ | adbhir hi hatau | tām paryagnikṛitām udāsṛijat | tayā "rdhnot | tāḥ imāḥ Mānavyaḥ prajāḥ | yat paryagni-kṛitam pātnīvatam utsṛijati yām eva Manur ṛiddhim ārdhnot tām ṛidhnoti |

"Manu had platters. All the Asuras, against whom he laid out the sacrifice with these were destroyed. Now Tṛishṭha and Varūtri were at that time the priests of the Asuras. The Asuras said to them, 'ask for these six platters.' These two arrived as morning guests, repeating the formula, 'To Vāyu, o Agni, to Vāyu, o Indra.' 'What do you desire?' asked Manu. 'Give us these platters,' they replied. He gave them to them. Taking them they smashed them in the forest. Then Manu's cattle were standing round. The bull licked the platters. As many Asuras as heard him bellowing were destroyed. The two Asura priests came as morning guests, repeating the formula, 'To Vāyu, o Agni, to Vāyu, o Indra.' 'What do you desire?' enquired Manu. 'Let us sacrifice for thee with this bull,' they answered. He then came to his wife who was uttering a yajush. Her voice reached to the sky. As many Asuras as heard her speaking were destroyed. Hence a woman speaks more pleasantly by night. The two Asura priests arrived as morning guests, repeating the formula, 'To Vāyu, o Agni, to Vāyu, o Indra.' 'What do you desire?' asked Manu. 'Let us sacrifice for thee with

this thy wife (as the victim),' they replied. The fire was carried round her. Then Indra perceived, 'Tṛishṭha and Varūtri, the two Asura priests are depriving the devout believer Manu of his wife.' He came and said (to Manu), 'Let me sacrifice for thee with these two Asura priests (for victims).' 'No,' answered Manu, 'I am not their master.' 'The host is master of the guest,' rejoined Indra. Manu then gave them to him. (Standing) near them he was making an altar. They asked 'Who art thou?' 'A Brāhman,' he replied. 'What (class of) Brāhman,' they enquired. He rejoined (with a verse), 'Why askest thou the father or the mother of a Brāhman? If Vedic tradition is to be discovered in him, that is his father, that his grandfather.' They knew, 'this is Indra.' They fled. He threw after them the water which was there for consecration, and therewith cut off their heads. They became, (the one) a *vrisha*, (the other) a *yavāsha* plant. Hence these (two plants) wither in the rains, because they were killed with water. He released her (Manu's wife) after the fire had been carried round her. By her he prospered. These are the creatures sprung from Manu. Whenever a man releases the victim offered to Agni Pātnīvata, after fire has been carried round it, he prospers with the same prosperity with which Manu prospered."

Compare with this a passage of the Taitt. Sanh. vi. 6, 6, 1. *Indraḥ patniyā Manum ayājayat | tām paryagnikṛitām udasṛijat | tayā Manur ārdhnot | yat paryagnikṛitam pātnīvatam utsṛijati yām eva Manur ṛiddhim ārdhnot tām eva yajamāna ṛidhnoti |*

"Indra was sacrificing for Manu with his wife (as the victim). He released her after the fire had been carried round her. By her Manu prospered. Whenever the worshipper releases the victim offered to Agni Pātnīvata after fire has been carried round it, he prospers with the same prosperity with which Manu prospered."

I quote the following passages also from the interest which they possess as relating to a personage so ancient and venerable as Manu is reputed to be:

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, v. 14. *Nābhānedishṭhaṁ vai Mānavam brahmacharyyaṁ vasantam bhrātaro nirabhajan | so 'bravīd etya "kim mahyam abhākta" iti | "etam eva nishṭhāvam avavaditāram" ity abruvan | tasmād ha apy etarhi pitaram putrāḥ "nishṭhāvo 'vavaditā" ity eva ācha-kshate | sa pitaram etya abravīt "tvām ha vāva mahyaṁ tata abhākshur"*

iti | tam pitā 'bravīd "mā putraka tad ādṛithāḥ | Angiraso vai ime svargāya lokāya satram āsate | te shashṭham shashṭham eva ahar āgatya muhyanti | tān ete sūkte shashṭhe 'hani śaṁsaya | teshāṁ yat sahasraṁ satra-pariveshaṇaṁ tat te svar yanto dāsyanti" iti | "tathā" iti | tān upait "pratigṛibhṇīta Mānavam sumedhasaḥ" iti | tam abruvan "kiṁ-kāmo vadasi" iti | "idam eva vaḥ shashṭham ahaḥ prajnāpayāni" ity abravīd "atha yad vai etat sahasraṁ satra-pariveshaṇam tad me svar yanto datta" iti | "tathā" iti | tān ete sūkte shashṭhe 'hany aśaṁsayat | tato vai te pra yajnam ajānan pra svargaṁ lokam | tad yad ete sūkte shashṭhe 'hani śaṁsati yajnasya prajnātyai svargasya lokasya anukhyātyai | taṁ svar yanto 'bruvann "etat te brāhmaṇa sahasram" iti | tad enaṁ samākurvāṇam purushaḥ kṛishṇaśa-vāsy uttarataḥ upotthāya abravīd "mama vai idam mama vai vāstuham" iti | so 'bravīd "mahyaṁ vai idam adur" iti | tam abravīt "tad vai nau tava eva pitari praśnaḥ" iti | sa pitaram ait | tam pitā 'bravīd "nanu te putraka adur" iti | "adur eva me" ity abravīt "tat tu me purushaḥ kṛishṇaśa-vāsy uttarataḥ upodatishṭhat 'mama vai idaṁ mama vai vāstuham' iti ādita" iti | tam pitā 'bravīt "tasya eva putraka | tat tubhyaṁ sa dāsyati" iti | sa punar etya abravīt "tava ha vāva kila bhagavaḥ idam iti me pitā āha" iti | so 'bravīt "tad aham tubhyam eva dadāmi yaḥ eva satyam avādīr" iti | tasmād evaṁ vidushā satyam eva vaditavyam | sa esha sahasra-sanir mantro yad nābhānedishṭham | upa enam sahasraṁ namati pra shashṭhena ahnā svargaṁ lokam jānāti yaḥ evaṁ veda | [47]

"The brothers of Nābhānedishṭha disinherited him whilst he was living in the state of a Brahmachārin. Coming (to them) he said: 'What share have you given to me?' They replied, '(we have given thee) this judge and divider (as thy share).' In consequence sons even now speak of their father as the 'judge and divider.' He came to his father and said, 'Father, they have given thee to me as my share.' His father answered, 'Do not, my son, care about that. These Angirases are performing a sacrifice in order to (secure) the heavenly world; but as often as they come to the sixth day (of the ceremony) they become perplexed. Make them recite these two hymns (R.V. x. 61 and 62) on the sixth day; and when they are going to heaven, they will give

[47] This passage has been already translated into German by Prof. R. Roth, Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 244, and into English by Prof. Max Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 423 f., and by Dr. M. Haug in his Ait. Br. vol. ii. p. 341 f.

thee that provision of a thousand[48] which has been made for the sacrifice.' He said, 'So be it.' He approached them, saying, 'Receive me, the son of Manu, ye sages.' They replied, 'With what object dost thou speak?' He said, 'Let me make known to you this sixth day; and then you shall give me this sacrificial provision of a thousand, when ye are going to heaven.' 'Let it be so,' they answered. He made them repeat these two hymns on the sixth day. They then knew the sacrifice, and the heavenly world. Hence when any one repeats these two hymns on the sixth day, it is with a view to a knowledge of the sacrifice, and to the revelation of the heavenly world. When they were going to the heavenly world, they said to him, 'This thousand, o Brāhman,[49] is thine.' As he was collecting (the thousand) a man in dark clothing rose up before him from the north, and said, 'This is mine; what remains on the spot is mine.' Nābhānedishṭha replied: 'But they have given it to me.' (The man) rejoined: 'It belongs to (one of) us; let thy father be asked.' He went to his father, who enquired: 'Have they not given thee (the thousand), my son?' 'They did give it to me,' he replied, 'but a man in dark clothes rose up before me from the north, and took it from me, saying, "This is mine; what remains on the spot is mine."' His father said: 'It is his; but he will give it to thee.' He returned, and said (to the man): 'This is thine, reverend sir, so my father says.' (The man) replied: 'I will give it to thee, who hast spoken the truth.' Wherefore one who has this knowledge should speak only truth. That is a hymn which bestows a thoussnd, that Nābhānedishṭha hymn. A thousand falls to his lot, he knows the heavenly world on the sixth day—the man who knows this."

Taittirīya Sanhitā, iii. 1, 9, 4. *Manuḥ putrebhyo dāyaṁ vyabhajat | sa Nābhānedishṭham brahmacharryaṁ vasantaṁ nirabhajat | sa āgachhat | so 'bravīt "kathā mā nirabhāg" iti | "na tvā nirabhāksham" ity abravīd "Angirasaḥ ime satram āsate te suvargam lokam na prajānanti | tebhyaḥ idam brāhmaṇam brūhi | te suvargam lokam yanto ye eshām paśavas tāṁs te dāsyanti" iti | tad ebhyo 'bravīt | te suvargam*

[48] See R.V. x. 62, 7.

[49] The application of this title to Nābhānedishṭha is to be remarked, as his father Manu is recorded in the Puranic legends as ancestor of the solar race of kings. See the passage from the M. Bh. i. 3135 ff., quoted above, p. 126.

lokam yanto ye eshām paśavaḥ āsaṁs tān asmai adaduḥ | tam paśubhiś charantam yajna-vāstau Rudraḥ āgachhat | so 'bravīt "mama vai ime paśavaḥ" iti | "adur vai mahyam imān" ity abravīt | "na vai tasya te īśate" ity abravīt | "yad yajnavāstau hīyate mama vai tad" iti | tasmād yājnavāstu na abhyavetyam | so 'bravīt | "yajne mā bhaja atha te paśūn na abhimaṁsye" iti | tasmai etam manthinaḥ saṁsrāvam ajuhot | tato vai tasya Rudro paśūn na abhyamanyata | yatra etam eva vidvān manthinaḥ saṁsrāvam juhoti na tatra Rudraḥ paśūn abhimanyate |

"Manu divided his property among his sons. He disinherited his son Nābhānedishṭha who was living as a Brahmachārin. He came and said, 'How hast thou disinherited me?' 'I have not disinherited thee,' replied (his father); 'these Angirases are celebrating a sacrifice; they do not know the heavenly world; declare to them this Brāhmana; and when they are going to heaven, they will give thee the cattle they have.' He declared the Brāhmaṇa to them, and when they were going to heaven they gave him the cattle they had. Rudra came to him as he was on the place of sacrifice employed with the cattle and said: 'These are my cattle.' 'But,' replied Nābhānedishṭha, 'they have given them to me.' 'They have not power to do so; that which is left on the place of sacrifice is mine,' answered Rudra. Hence the place of sacrifice must not be approached. (Rudra further) said: 'Give me a share in the sacrifice, and I shall not injure thy cattle.' He offered him this libation of soma and flour. Then Rudra did not injure his cattle. Whenever any one knows this libation of soma and flour and offers it up, Rudra does not injure his cattle."[50]

A passage, quoted above, p. 26 f., from the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vi. 5,

[50] The reader who knows German, and wishes to see an able discussion of the question, whether the legend of Nābhānedishṭha, as given in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, has any real connection with the two hymns of the Rig-veda (x. 61 and 62) which are referred to in it, and whether it contains any reminiscence, or symbolical representation, of ancient historical events, may consult Prof. Roth's paper on the subject, in the 6th vol. of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, pp. 243 ff. The learned writer settles both questions in the negative, maintaining that the legend is manufactured out of certain misinterpreted allusions in the hymns, with the view of asserting the superiority of priestly knowledge to earthly power and worldly wealth, and that there never existed either a Nābhānedishṭha or a Manu. The object which I have in view in the collection of these texts does not require that I should express any opinion on these points. I only seek to ascertain what were the traditions received by the most ancient Indian writers themselves regarding the origin of their race, and not what was the historical value of those traditions.

6, 1 ff., may perhaps also be considered as affirming the descent of men from Manu when it declares them to be the offspring of Vivasvat; since the latter is regarded as the father of Manu.

In the Chhāndogya Upanishad, iii. 11, 4 (p. 178 of Bibliotheca Indica, vol. iii.) the following reference to Manu occurs:

Tad ha etad Brahmā Prajāpataye Prajāpatir Manave Manuḥ prajābhyaḥ | tad ha etad Uddālakāya Āruṇaye putrāya jyeshṭhāya pitā brahma provācha |

"This (doctrine) Brahmā declared to Prajāpati, Prajāpati to Manu, Manu to (his) offspring. This sacred truth was declared to his eldest son Uddālaka Aruṇi by his father."

The first half of this passage is repeated in viii. 15, 1, of the same work (p. 625).

In his commentary on the former of the two passages, Śankara Āchāryya gives this explanation:

Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbho Virāje Prajāpataye uvācha | so 'pi Manave | Manur Ikshvāku-ādibhyaḥ prajābhyaḥ provācha |

"Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbha declared it to the Prajāpati Virāj; he to Manu; and Manu declared it to his descendants Ikshvāku and the rest."

In his note on the second passage, viii. 15, 1, he varies somewhat in his explanation of the personages by whom the doctrine was transmitted:

Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ Parameśvaro vā tad-dvāreṇa Prajāpataye Kaśyapāya uvācha | asāv api Manave sva-putrāya | Manuḥ prajābhyaḥ |

"Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbha, or the supreme Lord (Parameśvara) through his instrumentality, declared it to the Prajāpati Kaśyapa; he to his son Manu; Manu to his descendants."

In these two passages of the Chhāndogya Upanishad Brahmā is distinguished from Prajāpati, and Prajāpati from Manu, who again is said to have handed down the doctrine, not to any one person in particular, but "to the offspring," or "descendants" (*prajābhyaḥ*), apparently his own descendants. This Upanishad therefore seems to coincide in the doctrine of the hymns, and of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, that Manu was the progenitor of mankind. The Commentator, it will have been noticed, in one place delares that Prajāpati is identifiable with Virāj, and again that Kaśyapa is to be understood under that appellation. Virāj and Kaśyapa are not, however, generally regarded as the same.

Nor is Kaśyapa commonly considered to be Manu's father. In the passages from the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, and Mahābhārata, quoted above, pp. 115 and 126, Kaśyapa is said to be the father of Vivasvat, and he again of Manu.

However this may be, as Manu is said to have handed down the sacred tradition to his descendants, we must suppose that those descendants included the whole of the progenitors of the Aryan Indians who were worthy of being made the depositaries of such a tradition; and must therefore conclude that the Chhāndogya Upanishad agrees with the passage quoted above, p. 126, from the Mahābhārata, in recognizing Manu as the progenitor of the Brāhmans, as well as the other castes.

Sect. III.—*Extracts from the Mahābhārata regarding Manu.*

I have already adduced in the preceding chapter, page 126, an important passage of the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan verses 3128 ff., in which Manu Vaivasvata is expressly declared to have been the progenitor of mankind including the four castes. A legend of the deluge, corresponding to the one which has been adduced from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in the last section, is also to be found in the Vana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, and although it does not represent Manu as the parent from whom the human race was reproduced, but as the creator by whom the world was renewed, after the flood, I shall extract the entire text. Its style of narration is tedious, when compared with the quaint brevity of the Brāhmaṇa; but I shall condense it as much as possible in the translation. It begins thus, verse 12747:

Mārkaṇḍeya uvācha | Vivasvataḥ suto rājan maharshiḥ suprātāpavān | babhūva nara-śārdūla Prajāpati-sama-dyutiḥ | ojasā tejasā lakshmyā tapasā cha viśeshataḥ | atichakrāma pitaram Manuḥ svaṁ cha pitāmaham | ūrddhva-bāhur viśālāyām Badaryām sa narādhipaḥ | eka-pāda-sthitas tīvram chachāra sumahat tapaḥ | 12750. *Avāk-śirās tathā chāpi netrair animishair dṛiḍham | so 'tapyata tapo ghoraṁ varshāṇām ayutaṁ tadā | taṁ kadāchit tapasyantam ārdrachīraṁ jaṭā-dharam | Chīriṇī-tīram āgamya matsyo vachanam abravīt | "bhagavan kshudra-matsyo 'smi bala-vadbhyo bhayam mama | matsyebhyo hi tato māṁ tvam trātum arhasi suvrata | durbalam balavanto hi matsyam matsyā viśeshataḥ | āsvadanti sadā vṛittir vihitā naḥ sanātanī | tasmād bhayaughād mahato majjantam māṁ viśeshataḥ | trātum arhasi karttāsmi kṛite pratikṛitaṁ tava"* | 12755.

Sa matsya-vachanaṁ śrutvā kṛipayā 'bhipariplutaḥ | Manur Vaivasvato 'gṛihṇāt tam matsyaṁ pāṇinā svayam | udakāntam upānīya matsyaṁ Vaivasvato Manuḥ | alinjire prākshipat tam chandrāṁśu-sadṛiśa-prabhe | sa tatra vavṛidhe rājan matsyaḥ parama-satkṛitaḥ | putravat svīkarot tasmai Manur bhāvam viśeshataḥ | atha kālena mahatā sa matsyaḥ sumahān abhūt | alinjire yathā chaiva nāsau samabhavat kila | atha matsyo Manuṁ dṛishṭvā punar evābhyabhāshata | "bhagavan sādhu me 'dyānyat sthānaṁ sampratipādaya" | 12760. Uddhṛityālinjirāt tasmāt tataḥ sa bhagavān Manuḥ | tam matsyam anayad vāpīm mahatīṁ sa Manus tadā | tatra tam prākshipach chāpi Manuḥ para-puranjaya | athāvarddhata matsyaḥ sa punar varsha-gaṇān bahūn | dvi-yojanāyatā vāpī vistṛitā chāpi yojanam | tasyāṁ nāsau samabhavat matsyo rājīva-lochanaḥ | vicheshṭituṁ cha Kaunteya matsyo vāpyāṁ viśāmpate | Manuṁ matsyas tato dṛishṭvā punar evābhyabhāshata | "naya mām bhagavan sādho samudra-mahishīm priyām | Gangāṁ tatra nivatsyāmi yathā vā tāta mānyase | 12765. Nideśe hi mayā tubhyaṁ sthātavyam anasūyatā | vṛiddhir hi paramā prāptā tvat-kṛite hi mayā 'nagha" | evam ukto Manur matsyam anayad bhagavān vaśī | nadīṁ Gangāṁ tatra chainam svayam prākshipad achyutaḥ | sa tatra vavṛidhe matsyaḥ kanchit kālam arindama | tataḥ punar Manuṁ dṛishṭvā matsyo vachanam abravīt | "Gangāyāṁ na hi śaknomi bṛihatvāch cheshṭitum prabho | samudraṁ naya mām āśu prasīda bhagavann" iti | uddhṛitya Gangā-salilāt tato matsyam Manuḥ svayam | samudram anayat pārtha tatra chainam avāsṛijat | 12770. Sumahān api matsyas tu sa Manor nayatas tadā | āsīd yatheshṭa-hāryyaścha sparśa-gandha-sukhaścha vai | yadā samudre prakshiptaḥ sa matsyo Manunā tadā | tata enam idaṁ vākyaṁ smayamāna ivābravīt | "bhagavan hi kṛitā rakshā tvayā sarvā viśeshataḥ | prāpta-kālaṁ tu yat kāryyaṁ tvayā tach chhrūyatām mama | achirād bhagavan bhaumam idaṁ sthāvara-jangamam | sarvam eva mahābhāga pralayaṁ vai gamishyati | samprakshālana-kālo 'yaṁ lokānāṁ samupasthitaḥ | tasmāt tvām bodhayāmy adya yat te hitam anuttamam | trasānāṁ sthāvarāṇāṁ cha yach chengaṁ yach cha nengati | tasya sarvasya samprāptaḥ kālaḥ parama-dāruṇaḥ | nauś cha kārayitavyā te dṛiḍhā yukta-vaṭārakā | tatra saptarshibhiḥ sārddham āruhethā mahāmune | vījāni chaiva sarvāṇi yathoktāni dvijaiḥ purā | tasyām ārohayer nāvi susanguptāni bhāgaśaḥ | nau-sthaś cha mām pratīkshethās tato muni-jana-priya | āgamishyāmy ahaṁ śṛingī vijne-

yas tena tāpasa | evam etat tvayā kāryam āpṛishṭo 'si vrajāmy aham | tā na śakyā mahatyo vai āpas tarttum mayā vinā | 12780. *Nābhiśankyam idaṁ chāpi vachanam me tvayā vibho" | "evaṁ karishye" iti taṁ sa matsyam pratyabhāshata | jagmatuś cha yathākāmam anujnāpya parasparam | tato Manur mahārāja yathoktam matsyakena ha | vījāny ādāya sarvāṇi sāgaram pupluve tadā | naukayā śubhayā vīra mahormiṇam arindama | chintayāmāsa cha Manus tam matsyam prithivīpate | sa cha tach-chintitaṁ jnātvā matsyaḥ parapuranjaya | śṛingī tatrājagāmāśu tadā Bharata-sattama | taṁ dṛishṭvā manuja-vyāghra Manur matsyaṁ jalārṇave |* 12785. *Śṛingiṇaṁ taṁ yathoktena rūpeṇādrim ivochchhritam | vaṭārakamayam pāśam atha matsyasya mūrdhani | Manur manuja-śārdūla tasmin śṛinge nyaveśayat | saṁyatas tena pāśena matsyaḥ para-puranjaya | vegena mahatā nāvam prākarshal lavaṇāmbhasi | sa cha tāṁs tārayan nāvā samudram manujeśvara | nṛityamānam ivormībhir garjamānam ivāmbhasā | kshobhyamāṇā mahāvātaiḥ sā naus tasmin mahodadhau | ghūrṇate chapaleva strī mattā para-puranjaya | naiva bhūmir na cha diśaḥ pradiśo vā chakāśire |* 12790. *Sarvam āmbhasam evāsīt khaṁ dyauś cha narapungava | evambhūte tadā loke sankule Bharatarshabha | adṛiśyanta saptarshayaḥ Manur matsyas tathaiva cha | evam bahūn varsha-gaṇān tāṁ nāvam so 'tha matsyakaḥ | chakarshātandrito rājan tasmin salila-sanchaye | tato Himavataḥ śṛingaṁ yat param Bharatarshabha | tatrākarshat tato nāvaṁ sa matsyaḥ Kurunandana | athābravīt tadā matsyas tān ṛishīn prahasan śanaiḥ | "asmin Himavataḥ śṛinge nāvaṁ badhnīta māchiram" | sā baddhā tatra tais tūrṇam ṛishibhir Bharatarshabha |* 12795. *Naur matsyasya vachaḥ śrutvā śṛinge Himavatas tadā | tach cha Naubandhanaṁ nāma śṛingam Himavataḥ param | khyātam adyāpi Kaunteya tad viddhi Bharatarshabha | athābravīd anismishas tān ṛishīn sa hitas tadā | "aham Prajāpatir Brahmā yat-paraṁ nādhigamyate | matsya-rūpeṇa yūyaṁ cha mayā 'smād mokshitā bhayāt | Manunā cha prajāḥ sarvāḥ sa-devāsura-mānushāḥ | srashṭavyāḥ sarva-lokāś cha yach chengaṁ yach cha nengati | tapasā chāpi tīvreṇa pratibhā 'sya bhavishyati | mat-prasādāt prajā-sarge na cha mohaṁ gamishyati" |* 12800. *Ity uktvā vachanam matsyaḥ kshaṇenādarśanaṁ gataḥ | srashṭu-kāmaḥ prajāś chāpi Manur Vaivasvataḥ svayam | pramūḍho 'bhūt prajā-sarge tapas tepe mahat tataḥ | tapasā mahatā yuktaḥ so 'tha srashṭum prachakrame | sarvāḥ prajā Manuḥ sākshād yathāvad Bharatarshabha | ity etad mātsyakam nāma purāṇam parikīrttitam |*

"12747. Mārkaṇḍeya said: There was a great rishi Manu, son of Vivasvat, majestic, in lustre equal to Prajāpati. In energy, fiery vigour, prosperity, and austere fervour he surpassed both his father and his grandfather. Standing with uplifted arm, on one foot, on the spacious Badari, he practised intense austere fervour. 12750. This direful exercise he performed, with his head downwards,[51] and with unwinking eyes, for 10,000 years. Once, when, clad in dripping rags, with matted hair, he was so engaged, a fish came to him on the banks of the Chīriṇī, and spake: 'Lord, I am a small fish; I dread the stronger ones, and from them you must save me. For the stronger fish devour the weaker; this has been immemorially ordained as our means of subsistence. Deliver me from this flood of apprehension in which I am sinking, and I will requite the deed.' 12755. Hearing this, Manu, filled with compassion, took the fish in his hand, and bringing him to the water threw him into a jar bright as a moon-beam. In it the fish, being excellently tended, grew; for Manu treated him like a son. After a long time he became very large, and could not be contained in the jar. Then, seeing Manu, he said again: 'In order that I may thrive, remove me elsewhere.' 12760. Manu then took him out of the jar, brought him to a large pond, and threw him in. There he continued to grow for very many years. Although the pond was two *yojanas* long, and one *yojana* broad, the lotus-eyed fish found in it no room to move; and again said to Manu: 'Take me to Gangā, the dear queen of the ocean-monarch; in her I shall dwell; or do as thou thinkest best, (12765) for I must contentedly submit to thy authority, as through thee I have exceedingly increased.' Manu accordingly took the fish and threw him into the river Gangā. There he waxed for some time, when he again said to Manu: 'From my great bulk I cannot move in the Gangā; be gracious and remove me quickly to the ocean.' Manu took him out of the Gangā; and cast him into the sea. 12770. Although so huge, the fish was easily borne, and pleasant to touch and smell, as Manu carried him. When he had been thrown into the ocean he said to Manu: 'Great lord, thou hast in every way preserved me: now hear from me what thou must do when the

[51] He could not have stood on one foot and with his head downwards (if this means standing on his head) at one and the same time. The text may mean that these attitudes were successively adopted.

time arrives. Soon shall all these terrestrial objects, both fixed and moving, be dissolved. The time for the purification of the worlds has now arrived. I therefore inform thee what is for thy greatest good. 12775. The period dreadful for the universe, moving and fixed, has come. Make for thyself a strong ship, with a cable attached; embark in it with the seven rishis, and stow in it, carefully preserved and assorted, all the seeds which have been described of old by Brāhmans.[52] When embarked in the ship, look out for me: I shall come recognizable by my horn. So shalt thou do; I greet thee and depart. These great waters cannot be crossed over without me. 12780. Distrust not my word.' Manu replied, 'I shall do as thou hast said.' After taking mutual leave they departed each on his own way. Manu then, as enjoined, taking with him the seeds, floated on the billowy ocean in the beautiful ship. He then thought on the fish, which, knowing his desire, arrived with all speed, distinguished by a horn. When Manu saw the horned leviathan, lofty as a mountain, he fastened the ship's cable to the horn. Being thus attached, the fish dragged the ship with great rapidity, transporting it across the briny ocean which seemed to dance with its waves and thunder with its waters. Tossed by the tempests, the ship whirled like a reeling and intoxicated woman. Neither the earth, nor the quarters of the world appeared; (12790) there was nothing but water, air, and sky. In the world thus confounded, the seven rishis, Manu, and the fish were beheld. So, for very many years, the fish, unwearied, drew the ship over the waters; and brought it at length to the highest peak of Himavat. He then, smiling gently, said to the rishis, 'Bind the ship without delay to this peak.' They did so accordingly. 12795. And that highest peak of Himavat is still known by the name of Naubandhana ('the Binding of the Ship'). The friendly fish (or god, *animisha*) then said to the rishis, 'I am the Prajāpati Brahmā, than whom nothing higher can be reached. In the form of a fish I have delivered you from this great danger. Manu shall create all living beings, gods, asuras, MEN, with all worlds, and all things moving and fixed. By my favour and through severe austere fervour, he shall attain perfect insight into his creative work, and shall not be-

[52] The S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa is silent as to these seeds, as well as to the seven rishis; but it is possible that the reference here made to them may have been borrowed from some other ancient source.

come bewildered.' 12800. Having thus spoken, the fish in an instant disappeared. Manu, desirous to call creatures into existence and bewildered in his work, performed a great act of austere fervour; and then began visibly to create all living beings. This which I have narrated is known as the Mātsyaka Purāṇa (or 'Legend of the Fish').'

It will be observed that towards the close of this narrative it is stated that Manu (not Brahmā himself) was the creator of Men, as well of gods and asuras; and that no reference is made to the formation of separate castes.

The commentators seem disinclined to take this legend in its literal sense. We shall see below what reason the scholiast on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa assigns for this procedure. The following are some of the remarks of the Commentator Nīlakaṇṭha on the above passage of the Mahābhārata:

"Manoḥ" manute ity abhimānātmako 'hankāro Manuḥ | viśeshena vaste āchhādayati chit-prakāśam iti viveka-jnānam tad-vān vivasvān māyāvī īśvaraḥ "māyinaṁ tu maheśvaram" iti śruteḥ | tasya Vaivasvatasya charitam sancharaṇam | "avidyā-nāśe saty āvidyako 'hankāraḥ kathaṁ sancharati | nahi tantu-dāhe paṭas tishṭhati" ity ākshepaḥ | . . . . atra para-brahmaṇa eva rūpāntaram matsyākhyo jīvaḥ | so 'hankāreṇa Manunā uttarottara-śreshṭheshu alinjirādi-rūpeshu sthūla-deheshu tapo-balād nipātyate | sa cha samudrākhye vairāje dehe nipātitaś cha kalpānte avidyānāśa-rūpe saty api dādha- (*dagdha*?) *-paṭa-nyāyena anuvarttamānam ahaṇkāraṁ saptarshi-sanjnakaiḥ prāṇādibhiḥ vīja-sanjnaiḥ prārabdha-karmabhiś cha sahitaṁ charama-deha-nāvy ārūḍham vāsanā-varatrayā jīva-matsyena pralaya-kāle 'py ūhyamānam meru-śṛinga same 'chale bhavato* (*Himavad-*?) *rūpe sadvāsanayā labdhāspadaṁ vilīnam anulakshya jīva-matsyo 'darśanam prāptaḥ | ati-vilīne hy ahankāre jīvatvam naśyati | sa punar nirasta-jīva-bhāvo 'hankāro brahma-rūpatām āpanno yathā pūrvaṁ vāsanayā jagat sṛijati | nashṭe 'py avidyākhye kāraṇe saṁsāra-bhāna-lakshaṇaṁ kāryaṁ chakra-bhramam iva kanchit kālam anuvarttate ity adhyāya-tātparyam | aksharārthas tv ityādi |*

"'Manu,' that which imagines, denotes the consciousness of self (*ahankāra*), consisting in the idea that objects refer to one's self (*abhimāna*).[53] 'Vivasvat' is he who possesses the discriminating knowledge that (such and such a thing) obscures the light of the mind, *i.e.*

[53] See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, vol. i. 242.

he is the Illuder, Īśvara, for the Veda[54] speaks of 'Maheśvara the Illuder.' It is the 'history,' the action, of this son of Vivasvat, that is related. It is objected, 'how can Ahankāra, which arises from ignorance, operate when ignorance is destroyed?' for when the threads are burnt the cloth no longer remains' . . . . Here the embodied soul, called in this passage a 'Fish,' is only another form of the supreme Brahma. This 'Fish' is thrown by 'Manu,' who is Ahankāra, through the power of austere fervour, into gross bodies, here represented by 'a jar,' 'a pond,' etc., which gradually rise in excellence. Being at last cast into the body of Virāj, called 'the ocean,' although 'the close of the Kalpa' means the destruction of ignorance, still the embodied soul denoted by the 'Fish,' contemplating Ahankāra still remaining like the ashes of burnt cloth, then entering, along with the breath and other vital airs named 'the seven rishis,' and the works of a former birth designated as 'seeds,' into the ship which signifies its last body, and then borne along even in the period of dissolution by the embodied soul itself symbolized as a 'Fish,' by means of the 'rope' of the remaining consciousness of past perceptions (*vāsanā*), obtaining at length through a consciousness of former perceptions, which were pure (*sad-vāsanā*), a resting-place on a mountain like the peak of Meru, represented by the Himavat (?), and finally dissolved;—the embodied soul under the figure of a 'Fish' having contemplated all this,—vanishes. For when Ahankāra has become entirely dissolved, the state of the embodied soul ceases. Then Ahankāra, after the state of the embodied soul has been dispelled, obtains the condition of Brahma; but by its consciousness of past perceptions creates the world as before. Even when the cause called ignorance has been destroyed, the effect in the shape of the semblance of the world continues for some time, like the revolution of a wheel. Such is signification of the section."

According to this allegorial interpretation "Vivasvat," father of Manu, represents Īśvara, the Illuder. "Manu" is Ahankāra, or self-consciousness. The "Fish" is the embodied soul, which fancies itself to be, but is not, distinct from the Supreme spirit. Ahankāra, denoted by 'Manu,' places the embodied soul, symbolized by the "Fish," in a variety of bodies gradually increasing in excellence, which are signified

[54] The words are taken from one of the Upanishads, to which, at the time of correcting this sheet, I am unable to give the necessary reference.

by the "jar," "pond," "Gangā," and "ocean." Although the end of the Kalpa means the removal of ignorance, still Ahankāra continues for a time; and along with the "seven rishis," who stand for the vital airs, and the "seeds," which are former works, embarks on the "ship," which is its last body, and is drawn over the ocean by the embodied soul by means of a "rope," which signifies the consciousness of former perceptions. Ahankāra at length finds a resting-place, denoted by Mount Himavat; and when it has been destroyed, the embodied soul vanishes. Ahankāra, however, passes into the form of Brahma, and, through the operation of the cause explained by the Commentator, creates the world anew.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the narrator of the legend himself appears to have had no idea of making it the vehicle of any Vedantic allegory such as is here propounded.

The following is another version of the same legend from the Matsya Purāṇa:

i. 12.[55] *Purā rājā Manur nāma chīrṇavān vipulaṁ tapaḥ | putre rājyaṁ samāropya kshamāvān Ravi-nandanaḥ* | 13. *Malayasyaika-deśe tu sarvātmāguṇa-saṁyutaḥ | sama-duḥkha-sukho vīraḥ prāptavān yogam uttamam* | 14. *Vachanaṁ*[56] *varadaś chāsya varshāyuta-śate gate | "varaṁ vṛiṇīshva" provācha prītātmā Kamalāsanaḥ* | 15. *Evam ukto 'bravīd rājā praṇamya sa Pitāmaham | "ekam evāham ichhāmi tvatto varam anuttamam* | 16. *Bhūta-grāmasya sarvasya sthāvarasya charasya cha | bhaveyaṁ rakshaṇāyālam pralaye samupasthite"* | 17. *"Evam astv" iti viśvātmā tatraivāntaradhīyata | pushpa-vṛishṭiś cha mahatī khāt papāta surārpitā* | 18. *Kadāchid āśrame tasya kurvataḥ pitṛi-tarpaṇam | papāta pāṇyor upari śapharī jala-saṁyutā* | 19. *Dṛishṭvā tach-chhapharī-rūpaṁ sa dayālur mahīpatiḥ | rakshaṇāyākarod yatnaṁ sa tasmin ka_rakodare* | 20. *Ahorātreṇa chaikena shoḍaśāṅgula-vistṛitaḥ | so 'bhavad matsya-rūpeṇa "pāhi pāhīti" chābravīt* | 21. *Sa tam ādāya maṇike prākshipaj jala-chāriṇam | tatrāpi chaikarātreṇa hasta-trayam avarddhata* | 22. *Punaḥ prāhārttanādena Sahasrakiraṇātmajam | sa matsyaḥ "pāhi pāhīti" "tvām ahaṁ śaraṇaṁ gataḥ"* | 23. *Tataḥ sa kūpe tam matsyam prāhiṇoḍ Ravi-nandanaḥ | yadā na māti tatrapi kūpe matsyaḥ*

[55] This passage is extracted in Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskrit MSS. p. 347.

[56] The Taylor MS. reads *babhūva*, instead of *vachanam*.

sarovare | 24. *Kshiptaḥ sa pṛithutām āgāt punar yojana-sammitām* | *tatrāpy āha punar dīnaḥ "pāhi pāhi nṛipottama"* | 25. *Tataḥ sa Manunā kshipto Gangāyām apy avarddhata* | *yadā tadā samudre tam prākshipad medinīpatiḥ* | 26. *Yadā samudram akhilaṁ vyāpyāsau samavasthitaḥ* | *tadā prāha Manur bhītaḥ "ko 'pi tvam asuretaraḥ* | 27. *Athavā Vāsudevas tvam anya īdṛik katham bhavet* | *yojanāyuta-viṁśatyā kasya tulyam bhaved vapuḥ* | 28. *Jnātas tvam matsya-rūpeṇa māṁ khedayasi Keśava* | *Hṛishīkeśa jagannātha jagad-dhāma namo 'stu te"* | 29. *Evam uktaḥ sa bhagavān matsya-rūpī Janārdanaḥ* | *"sādhu sādhv" iti chovācha "samyag jnātaṁ tvayā 'nagha* | 30. *Achireṇaiva kālena medinī medinīpate* | *bhavishyati jale magnā sā-śaila-vana-kānanā* | 31. *Naur iyaṁ sarva-devānāṁ nikāyena vinirmitā* | *mahā-jīva-nikāyasya rakshaṇārtham mahīpate* | 32. *Svedāṇḍajodbhijā jīvā ye cha jīvā jarāyujāḥ* | *asyaṁ nidhāya sarvāṁs tān anarthāt*[57] *pāhi suvrata* | 33. *Yugānta-vātābhihatā yadā chalati naur nṛipa* | *śṛinge 'smin mama rājendra tademāṁ saṁyamishyasi* | 34. *Tato layānte sarvasya sthāvarasya charasya cha* | *prajāpatis tvam bhavitā jagataḥ pṛithivī-pate* | 35. *Evaṁ kṛite mahārāja*[58] *sarvajno dhṛitimān ṛishiḥ* | *manvantarādhipaś chāpi deva-pūjyo bhavishyasi* | 36. Adhyāya ii. *Sūta uvācha* | 1. *Evam ukto Manus tena paprachhāsura-sūdanam* | *varshair kiyadbhir bhagavan bhavishyaty antara-kshayaḥ* | 2. *Sattvāni cha kathaṁ nātha rakshishye Madhusūdana* | *tvayā saha punar yogaḥ kathaṁ vā bhavitā mama* | 3. *Śrī-matsya uvācha* | *adya-prabhṛity anāvṛishṭir bhavishyati mahītale* | *yāvad varsha-śataṁ sāgraṁ durbhikshaṁ narakāvaham* | 4. *Tato 'lpa-sattva-kshayadā raśmayaḥ sapta dāruṇāḥ* | *sapta-sapter bhavishyanti prataptāngāra-varshiṇaḥ* | 5. *Aurvānalo 'pi vikṛitiṁ gamishyati yuga-kshaye* | *vishāgniś chāpi pātālāt sankarshaṇa-mukha-chyutaḥ* | 6. *Bhavasyāpi lalāṭotthas tṛitīya-nayanānalaḥ* | *jagad dagdhaṁ tathā kshobhaṁ gamishyati mahāmate* | 7. *Evaṁ dagdhā mahī sarvā yadā syād bhasma-sannibhā*[59] | *ākāśam ushmaṇā taptam bhavishyati parantapa* | 8. *Tataḥ sa-deva-nakshatraṁ jagad yāsyati sankshayam* | *saṁvartto bhīmanādaś cha droṇaś chaṇḍo*[60] *balāhakaḥ* | 9. *Vidyutpatākaḥ śoṇāmbuḥ saptaite laya-vāridāḥ* | *agni-prasveda-sambhūtāḥ plāvayishyanti medinīm* | 10. *Samudrāḥ kshobham āgatya*

[57] Instead of *anarthāt* the Taylor MS. reads *anāthān.*

[58] The Taylor MS. reads here *evaṁ kṛita-yugasyādau.*

[59] *Kūrma-sannibhā* | Taylor MS.

[60] The Taylor and Gaikowar MSS. have *chandro.*

chaikatvena vyavasthitāḥ | etad ekārṇavaṁ sarvam karishyanti jagat-trayam | 11. Divyāṁ nāvam[61] *imāṁ gṛihya sarva-vījāni sarvaśaḥ | āropya rajjvā yogena mat-prayuktena suvrata | 12. Saṁyamya nāvam machchhṛinge mat-prabhāvābhirakshitaḥ | ekaḥ sthāsyasi deveshu dagdheshv api parantapa | 13. Soma-sūryāv aham Brahmā chatur-loka-samanvitaḥ | Narmadā cha nadī puṇyā Mārkaṇḍeyo mahān ṛishiḥ | 14. Bhavo vedāḥ purāṇaṁ cha vidyābhiḥ sarvato vṛitam | tvayā sārddham idaṁ sarvaṁ sthāsyaty antara-sankshaye | 15. Evam ekārṇave jāte Chākshushāntara-sankshaye | vedān pravarttayishyāmi tvat-sargādau mahīpate | 16. Sūta uvācha | Evam uktvā sa bhagavāṁs tatraivāntaradhīyata | Manur apy āsthito yogaṁ Vāsudeva-prasādajam | 17. Athābhūch cha tathā-bhūtaḥ samplavaḥ pūrva-sūchitaḥ | kāle yathokte sanjāte Vāsudeva-mukhodyate | 18. Śṛingī prādurbabhūvātha matsya-rūpī Janārdanaḥ | Ananto rajju-rūpeṇa Manoḥ pārśvam upāgamat | 19. Bhūta-sangān samākṛishya yogenāropya dharmavit | bhujanga-rajjvā matsyasya śṛinge nāvam ayojayat | 20. Uparyy upasthitas tasyāḥ praṇipatya Janārdanam | ābhūta-samplave tasminn atīte yoga-śāyinā | 21. Pṛishṭena Manunā proktam purāṇam matsyarūpiṇā | tad idānīm pravakshyāmi śṛiṇudhvam ṛishi-sattamāḥ |*

"12. Formerly a heroic king called Manu, the patient son of the Sun, endowed with all good qualities, indifferent to pain and pleasure, after investing his son with the royal authority, practised intense austere fervour, (13) in a certain region of Malaya (Malabar), and attained to transcendent union with the Deity (*yoga*). 14. When a million years had elapsed, Brahmā became pleased and disposed to bestow a boon, which he desired Manu to choose. 15. Bowing before the father of the world the monarch said, 'I desire of thee this one incomparable boon, that when the dissolution of the universe arrives I may have power to preserve all existing things, whether moving or stationary.' 17. 'So be it,' said the Soul of all things, and vanished on the spot; when a great shower of flowers, thrown down by the gods, fell from the sky. 18. Once as, in his hermitage, Manu offered the oblation to the Manes, there fell, upon his hands, along with some water, a Śapharī fish (a carp), (19) which the kind-hearted king perceiving, strove to preserve in his water-jar. 20. In one day and night the fish grew to the size of sixteen fingers, and cried, 'preserve me, preserve me.' 21. Manu then took and threw him into a large pitcher, where in one night he

[61] The Taylor MS. reads *veda-nāvam*, "the ship of the Vedas."

increased three cubits, (22) and again cried, with the voice of one distressed, to the son of Vivasvat, 'preserve me, preserve me, I have sought refuge with thee.' 23. Manu next put him into a well, and when he could not be contained even in that, (24) he was thrown into a lake, where he attained to the size of a yojana; but still cried in humble tones, 'preserve me, preserve me.' 25. When, after being flung into the Gangā he increased there also, the king threw him into the ocean. 26. When he filled the entire ocean, Manu said, in terror, 'Thou art some god, (27) or thou art Vāsudeva; how can any one else be like this? Whose body could equal 200,000 yojanas? 28. Thou art recognised under this form of a fish, and thou tormentest me, Keśava; reverence be to thee, Hrishīkeśa, lord of the world, abode of the universe!' 29. Thus addressed, the divine Janārdana, in the form of a fish, replied: 'Thou hast well spoken, and hast rightly known me. 30. In a short time the earth with its mountains, groves, and forests, shall be submerged in the waters. 31. This ship has been constructed by the company of all the gods[62] for the preservation of the vast host of living creatures. 32. Embarking in it all living creatures, both those engendered from moisture and from eggs, as well as the viviparous, and plants, preserve them from calamity. 33. When driven by the blasts at the end of the yuga, the ship is swept along, thou shalt bind it to this horn of mine. 34. Then at the close of the dissolution thou shalt be the Prajāpati (lord of creatures) of this world, fixed and moving. 35. When this shall have been done,[63] thou, the omniscient, patient rishi, and lord of the Manvantara, shalt be an object of worship to the gods."

2nd Adhyāya: "1. Sūta said: Being thus addressed, Manu asked the slayer of the Asura, 'In how many years shall the (existing) Manvantara come to an end? 2. And how shall I preserve the living creatures? or how shall I meet again with thee?' The fish answered: 'From this day forward a drought shall visit the earth for a hundred years and more, with a tormenting famine. 4. Then the seven direful rays of the son, of little power, destructive, shall rain burning charcoal. 5. At the close of the yuga the submarine fire shall burst forth,

[62] The reading of the Taylor MS. here is partially erased; but it may have been *sarva-vedānām*, "of all the Vedas." Compare the various reading in verse 11 of the next *adhyāya*.

[63] According to the reading of the Taylor MS. we should have to substitute the words, "Thus at the beginning of the Kṛita age, thou" etc.

while the poisonous flame issuing from the mouth of Sankarshaṇa (shall blaze) from Pātāla, and the fire from Mahādeva's third eye shall issue from his forehead. Thus kindled the world shall become confounded. 7. When, consumed in this manner, the earth shall become like ashes, the æther too shall be scorched with heat. 8. Then the world, together with the gods and planets, shall be destroyed. The seven clouds of the period of dissolution, called Saṁvartta, Bhīmanāda, Droṇa, Chaṇḍa, Balāhaka, (9) Vidyutpatāka, and Soṇāmbu, produced from the steam of the fire, shall inundate the earth. 10. The seas agitated, and joined together, shall reduce these entire three worlds to one ocean. 11. Taking this celestial ship, embarking on it all the seeds, and through contemplation fixed on me fastening it by a rope (12) to my horn, thou alone shalt remain, protected by my power, when even the gods are burnt up. 13. The sun and moon, I Brahmā with the four worlds, the holy river Narmadā,[64] the great rishi Mārkaṇḍeya, (14) Mahādeva, the Vedas, the Purāṇa with the sciences,—these shall remain with thee at the close of the Manvantara. 15. The world having thus become one ocean at the end of the Chākshusha manvantara, I shall give currency to the Vedas at the commencement of thy creation.' 16. Sūta continued: Having thus spoken, the divine Being vanished on the spot; while Manu fell into a state of contemplation (*yoga*) induced by the favour of Vāsudeva. 17. When the time announced by Vāsudeva had arrived, the predicted deluge took place in that very manner. Then Janārdana appeared in the form of a horned fish; (the serpent) Ananta came to Manu in the shape of a rope. 19. Then he who was skilled in duty (*i.e.* Manu) drew towards himself all creatures by contemplation (*yoga*) and stowed them in the ship, which he then attached to the fish's horn by the serpent-rope, (20) as he stood upon the ship, and after he had made obeisance to Janārdana. 21. I shall now declare the Purāṇa which, in answer to an enquiry from Manu, was uttered by the deity in the form of the fish, as he lay in a sleep of contemplation till the end of the universal inundation: Listen." The Matsya Purāṇa gives us no further information here about the progress and results of the deluge; and this narrative does not appear to be ever afterwards resumed.

[64] In the opinion of this writer, therefore, the Narmadā (Nerbudda) must have been a holier stream than the Gangā: otherwise we should have expected him to select the latter as the river to be preserved at the dissolution.

The Bhāgavata P. viii. 24, 7, gives the same story with variations as follows:

Āsīd atīta-kalpānte brāhmo naimittiko layaḥ | samudropaplutās tatra lokā bhūr-ādayo nṛipa | 8. Kālenāgata-nidrasya Dhātuḥ śiśayishor balī | mukhato nissṛitān vedān Hayagrīvo 'ntike 'harat | 9. Jnātvā tad dānavendrasya Hayagrīvasya cheshṭitam | dadhāra śapharī-rūpam bhagavān Harir īśvaraḥ | 10. Tatra rāja-ṛishiḥ kaśchid nāmnā Satyavrato mahān | Nārāyaṇa-paro 'tapyat tapaḥ sa salilāśanaḥ | 11. Yo 'sāv asmin mahākalpe tanayaḥ sa Vivasvataḥ | Śrāddhadeva iti khyāto manutve Hariṇā 'rpitaḥ | 12. Ekadhā Kṛitamālāyāṁ kurvato jala-tarpaṇam | tasyāñjalyudake kāchich chhaphary ekā 'bhyapadyata | 13. Satyavrato 'njali-gatām saha toyena Bhārata | utsasarja nadī-toye śapharīṁ Draviḍeśvaraḥ | tam āha sātikaruṇam mahākāruṇikāṁ nṛipam | yādobhyo jnāti-ghātibhyo dīnām māṁ dīnavatsala | kathaṁ visṛijase rājan bhītām asmin sarij-jale | . . . . . 32. Saptame 'dyatanād ūrddhvam ahany etad arindama | nimankshyaty apyayāmbhodhau trailokyam bhūr-bhuvādikam | 33. Trilokyāṁ līyamānāyāṁ saṁvarttāmbhasi vai tadā | upasthāsyati nauḥ kāchid viśālā tvām mayeritā | 34. Tvaṁ tāvad oshadhīḥ sarvā vījāny uchchāvachāni cha | saptarshibhih parivṛitaḥ sarva-sattvopavṛiṁhitaḥ | 45. Āruhya vṛihatīṁ nāvaṁ vicharishyasy aviklavaḥ | ekārṇave nirāloke ṛishīṇām eva varchasā | 36. Dodhūyamānāṁ tām nāvaṁ samīreṇa balīyasā | upasthitasya me śṛinge nibadhnīhi mahāhinā | 37. Ahaṁ tvām ṛishibhiḥ sākaṁ sahanāvam udanvati | vikarshan vicharishyāmi yāvad Brāhmī niśā prabho | . . . . 41. Tataḥ samudraḥ udvelaḥ sarvataḥ plāvayan mahīm | vardhamāno mahāmeghair varshadbhiḥ samadṛiśyata | 42. Dhyāyan bhagavad-ādeśaṁ dadṛiśe nāvam āgatām | tām āruroha viprendrair ādāyaushadhi-vīrudhaḥ | 43. Tam ūchur munayaḥ prītā rājan dhyāyasva Keśavam | sa vai naḥ sankaṭād asmād avitā śaṁ vidhāsyati | 44. So 'nudhyātas tato rājnā prādurāsīd mahārṇave | eka-śṛingadharo matsyo haimo niyuta-yojanaḥ | 45. Nibadhya nāvaṁ tach-chhṛinge yathokto Hariṇā purā | varatreṇāhinā tushṭas tushṭāva Madhusūdanam | . . . . . 54. Ity uktavantaṁ nṛipatim bhagavān Ādipūrushaḥ | matsyarūpī mahāmbhodhau viharaṁs tattvam abravīt | 55. Purāṇa-saṁhitām divyāṁ Sānkhya-Yoga-kriyāvatīm | Satyavratasya rājarsher ātma-guhyam aśeshataḥ | 56. Aśraushīd ṛishibhiḥ sākam ātma-tattvam asaṁśayam | nāvy āsīno bhagavatā proktam brahma sanātanam | 57. Atītapralayāpāye utthitāya sa Vedhase | hatvāśuraṁ Hayagrīvaṁ vedān prat-

yāharad Hariḥ | 58. *Sa tu Satyavrato rājā jñāna-vijñāna-saṁyutaḥ* | *Vishṇoḥ prasādāt kalpe 'smin āsīd Vaivasvato Manuḥ* |

"7. At the close of the past Kalpa there occurred an occasional[65] dissolution of the universe arising from Brahmā's nocturnal repose; in which the Bhūrloka and other worlds were submerged in the ocean. 8. When the creator, desirous of rest, had under the influence of time been overcome by sleep, the strong Hayagrīva coming near, carried off the Vedas which had issued from his mouth. 9. Discovering this deed of the prince of the Dānavas, the divine Hari, the Lord, took the form of a Śapharī fish. 10. At that time a certain great royal rishi, called Satyavrata, who was devoted to Nārāyaṇa, practised austere fervour, subsisting on water. 11. He was the same who in the present great Kalpa is the son of Visvasvat, called Śrāddhadeva,[66] and was appointed by Hari to the office of Manu. 12. Once, as in the river Kṛitamālā he was offering the oblation of water to the Pitris, a Śapharī fish came into the water in the hollow of his hands. 13. The lord of Draviḍa, Satyavrata, cast the fish in his hands with the water into the river. 14. The fish very piteously cried to the merciful king, 'Why dost thou abandon me poor and terrified to the monsters who destroy their kindred in this river?'" [Satyavrata then took the fish from the river, placed it in his waterpot, and as it grew larger and larger, threw it successively into a larger vessel, a pond, various lakes, and at length into the sea. The fish objects to be left there on the plea that it would be devoured; but Manu replies that it can be no real fish, but Vishṇu himself; and with various expressions of devotion enquires why he had assumed this disguise, verses 15–31.] The god replies: 32. "On the seventh day after this the three worlds Bhūrloka, etc., shall sink beneath the ocean of the dissolution. 33. When the universe is dissolved in that ocean, a large ship, sent by me, shall come to thee. 34. Taking with thee the plants and various seeds, surrounded by the seven rishis, and attended by all existences, (35) thou shalt embark on the great ship, and shalt without alarm move over the one dark ocean, by the sole light of the rishis. When the ship shall be vehemently shaken by

[65] *Naimittika.* See above p. 45.

[66] Manu is called Śrāddhadeva in the Mahābhārata also, Śāntip. 4507. In the Brāhmaṇas, however, he receives the appellation, or epithet, not of *Śrāddhădeva*, but of *Srăddhadeva.* See above, p. 188 ff.

the tempestuous wind, fasten it by the great serpent to my horn—for I shall come near. 37. So long as the night of Brahmā lasts, I shall draw thee with the rishis and the ship over the ocean." [The god then disappears after promising that Satyavrata shall practically know his greatness and experience his kindness, and Satyavrata awaits the predicted events, verses 38–40.] 41. "Then the sea, augmenting as the great clouds poured down their waters, was seen overflowing its shores and everywhere inundating the earth. 42. Meditating on the injunctions of the deity, Satyavrata beheld the arrival of the ship, on which he embarked with the Brāhmans, taking along with him the various kinds of plants. 43. Delighted, the Munis said to him, 'meditate on Keśava; he will deliver us from this danger, and grant us prosperity.' 44. Accordingly when the king had meditated on him, there appeared on the ocean a golden fish, with one horn, a million yojanas long. 45. Binding the ship to his horn with the serpent for a rope, as he had been before commanded by Hari, Satyavrata lauded Madhusūdana." [Verses 46–53 contain the hymn.] 54. When the king had thus spoken, the divine primeval Male, in the form of a fish, moving on the vast ocean declared to him the truth; (55) the celestial collection of Puranas, with the Sānkhya, Yoga, the ceremonial, and the mystery of the soul. 56. Seated on the ship with the rishis, Satyavrata heard the true doctrine of the soul, of the eternal Brahmā, declared by the god. 57. When Brahmā arose at the end of the past dissolution, Hari restored to him the Vedas, after slaying Hayagrīva. 58. And King Satyavrata, master of all knowledge, sacred and profane, became, by the favour of Vishṇu, the son of Vivasvat, the Manu in this Kalpa."

Before adducing the remarks of the commentator Śrīdhara Svāmin on the passage last cited from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I shall quote one more version of the same legend from the Agni Purāṇa.[67] It is not of any great consequence, as, though more condensed, it coincides in purport with that in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa: which of the two has bor-

[67] This has been copied by Professor Aufrecht from a MS. of the Agni Purāṇa, belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of London. I am informed by Prof. Aufrecht that the East India Office Library has two MSS. of the Vahni Purāṇa, which (although Vahni is, in later Sanskrit, synonymous with Agni) differ entirely in their contents from the Agni Purāṇa.

rowed from the other, or whether both are derived from a common source, I am unable to say.

Vasishṭha uvācha | 1. Matsyādi-rūpiṇaṁ Vishṇum brūhi sargādi-kāranam | purāṇam brahma chāgneyaṁ yathā Vishṇoḥ purā śrutam | Agnir uvācha | 2. Matsyāvatāraṁ vakshye 'haṁ Vasishṭha śṛiṇu vai Hareḥ | avatāra-kriyāṁ dushṭa-nashṭyai sat-pālanāya hi | 3. Āsīd atīta-kalpānte brāhmo naimittiko layaḥ | sanudropaplutās tatra lokā bhūrādikā mune | 4. Manur Vaivasvatas tepe tapo vai bhukti-muktaye | ekadā Kṛitalmālāyāṁ kurvato jala-tarpaṇam | 5. Tasyānjaly-udake matsyaḥ svalpa eko 'bhyapadyata | ksheptu-kāmaṁ jale prāha "na māṁ kshipa narottama | 6. Grahādibhyo bhayam me 'tra" tach chhrutvā kalaśe 'kshipat | Manuṁ vṛiddhaḥ punar matsyaḥ prāha taṁ "dehi me vṛihat" | 7. Tasya tad vachanaṁ śrutvā rājā 'tha vandane 'kshipat | tatra vṛiddho 'bravīd bhūpam "pṛithu dehi padam mama" | 8. Sarovare punaḥ kshipto vavṛidhe tat-pramāṇavān | uche "dehi vṛihat sthānam" prākshipach chāmbudhau tataḥ | 9. Laksha-yojana-vistīrṇaḥ kshaṇa-mātreṇa so 'bhavat | matsyaṁ tam adbhutaṁ dṛishṭvā vismitaḥ prābravīd Manuḥ | 10. "Ko bhavān nanu vai Vishṇur Nārāyaṇa namo'stu te | māyayā mohayasi māṁ kimarthaṁ cha Janārdana" | 11. Manur-ukto[68] *'bravīd matsyo Manuṁ vai pālane ratam | avatīrṇo bhavāyāsya jagato dushṭa-nashṭaye | 12. "Saptame divase tv abdhiḥ plāvayishyati vai jagat | upasthitāyāṁ nāvi tvaṁ vījadīni vidhāya cha | 13. Saptarshibhiḥ parivṛito niśām brāhmīṁ charishyasi | upasthitasya me śṛinge nibadhnīhi mahāhina" | 14. Ity uktvā 'ntardādhe matsyo Manuḥ kāla-pratīkshakaḥ | stitaḥ samudra udvele nāvam āruruhe tadā | 15. Eka-śṛinga-dharo matsyo haimo niyuta-yojanaḥ | nāvam babandha tach-chhṛinge matsyākhyaṁ cha purāṇakam | 16. Śuśrāva matsyāt pāpa-ghnaṁ sa-śrutam śrutibhiḥ śrutam (?) | brahma-veda-praharttāraṁ Hayagrīvaṁ cha dānavam | 17. Avadhīd veda-mantrādyān pālayāmāsa Keśavaḥ |*

"Vasishṭha said: 1. Declare to me Vishṇu, the cause of the creation, in the form of a Fish and his other incarnations; and the Puranic revelation of Agni, as it was originally heard from Vishṇu. Agni replied: 2. Hear, o Vasishṭha, I shall relate to thee the Fish-incarnation of Vishṇu, and his acts when so incarnate for the destruction of

[68] Professor Aufrecht's transcript has this reading *Manur-ukto;* which I have retained, although I was not aware that *Manus* was commonly used for *Manu,* except in the Vedic period.

the wicked, and protection of the good. 3. At the close of the past Kalpa there occurred an occasional dissolution of the universe caused by Brahmā's sleep, when the Bhūrloka and other worlds were inundated by the ocean. 4. Manu, the son of Vivasvat, practised austere fervour for the sake of worldly enjoyment as well as final liberation. Once, when he was offering the libation of water to the Pitṛis in the river Kṛitamālā, (5) a small fish came into the water in the hollow of his hands, and said to him when he sought to cast it into the stream, 'Do not throw me in, (6) for I am afraid of alligators and other monsters which are here.' On hearing this Manu threw it into a jar. Again, when grown, the Fish said to him, 'Provide me a large place.' 7. Manu then cast it into a larger vessel (?). When it increased there, it said to the king, 'Give me a wide space.' 8. When, after being thrown into a pond, it became as large as its receptacle, and cried out for greater room, he flung it into the sea. 9. In a moment it became a hundred thousand yojanas in bulk. Beholding the wonderful Fish, Manu said in astonishment: (10) 'Who art thou? Art thou Vishṇu? Adoration be paid to thee, o Nārāyaṇa. Why, o Janārdana, dost thou bewilder me by thy illusion?' 11. The Fish, which had become incarnate for the welfare of this world and the destruction of the wicked, when so addressed, replied to Manu, who had been intent upon its preservation: (12) 'Seven days after this the ocean shall inundate the world. A ship shall come to thee, in which thou shalt place the seeds, (13) and accompanied by the rishis shalt sail during the night of Brahmā. Bind it with the great serpent to my horn, when I arrive. 14. Having thus spoken the Fish vanished. Manu awaited the promised period, and embarked on the ship when the sea overflowed its shores. 15. (There appeared) a golden Fish, a million yojanas long, with one horn, to which Manu attached the ship, (16) and heard from the Fish the Matsya Purāṇa, which takes away sin, together with the Veda. Keśava then slew the Dānava Hayagrīva who had snatched away the Vedas, and preserved its mantras and other portions."

The following is Śrīdhara's comment, before referred to, on the legend of the deluge, as told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. These remarks have been well translated and explained in the preface to the 3rd volume of his edition of this Purāṇa (pp. xxxviii ff.) by M. Burnouf, whose elaborate discussion of the legend extends from p. xxiii to p. liv.

Atra idaṁ chintyaṁ "kim ayam mahāpralayo dainandino vā" iti | tatra tāvad "brāhmo layaḥ" (v. 7) *iti "yo 'sāv asmin mahā-kalpe"* (v. 11) *iti cha ukter "mahāpralayaḥ" iti prāptaṁ "na" iti brūmaḥ | mahāpralaye pṛithivy-ādīnām avaśeshāsambhavād "yāvad brāhmī niśā"* (v. 37) *ity-ādy-ukti- virodhāch cha | ato "dainandana" iti yuktam | na cha etad api sangachhate | saṁvarttakair anāvṛishṭy-ādibhir vinā akasmād eva "saptame 'hani trailokyaṁ nimankshyati"* (v. 32) *iti matsyokter anupapatteḥ | yathoktam prathama-skandhe "rūpam"* (i. 3, 15) *ity ādi tad api tadā durghaṭam | na hi pralaya-dvaye 'pi "mahīmayyāṁ nāvy" ārohaḥ sambhavati na cha Chākshusha-manvantare pralayo 'sti | tathā cha sati saptamo Manur Vaivasvataḥ ity api durghaṭaṁ syāt | "tvaṁ tāvad oshadhīḥ sarvāḥ"* (viii. 24, 34) *ity-ādi-nirdeśo 'pi na sangachhate | na hi tadā oshadhy-ādīnāṁ sattvānāṁ cha avaśeshaḥ sambhavati | tasmād anyathā varṇyate | naivāyaṁ vāstavaḥ ko 'pi pralayaḥ | kintu Satyavrata-tasya jñānopadeśaya āvirbhūto bhagavān vairāgyārtham akasmāt pralayam iva darśayāmāsa yathā 'sminn eva Vaivasvata-manvantare Mārkaṇḍeyāya darśitavān | tad-apekshayā eva cha "mahā-kalpe 'sminn" iti viśeshaṇaṁ sangachhate | tathā cha "tataḥ samudraḥ udvelaḥ sarvataḥ samadṛiśyata"* (v. 41) *iti tasyaiva yathā darśanam uktam ity eshā dik |*

"Here we have to consider whether this was a great dissolution of the universe, or one of those which occur at the close of each day of Brahmā. If it be supposed from the expressions 'a dissolution proceeding from Brahmā' (v. 7), and 'he is the same who in this Mahā-kalpa' (v. 11), that it was a great dissolution, we reply,—no; because in a great dissolution the earth and other worlds cannot possibly remain in existence, and because this would be opposed to the words 'so long as the night of Brahmā lasts' (v. 37). Hence it might appear that it must be one of the dissolutions which occur at the end of a day of Brahmā. But this also is impossible, because it would be at variance with the Fish's words that 'the three worlds should be submerged on the seventh day,' (v. 32) suddenly, without the drought and other calamities which precede a dissolution. What is stated in the first book (iii. 15), 'at the deluge, in the Chākshusha Manvantara, he took the form of a Fish, and preserved Manu Vaivasvata, whom he placed in a ship formed of the earth,'[69] would also in that case be inconceivable; for

[69] Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3. 15. *Rupaṁ sa jagṛihe mātsyaṁ Chākshushodadhi-samplave | nāvy āropya mahīmayyām apād Vaivasvatam Manum |* On this passage also

(1.) in neither of the two dissolutions could any one be placed 'in a ship in the form of the earth' (as the earth is submerged in the one case and altogether destroyed in the other); (2.) there is no dissolution of the world in the Chākshusha Manvantara; (3.) in the case supposed the existence of a seventh Manu, the son of Vivasvat would be impossible (for the fourteen Manus succeed each other in one Kalpa without the intervention of any dissolution). And in that case, the command to take 'all the plants into the ship' (viii. 24, 34), would be inconceivable, since no plants or other such substances are left at such a period. Such being the fact, the narrative must be otherwise explained. It was in fact no real dissolution which is here related. But the deity, who appeared to teach Satyavrata knowledge, shewed him suddenly the semblance of a dissolution to instil into him dispassion, just as in the Vaivasvata Manvantara he shewed to Mārkandeya. And if referred to this, the words 'in this Māhakalpa' will be conceivable. And consequently the words 'Then the sea was beheld overflowing its shores on every side' are spoken with reference to what Satyavrata saw (in the vision). Such is an indication of the purport of the Section."

Śrīdhara Svāmin here reasons only upon the data supplied by the particular version of the story which he found before him in the Bhāgavata, and does not seem to have extended his researches so far as to ascertain whether the legend might not exhibit some variations as narrated in other Puranas. If he had turned to the Matsya Purāṇa he would have found that one of his objections, viz., that drawn from the absence of any reference to the calamities supposed to precede a dissolution, did not apply to the account there given; since that narrative expressly asserts that these premonitory signs were manifested. Others of his objections apply no doubt to the other narratives as well as to that in the Bhāgavata. According to the ordinary Puranic theory (see above, pp. 43 ff.) fourteen Manus exist in each Kalpa, and one succeeds another without the intervention of any *pralaya* or dissolution. It is obviously inconsistent with this theory to represent such a dissolution

Śrīdhara remarks: *Yadyapi manvantarāvasāne pralayo nāsti tathāpi kenachit kautukena Satyavratāya māyā pradarśitā | yathā "akāṇḍe Mārkaṇḍeyāya" iti drashṭavyam* | "Although there is no dissolution at the end of a Manvantara, yet, through a certain sport an illusion was shown to Satyavrata, as in the other passage where it is said 'Suddenly to Mārkaṇḍeya,' etc."

as taking place either during the life of any of the Manus, or after his disappearance. It is even doubtful, or more than doubtful (Wilson's Vish. P. i. p. 50 f. and p. 44, above) whether one Manu can exist contemporaneously with another, and yet, according to the Matsya and Agni Purāṇas (see above, pp. 205 ff., 211 f.) Manu Vaivasvata is said to have lived during his predecessor's period, although the Bhāgavata avoids this difficulty by making Satyavrata the hero of the story and by representing him as being born again as Manu Vaivasvata at the beginning of the next Manvantara. (M. Burnouf's Preface above referred to may be consulted for further remarks on this subject.) The authors of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas do not, however, appear to have been so sensitively alive to inconsistencies of this description as Śrīdhara. Perhaps the system of Kalpas and Manvantaras may not have been so clearly defined, or so generally current, when the older parts, at least of the Mahābhārata, were composed, as at a later period.[70] And even the Puranic writers may not have cared very much to preserve a strict congruity in all that they wrote. In fact they may have had no great faith in the authority of speculations so arbitrary and artificial as those relating to the great mundane periods to which I refer,—speculations which were derived from no higher source than previous writers of their own class. The case, however, was different with the Commentators, who lived at a later period, and who seem to have regarded the established doctrine regarding Kalpas and Manvantaras as an article of faith.

There is, however, no doubt that, for the reasons above assigned, this legend of a Flood, such as is described in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, does not fit into the system of Kalpas and Manvantaras. But what is the inference which we ought to draw from this circumstance? M. Burnouf believes (1.) that the theory of great mundane periods and periodical dissolutions of the universe was received in India from very early times (Bhāg. P. iii. Pref. p. xliii.) and (2) that it was older than the legend of a deluge, as, although the latter may have been derived from ancient tradition, the style in which it is related in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas has nothing of the archaic colouring of the Itihāsas contained in the Brāhmaṇas, and it had not, so far as he knew,

[70] The Svāyambhuva Manvantara is mentioned in the Śāntip. verse 12658, but no details are given (*kṛite yuge mahārāja pura Svāyambhuve 'ntare*).

been found in any work of the class last named(p. xxvii.), and was not, he anticipated, likely to be discovered there (lii.). The conclusion which he deduces from these premises, and from the absence of any tradition of any great local inundation (pp. xlviii. and li.), is that, although, as related in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, the legend of the deluge has received in some respects an Indian character (xxxi. ff.; xlv. ff.), it is not in its origin Indian, (li.), but was most probably imported into Hindustan from a Semitic source, whether Hebrew or Assyrian (lii.–liv.). The first of M. Burnouf's premises, regarding the great antiquity of the system of Kalpas, Manvantaras, and mundane dissolutions, is not borne out by the Vedic hymns, or anything that has yet been found in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, pp. 45 ff.). And his anticipation that no reference to a deluge would be discovered in any of the older Indian records has proved incorrect, as is shewn by the legend of Manu quoted above (p. 181 ff.) from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Professor Weber, by whom attention was first drawn (in his Indische Studien, i. 160 ff.) to this passage, shows how materially it interferes with Burnouf's results. If there is no proof of the great antiquity of the cosmical theory which that great scholar supposes to be inconsistent with the early existence in India of any tradition of a deluge, whilst on the other hand there is distinct evidence that that tradition was actually current there at a much earlier period than he imagined, it is clear that his supposition of its having been introduced into that country from an exclusively Semitic source loses much of its probability.

The explanation by which Śrīdhara endeavours to maintain the consistency of the Puranic narratives and theories seems to be altogether unfounded. There is no appearance of the authors either of the Bhāgavata, or Matsya, or Agni Purāṇas having intended to represent the deluge as a mere vision. They evidently meant this narrative to be taken literally, just as much as anything else that they describe.

I shall now compare the versions of the legend given in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas with each other, and with that quoted above from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

I. The following are the peculiarities of the narrative in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa:

(1.) It makes no reference to any great mundane periods, such as Kalpas or Manvantaras.

(2.) It does not speak of a dissolution of the world (*pralaya*), but of a flood (*augha*) which swept away all living creatures except Manu.

(3.) It does not fix the number of days or years after which the flood should come.

(4.) It speaks of Manu simply, without assigning to him any patronymic, such as Vaivasvata.[71]

(5.) It contains no allusion to the locality in which he was when the fish came to him.

(6.) It makes no mention of the fish being thrown into any river.

(7.) It is silent as to Manu being accompanied by any rishis when he embarked on the ship, and as to his taking any seeds along with him.

(8.) It speaks of the ship as having rested on the "Northern mountain," and of a place called "Manu's Descent."

(9.) It does not say anything of any deity being incarnate in the fish.

(10.) It represents Iḍā as produced from Manu's oblation, and as the mother of his offspring, begotten apparently in the natural way.

It is manifest from this abstract, when compared with what follows, that the flood described in the Brāhmaṇa is distinguishable in various respects from the dissolution, or *pralaya*, of the later works.

II. The legend as told in the Mahābhārata agrees with that of the Ś. P. Br. in some, and differs from it in other particulars:

(1.) It does not specify any Kalpa or Manvantara.

(2.) It speaks of a dissolution of the universe (*pralaya*), and of the time of its purification by water (*samprakshālana-kālaḥ*) having arrived.

(3.) It makes the fish declare that this event should take place speedily (*achirāt*), and alludes to no antecedent calamities.

[71] Manu Vaivasvata is however mentioned in Ś. P. Br. xiii. 4, 3, 3. "*Manur Vaivasvato rājā" ity āha | tasya manushyā viśaḥ* | "He says 'Manu Vaivasvata king.' Men are his subjects." Further on, xiii. 4, 3, 6, Yama Vaivasvata is spoken of as King of the Pitṛis. Compare R.V. x. 14, 1; 17, 1. In the Vālakhilya hymns attached to the R.V. iv. 1, Indra is mentioned as drinking Soma in the house of Manu Vivasvat (not Vaivasvata). In the Atharva-veda, viii. 10, 24, Manu Vaivasvata is spoken of as the calf of the cow Virāj (*tasyā Manur Vaivasvato vatsaḥ*). Yama is similarly spoken of in the preceding verse. In Vālakhilya, iii. 1, Indra is said to have drunk Soma in Manu Sāmvaraṇi's house. The connection of the words *Sāvarṇya* and *Sāvarṇi* with the word *manu*, "man," in R.V. x. 68, 8 f. and 11, no doubt gave rise to the idea of a Manu Sāvarṇi. See Wilson's Vishṇu P. 4to. ed. pp. 266 ff., and Roth's remark in Journal Germ. Or. Soc. vi. 245 f., and R.V. x. 17, 2.

(4.) It assigns to Manu the patronymic of Vaivasvata, but mentions no other Manu.

(5.) It represents the fish as coming to him when on the banks of the Chiriṇī river.

(6.) It describes the fish as thrown into the Ganges before it was taken to the sea.

(7.) It speaks of Manu as embarking on the ship with the seven rishis, and as taking with him all the seeds described by the Brāhmans.

(8.) It declares that the ship rested on the highest peak of the Himālaya, which was thence called Naubandhana.

(9.) It makes the fish reveal himself as Brahmā Prajāpati.

(10.) It describes Manu not as begetting offspring but as creating all sorts of living beings including MEN.

III. The Matsya Purāṇa agrees in some points, and differs in others from the above details.

(1.) It states that Manu, whom it styles the son of the Sun (*Sahasrakiraṇātmaja*, and *Ravi-nandana*), *i.e.* Manu Vaivasvata, practised austerity after making over his kingdom to his son (v. 12). One might have supposed that he could only have done this in his own Manvantara; but it is said further on (v. 34 f.) that he was informed by the fish that when the dissolution should come to an end, he should become a Prajāpati and lord of the Manvantara; and he receives a promise that he should be preserved during the dissolution (ii. 12), which, as appears from v. 15, was to take place at the end of the Chākshusha Manvantara. After this he was to create the world anew. We must therefore suppose the writer to have regarded Manu Vaivasvata as existing during the period of his predecessor, but as then occupying the inferior position of a king. This difficulty is, as I have already remarked, avoided in the Bhāgavata, which makes King Satyavrata the hero of the story.

(2) This Purāṇa speaks of a dissolution (*pralaya*) and yet (i. 15 ff.) represents Manu as asking and receiving from Brahmā as a boon that when that dissolution should arrive, he should be the preserver of all things stationary and moving.

(3.) It states that a hundred years and more would elapse before the dissolution, which was to be preceded by famine and various terrific phenomena.

(4.) It represents Manu as the son of the Sun. See under head (1.).

(5.) It mentions Malaya (Malabar) as the scene of Manu's austerity, and of the apparition of the fish.

(6.) It agrees with the Mahābhārata in describing the fish as thrown into the Ganges, though at so great a distance from Malabar.

(7.) It is silent as to the seven rishis embarking on the ship, but speaks of Manu taking with him all sorts of creatures (living apparently) as well as seeds (chap. ii. v. 11).

(8.) It does not bring the narrative to a conclusion (see above, p. 207), and thus has no opportunity of saying anything of the place where the ship rested.

(9.) It speaks of Janārdana (Vishṇu) as the god who was manifested in the Fish.

(10.) It refers to Manu as about to effect a creation (ii. 15), but also as preserving the existing animals and plants (ch. i. 15 ff., 31 f.; ii. 2, 19).

IV. According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa:

(1.) The event described was an "occasional dissolution" (*naimittiko layaḥ*, see above, p. 45) at the end of a Kalpa (viii. 24, 7); and yet in contradiction with this it had previously been alluded to (i. 3, 15) as occurring at the close of the Chākshusha Manvantara.

(2.) See head (1.).

(3.) The dissolution was to take place after seven days (viii. 24, 32); and no premonitory calamities are referred to.

(4.) The hero of the story is Satyavrata, king of Draviḍa, who was born again in the present *mahākalpa* as the son of Vivasvat (vv. 10, 11, 58).

(5.) The scene of the incidents, with which the narrative begins, was the river Kṛitamālā, in the country of Draviḍa.

(6.) The fish is not thrown into any river after it had been once taken out of the Kṛitamālā, and had grown large.

(7.) Satyavrata is commanded to take with him into the ship the seven rishis, as well as plants, seeds, and all beings (*sarva-sattvopavrīmhitaḥ*).

(8.) Nothing is said of the place where the ship rested.

(9.) Vishṇu is the deity who took the form of a fish with the view of recovering the Vedas carried away by the Dānava Hayagrīva (vv. 9, 57).

(10.) No mention is made in this chapter of any creation effected by Manu; but in ix. i. an account is given of his descendants.

V. The narrative in the Agni Purāṇa agrees with that in the Bhāgavata, except in its much greater conciseness, and in making Manu Vaivasvata, and not Satyavrata, the hero of the story.

SECT. IV.—*Legendary Accounts of the Origin of Castes among the Descendants of Manu and Atri, according to the Purāṇas.*

We have already seen that it is distinctly affirmed in a passage quoted above (p. 126) from the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 3138 ff., that men of all classes, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras were descended from Manu, a statement which is clearly at variance with the notion of their having been separately created from different members of Brahmā. This tallies with the account of the origin of castes which is found in those parts of the Purāṇas which profess to record the history of the two royal races, the solar and the lunar, which are said to have sprung from Manu Vaivasvata and Atri.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (which is here written in prose) makes the following statement regarding Manu's descendants:

iv. 1. 4. *Sakala-jagatām anādir ādibhūtaḥ ṛig-yajuḥ-sāmādimaya-bhagavad-Vishṇumayasya Brahmaṇo mūrttirūpam Hiraṇyagarbho brahmāṇḍato bhagavān Brahmā prāg babhūva | Brahmaṇaś cha dakshiṇāṅgushṭhajanmā Dakshaḥ prajāpatiḥ | Dakshasyāpy Aditiḥ | Aditer Vivasvān | Vivasvato Manuḥ | Manor Ikshvāku-Nṛiga-Dhṛishṭa-Śaryāti-Narishyanta-Prāṁśu-Nābhāganedishṭa-Kārūsha-Pṛishadhrākhyāḥ putrāḥ babhūvuḥ |* 6. *Ishṭiṁ cha Mitrā-Varuṇayor Manuḥ putra-kāmaś chakāra |* 7. *Tatrāpahute hotur apachārād Ilā nāma kanyā babhūva |* 8. *Saiva Mitra-Varuṇa-prasādāt Sudyumno nāma Manoḥ putro Maitreyāsīt | punaś cha Īsvara-kopāt strī satī Soma-sūnor Budhasya āśrama-samīpe babhrāma |* 9. *Sānurāgaś cha tasyām Budhaḥ Purūravasam ātmajam utpādayāmāsa |* 10. *Jāte cha tasminn amita-tejobhiḥ paramarshibhir ishṭimayaḥ ṛiṅmayo yajurmayaḥ sāmamayo 'tharvamayaḥ sarvamayo manomayo jñānamayo 'kinchinmayo bhagavān yajna-purusha-svarūpī Sudyumnasya puṁstvam abhilashadbhir yathāvad ishṭaḥ | tatprasādād Ilā punar api Sudyumno 'bhavat |*

"Before the mundane egg existed the divine Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbha, the eternal originator of all worlds, who was the form and essence of Brahmă, who consists of the divine Vishṇu, who again is identical with

the Ṛik, Yajush, Sāman and Atharva-Vedas. From Brahmā's right thumb[72] was born the Prajāpati Daksha; Daksha had a daughter Aditi; from her was born Vivasvat; and from him sprang Manu. Manu had sons called Ikshvāku, Nṛiga, Dhṛishṭa, Śaryāti, Narishyanta, Prāṁśu, Nābhāganedishṭa, Karūsha, and Pṛishadhra.[73] Desirous of a son, Manu sacrificed to Mitra and Varuṇa; but in consequence of a wrong invocation through an irregularity of the hotṛi-priest, a daughter called Ilā was born. Then through the favour of Mitra and Varuṇa she became to Manu a son called Sudyumna. But being again changed into a female through the wrath of Īśvara (Mahādeva) she wandered near the hermitage of Budha the son of Soma (the Moon); who becoming enamoured of her had by her a son called Purūravas. After his birth, the god who is formed of sacrifice, of the Rik, Yajush, Sāman, and Atharva Vedas, of all things, of mind, of nothing,[74] he who is in the form of the sacrificial Male, was worshipped by the rishis of infinite splendour who desired that Sudyumna should recover his manhood. Through the favour of this god Ilā became again Sudyumna."

Regarding the different sons of Manu the Purāṇas supply the following particulars:

(1.) Prishadhra.—The Vishṇu Purāṇa says:

Pṛishadhras tu guru-go-badhāch chhūdratvam āgamat |

"Pṛishadhra became a Śūdra in consequence of his having killed his religious preceptor's cow."

On the same subject the Harivaṁśa tells us, verse 659:

Pṛishadhro hiṁsayitvā tu guror gām Janamejaya | *śāpāch chhūdratvam āpannaḥ* |

"Pṛishadhra having killed his Guru's cow, became a Śūdra in consequence of his curse."

This story is variously amplified in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, section cxii., and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa ix. 2, 3–14. See Professor Wilson's note, Vishṇu Purāṇa, 4to. edit. p. 351, where the author remarks that

[72] See above, p. 72 f.

[73] Compare with this the list of Manu's sons given in the passage from the M. Bh. Ādip. quoted above, p. 126. Nābhānedishṭa (not Nābhāganedishṭa) is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and Taittirīya Saṁhitā (see above, p. 191), and Śaryāta in the Śat. P. Br. iv. 1, 5, 1. See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, p. 11 ff. The Mārk. P. cxi. 3 ff., and the Bhāg. P. ix. 1, 11 ff. treat also of Manu's sons and of the birth of Ilā. See Wilson's Vishṇu P. 4to. ed. pp. 348–58, and Burnouf's Bhāg. P. vol. iii. pref. lxx. ff.

[74] *Akinchinmayaḥ*, "not consisting of anything."

"the obvious purport of this legend, and of some that follow, is to account for the origin of the different castes from one common ancestor."

(2.) Karūsha.—The Vishṇu Purāṇa says, iv. 1, 13:

Karūshāt Kārūshā mahābalāḥ Kshattriyā babhūvuḥ |

"From Kārūsha the Kārūshas, Kshattriyas of great power, were descended."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 2, says:

Kārūshād Mānavād āsan Kārūshāḥ Kshaṭṭra-jātayaḥ | uttarāpatha-goptāro brahmaṇyā dharma-vatsalāḥ |

"From Karūsha, son of Manu, came the Kārūshas of the Kshattriya caste, protectors of the northern region, devout, and lovers of duty."

(3.) Nābhāga.—The Vishṇu Purāṇa says:

Nābhāgo Nedishṭa-putras tu vaiśyatām agamat |

"Nābhāga, the son of Nedishṭa, became a Vaiśya."

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa says he was the son of Dishṭa, and relates how he became a Vaiśya, by marrying the daughter of a man of that class (section cxiii. and Wilson, p. 352, note). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 2, 23, says he became a Vaiśya in consequence of his works (*Nābhāgo Dishṭa-putro 'nyaḥ karmabhir vaiśyatām gataḥ*). And yet a long list of his descendants is given, and among them occurs Marutta who was a Chakravarttin, or universal monarch (Vishṇu P. iv. 1. 15–17; Bhāg. P. ix. 2, 23–28; Mārk. P. cxxviii.–cxxxii.). He had a grandson called Dama, of whom the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa relates that at a Svayamvara he was chosen by the daughter of the King of Daśārṇa for her husband (cxxxiv. 8), and that when the bride had been seized by three of his rejected rivals (verse 16) she was rescued by him after he had slain one of them and vanquished another (verse 53); that subsequently that same vanquished rival in revenge killed Dama's father, who had retired into the wilderness as an ascetic (cxxxv. 18). The Purāṇa in one of its recensions ends with the following curious particulars:

Tataś chakāra tātasya raktenaivodaka-kriyām | ānṛiṇyam prāpya sa pituḥ punaḥ prāyāt sva-mandiram | Vapushmataś cha māṁsena piṇḍa-dānaṁ chakāra ha | brāhmaṇān bhojāyāmāsa rakshaḥ-kula-samudbhavān | evaṁvidhā hi rājāno babhūvuḥ sūrya-vaṁśa-jāḥ | anye 'pi sudhiyaḥ śūrā yajvānaḥ śāstra-kovidāḥ | vedāntam paṭhamānāṁs tān na sankhyātum ihotsahe |

"Dama then (after tearing out the heart of Vapushmat) performed

with blood the rites to the manes of his father; and having thus discharged his debt to his parent, he returned home. With the flesh of Vapushmat he formed the oblation which he offered, and fed the Brāhmans who were of Rākshasa descent. Of such character were the kings of the Solar race. There were also others who were wise, brave, priests, and skilled in the scriptures. I am unable here to enumerate those of them who studied the Vedānta." [75]

The Harivaṁśa (section xi. verse 658) tells us that "two sons of Nābhāgārishṭa, who were Vaiśyas, became Brāhmans" (*Nābhāgārishṭaputrau dvau vaiśyau brāhmaṇatāṁ gatau*).

(4.) Dhṛishṭa.—Of him the Vishṇu Purāṇa relates, iv. 2, 2:

Dhṛishṭasyāpi Dhārshṭakam Kshattraṁ samabhavat |

"From Dhṛishṭa sprang the Dhārshṭaka Kshattriyas."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, ix. 2, 17:

Dhṛishṭād Dhārshṭam abhūt Kshattram brahma-bhūyam gatam kshitau |

"From Dṛishṭa were descended the Dhārshṭa Kshattriyas, who obtained Brāhmanhood [76] on earth."

(5.) The last-named Purāṇa enumerates in verses 19 ff. of the same section the descendants of Narishyanta, among whom was Agniveśya, verse 21:

Tato 'gniveśyo bhagavān Agniḥ svayam abhūt sutaḥ | Kānīna iti vikhyāto Jātūkarṇyo mahān ṛishiḥ | tato brahma-kulaṁ jātam Āgniveśyāyanaṁ nṛipa | Narishyantānvayaḥ proktaḥ |

"From him (Devadatta) sprang a son Agniveśya, who was the lord Agni himself, and who was also called Kānīna and Jātūkarṇya the great rishi. From him was descended the Agniveśyāyana race of

[75] This quotation, which will be partly found in Prof. Wilson's note 22, p. 353, is taken from the section given separately by Prof. Banerjea at the end of his edition of this Purāṇa from a Maithila MS. which differs from that followed in his text (see his Preface, p. 30). In verses 6 f. of section cxxxvi. however, of Prof. Banerjea's text, Dama threatens to do something of the same sort as in the other recension he is described to have actually done: 6. *Yad aham tasya raktena dehotthena Vapushmataḥ | na karomi guros tṛiptiṁ tat pravekshye hutāśanam* | 7. *Tachchhoṇitenodaka-karma tasya tātasya saṅkhye vinipātitasya | māṁsena samyag dvija-bhojanaṁ cha na chet pravekshyāmi hutāśanaṁ tat* | "6. If I do not satiate my father with the blood from Vapushmat's body, then I shall enter the fire. 7. If I do not celebrate with his blood the obsequial rites of my father prostrated in the fray, and feed the Brāhmans with (his) flesh, I shall enter the fire."

[76] The Commentator explains *brahma-bhūyam* by *brāhmaṇatvam*, "the state of Brāhmans."

Brāhmans. The offspring of Narishyanta has been declared." That of Dishṭa is next taken up.

Some of the names of Manu's sons are repeated in the subsequent narrative. Thus we find a second Prānśu named among the descendants of Nābhāga (Wilson, 352). And in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 2, 2, a second Nābhāga is mentioned as follows:

Nābhāgasyātmajo Nābhāgas tasya Ambarīshaḥ | Ambarīshasyāpi Virūpo 'bhavat Virūpāt Pṛishadaśvo jajne tataś cha Rathītaraḥ | tatrāyaṁ ślokaḥ | "ete kshattra-prasūtā vai punaś chāṅgirasaḥ smṛitāḥ | Rathītarāṇām pravarāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ" |

"The son of Nābhāga was Nābhāga; his son was Ambarīsha. From him sprang Virūpa; from him Pṛishadaśva; and from him Rathītara; regarding whom this verse is current: 'These persons sprung from a Kshattriya, and afterwards called Angirases, were the chief of the Rathītaras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya race." [77]

The Bhāgavata thus explains the circumstance, ix. 6, 2:

Rathītarasyāprajasya bhāryāyāṁ tantave 'rthitaḥ | Angirā janayāmāsa brahmavarchasinaḥ sutān | ete kshetre prasūtā vai punas tv Āṅgirasāḥ smṛitāḥ | Rathītarāṇām pravarāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ |

"Angiras being solicited for progeny, begot sons possessing Brahmanical glory on the wife of Rathītara who was childless. These persons being born of a (Kshattriya's) wife, but afterwards called descendants of Angiras, were the chief of the Rathītaras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya lineage."

It will be observed that in this last verse the Bhāgavata reads *kshettre prasūtāḥ* "born of the wife (of a Kshattriya)," instead of *kshattra-prasūtāḥ*, "sprung from a Kshattriya," and thus brings this verse into a closer conformity with the one preceding it. Professor Wilson (p. 359, note) considers that the form given to the legend in the Bhāgavata "is an afterthought, not warranted by the memorial verse cited in our text." It is difficult to determine whether or not this may be the case without knowing which of the two readings in that verse is the original one.

(6.) The Vishṇu Purāṇa next proceeds to enumerate the descendants of Ikshvāku son of Manu. The representative of his line in the twenty-first generation was Harita, of whom it is said, iv. 3, 5:

[77] See Prof. Wilson's note in p. 359 on this passage.

Ambarīshasya Māndhātus tanayasya Yuvanāśvaḥ putro 'bhūt | tasmād Harito yato 'ngiraso Hāritāḥ |

"The son of Ambarīsha[78] son of Māndhātṛi was Yuvanāśva. From him sprang Harita, from whom the Hārita Angirases were descended."

These words are thus paraphrased by the Commentator: "from him sprang the Hārita Angirases, Brāhmans, chief of the family of Harita" (*tasmād Hāritā Angiraso dvijāḥ Harita-gotra-pravarāḥ*).

The Linga Purāṇa, quoted by Prof. Wilson, states the same thing:

Harito Yuvanāśvasya Hāritā yata ātmajāḥ | ete hy Angirasaḥ pakshe kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ |

"The son of Yuvanāśva was Harita, of whom the Hāritas were sons. They were on the side of Angiras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya lineage."

And the Vāyu Purāṇa tells us with some variation:

Harito Yuvanāśvasya Hārītā bhūrayaḥ smṛitāḥ | ete hy Angirasaḥ putrāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ |

"Harita was the son of Yuvanāśva: (after whom) many persons were called Hārītas. These were the sons of Angiras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya race."

This may mean that they were begotten by Angiras, as is said by the Bhāgavata (see above) to have been the case with Rathītara's sons. In that case, however, as Nābhāga and Ikshvāku were brothers and Rathītara was only the fifth in descent from Nābhāga, whilst Harita was the twenty-first after Ikshvāku,—Angiras (if we suppose one and the same person be meant in both cases) must have lived for sixteen generations!

Such are the remarkable notices given in the Purāṇas of the rise of different castes among the descendants of some of the sons of Manu Vaivasvata the legendary head of the solar line of kings. I shall now add some similar particulars connected with the lunar dynasty.

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa (iv. 6, 2 ff.) Atri was the son of Brahmā, and the father of Soma (the moon), whom Brahmā installed as the sovereign of plants, Brāhmans and stars[79] (*aśeshaushadhi-dvija-nakshtrāṇām ādhipatye 'bhyasechayat*). After celebrating the rājasūya sacrifice, Soma became intoxicated with pride, and carried off Tārā

[78] We have already had a person of this name the son of Nābhāga. See above.

[79] See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, p. 135 ff.

(Star), the wife of Bṛihaspati the preceptor of the gods, whom, although admonished and entreated by Brahmā, the gods, and rishis, he refused to restore. Soma's part was taken by Uśanas; and Rudra, who had studied under Angiras, aided Bṛihaspati (*Angirasaścha sakāśopalabdhavidyo bhagavān Rudro Bṛihaspateḥ sāhāyyam akarot*).[80] A fierce conflict ensued between the two sides, supported respectively by the gods and the Daityas, etc. Brahmā interposed, and compelled Soma to restore Tāra to her husband. She had, however, in the mean time become pregnant, and bore a son Budha (the planet Mercury), of whom, when strongly urged, she acknowledged Soma to be the father. Purūravas, as has been already mentioned, was the son of this Budha by Ilā, the daughter of Manu. The loves of Purūravas and the Apsaras Urvaśī are related in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 1;[81] in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 6, 19 ff.; in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 14;[82] and in the Harivaṁśa, section 26. The Mahābhārata, Ādip. sect. 75, alludes to Purūravas as having been engaged in a contest with the Brāhmans. This passage will be quoted hereafter. According to the Vishṇu Puraṇa, iv. 7, 1, Purūravas had six sons, of whom the eldest was Āyus. Āyus had five sons: Nahusha, Kshattravṛiddha, Rambha, Raji, and Anenas. The narrative proceeds (iv. 8, 1):

Kshattravṛiddhāt Sunahotraḥ[83] *putro 'bhavat | Kāśa-Leśa-Gṛitsamadās trayo 'syābhavan | Gṛitsamadasya Śaunakaś chāturvarṇya-pravarttayitā 'bhūt | Kāśasya Kāśirājas tato Dīrghatamāḥ putro 'bhavat | Dhanvantaris Dīrghatamaso 'bhūt |*

"Kshattravṛiddha had a son Sunahotra, who had three sons, Kāśa, Leśa, and Gṛitsamada. From the last sprang Śaunaka, who originated the system of four castes.[84] Kāśa had a son Kāśirāja, of whom again Dīrghatamas was the son, as Dhanvantari was of Dīrghatamas."

[80] This is the only mention I have ever happened to encounter of the great Mahādeva having been at school!

[81] This passage is translated by Professor Müller in the Oxford Essays for 1856, pp. 62 f.; and the legend has been formed on the basis of the obscure hymn in the R.V. x. 95, in which the two names of Purūravas and Urvaśī occur as those of the interlocutors in a dialogue.

[82] A short quotation has been already made from this narrative. See above, p. 158.

[83] Both my MSS. read *Sunahotra*. Professor Wilson has *Suhotra*.

[84] The Commentator explains the words *chāturvarṇya-pravarttayitā* by saying that the four castes were produced among his descendants (*tad-vaṁśe chatvāro varṇā abhavan*). This explanation agrees with the statement of the Vāyu Purāṇa given in the text.

The Vayu Puraṇa, as quoted by Professor Wilson (V. P. 4to. ed. p. 406), expresses the matter differently, thus:

Putro Gṛitsamadasya cha Śunako yasya Saunakaḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāś chaiva vaiśyāḥ śūdrās tathaiva cha | etasya vaṁśe samudbhūtā vichitraiḥ karmabhir dvijāḥ |

"The son of Gṛitsamada was Śunaka, from whom sprang Śaunaka. In his family were born Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, twice-born men with various functions." [85]

In like manner the Harivaṁśa states in section 29, verse 1520:

Putro Gṛitsamadasyāpi Śunako yasya Saunakāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāś chaiva vaiśyāḥ śūdrās tathaiva cha |

"The son of Gṛitsamada was Śunaka, from whom sprang the Śaunakas, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras."

Something similar is said of Gṛitsamati (who was the son of a Suhotra, although not the grandson of Kshattravṛiddha) in a following section, the 32nd of the same work, verse 1732:

Sa chāpi Vitathaḥ putrān janayāmāsa pancha vai | Suhotraṁ cha Suhotāram Gayaṁ Gargaṁ tathaiva cha | Kapilaṁ cha mahātmānam Suhotrasya suta-dvayam | Kāśakaś cha mahāsattvas tathā Gṛitsamatir nripaḥ | tathā Gṛitsamateḥ putrā brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ viśaḥ |

"Vitatha was the father of five sons, Suhotra, Suhotṛi, Gaya, Garga, and the great Kapila. Suhotra had two sons, the exalted Kāśaka, and King Gṛitsamati. The sons of the latter were Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas."

The Bhagavata Puraṇa, ix. 17, 2 f., has the following notice of Kshattravṛiddha's descendants:

Kshattravṛiddha-sutasyāsan Suhotrasyāmajās trayaḥ | Kāśyaḥ Kuśo Gṛitsamadaḥ iti Gṛitsamadād abhūt | Śunako Śaunako yasya bahvṛichaḥ pravaro muniḥ |

"Suhotra, son of Kshattravṛiddha, had three sons, Kāśya, Kuśa, and Gṛitsamada. From the last sprang Śunaka, and from him Śaunaka, the eminent Muni, versed in the Rig-veda."

[85] On this Professor Wilson remarks, note, p. 406: "The existence of but one caste in the age of purity, however incompatible with the legend which ascribes the origin of the four tribes to Brahmā, is everywhere admitted. Their separation is assigned to different individuals, whether accurately to any one may be doubted; but the notion indicates that the distinction was of a social or political character."

It is to be observed that this Gṛitsamada, who is here described as belonging to the regal lineage of Purūravas, is the reputed rishi of many hymns in the second Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda. Regarding him the Commentator Sāyaṇa has the following remarks in his introduction to that Maṇḍala:

Maṇḍala-drashṭā Gṛitsamadaḥ ṛishiḥ | sa cha pūrvam Āṅgirasa-kule Śunahotrasya putraḥ san yajna-kāle 'surair gṛihītaḥ Indreṇa mochitaḥ | paśchāt tad-vachanenaiva Bhṛigu-kule Śunaka-putro Gṛitsamada-nāmā 'bhūt | tathā chānukramaṇikā "Yaḥ Āṅgirasaḥ Śaunahotro bhūtvā Bhārgavaḥ Śaunako 'bhavat sa Gṛitsamado dvitīyam maṇḍalam apaśyad" iti | tathā tasyaiva Śaunakasya vachanam ṛishy-anukramaṇe "tvam Agne" iti | "Gṛitsamadaḥ Śaunako Bhṛigutāṁ gataḥ | Śaunohotro prakṛityā tu yaḥ Āṅgirasa uchyate" iti | tasmād maṇḍala-drashṭā Śaunako Gṛitsamadaḥ ṛishiḥ |

"The seer (*i.e.* he who received the revelation) of this Maṇḍala was the rishi Gṛitsamada. He, being formerly the son of Śunahotra in the family of the Āṅgirasas, was seized by the Asuras at the time of sacrifice and rescued by Indra. Afterwards, by the command of that god, he became the person named Gṛitsamada, son of Śunaka, in the family of Bhṛigu. Thus the Anukramaṇikā (Index to the Rig-veda) says of him: 'That Gṛitsamada, who, having been an Āṅgirasa, and son of Śunahotra, became a Bhārgava and son of Śunaka, saw the second Maṇḍala.' So, too, the same Śaunaka says in his Ṛishi-anukramaṇa regarding the Maṇḍala beginning with 'Thou, o Agni':—'Gṛitsamada son of Śunaka who is declared to have been naturally an Āṅgirasa, and the son of Śunahotra, became a Bhṛigu.' Hence the seer of the Maṇḍala is the rishi Gṛitsamada son of Śunaka."

It will be noticed that (unless we are to suppose a different Gṛitsamada to be intended in each case) there is a discrepancy between the Puraṇas on the one hand, and Sāyaṇa and the Anukramaṇikā on the other; as the Purāṇas make Gṛitsamada the son of Śunahotra or Suhotra, and the father of Śunaka; whilst the Anukramaṇikā, followed by Sāyaṇa, represents the same personage as having been, indeed, originally the son of Śunahotra of the race of Angiras, but as having afterwards become, by what process does not appear, the son of Śunaka of the race of Bhṛigu.

In his translation of the Rig-veda (ii. 207 f.) Professor Wilson refers

to a legend about King Vītahavya in the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata (verses 1944–2006) which gives a different account of Gṛitsamada's parentage. It begins: *Śṛiṇu rājān yathā rājā Vītahavyo mahāyaśāḥ | rājarshir durlabham prāpto brāhmaṇyaṁ loka-satkṛitam |* "Hear, o king, how the renowned Vītahavya, the royal rishi, attained the condition of Brāhmanhood venerated by mankind, and so difficult to be acquired." It happened that Divodāsa, King of Kāśī (Benares) was attacked by the sons of Vītahavya, and all his family slain by them in battle. The afflicted monarch thereupon resorted to the sage Bhărădvāja, who performed for him a sacrifice in consequence of which a son named Pratardana was born to him. Pratardana, becoming an accomplished warrior, was sent by his father to take vengeance on the Vītahavyas. They rained upon him showers of arrows and other missiles, "as clouds pour down upon the Himālaya"[86] (*abhyavarshanta rājānam himavantam ivāmbudāḥ*); but he destroyed them all, and "they lay with their bodies besmeared with blood, like kinsuka-trees[87] cut down" (*apatan rudhirārdrāngā nikṛittā iva kiṁśukāḥ*). Vītahavya himself had now to fly to another sage, Bhṛigu, who promised him protection. The avenger Pratardana, however, followed and demanded that the refugee should be delivered up:

Asyedānīm badhād adya bhavishyāmy anriṇaḥ pituḥ | tam uvācha kṛipāvishṭo Bhṛigur dharma-bhṛitāṁ varaḥ | "nehāsti kshattriyaḥ kaśchit sarve hīme dvijātayaḥ" | etat tu vachanaṁ śrutvā Bhṛigos tathyam Pratardanaḥ | pādāv upaspṛiśya śanaiḥ prahṛishṭo vākyam abravīt | evam apy asmi bhagavan kṛitakṛityo na saṁśayaḥ | . . . . . tyājito hi mayā jātim esha rājā Bhṛigūdvaha | tatas tenābhyanujnāto yayau rājā Pratardanaḥ | yathā-gatam mahārāja muktvā visham ivoragaḥ | Bhṛigor vachana-mātreṇa sa cha brahmarshitāṁ gataḥ | Vītahavyo mahārāja brahmavāditvam eva cha | tasya Gṛitsamadaḥ putro rūpeṇendra ivāparaḥ | "Śakras tvam" iti yo daityair nigṛihītaḥ kilābhavat | ṛigvede varttate chāgryā śrutir yasya mahātmanaḥ | yatra Gṛitsamado "brahman" brāhmaṇaiḥ sa mahīyate | sa brahmachārī viprarshiḥ śrīmān Gṛitsamado 'bhavat |

"Pratardana says: 'By the slaughter of this (Vītahavya) I shall

[86] This simile seems to indicate a familiarity with the manner in which the clouds collect, and discharge their contents on the outer range of the Himālaya.

[87] The Kinśuka is a tree bearing a red blossom (*Butea frondosa*).

now, to-day, be acquitted of my debt to my father.' Bhṛigu, the most eminent of religious men, filled with compassion, answered: 'There is no Kshattriya here: all these are Brāhmans.' Hearing this true assertion of Bhṛigu, Pratardana was glad, and gently touching the sage's feet, rejoined: 'Even thus, o glorious saint, I have gained my object . . . . for I have compelled this King (*i.e.* Rājanya) to relinquish his caste.' King Pratardana then, after receiving the sage's salutations, departed, as he came, like a serpent which has discharged its poison: while Vītahavya by the mere word of Bhṛigu became a Brāhman-rishi, and an utterer of the Veda. Gṛitsamada, in form like a second Indra, was his son; he was seized by the Daityas, who said to him, 'Thou art Sakra' (Indra). In the Rig-veda the texts (*śruti*) of this great rishi stand first.[88] There Gṛitsamada is honoured by the Brāhmans (with the title of) 'Brāhmaṇ.' This illustrious personage was a Brahmachārin, and a Brāhman-rishi."

According to the enumeration of Gṛitsamada's family, which follows here, Sunaka was his descendant in the twelfth generation, and Saunaka in the thirteenth. The story concludes with these words:

Evaṁ vipratvam agamad Vītahavyo narādhipaḥ | Bhṛigoḥ prasādād rājendra kshattriyaḥ kshattriyarshabha |

"Thus did King Vītahavya, a Kshattriya, enter into the condition of Brāhmanhood by the favour of Bhṛigu."

In the next chapter we shall again notice Vītahavya among the Kshattriyas who are declared by tradition to have been the authors of Vedic hymns.

King Divodāsa was the sixth in descent from Kāśa brother of Gṛitsamada. Of him the Harivaṁśa states, section 32, verse 789 f.:

Divodāsasya dāyādo brahmarshir Mitrāyur nṛipaḥ | Maitrāyaṇas tataḥ Somo Maitreyās tu tataḥ smṛitāḥ | ete vai saṁśritāḥ paksham kshattropetās tu Bhārgavāḥ |

"The son of Divodāsa was the King Mitrāyu a Brāhman-rishi. From him sprang Soma Maitrāyaṇa, from whom the Maitreyas received their name. They, being of Kshattriya lineage, adhered as Bhārgavas to the side (of the latter)."

[88] If I have correctly interpreted this verse, and if by "first" we are to understand first in order, it does not accurately represent the state of the case: as the hymns of Gṛitsamada only appear in the second Maṇḍala.

The twentieth in descent from the same Kāśa, brother of Gṛitsamada, was Bhārgabhūmi, of whom the Vishṇu Purāṇa says, iv. 8, 9:

Bhārgasya Bhārgabhūmiḥ | tataś chāturvarṇya-pravṛittiḥ | ity ete Kāśayo bhūpatayaḥ kathitāḥ |

"The son of Bhārga was Bhārgabhūmi, from whom the four castes originated. Thus have the kings called Kāśis been declared."

In two passages of the Harivaṁśa, names identical, or nearly so, are found, but with a different progenitor in each case, in reference to which a similar statement is made. The first is in section 29, verse 1596:

Veṇuhotra-sutaś chāpi Bhargo nāma prajeśvaraḥ | Vatsasya Vatsabhūmis tu Bhṛigubhūmis tu Bhārgavāt | ete hy Angirasaḥ putrā jātā vaṁśe 'tha Bhārgave | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyās trayaḥ putrāḥ[89] *sahasraśaḥ |*

"The son of Veṇuhotra was King Bharga. From Vatsa sprang Vatsabhūmi, and Bhṛigubhūmi from Bhārgava. These descendants of Angiras were then born in the family of Bhṛigu, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas three (classes of) descendants in thousands."

The second passage is in the 32nd section, verse 1752:

Sukumārasya putras tu Satyaketur mahārathaḥ | suto 'bhavad mahātejā rājā parama-dhārmikaḥ | Vatsasya Vatsabhūmis tu Bhārgabhūmis tu Bhārgavāt | ete hy Angirasaḥ putrā jātā vaṁśe 'tha Bhārgave | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cha Bharatarshabha |

"The warrior Satyaketu was the son of Sukumāra, and a prince of great lustre and virtue. From Vatsa sprang Vatsabhūmi, and Bhārgabhūmi from Bhārgava. These descendants of Angiras were then born in the family of Bhṛigu, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras."

The parallel passage in the Vāyu Purāṇa, as quoted by Professor Wilson, p. 409, has names which are mostly different:

Veṇuhotra-sutaś chāpi Gārgyo vai nāma viśrutaḥ | Gārgyasya Gārgabhūmis tu Vatso Vatsasya dhīmataḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāś chaiva tayoḥ putrāḥ sudhārmikāḥ |

"The son of Veṇuhotra was the renowned Gārgya. Gargabhūmi was the son of Gārgya; and Vatsa of the wise Vatsa. Brāhmans and Kshattriyas were the virtuous sons of these two."[90]

[89] Professor Wilson, p. 410, note, gives *tejoyuktāḥ*, "glorious," instead of *trayaḥ putrāḥ*, as the reading either of the Brāhma Purāṇa, or of the Harivaṁśa, or both.

[90] In regard to these passages the reader may consult the remarks of Professor

Another son of Āyus (son of Purūravas) was Rambha, of whom the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, ix. 17, 10:

Rambhasya Rabhasaḥ putro Gabhīraś chākriyas tataḥ | tasya kshettre brahma jajne śṛiṇu vaṁśam Anenasaḥ |

"The son of Rambha was Rabhasa, from whom sprang Gabhīra and Akriya. From his wife Brāhmans were born: here now the race of Anenas" (another son of Āyus).

Of the same Rambha the Vishṇu Purāṇa says (iv. 9, 8), *Rambhas tv anapatyo 'bhavat* | "Rambha was childless."

Another son of Āyus, as we have seen, Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 8, 1, was Nahusha. He had six sons (V. P. iv. 10, 1), of whom one was Yayāti. The sons of the latter were Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu, and Pūru (Ibid. iv. 10, 2).[91] One of these five, Anu, had, as we are told, in the twelfth generation a son called Bali, of whom the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 18, 1, relates:

Hemāt Sutapās tasmād Balir yasya kshettre Dīrghatamasā Anga-Banga-Kalinga-Suhma-Puṇḍrākhyam Bāleyaṁ kshattram ajanyata |

"From Hema sprang Sutapas; and from him Bali, on whose wife[92] Bāleya Kshattriyas (*i.e.* Kshattriyas of the race of Bali), called Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Suhma, and Puṇḍra were begotten by Dīrghatamas."

Professor Wilson (p. 445, note 12) quotes from the Vāyu Purāṇa a statement regarding the same person that he had "sons who founded the four castes" (*putrān chāturvarṇya-karān*); and refers to a passage in the Matsya Purāṇa, in which Bali is said to have obtained from

Wilson, p. 409, note 16, where a commentator (on the Brāhma Purāṇa, or the Harivaṁśa) is quoted, who says that in the passage from these works "another son of Vatsa the father of Alarka is specified, viz., Vatsabhūmi; while Bhārgava is the brother of Vatsa; and that (the persons referred to were) Angirases because Gālava belonged to that family, and (were born in the family) of Bhṛigu, because Viśvāmitra belonged to it" (*Vatsasya Alarka-pituḥ putrāntaram āha "Vatsabhūmir" iti | "Bhārgavād" Vatsa-bhrātuḥ | "Angiraso" Gālavasya Angirasatvāt | "Bhārgave" Viśvāmitrasya Bhārgavatvāt*). The Vishṇu Purana, iv. 8, 6, says that Vatsa was one of the names of Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, a descendant of Kāśa, and a remote ancestor of Bhārgabhūmi. See however Professor Wilson's note 13, p. 408. It is possible that the resemblance of the word Bhārga to Bhārgava may have occasioned the descendants of the former to be connected with the family of Bhṛigu.

[91] These five names occur together in the plural in a verse of the Rig-veda, i. 109, quoted above, p. 179.

[92] *Kshettre bhāryāyāṁ jātatvād Bāleyāḥ* | "They were called descendants of Bali because they were born of his wife."

Brahmā the boon that he should "establish the four fixed castes" (*chaturo niyatān varṇāṁs tvaṁ sthāpayeti*).

The Harivaṁśa gives the following account of Bali, in the course of which the same thing is stated; section 31, verses 1682 ff.:

Phenāt tu Sutapā jajne sutaḥ Sutapaso Baliḥ | jāto mānusha-yonau tu sa rājā kānchaneshudhiḥ | mahāyogī sa tu Balir babhūva nṛipatiḥ purā | putrān utpādayāmāsa pancha vaṁśa-karān bhuvi | Angaḥ prathamato jajne Vangaḥ Suhmas tathaiva cha | Puṇḍraḥ Kalingaś cha tathā Bāleyaṁ kshattram uchyate | Bāleyā brāhmaṇāś chaiva tasya vaṁśakarā bhuvi | Bales tu Brahmaṇā datto varaḥ prītena Bhārata | mahāyogitvam āyuś cha kalpasya parimāṇataḥ | sangrāme chāpy ajeyatvaṁ dharme chaiva pradhānatā | trailokya-darśanaṁ chāpi prādhānyam prasave tathā | bale chāpratimatvaṁ vai dharma-tattvārtha-darśanam | chaturo niyatān varṇāṁs tvaṁ cha sthāpayiteti cha | ity ukto vibhunā rājā Baliḥ śāntim parāṁ yayau | tasyaite tanayāḥ sarve kshettrajā muni-pungavāt | sambhūtā Dīrghatapasaḥ Sudeshṇāyām mahaujausaḥ |

"From Phena sprang Sutapas; and the son of Sutapas was Bali. He was born of a human mother, this prince with the golden quiver; but King Bali was of old a great yogin. He begot five sons, who were the heads of races upon the earth. Anga was first born, then Vanga, Suhma, Puṇḍra and Kalinga; such are the names of the Kshattriyas descended from Bali (*Bāleyāḥ*). There were also Bāleya Brāhmans, founders of his race upon the earth. By Brahmā, who was pleased, the boon was granted to Bali that he should be a great yogin, should live the entire length of a Kalpa, should be invincible in battle, should have pre-eminence in virtue, should have the power of beholding the whole three worlds, should have a superiority in begetting progeny, should be unequalled in strength, and should comprehend the essential principles of duty. And being thus addressed by the Lord in these words, 'Thou shalt establish the four regulated castes,' King Bali attained supreme tranquillity. All these sons, the offspring of his wife, were begotten on Sudeshṇā by the glorious muni Dīrghatapas."[93]

[93] M. Langlois must have found in his MS. a different reading of the last line, as he renders it otherwise. Professor Wilson remarks (V.P. pp. 444, note 12): "The Matsya calls Bali the son of Virochana, and *āyu-kalpa-pramāṇikaḥ*, 'existing for a whole Kalpa;' identifying him, therefore, only in a different period and form, with the Bali of the Vāmana Avatāra" (Dwarf-incarnation). (See Wilson's Vishṇu P. p. 265, note, and the Bhāgavata P. ix. sects. 15–23, and other works quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 116 ff.

Apratiratha is recorded as being a descendant of Pūru (another of Yayāti's sons), in the thirteenth generation (Wilson, p. 448). Of him it is related, Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 19, 2:

Ṛiteyoḥ Rantināraḥ putro 'bhūt | Taṁsum Apratirathaṁ Dhruvaṁ cha Rantināraḥ putrān avāpa | Apratirathāt Kaṇvaḥ | tasyāpi Medhātithiḥ | yataḥ Kaṇvāyanā dvijā babhūbhuḥ | Taṁsor Anilas tato Dushyantādyāś chatvāraḥ putrā babhūvuḥ | Dushyantāch chakravarttī Bharato 'bhavat |

"Ṛiteyu had a son Rantināra, who had Tansu, Apratiratha and Dhruva for his sons. From Apratiratha sprang Kaṇva. His son was Medhātithi; from whom the Kāṇvāyana Brāhmans were descended. From Tansu sprang Anila, who had four sons, Dushyanta, and others. From Dushyanta sprang the emperor Bharata."

With some variations the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, ix. 20, 1:

Pūror vaṁśam pravakshyāmi yatra jāto 'si Bhārata | yatra rājarshayo vaṁsyā brahma-vaṁśyaś cha jajnire | . . . . 6. Ṛiteyoḥ Rantibhāro 'bhūt trayas tasyātmajā nṛipa | Sumatir Dhruvo 'pratirathaḥ Kaṇvo 'pratirathāmajaḥ | tasya Medhātitithis tasmāt Praskaṇvādyā dvijātayaḥ | putro 'bhūt Sumater Raibhyo Dushyantas tat-suto mataḥ |

"I shall declare the race of Pūru from which thou hast sprung, o Bhārata; and in which there have been born royal rishis, and men of Brahmanical family . . . . 6. From Ṛiteyu sprang Rantibhāra; who had three sons, Sumati, Dhruva, and Apratiratha. Kaṇva was the son of the last; and the son of Kaṇva was Medhātithi, from whom the Praskaṇvas and other Brāhmans were descended."

A little further on, in the chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa just quoted (iv. 19, 10), Kaṇva and Medhātithi are mentioned as having had a different parentage from that before assigned, viz., as being the son and grandson of Ajamīḍha, who was a descendant in the ninth generation of Tansu, the brother of Apratiratha:

Ajamīḍhāt Kaṇvaḥ | Kaṇvād Medhātithir yataḥ Kāṇvāyanā dvijāḥ | Ajamīḍhasyānyaḥ putro Bṛihadishuḥ |

"From Ajamīḍha sprang Kaṇva: from Kaṇva Medhātithi, from whom were descended the Kāṇvayana Brāhmans. Ajamīḍha had another son Bṛihadishu."[94]

[94] On this the Commentator remarks: *Ajamīḍhasya Kaṇvādir eko vaṁśo Bṛihadishv-ādir aparo vaṁśo Nīlādir aparaḥ Ṛikshādiś chāparaḥ |* "Ajamīḍha had one set of descendants, consisting of Kanva, etc., a second consisting of Bṛihadishu, etc.,

On this last passage Professor Wilson observes, p. 452, note: "The copies agree in this reading, yet it can scarcely be correct. Kaṇva has already been noticed as the son of Apratiratha." But the compiler of the Purāṇa may here be merely repeating the discordant accounts which he found in the older authorities which he had before him.

Regarding Ajamīḍha the Bhāgavata says, ix. 21, 21:

Ajamīḍhasya vaṁśyāḥ syuḥ Priyamedhādayo dvijāḥ | Ajamīḍhād Bṛihadishuḥ |

"Priyamedha and other Brāhmans were descendants of Ajamīḍha. From Ajamīḍha sprang Bṛihadishu."

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (iv. 19, 16) gives the following account of Mudgala, a descendant of Ajamīḍha in the seventh generation:

Mudgalāch cha Maudgalyāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayo babhūvuḥ | Mudgalād Bahvaśvo Bahvaśvād Divodāso 'halyā cha mithunam abhūt | Saradvato 'halyāyāṁ Śatānando 'bhavat |

"From Mudgala were descended the Maudgalya Brāhmans of Kshattriya stock. From Mudgala sprang Bahvaśva; from him again twins, Divodāsa and Ahalyā. Śatānanda was born to Śaradvat[95] by Ahalyā."

Similarly the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, iv. 21, 33 f.:

Mudgalād brahma nirvṛittaṁ gotram Maudgalya-sanjnitam | mithunam Mudgalād Bhārmyād Divodāsaḥ pumān abhūt | Ahalyā kanyakā yasyāṁ Śatānandas tu Gautamāt |

"From Mudgala sprang Brāhmans, the family called Maudgalyas. To the same father, who was son of Bharmyaśva, were born twins, Divodāsa, a male, and Ahalyā, a female child, who bore Śatānanda to Gautama."

The words of the Matsya Purāṇa on the same subject, as quoted by Professor Wilson, p. 454, note 50, are:

Mudgalasyāpi Maudgalyāḥ kshattropetā dvijatāyaḥ | ete hy Angirasaḥ pakshe saṁsthitāḥ Kaṇva-Mudgalāḥ |

"From Mudgala sprang the Maudgalyas, Brāhmans of Kshattriya stock. These Kaṇva and Mudgalas stood on the side of Angiras."

a third consisting of Nīla, etc., and a fourth consisting of Ṛiksha, etc." The last two sons of Ajamīḍha are mentioned further on, Nīla in v. 15, and Ṛiksha in v. 18, of the same chapter of the V. P.

[95] The Commentator says this is a name of Gautama. Regarding Ahalyā and Gautama see the story extracted above, p. 121, from the Rāmāyaṇa.

The Harivaṁśa, section 32, verse 1781, thus notices the same family:

Mudgalasya tu dāyādo Maudgalyaḥ sumahāyaśāḥ | ete sarve mahātmāno kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ | ete hy Angirasaḥ pakshaṁ saṁśritāḥ Kāṇva-Mudgalāḥ | Maudgalyasya suto jyeshṭho brahmarshiḥ sumahāyasāḥ |

"The renowned Maudgalya was the son of Mudgala. All these great personages were Brāhmans of Kshattriya descent. These Kāṇvas and Mudgalas adhered to the side of Angiras. Maudgalya's eldest son was a celebrated Brahman-rishi."

Regarding Kshemaka, a future descendant of Ajamīḍha in the 31st generation, the Vishṇu Purāṇa says, iv. 21, 4:

Tato Niramitras tasmāch cha Kshemakaḥ | tatrāyaṁ slokaḥ | "brahma-kshattrasya yo yonir[96] *vaṁśo rājarshi-satkṛitaḥ | Kshemakam prāpya rājānaṁ sa saṁsthām prāpsyate kalau |*

"From him (Khaṇḍapāṇi) shall spring Niramitra; and from him Kshemaka; regarding whom this verse (is current): 'The race, consecrated by royal rishis, which gave birth to Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, shall terminate in the Kali age, after reaching King Kshemaka.'"

The corresponding verse quoted by Professor Wilson (p. 462, note 24) from the Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas substitutes *devarshi*, "divine rishis," or "gods and rishis," for the *rājarshi*, "royal rishis," of the Vishṇu Purāṇa. The verse in question is there described as *anuvaṁśa-śloko 'yaṁ gīto vipraiḥ purātanaiḥ*, "a genealogical verse sung by ancient Brāhmans."

According to the details given from the Purāṇas in this section several persons, Gṛitsamada, Kaṇva, Medhātithi, and Priyamedha, to whom hymns of the Rig-veda are ascribed by Indian tradition as their rishis, were of Kshattriya descent.

In the line of the same Tansu, brother of Apratiratha, we find in the sixth generation a person named Garga, of whom the Vishṇu Purāṇa relates, iv. 19, 9:

Gargāt Śiniḥ | tato Gārgyāḥ Śainyāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayo babhūvuḥ |

"From Garga sprang Śini; from them were descended the Gārgyas and Śainyas, Brāhmans of Kshattriya race."[97]

[96] On this words the Commentator has this note: *Brahmaṇaḥ brāhmaṇasya Kshattrasya kshattriyasya cha yoniḥ kāraṇam pūrvaṁ yathoktatvāt* | "'Brahma' and 'Kshattra' stand for Brāhman and Kshattriya. This race is the 'source,' cause (of these), as has been declared above."

[97] On this the Commentator only remarks: *Tatas tābhyāṁ Gārgyāḥ Śainyāś cha*

Similarly the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 21, 19, says:

Gargāt S'inis tato Gārgyaḥ kshattrād brahma hy avarttata |

"From Garga sprang S'ini; from them Gārgya, who from a Kshattriya became a Brāhman." [98]

The Vishṇu Purāṇa records a similar circumstance regarding the family of Mahāvīryya, the brother of Garga (iv. 19, 10):

Mahāvīryyād Urukshayo nāma putro 'bhūt | *tasya Trayyaruṇa-Pushkariṇau Kapiś cha putra-trayam abhūt* | *tach cha tritayam api paśchād vipratām upajagāma* |

"Mahāvīryya had a son named Urukshaya; who again had three sons, Trayyaruṇa, Puskarin, and Kapi; and these three [99] afterwards entered into the state of Brāhmans (*i.e.* became such)."

The Bhāgavata states, ix. 21, 19 f.:

Duritakshayo Mahāvīryyāt tasya Trayyāruṇiḥ Kaviḥ | *Pushkarāruṇir ity atra ye brāhmaṇa-gatiṁ gatāḥ* |

"From Mahāvīryya sprang Duritakshaya. From him were descended Trayyaruṇi, Kavi, and Puskarāruṇi, who attained to the destination of Brāhmans." [100]

According to the Matsya Purāṇa also, as quoted by Professor Wilson (451, note 22), "all these sons of Uruksha (*sic*) attained the state of Brāhmans" (*Urukshataḥ sutā hy ete sarve brāhmaṇatāṁ gatāḥ*); and in another verse of the same Purāṇa, cited in the same note, it is added: *Kāvyānāṁ tu varā hy ete trayaḥ proktā maharshayaḥ* | *Gargāḥ Sankṛitayaḥ Kāvyā kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ* | "These three classes of great rishis, viz. the Gargas, Sankṛitis, and Kāvyas, Brāhmans of Kshattriya race, are declared to be the most eminent of the Kāvyas, or descendants of Kavi." The original Garga was, as we have seen, the brother of Mahavīryya, the father of Kavi, or Kapi; while, according to the

Garga-vaṁśyatvāt S'ini-vaṁśyatvāch cha samākhyātaḥ | *kshattriyā eva kenachit kāraṇena brāhmaṇāś cha babhūvuḥ* | "They were called Gārgyas and S'ainyas because they were of the race of Gārga and S'ini. Being indeed Kshattriyas they became Brāhmans from some cause or other."

[98] The Commentator does not say how this happened.

[99] Unless Professor Wilson's MSS. had a different reading from mine, it must have been by an oversight that he has translated here, "The last of whom became a Brāhman."

[100] On this the Commentator annotates: *Ye atra kshattra-vaṁśe brāhmaṇa-gatim brāhmaṇa-rūpatāṁ gatās te* | "Who in this Kshattriya race attained the destination of Brāhmans,—the form of Brāhmans."

Vishṇu Purāṇa (iv. 19, 9), and Bhāgavata Purāṇa (ix. 21, 1), Sankṛiti was the son of Nara, another brother of Mahavīryya.

The series of passages just quoted is amply sufficient to prove that according to the traditions received by the compilers of the ancient legendary history of India (traditions so general and undisputed as to prevail over even their strong hierarchical prepossessions), Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and even Vaiśyas and Sūdras, were, at least in many cases, originally descended from one and the same stock. The European critic can have no difficulty in receiving these obscure accounts as true in their literal sense; though the absence of precise historical data may leave him without any other guide than speculation to assist him in determining the process by which a community originally composed for the most part of one uniform element, was broken up into different classes and professions, separated from each other by impassable barriers. On the other hand, the possibility of this common origin of the different castes, though firmly based on tradition, appeared in later times so incredible, or so unpalatable, to some of the compilers of the Purāṇas, that we find them occasionally attempting to explain away the facts which they record, by statements such as we have encountered in the case of the Kings Rathītara and Bāli, that their progeny was begotten upon their wives by the sages Angiras and Dīrghatamas, or Dīrghatapas; or by the introduction of a miraculous element into the story, as we have already seen in one of the legends regarding Gṛitsamada, and as we shall have occasion to notice in a future chapter in the account of Viśvāmitra.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF INDIAN SOCIETY ACCORDING TO THE HYMNS OF THE RIG- AND ATHARVA-VEDAS.

In the last chapter I have attempted to shew that in general the authors of the hymns of the Rig-veda regarded the whole of the Aryan people, embracing not only the priests and chiefs, but the middle classes also of the population, as descended from one common father, or ancestor, whom they designate by the name of Manu. This reference to a common progenitor excludes, of course, the supposition that the writers by whom it is made could have had any belief in the myth which became afterwards current among their countrymen, that their nation consisted of four castes, differing naturally in dignity, and separately created by Brahmā.

In that chapter I proposed to leave for further consideration any specific notices which the Rig-veda might contain regarding the different classes of which the society contemporary with its composition was made up. On this consideration I now enter. As that great collection of hymns embodies numerous references, both to the authors themselves and to the other agents in the celebration of divine worship, it may be expected to supply, incidentally or indirectly, at least, some information respecting the opinion which these ministers of religion entertained of themselves, and of the ecclesiastical and civil relations in which they stood to the other sections of the community. I shall now endeavour to shew how far this expectation is justified by an examination of the Rig-veda.

It will be understood, from what I have already (pp. 7 and 11 ff.) written on the subject of that one hymn of the Rig-veda in which the

four castes are distinctly specified, *i.e.* the Purusha Sūkta, that in the enquiry, which I am now about to undertake, I confine myself in the first instance to those hymns which for any reason (see p. 4, above) appear to be the most ancient, leaving out of account until afterwards, all those compositions which, like the one just mentioned, are presumably of a later age.

It will, I think, be found on investigation that not only the older hymns, but the great bulk of the hymns, supply no distinct evidence of the existence of a well defined and developed caste-system at the time when they were composed.

Sect. I.—*On the signification of the words brăhmăn, brāhmaṇa, etc., in the Rig-veda.*

As the Rig-veda Sanhitā is made up almost entirely of hymns in praise of the gods, it was not to be anticipated that it should furnish any systematic or detailed explanations on the points which form the object of our enquiry. But as was natural in compositions of the early and simple age to which these hymns belong, they do not always confine themselves to matters strictly connected with their principal subject, but indulge in occasional references to the names, families, personal merits, qualifications, relations, circumstances, and fortunes of the poets by whom they were produced, or of their patrons or other contemporaries, or of their predecessors.

I have, in another volume of this work,[1] enquired into the views which the authors of the hymns appear to have held on the subject of their own authorship. The conclusion at which I arrived was, that they did not in general look upon their compositions as divinely inspired, since they frequently speak of them as the productions of their own minds (vol. iii. pp. 128–140). But although this is most commonly the case (and especially, as we may conjecture, in regard to the older hymns), there is no doubt that they also attached a high value to these productions, which they describe as being acceptable to the gods (R.V. v. 45, 4; v. 85, 1; vii. 26, 1, 2; x. 23, 6; x. 54, 6; x. 105,

[1] Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. iii. pp. 116–164.

8), whose activity they stimulated (iii. 34, 1; vii. 19, 11), and whose blessing they drew down. In some of the hymns a supernatural character or insight is claimed for the rishis (i. 179, 2; vii. 76, 4; iii. 53, 9; vii. 33, 11 ff.; vii. 87, 4; vii. 88, 3 ff.; x. 14, 15; x. 62, 4, 5), and a mysterious efficacy is ascribed to their compositions (vol. iii. pp. 173 f.) The rishis called their hymns by various names, as *arka, uktha, ṛich, gir, dhī, nītha, nivid, mantra, mati, sūkta, stoma, vāch, vachas*, etc. etc.; and the also applied to them the appellation of *brahma* in numerous passages.[2] That in the passages in question *brahma* has generally the sense of hymn or prayer is clear from the context of some of them (as in i. 37, 4; viii. 32, 27, where the word is joined with the verb *gāyata*, "sing," and in vi. 69, 7, where the gods are supplicated to hear the *brahma*), as well as from the fact that the poets are said (in i. 62, 13; v. 73, 10; vii. 22, 9; vii. 31, 11; x. 80, 7) to have fashioned or generated the prayer, in the same way as they are said to have fashioned or generated hymns in other texts (as i. 109, 1; v. 2, 11; vii. 15, 4; viii. 77, 4; x. 23, 6; x. 39, 14), where the sense is indisputable; while in other places (iv. 16, 21; v. 29, 15; vi. 17, 13; vi. 50, 6; vii. 61, 6; x. 89, 3) new productions of the poets are spoken of under the appellation of *brahma*.

That *brahma* has the sense of hymn or prayer is also shown by the two following passages. In vii. 26, 1, it is said: *Na somaḥ Indram asuto mamāda na abrahmāṇo maghavānaṁ sutāsaḥ | tasmai ukthaṁ janaye yaj jujoshad nṛivad navīyaḥ śṛiṇavad yathā naḥ | 2. Ukthe ukthe somaḥ Indram mamāda nītthe nītthe maghavānaṁ sutāsaḥ | yad īṁ sabādhaḥ pitaraṁ na putrāḥ samāna-dakshāḥ avase havante* | "Soma unless poured out does not exhilarate Indra; nor do libations without hymns (*abrahmāṇaḥ*). I generate for him a hymn (*uktha*) which he will love, so that like a man he may hear our new (production). 2. At each hymn (*uktha*) the soma exhilarates Indra, at each psalm (*nītha*) the libations (exhilarate) Maghavat, when the worshippers united, with one effort, invoke him for help, as sons do a father."[3] Again in x. 105, 8, it is

[2] For a list of these texts and other details which are here omitted, I refer to my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian Society in the Vedic age," in the Journal of the Roy. As. Soc. for 1866 (from which this section is mostly borrowed).

[3] It is clear from the context of this passage that *abrahmāṇaḥ* means "unattended by hymns," and not "without a priest." After saying that soma-libations without

said: *Ava no vṛijinā śiśīhi ṛichā vanema anṛichaḥ | na abrahmā yajnaḥ ṛidhag joshati tve* | "Drive away our calamities. With a hymn (*ṛichā*) may we slay the men who are hymnless (*anṛichaḥ*). A sacrifice without prayer (*abrahmā*) does not please thee well."

I have said that great virtue is occasionally attributed by the poets to their hymns and prayers; and this is true of those sacred texts when called by the name of *brahma*, as well as when they receive other appellations, such as *mantra*. Thus it is said, iii. 53, 12, *Viśvāmitrasya rakshati brahma idam Bhāratañ janam* | "This prayer (*brahma*) of Viśvāmitra protects the tribe of Bharata;" v. 40, 6, *Gūḷham sūryañ tamasā apavratena turīyeṇa brahmaṇā avindad Atriḥ* | "Atri with the fourth prayer (*brahmaṇā*) discovered the sun concealed by unholy darkness;" vi. 75, 19, *Brahma varma mamā antaram* | "Prayer (*brahma*) is my protecting armour;" vii. 33, 3, *Eva id nu kam dāśarājñe Sudāsam prāvad Indro brahmaṇā vo Vasishṭhāḥ* | "Indra preserved Sudās in the battle of the ten kings through your prayer, o Vasishṭhas." In ii. 23, 1, Brahmaṇaspati is said to be the "great king of prayers" (*jyeshṭharājam brahmaṇām*) (compare vii. 97, 3), and in verse 2, to be the "generator of prayers" (*janitā brahmaṇām*); whilst in x. 61, 7, prayer is declared to have been generated by the gods (*svādhyo ajanayan brahma devāḥ*). Compare vii. 35, 7.

Brăhmăn in the masculine is no doubt derived from the same root as *brăhmăn* neuter, and though differing from it in accent[4] as well as gender, must be presumed to be closely connected with it in signification, just as the English "prayer" in the sense of a petition would be with "prayer," a petitioner, if the word were used in the latter sense. As, then, *brăhmăn* in the neuter means a hymn or prayer, *brăhmăn* in the masculine must naturally be taken to denote the person who composes or repeats a hymn or prayer. We do not, however, find that the composers of the hymns are in general designated by the word

hymns are unacceptable to Indra, the poet does not add that he is himself a *priest*, or that he is attended by one, but that he generates a hymn; and the same sense is required by what follows in the second verse. Accordingly we find that Sāyaṇa explains *abrahmāṇaḥ* by *stotra-hīnāḥ*, "destitute of hymns." The same sense is equally appropriate in the next passage cited, x. 105, 8. On iv. 16, 9, where *abrahmā* is an epithet of *dasyu*, "demon," Sāyaṇa understands it to mean "without a priest," but it may mean equally well or better, "without devotion, or prayer."

[4] In *brăhmăn* neuter the accent is on the first syllable; in *brăhmăn* masculine on the last.

brāhmăn, the name most commonly applied to them being *ṛishi*, though they are also called *vipra*, *vedhas*, *kavi*, etc. (see vol. iii. of this work, pp. 116 ff.). There are, however, a few texts, such as i. 80, 1; i. 164, 35; ii. 12, 6; ii. 39, 1; v. 31, 4; v. 40, 8; ix. 113, 6, etc., in which the *brāhmăn* may or must be understood as referred to in the capacity of author of the hymn he utters. So, too, in ii. 20, 4, and vi. 21, 8, a new composer of hymns seems to be spoken of under the appellation of *nutānasya brāhmăn̲yataḥ*; and in ii. 19, 8, the Gṛitsamadas are referred to both as the fabricators of a new hymn (*manma navīyaḥ*) and as (*brāhmăn̲yăntaḥ*) performing devotion.[5] In three passages, vii. 28, 2; vii. 70, 5, and x. 89, 16, the *brāhmă* and *brāhmān̲i*, "prayer" and "prayers," or "hymn" and "hymns," of the rishis are spoken of; and in vii. 22, 9, it is said, "that both the ancient and the recent rishis have generated prayers" (*ye cha pūrve ṛishayo ye cha nūtnāḥ Indra brahmān̲i janayanta viprāḥ*). In i. 177, 5, we find *brahmān̲i kāroḥ*, "the prayers of the poet." The fact that in various hymns the authors speak of themselves as having received valuable gifts from the princes their patrons, and that they do not there allude to any class of officiating priests as separate from themselves, would also seem to indicate an identity of the poet and priest at that early period.

The term *brahman* must therefore, as we may conclude, have been originally applied (1) to the same persons who are spoken of elsewhere in the hymns as *rishi*, *kavi*, etc., and have denoted devout worshippers and contemplative sages who composed prayers and hymns which they themselves recited in praise of the gods. Afterwards when the ceremonial gradually became more complicated, and a division of sacred functions took place, the word was more ordinarily employed (2) for a minister of public worship, and at length came to signify (3) one particular kind of priest with special duties. I subjoin a translation of the different passages in which the word occurs in the Rig-veda, and I have attempted to classify them according as it seems to bear, in each case, the first, second, or third of the senses just indicated. This, however, is not always an easy task, as in many of these texts there is nothing to fix the meaning of the term with precision, and one signi-

[5] In another place (x. 96, 5) Indra is said to have been lauded by former worshippers, *pūrvebhir yăjvăbhiḥ*, a term usually confined (as *brāhmăn* was frequently applied) in after times to the offerers of sacrifice.

fication easily runs into another, and the same person may be at once the author and the reciter of the hymn.

I. Passages in which *brăhmăn* may signify "contemplator, sage, or poet."

(In all these texts I shall leave the word untranslated.)

i. 80, 1. *Itthā hi some id made brahmā chakāra varddhanam* |

"Thus in his exhilaration from soma juice the *brăhmăn* has made (or uttered) a magnifying[6] (hymn)."

i. 164, 34. *Pṛichhāmi tvā param antam pṛithivyāḥ pṛichhāmi yatra bhuvanasya nābhiḥ | pṛichhāmi tvā vṛishṇo aśvasya retaḥ pṛichhāmi vāchaḥ pāramaṁ vyoma | 35. Iyaṁ vediḥ paro antaḥ pṛithivyāḥ ayaṁ yajño bhuvanasya nābhiḥ ayaṁ somo vṛishṇo aśvasya reto brahmā ayam vāchaḥ paramaṁ vyoma* |

"I ask thee (what is) the remotest end of the earth; I ask where is the central point of the world; I ask thee (what is) the seed of the vigorous horse; I ask (what is) the highest heaven[7] of speech. 35. This altar is the remotest end of the earth; this sacrifice is the central point of the world; this soma is the seed of the vigorous horse; this *brăhmăn* is the highest heaven of speech.[8]

ii. 12, 6. *Yo radhrasya choditā yaḥ kṛiśasya yo brahmaṇo nādhamānasya kīreḥ* |

"He (Indra) who is the quickener of the sluggish, of the emaciated, of the suppliant *brăhmăn* who praises him," etc.

vi. 45, 7. *Brahmāṇam brahma-vāhasaṁ gīrbhiḥ sakhāyam ṛigmiyam | gāṁ na dohase huve* |

"With hymns I call Indra, the *brăhmăn*,—the carrier of prayers (*brăhmă-vāhasam*), the friend who is worthy of praise,—as men do a cow which is to be milked."

vii. 33, 11. *Uta asi Maitrāvaruṇo Vasishṭha Urvaśyāḥ brahman manaso 'dhi jātaḥ | drapsaṁ skannam brahmaṇā daivyena viśve devāḥ pushkare tvā 'dadanta* |

"And thou, o Vasishṭha, art a son of Mitra and Varuṇa (or a Maitrāvaruṇa-priest), born, o *brăhmăn*, from the soul of Urvaśī. All the

[6] *Varddhanam = vṛiddhi-karaṁ stotram* (Sāyaṇa).

[7] Compare R.V. iii. 32, 10; x. 109, 4, below, and the words, the highest heaven of invention."

[8] Compare R.V. x. 71 and x. 125.

gods placed in the vessel thee, the drop which had fallen through divine contemplation."

viii. 16, 7. *Indro brahmā Indraḥ ṛishir Indraḥ puru puruhūtaḥ | mahān mahībhiḥ śachībhiḥ |*

"Indra is a *brāhmăn*, Indra is a rishi,[9] Indra is much and often invoked, great through his mighty powers."

x. 71, 11. (See the translation of the entire hymn below. The sense of *brāhmăn* in verse 11 will depend on the meaning assigned to *jāta-vidyā*.)

x. 77, 1. (In this passage, the sense of which is not very clear, the word *brāhmăn* appears to be an epithet of the host of Maruts.)

x. 85, 3. *Somam manyate papivān yat sampiṁshanti oshadhim | somaṁ yam brahmāṇo vidur na tasya aśnāti kaśchana |* 16. *Dve te chakre Sūrye brahmāṇo ṛituthā viduḥ | atha ekaṁ chakraṁ yad guhā tad addhātayaḥ id viduḥ |* 34. . . . . *Sūryāṁ yo brahmā vidyāt sa id vādhūyam arhati |*

"A man thinks he has drunk soma when they crush the plant (so called). But no one tastes of that which the *brāhmăns* know to be soma (the moon). 16. The *brāhmăns* rightly know, Sūryā, that thou hast two wheels; but it is sages (*addhātayaḥ*) alone who know the one wheel which is hidden. 34. The *brāhmăn* who knows Sūryā deserves the bride's garment." [10]

x. 107, 6. *Tam eva ṛishiṁ tam u brahmāṇam āhur yajnanyaṁ sāma-gām uktha-śāsam | sa śukrasya tanvo veda tisraḥ yaḥ prathamo dakshiṇayā rarādha |*

"They call him a rishi, him a *brāhmăn*, reverend, a chanter of Sāma verses (*sāma-gām*), and reciter of *ukthas*,—he knows the three forms of the brilliant (Agni)—the man who first worshipped with a largess."

Even in later times a man belonging to the Kshattriya and Vaiśya castes may perform all the Vedic rites. Any such person, therefore, and consequently a person not a Brāhman might, according to this verse, have been called, though, no doubt, figuratively, a priest (*brahmā*).

[9] Different deities are called *ṛishi*, *kavi*, etc., in the following texts: v. 29, 1; vi. 14, 2; viii. 6, 41; ix. 96, 18; ix. 107, 7; x. 27, 22; x. 112, 9.

[10] See Dr. Haug's Ait. Br. vol. i. Introduction, p. 20.

x. 117, 7. . . . *Vadan brahmā avadato vanīyān pṛiṇann āpir apṛiṇantam abhi syāt* |

"A *brāhmăn*[11] who speaks is more acceptable than one who does not speak: a friend who is liberal excels one who is illiberal."[12]

x. 125, 5. *Yaṁ kāmaye taṁ tam ugraṁ kṛiṇomi tam brahmāṇaṁ tam ṛishiṁ taṁ sumedhām* |

"I (says Vāch) make him whom I love formidable, him a *brāhman*, him a rishi, him a sage."

This would seem to prove that sometimes, at least, the *brāhmăn* was such not by birth or nature, but by special favour and inspiration of the goddess. In this passage, therefore, the word cannot denote the member of a caste, who would not be dependent on the good will of Vāch for his position.

II. In the passages which follow the word *brāhmăn* does not seem to signify so much a "sage or poet," as a "worshipper or priest."

i. 10, 1. *Gāyanti tvā gāyatriṇo archanti arkam arkiṇaḥ | brahmāṇas tvā Śatakrato ud vaṁśam iva yemire* |

"The singers sing thee, the hymners recite a hymn, the *brāhmăns*, o Śatakratu, have raised thee up like a pole."[13]

i. 33, 9. *Amanyamānān abhi manyamānair nir brahmabhir adhamo dasyum Indra* |

"Thou, Indra, with the believers, didst blow against the unbelievers, with the *brāhmăns* thou didst blow away the Dasyu."[14]

i. 101, 5. *Yo viśvasya jagataḥ prāṇatas patir yo brahmaṇe prathamo gāḥ avindat | Indro yo dasyūn adharān avātirat . . .*

"Indra, who is lord of all that moves and breathes, who first found the cows for the *brāhmăn*, who hurled down the Dasyu."

i. 108, 7. *Yad Indrāgnī madathaḥ sve durone yad brahmaṇi rājani vā yajatrā | ataḥ pari vṛishaṇāv ā hi yātam athā somasya pibataṁ sutasya* |

"When, o adorable Indra and Agni, ye are exhilarated in your own

[11] The word here seems clearly to indicate an order or profession, as the *silent* priest is still a priest.

[12] See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20. The contexts of the two last passages are given in my article "Miscellaneous Hymns from the R. and A. Vedas," pp. 32 f.

[13] Compare i. 5, 8; i. 7, 1; viii. 16, 9. See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p 20.

[14] See on this verse the remarks of M. Bréal, Hercule et Cacus, etc. p. 152.

abode, or with a *brāhmăn* or a *rājan*,[15] come thence, ye vigorous (deities), and then drink of the poured out soma." [16]

i. 158, 6. *Dīrghatamāḥ Māmateyo jujurvān daśame yuge | apām arthaṁ yatīnām brahmā bhavati sārathiḥ |*

"Dīrghatamas, son of Mamatā, being decrepit in his tenth lustre, (though) a *brāhmăn*, becomes the charioteer of (or is borne upon) the waters which are hastening to their goal."

(Professor Aufrecht understands this to mean that Dīrghatamas is verging towards his end, and thinks there is a play on the word "charioteer" as an employment not befitting a priest.)

ii. 39, 1. . . . *Gṛidhrā iva vṛikshaṁ nidhimantam acha | brahmāṇā iva vidathe ukthaśāsā . . . |*

"Ye (Aśvins) (cry) like two vultures on a tree which contains their nest; like two *brāhmăns* singing a hymn at a sacrifice."

iv. 50, 7. *Sa id rājā pratijanyāni viśvā śushmeṇa tasthāv abhi vīryeṇa | Bṛihaspatiṁ yaḥ subhṛitam bibhartti valgūyati vandate pūrva-bhājam |* 8. *Sa it ksheti sudhitaḥ okasi sve tasmai iḷā pinvate viśvadānīm | tasmai viśaḥ svayam eva namante yasmin brahmā rājani pūrvaḥ eti |* 9. *Apratīto jayati saṁ dhanāni pratijanyāni uta yā sajanyā | avasyave yo varivaḥ kṛiṇoti brahmaṇe rājā tam avanti devāḥ |*

"That king overcomes all hostile powers in force and valour who maintains Bṛihaspati in abundance, who praises and magnifies him as (a deity) enjoying the first distinction. 8. He dwells prosperous in his own palace, to him the earth always yields her increase,[17] to him the

[15] A distinction of orders or professions appears to be here recognised. But in v. 54, 7, a *rishi* and a *rājan* are distinguished much in the same way as a *brāhmăn* and *rājan* are in i. 108, 7: *Sa na jīyate Maruto na hanyate na sredhati na vyathate na rishyati | na asya rāyaḥ upa dasyanti na ūtayaḥ ṛishim vā yaṁ rājānaṁ vā sushūdatha |* "That man, whether rishi or prince, whom ye, o Maruts, support, is neither conquered nor killed, he neither decays nor is distressed, nor is injured; his riches do not decline, nor his supports." Compare v. 14, where it is said: *Yūgaṁ rayim marutaḥ spārha-vīraṁ yūyam ṛishim avatha sāma-vipram | yūyam arvantam Bharatāya vājaṁ yūyaṁ dhattha rājanaṁ śrushṭimantam |* "Ye, o Maruts, give riches with desirable men, ye protect a rishi who is skilled in hymns; ye give a horse and food to Bharata, ye make a king prosperous." In iii. 43, 5, reference is found to Viśvāmitra, or the author, being made by Indra both a prince and a rishi (*kuvid mā gopāṁ karase janasya kuvid rājānam maghavann ṛijīshin | kuvid mā ṛishim papivāṁsaṁ sutasya*).

[16] See on this verse Prof. Benfey's note, Orient und Occident, 3, 142.

[17] Compare R.V. v. 37, 4 f.: *Na sa rājā vyathate yasminn Indras tīvram somam pivati go-sakhāyam |* "That king suffers no distress in whose house Indra drinks the pungent soma mixed with milk," etc.

people bow down of themselves,—that king in whose house a *brăhmăn* walks first.[18] 9. Unrivalled, he conquers the riches both of his enemies and his kinsmen—the gods preserve the king who bestows wealth on the *brăhmăn* who asks his assistance."[19]

iv. 58, 2. *Vayaṁ nāma pra bravāma ghṛitasya asmin yajne dhārayāma namobhiḥ | upa brahmā śṛinavat śasyamānaṁ chatuḥ-śṛingo avamīd gauraḥ etat |*

"Let us proclaim the name of butter; let us at this sacrifice hold it (in mind) with prostrations. May the *brăhmăn* (Agni?) hear the praise which is chanted. The four-horned bright-coloured (god) has sent this forth."

v. 29, 3. *Uta brahmāṇo Maruto me asya Indraḥ somasya sushutasya peyāḥ |*

"And, ye Maruts, *brăhmăns*, may Indra drink of this my soma which has been poured out," etc.

v. 31, 4. *Anavas te ratham aśvāya takshaṇ Tvashṭā vajram puruhūta dyumantam | brahmāṇaḥ Indram mahayanto arkair avarddhayann Ahaye hantavai u |*

"The men[20] have fashioned a car for thy (Indra's) horse, and Tvashṭṛi a gleaming thunderbolt, o god greatly invoked. The *brăhmăns*, magnifying Indra, have strengthened him for the slaughter of Ahi."

v. 32, 12. *Evā hi tvām ṛituthā yātayantam maghā viprebhyo dadataṁ śṛiṇomi | kiṁ te brahmāṇo gṛihate sakhāyo ye tvāyāḥ nidadhuḥ kāmam Indra |*

"I hear of thee thus rightly prospering, and bestowing wealth on, the sages (*viprebhyaḥ*). What, o Indra, do the *brăhmăns*, thy friends, who have reposed their wishes on thee, obtain?"

v. 40, 8. *Grāvṇo brahmā yuyujānaḥ saparyan kīriṇā devān namasā upaśikshan | Atriḥ sūryasya divi chakshur ā adhāt Svarbhānor apa māyāḥ aghukshat |*

"Applying the stones (for pressing soma), performing worship, honouring the gods with praise and obeisance, the *brăhmăn* Atri placed

[18] Compare viii. 69, 4; x. 39, 11; x. 107, 5; and the word *purohita*, used of a ministering priest as one *placed in front*. Prof. Aufrecht, however, would translate the last words, "under whose rule the *priest* receives the first or principal portion."

[19] See on this passage Roth's article, "On Brahma and the Brāhmans," Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. i. 77 ff. See also Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii. 26.

[20] Are the Ṛibhus intended?

the eye of the sun in the sky, and swept away the magical arts of Svarbhānu."

vii. 7, 5. *Asādi vṛito vahnir ājaganvān Agnir brahmā nṛi-shadane vidharttā* |

"The chosen bearer (of oblations), Agni, the *brāhmăn*, having arrived, has sat down in a mortal's abode, the upholder."

vii. 42, 1. *Pra brahmāṇo Angiraso nakshanta* |

"The *brāhmăns*, the Angirases, have arrived," etc.

viii. 7, 20. *Kva nūnaṁ sudānavo madatha vṛikta-barhishaḥ | brahmā ko vaḥ saparyati* |

"Where now, bountiful (Maruts), are ye exhilarated, with the sacrificial grass spread beneath you? What *brāhmăn* is serving you?"

viii. 17, 2. *Ā tvā brahma-yujā harī vahatām Indra keśinā | upa brahmāṇi naḥ śṛiṇu | 3. Brahmāṇas tvā vayaṁ yujā somapām Indra sominaḥ | sutāvanto havāmahe* |

"Thy tawny steeds with flowing manes, yoked by prayer (*brahma-yujā*),[21] bring thee hither, Indra; listen to our prayers (*brāhmāṇi*). 3. We *brāhmăns*, offerers of soma, bringing oblations, continually invoke the drinker of soma."

viii. 31, 1. *Yo yajāti yajāte it sunavach cha pachāti cha | brahmā id Indrasya chākanat* |

"That *brāhmăn* is beloved of Indra who worships, sacrifices, pours out libations, and cooks offerings."

viii. 32, 16. *Na nūnam brahmaṇām ṛiṇam prāśūnām asti sunvatām | na somo apratā pape* |

"There is not now any debt due by the active *brāhmăns* who pour out libations. Soma has not been drunk without an equivalent."

viii. 33, 19. *Adhaḥ paśyasva mā upari santaram pādakau hara | mā te kaśa-plakau dṛiśan strī hi brahmā babhūvitha* |

"Look downward, not upward; keep thy feet close together; let them not see those parts which should be covered; thou, a *brāhmăn*, hast become a woman."

viii. 45, 39. *Ā te etā vacho-yujā harī gṛibhṇe sumadrathā | yad īm brahmabhyaḥ id dadaḥ* |

[21] Compare viii. 45, 39, below: *brahma-yuj* occurs also in i. 177, 2; iii. 35, 4; viii. 1, 24; viii. 2, 27.

"I seize these thy tawny steeds, yoked by our hymn (*vacho-yujā*)[22] to a splendid chariot, since thou didst give (wealth) to the *brāhmāns*.

viii. 53, 7. *Kva sya vṛishabho yuvā tuvi-grīvo anānataḥ | brahmā kas taṁ saparyati |*

"Where is that vigorous, youthful, large-necked, unconquered (Indra)? What *brāhmān* serves him?

viii. 66, 5. *Abhi Gandharvam atṛiṇad abudhneshu rajassu ā | Indro brahmabhyaḥ id vṛidhe |*

"Indra clove the Gandharva in the bottomless mists, for the prosperity of the *brāhmāns*."

viii. 81, 30. *Mo su brahmā iva tandrayur bhuvo vājānām pate | matsva sutasya gomataḥ |*

"Be not, o lord of riches (Indra), sluggish like a *brāhmān*.[23] Be exhilarated by the libation mixed with milk."

viii. 85, 5. *Ā yad vajram bāhvor Indra dhatse mada-chyutam Ahave hantavai u | pra parvatāḥ anavanta pra brahmāṇo abhinakshanta Indram |*

"When, Indra, thou seizest in thine arms the thunderbolt which brings down pride, in order to slay Ahi, the (aerial) hills and the cows utter their voice, and the *brāhmāns* draw near to thee."

ix. 96, 6. *Brahmā devānām padavīḥ kavīnām ṛishir viprāṇām mahisho mṛigānām | śyeno gṛidhrāṇāṁ svadhitir vanānāṁ somaḥ pavitram ati eti rebhan |*

"Soma, resounding, overflows the filter, he who is a *brāhmān* among the gods, a leader among poets, a rishi among the wise, a buffalo among wild beasts, a falcon among kites, an axe among the woods."

ix. 112, 1. *Nānānāṁ vai u no dhiyo vi vratāni janānām | takshā rishṭaṁ rutam bhishag brahmā sunvantam ichhati.*

"Various are the thoughts and endeavours of us different men. The carpenter seeks something broken, the doctor a patient, the *brāhmān* some one to offer libations."[24]

[22] Compare viii. 87, 9, *yunjanti harī ishirasya gāthayā urau rathe uruyuge | Indra-vāhā vachoyujā;* i. 7, 2, *vachoyujā;* i. 14, 6, *manoyujā;* vi. 49, 5, *ratho . . . . manasā yujānaḥ.*

[23] Dr. Haug (Introd. to Ait. Br. p. 20) refers to Ait. Br. v. 34, as illustrating this reproach. See p. 376 of his translation. This verse clearly shows that the priests formed a professional body.

[24] This verse also distinctly proves that the priesthood already formed a profession. Verse 3 of the same hymn is as follows: "I am a poet, my father a physician, my

ix. 113, 6. *Yatra brahmā pavamāna chhandasyāṁ vāchaṁ vadan | grāvṇā some mahīyate somena ānandaṁ janayann Indrāya Indo pari srava |*

"O pure Soma, in the place where the *brāhmăn*, uttering a metrical hymn, is exalted at the soma sacrifice through (the sound of) the crushing-stone, producing pleasure with soma, o Indu (Soma) flow for Indra."

x. 28, 11. *Tebhyo godhā ayathaṁ karshad etad ye brahmaṇaḥ pratipīyanti annaiḥ | sime ukshṇaḥ avasṛishṭān adanti svayam balāni tanvaḥ śṛiṇānāḥ |* (The word *brahmaṇaḥ* occurs in this verse, but I am unable to offer any translation, as the sense is not clear.)

x. 71, 11. (See translation of this verse below, where the entire hymn is given.)

x. 85, 29. *Parā dehi śāmulyam brahmābhyo vi bhaja vasu | . . . 35. Sūryāyāḥ paśya rūpāṇi tāni brahmā tu śundhati |*

"Put away that which requires expiation (?). Distribute money to the *brāhmăns*. . . . 35. Behold the forms of Sūryā. But the *brāhmăn* purifies them."

x. 141, 3. *Somaṁ rājānam avase Agniṁ gīrbhir havāmahe | Ādityān Vishṇuṁ Sūryam brahmāṇaṁ cha Bṛihaspatim |*

"With hymns we invoke to our aid king Soma, Agni, the Ādityas, Vishṇu, Sūrya, and Bṛihaspati, the *brāhmăn*.

III. In the following passages the word *brāhmăn* appears to designate the special class of priest so called, in contradistinction to *hotṛi*, *udgātṛi*, and *adhvaryu*.

ii. 1, 2 (= x. 91, 10). *Tava Agne hotraṁ tava potram ṛitviyaṁ tava neshṭraṁ tvam id agnid ṛitāyataḥ | tava praśāstraṁ tvam adhvarīyasi brahmā cha asi gṛihapatiś cha no dame | 2. Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ satām asi tvaṁ Vishṇur urugāyo namasyaḥ | tvam brahmā rayivid Brahmaṇaspate tvaṁ vidharttaḥ sachase purandhyā |*

"Thine, Agni, is the office of *hotṛi*, thine the regulated function of *potṛi*, thine the office of *neshṭṛi*, thou art the *agnidh* of the pious man, thine is the function of *praśāstṛi*, thou actest as *adhvaryu*, thou art the *brāhmăn*, and the lord of the house in our abode. 2. Thou, Agni, art Indra, the chief of the holy, thou art Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, the

mother a grinder of corn" (*kārur ahaṁ tato bhishag upala-prakshiṇī nānā*). Unfortunately there is nothing further said which could throw light on the relations in which the different professions and classes of society stood to each other.

adorable, thou, o Brahmaṇaspati, art the *brāhmăn*, the possessor of wealth, thou, o sustainer, art associated with the ceremonial."

iv. 9, 3. *Sa sadma pari nīyate hotā mandro divishṭishu | uta potā ni shīdati | 4. Uta gnā Agnir adhvare uta gṛihapatir dame | uta brahmā ni shīdati |*

"He (Agni) is led round the house, a joyous *hotṛi* at the ceremonies, and sits a *potṛi*. 4. And Agni is a wife (*i.e.* a mistress of the house) at the sacrifice, and the master of the house in our abode, and he sits a *brāhmăn*."

x. 52, 2. *Ahaṁ hotā ni asīdaṁ yajīyān viśve devāḥ maruto mā junanti | ahar ahar Aśvinā ādhvaryavaṁ vām brahmā samid bhavati sā ahutir vām |*

(Agni says) "I have sat down an adorable *hotṛi*; all the gods, the Maruts, stimulate me. Day by day, ye Aśvins, I have acted as your *adhvaryu*; the *brāhmăn* is he who kindles the fire: this is your invocation."

I shall now bring forward the whole of the texts in which the word *brāhmăṇa*, which, no doubt, originally meant a son, or descendant, of a *brāhmăn*, occurs in the Rig-veda.[25] They are the following:

i. 164, 45. *Chatvāri vāk parimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmaṇāḥ ye manīshiṇaḥ | guhā trīṇi nihitā na ingayanti turīyam vācho manushyāḥ vadanti |*

"Speech consists of four defined grades. These are known by those *brāhmans* who are wise. They do not reveal the three which are esoteric. Men speak the fourth grade of speech."

This text is quoted and commented upon in Nirukta xiii. 9.

vi. 75, 10. *Brāhmaṇāsaḥ pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ śive no dyāvā-pṛithivī anehasā | Pūshā naḥ pātu duritād ṛitāvridhaḥ . . . . |*

"May the *brāhman* fathers, drinkers of soma, may the auspicious, the sinless, heaven and earth, may Pūshan, preserve us, who prosper by righteousness, from evil, etc."

[25] There are two more texts in which the word *brāhmaṇa* is found, viz. i. 15, 5, and ii. 36, 5, on which see the following note. The word *brahmaputra* (compare Aśv. S'. S. ii. 18, 13) "son of a brahman," is found in ii. 43, 2: *Udgātā iva śakune sāma gāyasi brāhmă-putraḥ iva savaneshu śaṁsasi |* "Thou, o bird, singest a sāma verse like an *udgātṛi*; thou singest praises like the son of a *brāhmăn* at the libations." (Ind. Stud. ix. 342 ff.) *Vipra*, used in later Sanskrit as synonymous with Brāhman, has in the R.V. the sense of "wise," "sage" assigned by Nigh. 3, 15 (=*medhāvi-nāma*), and in Nir. 10, 19,=*medhāvinaḥ*. It is often applied as an epithet to the gods.

vii. 103, 1 (= Nirukta 9, 6). *Saṁvatsaraṁ śaśayānāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ vrata-chāriṇaḥ | vācham Parjanya-jinvitām pra maṇḍūkāḥ avādishuḥ . . . . | 7. Brāhmaṇāso atirātre na some saro na pūrṇam abhito vadantaḥ | saṁvatsarasya tad ahaḥ pari shṭha yad maṇḍūkāḥ prāvṛishīṇam babhūva | 8. Brāhmaṇāsaḥ somino vācham akrata brahma kṛiṇvantaḥ parivatsarīṇam | adhvaryavo gharmiṇaḥ sishvidānāḥ āvir bhavanti guhyā na ke chit |*

"After lying quiet for a year, those rite-fulfilling *brāhmans*[26] the frogs have (now) uttered their voice, which has been inspired by Parjanya . . . . 7. Like *brāhmans* at the Atirātra soma rite, like (those *brāhmans*) speaking round about the full pond (or soma-bowl[27]), you, frogs, surround (the pond) on this day of the year, which is that of the autumnal rains. 8. These soma-offering *brāhmans* (the frogs) have uttered their voice, performing their annual devotion (*brahma*); these adhvaryu priests sweating with their boiled oblations (or in the hot season) come forth from their retreats like persons who have been concealed."

x. 16, 6. *Yat te kṛishṇaḥ śakunaḥ ātutoda pipīlaḥ sarpaḥ uta vā śvāpadaḥ | Agnis tad viśvād agadaṁ karotu Somaś cha yo brāhmaṇān āviveśa |*

"Whatever part of thee any black bird, or ant, or serpent, or wild beast has mutilated, may Agni cure thee of all that, and Soma who has entered into the *brāhmans*."[28]

[26] In the Nighantus, iii. 13, these words *brāhmaṇāḥ vrata-chāriṇaḥ* are referred to as conveying the sense of a simile, though they are unaccompanied by a particle of similitude. In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 126, Roth thus remarks on this passage: "This is the only place in the first nine mandalas of the R.V. in which the word Brāhmaṇa is found with its later sense, whilst the tenth mandala offers a number of instances. This is one of the proofs that many of the hymns in this book were composed considerably later (than the rest of the R.V.). The word *brāhmaṇa* has another signification in i. 15, 5; ii. 36, 5; and vi. 75, 10." (In the first of these texts, Roth assigns to the word the sense of the Brāhman's soma-vessel. See his Lexicon, *s.v.* It does not appear what meaning he would give to the word in vi. 75, 10. He has in this passage overlooked R.V. i. 164, 45, which, however, is duly adduced in his Lexicon). See Wilson's translation of the hymn; as also Müller's, in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 494 f.

[27] *Saras.* See R.V. viii. 66, 4, quoted in Nirukta, v. 11, where Yāska says, "The ritualists inform us that at the mid-day oblation there are thirty *uktha* platters destined for one deity, which are then drunk at one draught. These are here called *saras*." (Compare Roth's Illustrations on the passage. See also R.V. vi. 17, 11, and viii. 7, 10, with Sāyaṇa's explanations of all three passages).

[28] Compare A.V. vii. 115, 1 f.; xii. 5, 6.

x. 71, 1.[29] *Bṛihaspate prathamam vāco agraṁ yat prairata nāmadheyaṁ dadhānāḥ | yad eshāṁ śreshṭhaṁ yad aripram asīt preṇā tad eshāṁ nihitaṁ guhā āviḥ* | 2. (= Nirukta iv. 10) *Saktum iva titaünā punanto yatra dhīrāḥ manasā vācham akrata | atra sakhāyaḥ sakhyāni jānate bhadrā eshāṁ lakshmīr nihitā adhi vāchi* | 3. *Yajnena vāchaḥ padavīyam āyan tām anv avindann ṛishishu pravishṭām | tām ābhṛitya vi adadhuḥ purutrā tāṁ sapta rebhāḥ abhi saṁ navante* | 4. (= Nir. i. 19) *Uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācham uta tvaḥ śṛiṇvan na śṛiṇoti enām | uto tvasmai tanvaṁ vi sasre jāyā iva patye uśatī suvāsāḥ* | 5. (= Nir. i. 20) *Uta tvaṁ sakhye sthirapītam āhur na enaṁ hinvanty api vājineshu | adhenvā charati māyayā esha vācham śuśruvān aphalām apushpām* | 6. *Yas tityāja sachi-vidaṁ sakhāyaṁ na tasya vāchi api bhāgo asti | yad īṁ śṛiṇoti alakaṁ śṛiṇoti na hi praveda sukṛitasya panthāṁ* | 7. *Akshaṇvantaḥ karṇavantaḥ sakhāyo manojaveshu asamāḥ babhūvuḥ | ādaghnāsaḥ upakakshāsaḥ u tve hradāḥ iva snātvāḥ u tve dadṛiśre* | 8. (= Nir. xiii. 13) *Hṛidā tashṭeshu manaso javeshu yad brāhmaṇāḥ saṁyajante sakhāyaḥ | atra aha tvaṁ vi jahur vedyābhir ohabrahmāṇo vi charanti u tve* | 9. *Ime ye na arvāṅ na paraś charanti na brāhmaṇāso na sute-karāsaḥ | te ete vācham abhipadya pāpayā sirīs tantraṁ tanvate aprajajnayaḥ* | 10. *Sarve nandanti yaśasā āgatena sabhā-sahena sakhyā sakhāyaḥ | kilbisha-spṛit pitu-shaṇir hi eshām araṁ hito bhavati vājināya* | 11. (= Nir. i. 8) *Ṛichām tvaḥ posham āste pupushvān gāyatraṁ tvo gāyati śakvarīshu | brahmā tvo vadati jāta-vidyāṁ yajnasya mātrāṁ vi mimīte u tvaḥ* |

"When, o Bṛihaspati, men first sent forth the earliest utterance of speech, giving a name (to things), then all that was treasured within them, most excellent and pure, was disclosed through love. 2. Wherever the wise,—as if cleansing meal with a sieve,—have uttered speech with intelligence, there friends recognize acts of friendliness; good fortune dwells in their speech.[30] 3. Through sacrifice they came upon

[29] I cannot pretend that I am satisfied with some parts of the translation I have attempted of this very difficult hymn; but I give it such as it is, as the interpretation of the Vedic poems is still to a certain extent tentative. Verses 4 and 5 are explained in Sāyaṇa's Introduction to the Rig-veda, pp. 30 f. of Müller's edition. I am indebted here, as elsewhere, to Prof. Aufrecht for his suggestions.

[30] I quote here, as somewhat akin to this hymn, another from the A.V. vi. 108, being a prayer for wisdom or intelligence: 1. *Tvaṁ no medhe prathamā gobhir aśvebhir ā gahi | tvaṁ sūryasya raśmibhis tvaṁ no asi yajniyā* | 2. *Medhām aham prathamām*

the track of speech, and found her entered into the rishis. Taking, they divided her into many parts:[31] the seven poets celebrate her in concert. 4. And one man, seeing, sees not speech, and another, hearing, hears her not;[32] while to a third she discloses her form, as a loving well-dressed wife does to her husband. 5. They say that one man has a sure defence in (her[33]) friendship; he is not overcome even in the conflicts (of discussion). But that person consorts with a barren delusion who has listened to speech without fruit or flower. 6. He who abandons a friend who appreciates friendship, has no portion whatever in speech. All that he hears, he hears in vain, for he knows not the path of righteousness. 7. Friends gifted both with eyes and ears have proved unequal in mental efforts. Some have been (as waters) reaching to the face or armpit, while others have been seen like ponds in which one might bathe. 8. When *brāhmans* who are friends strive (?) together in efforts of the mind produced by the heart,[34] they leave one man behind through their acquirements, whilst others walk about boasting to be *brāhmăns*. (This is the sense Professor Aufrecht suggests for the word *ohabrāhmānaḥ*. Professor Roth *s.v.* thinks it may mean "real priests." The author of Nirukta xiii. 13, explains it as meaning "reasoning priests," or "those of whom reasoning is the sacred science.") 9. The men who range neither near nor far, who are neither (reflecting) *brāhmans* nor yet pious worshippers at libations,—these, having acquired speech, frame their web imperfectly, (like) female

brahmaṇvatīm brahma-jūtām ṛishishṭutām | prapītām brahmachāribhir devānām avase huve | 3. Yām medhām Ṛibhavo vidur yām medhām asurāḥ viduḥ | ṛishayo bhadrām medhāṁ yāṁ vidus tām mayy ā veśayāmasi | 4. Yām ṛishayo bhūta-kṛito medhām medhāvino viduḥ | tayā mām adya medhayā Agne medhāvinaṁ kṛiṇu | 5. Medhāṁ sāyam medhām prātar medhām madhyandinam pari | medhāṁ sūryasya raśmibhir vachasā" veśayāmahe 1. "Come to us, wisdom, the first, with cows and horses; (come) thou with the rays of the sun; thou art to us an object of worship. 2. To (obtain) the succour of the gods, I invoke wisdom the first, full of prayer, inspired by prayer, praised by rishis, imbibed by Brahmachārins. 3. We introduce within me that wisdom which Ṛibhus know, that wisdom which divine beings (*asurāḥ*) know, that excellent wisdom which rishis know. 4. Make me, o Agni, wise to-day with that wisdom which the wise rishis — the makers of things existing — know. 5. We introduce wisdom in the evening, wisdom in the morning, wisdom at noon, wisdom with the rays of the sun, and with speech" (*vachasā*). Regarding the *ṛishayo bhūtakṛitaḥ* see above, p. 37, note.

[31] Compare x. 125, 3; i. 164, 45; (x. 90, 11); and A.V. xii. 1, 45.

[32] Compare Isaiah vi. 9, 10; and St. Matthew xiii. 14, 15.

[33] *Vāk-sakhye*, Yāska.

[34] Compare i. 171, 2; ii. 35, 2; vi. 16, 47.

weavers,[35] being destitute of skill. 10. All friends rejoice at the arrival of a renowned friend who rules the assembly; for such a one, repelling evil, and bestowing nourishment upon them, is thoroughly prepared for the conflict (of discussion). 11. One man possesses a store of verses (*ṛichām*); a second sings a hymn (*gāyatra*) during (the chanting of) the *śakvarīs*; one who is a *brāhmăn* declares the science of being (*jāta-vidyām*), whilst another prescribes the order of the ceremonial." [36]

R.V. x. 88, 19 (= Nir. vii. 31). *Yāvan-mātram ushaso na pratīkaṁ suparṇyo vasate Mātariśvaḥ | tāvad dadhāti upa yajnam āyan brāhmaṇo hotur avaro nishīdan |*

"As long as the fair-winged Dawns do not array themselves in light, o Mātariśvan, so long the *brāhman* coming to the sacrifice, keeps (the fire), sitting below the hotṛi-priest."

(See Professor Roth's translation of this verse in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 113).

x. 90, 11 (= A.V. xix. 5, 6; Vaj. S. xxxi.). See above, pp. 8–15.

x. 97, 22. *Oshadhayaḥ saṁvadante Somena saha rājnā | yasmai kṛiṇoti brāhmaṇas taṁ rājan parayāmasi |*

"The plants converse with king Soma,[37] (and say), for whomsoever a *brāhman* acts (*kṛiṇoti*, officiates), him, o king, we deliver."

x. 109, 1. *Te 'vadan prathamāḥ brahma-kilbishe akūpāraḥ salilo Mātariśvā | vīḷuharās tapa ugro mayobhūr āpo devīr prathamajāḥ ṛitena | Soma rājā prathamo brahma-jāyām punaḥ prāyachhad ahṛiṇīyamānaḥ | anvartitā Varuṇo Mitraḥ āsīd Agnir hotā hastagṛihya ninīya | 3. Hastena eva grāhyaḥ ādhir asyāḥ "brahma-jāyā iyam" iti cha id avochan | na dūtāya prahye tasthe eshā tathā rāshṭraṁ gupitaṁ kshattriyasya | 4. Devāḥ etasyām avadanta pūrve sapta ṛishayas tapase ye nisheduḥ | bhīmā jāyā brāhmaṇasya upanītā durdhāṁ dadhāti parame vyoman |*

[35] Such is the sense which Prof. Aufrecht thinks may, with probability, be assigned to *sirīs*, a word which occurs only here.

[36] According to Yāska (Nir. i. 8), these four persons are respectively the *hotṛi*, *udgātṛi*, *brahman*, and *adhvaryu* priests. The brahman, he says, being possessed of all science, ought to know everything; and gives utterance to his knowledge as occasion arises for it (*jāte jāte*). See Dr. Haug's remarks on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20.

[37] Compare *oshadhīḥ Soma-rājnīḥ*, "the plants whose king is Soma," in verses 18 and 19 of this hymn.

5. *Brahmachārī charati vevishad vishaḥ sa devānām bhavati ekam angam | tena jāyām anv avindad Bṛihaspatiḥ Somena nītām juhvam̃ na devāḥ |* 6. *Punar vai devāḥ adaduḥ punar manushyāḥ uta | rājānaḥ satyam̃ kṛiṇvānāḥ brahma-jāyām punar daduḥ |* 7. *Punardāya brahma-jāyām kṛitvī devair nikilbisham | ūrjam pṛithivyāḥ bhaktvāya urugāyam upāsate |*

"These (deities), the boundless, liquid Mātariśvan (Air), the fiercely-flaming, ardently-burning, beneficent (Fire), and the divine primeval Waters, first through righteousness exclaimed against the outrage on a *brāhmăn*. 2. King Soma,[38] unenvious, first gave back the *brāhmăn's* wife; Varuṇa and Mitra were the inviters; Agni, the invoker, brought her, taking her hand. 3. When restored, she had to be received back by the hand, and they then proclaimed aloud, 'This is the *brāhmăn's* wife;' she was not committed to a messenger to be sent:—in this way it is that the kingdom of a ruler (or Kshattriya) remains secured to him.[39] 4. Those ancient deities, the Rishis, who sat down to perform austerities, spoke thus of her, 'Terrible is the wife of the *brāhmăn*; when approached, she plants confusion in the highest heaven.[40] 5. The Brahmachārin[41] (religious student) continues to perform observances. He becomes one member[42] of the gods. Through him Bṛihaspati obtained his wife, as the gods obtained the ladle which was brought by Soma. 6. The gods gave her back, and men gave her back; kings, performing righteousness, gave back the *brāhmăn's* wife. 7. Giving back the *brāhmăn's* wife, delivering themselves from sin against the gods, (these kings) enjoy the abundance of the earth, and possess a free range of movement."

[38] Compare R.V. x. 85, 39 ff. (=A.V. xiv. 2, 2 ff.) *Punaḥ patnīm Agnir adād āyushā saha varchasā | dīrghāyur asyāḥ yaḥ patir jīvāti śaradaḥ śatam |* 40. *Somāḥ prathamo vivide Gandharvo vivide uttaraḥ* (the A.V. reads: *Somasya jāyā prathamam̃ Gandharvas te 'paraḥ patiḥ*) *| tṛitīyo Agnish ṭe patis turīyas te manushyajāḥ | Somo dadad Gandharvāya Gandharvo dadad Agnaye | rayim̃ cha putrām̃s chādād Agnir mahyam atho imām |* "Agni gave back the wife with life and splendour: may he who is her husband live to an old age of 100 years! Soma was thy first, the Gandharva was thy second, Agni thy third, husband; thy fourth is one of human birth. Soma gave her to the Gandharva, the Gandharva to Agni, Agni gave me wealth and sons, and then this woman." The idea contained in this passage may possibly be referred to in the verse before us (x. 109, 2).

[39] I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for this explanation of the verse.

[40] See R.V. i. 164, 34, 35, above.

[41] See my paper on the Progress of the Vedic Religion, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 374 ff.

[42] See A.V. x. 7, 1 ff.; 9, 26.

This hymn is repeated in the Atharva-veda with the addition of ten more verses which I shall quote in the next section.

I shall here state summarily the remarks suggested by a perusal of the texts which I have quoted, and the conclusions which they appear to authorize regarding the relation of the Vedic poets and priests to the other classes of the Indian community at the time when the earlier hymns of the Rig-veda were composed.

First: Except in the Purusha Sūkta (translated above in pp. 9 ff.) there is no distinct reference in the hymns to any recognised system of four castes.

Second: In one text (iii. 34, 9, see p. 176) where mention is made of the Āryan "colour," or "race," all the upper classes of the Indian community are comprehended under one designation, as the Kshattriyas and Vaiśyas as well as the Brāhmans were always in after-times regarded as Āryas (see above, p. 176.)

Third: The term *brāhmaṇa* occurs only in eight hymns of the Rig-veda, besides the Purusha Sūkta, whilst *brāhmăn* occurs in forty-six. The former of these words could not therefore have been in common use at the time when the greater part of the hymns were composed. The term *rājanya* is found only in the Purusha Sūkta; and *kshattriya* in the sense of a person belonging to a royal family, a noble, occurs only in a few places, such as x. 109, 3.[43] The terms Vaiśya and Śūdra are only found in the Purusha Sūkta, although *viś*, from which the former is derived, is of frequent occurrence in the sense of "people" (see p. 14, above).

Fourth: The word *brāhmăn*, as we have seen, appears to have had at first the sense of "sage," "poet;" next, that of "officiating priest;" and ultimately that of a "special description of priest."

Fifth: In some of the texts which have been quoted (particularly i. 108, 7; iv. 50, 8 f.; viii. 7, 20; viii. 45, 39; viii. 53, 7; viii. 81, 30; ix. 112, 1; x. 85, 29) *brāhmăn* seems to designate a "priest by profession."

Sixth: In other places the word seems rather to imply something peculiar to the individual, and to denote a person distinguished for

[43] This text is quoted above. In viii. 104, 13, Kshattriya is perhaps a neuter substantive: *Na vai u Somo vṛijinam hinoti na kshattriyam mithuyā dhārayantam* | "Soma does not prosper the sinner, nor the man who wields royal power deceitfully."

genius or virtue (x. 107, 6), or elected by special divine favour to receive the gift of inspiration (x. 125, 5).

Seventh: *Brāhmāṇa* appears to be equivalent to *brāhmă-putra*, "the son of a *brāhmăn*" (which, as we have seen, occurs in ii. 43, 2), and the employment of such a term seems necessarily to presuppose that, at the time when it began to become current, the function of a *brāhmăn*, the priesthood, had already become a profession.

The Rig-veda Sanhitā contains a considerable number of texts in which the large gifts of different kinds bestowed by different princes on the authors of the hymns are specified, and these instances of bounty are eulogized.

Of these passages R.V. i. 125; i. 126; v. 27; v. 30, 12 ff.; v. 61, 10; vi. 27, 8; vi. 45, 31 ff.; vi. 47, 22 ff. may be consulted in Prof. Wilson's translation; and a version of R.V. x. 107, which contains a general encomium on liberality will be found in the article entitled "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig- and Atharva-vedas," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 32 f. The following further texts, which describe the presents given by different princes to the rishis, viz. vii. 18, 22 ff.; viii. 3, 21 ff.; viii. 4, 19 ff.; viii. 5, 37 ff.; viii. 6, 46 ff.; viii. 19, 36 f.; viii. 21, 17 f.; viii. 24, 29 f.; viii. 46, 21 ff.; viii. 54, 10 ff.; viii. 57, 14 ff.; x. 33, 4 ff.; x. 62, 6 ff.; x. 93, 14 f. are translated in the article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian Society in the Vedic age" in the same Journal for 1866, pp. 272 ff., to which I refer.

On the other hand the hymns of the Rig-veda contain numerous references to persons who, if not hostile, were at least indifferent and inattentive to the system of worship which the rishis professed and inculcated; and niggardly in their offerings to the gods and their gifts to the priests. The article to which I have just referred contains (pp. 286 ff.) a long list of such passages, from which I extract the following:

i. 84, 7. *Yaḥ ekaḥ id vidayate vasu marttāya dāśushe | īśāno apratishkutaḥ Indro anga | 8. Kadā martyam arādhasam padā kshumpam iva sphurat | kadā naḥ śuśruvad giraḥ Indro anga |*

"Indra, who alone distributes riches to the sacrificing mortal, is lord and irresistible. 8. When will Indra crush the illiberal man like a bush with his foot? when will he hear our hymns?"

i. 101, 4. . . . *vīḷoś chid Indro yo asunvato vadhaḥ . . .* |

"Indra, who is the slayer of him, however strong, who offers no libations."

i. 122, 9. *Jano yo Mitrā-varuṇāv abhidhrug apo na vāṁ sunoti akshṇayādhruk* | *svayaṁ sa yakshmaṁ hṛidaye ni dhatte āpa yad īṁ hotrābhir ṛitāvā* |

"The hostile man, the malicious enemy, who pours out no libations to you, o Mitra and Varuṇa, plants fever in his own heart, when the pious man has by his offerings obtained (your blessing)."

i. 125, 7. *Mā priṇanto duritam enaḥ ā aran mā jārishuḥ sūrayaḥ suvratāsaḥ* | *anyas teshām paridhir astu kaś chid apriṇantam abhi saṁ yantu śokāḥ* |

"Let not the liberal suffer evil or calamity; let not devout sages decay; let them have some further term; let griefs befall the illiberal (*apriṇantam*).

i. 182, 3. *Kim atra dasrā kṛiṇuthaḥ kim āsāthe jano yaḥ kaśchid ahavir mahīyate* | *ati kramishṭam juratam paṇer asum jyotir viprāya kṛiṇutaṁ vachasyave* |

"What do ye here, o powerful (Aśvins)? why do ye sit (in the house of) a man who offers no oblation, and (yet) is honoured? Assail, wear away the breath of the niggard, and create light for the sage who desires to extol you."

ii. 23, 4. *Sunītibhir nayasi trāyase janaṁ yas tubhyaṁ dāśad na tam aṁho aśnavat* | *brahma-dvishas tapano manyumīr asi Bṛihaspate mahi tat te mahitvanam* |

"By thy wise leadings thou guidest and protectest the man who worships thee; no calamity can assail him. Thou art the vexer of him who hates devotion (*brahma-dvishaḥ*), and the queller of his wrath: this, o Bṛihaspati, is thy great glory."

iv. 25, 6. . . . *na asushver āpir na sakhā na jāmir dushprāvyo avahantā id avāchaḥ* | 7. *Na revatā paṇinā sakhyam Indro asunvatā sutapāḥ saṁ gṛiṇīte* | *ā asya vedaḥ khidati hanti nagnaṁ vi sushvaye paktaye kevalo 'bhūt* |

"Indra is not the relation or friend or kinsman of the man who offers no libations; he is the destroyer of the prostrate irreligious man. 7. Indra, the soma-drinker, accepts not friendship with the wealthy niggard who makes no soma-libations; but robs him of his riches, and

slays him when stripped bare, whilst he is the exclusive patron of the man who pours out soma and cooks oblations."

vi. 44, 11. . . . *jahi asushvīn pra vṛiha apriṇataḥ* |

"Slay (o Indra) those who offer no libations; root out the illiberal.'

viii. 53, 1. *Út tvā mandantu stomāḥ kṛiṇushva rādho adrivaḥ* | *ava brahma-dvisho jahi* | *pādā paṇīn arādhaso ni badhasva mahān asi* | *na hi tvā kaśchana prati* |

"Let our hymns gladden thee; give us wealth, o thunderer. Slay the haters of devotion. 2. Crush with thy foot the niggards who bestow nothing. Thou art great; no one is comparable to thee."

It seems evident, then, from these texts (and there are many more of the same tenor), that the irreligious man, the *parcus deorum cultor et infrequens*, was by no means a rare character among the Āryas of the Vedic age, and that the priests often found no little difficulty in drawing forth the liberality of their contemporaries towards themselves and in enforcing a due regard to the ceremonials of devotion. And if we consider, on the other hand, that the encomiums on the liberality of different princes to the poets and priests which are contained in the passages to which I before adverted, are the production of the class whose pretensions they represent, and whose dignity they exalt, we shall, no doubt, see reason to conclude that the value of the presents bestowed has been enormously exaggerated, and make some deduction from the impression which these texts are calculated to convey of the estimation in which the priests were held at the time when they were composed. But after every allowance has been made for such considerations, and for the state of feeling indicated by the complaints of irreligion and illiberality of which I have cited specimens, it will remain certain that the *brāhmăn*, whether we look upon him as a sage and poet, or as an officiating priest, or in both capacities, was regarded with respect and reverence, and even that his presence had begun to be considered as an important condition of the efficacy of the ceremonial. Thus, as we have already seen, in i. 164, 35, the *brāhmăn* is described as the highest heaven of "speech;" in x. 107, 6, a liberal patron is called a rishi and a *brāhmăn*, as epithets expressive of the most distinguished eulogy; in x. 125, 5, the goddess Vāch is said to make the man who is the object of her special affection a *brāhmăn* and a rishi; in vi. 45 7; vii. 7, 5; viii. 16, 7; and ix. 96, 6, the term *brāhmăn* is applied

honorifically to the gods Indra, Agni, and Soma; in iv. 50, 8, 9, great prosperity is declared to attend the prince by whom a *brăhmăn* is employed, honoured, and succoured; and in iii. 53, 9, 12; v. 2, 6; vii. 33, 2, 3, 5; and vii. 83, 4, the highest efficacy is ascribed to the intervention and intercession of this class of functionaries.

Again, whatever exaggeration we may suppose in the texts which eulogize the liberality of princely patrons, in regard to the value of the presents bestowed, there is no reason to doubt that the ministers of public worship, who possessed the gift of expression and of poetry, who were the depositaries of all sacred science, and who were regarded as the channels of access to the gods, would be largely rewarded and honoured.[44]

[44] It is to be observed that, in these eulogies of liberality, mention is nowhere made of *Brāhmans* as the recipients of the gifts. In two places, viii. 4, 20, and x. 33, 4, a rishi is mentioned as the receiver. In later works, such as the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, on the contrary, the presents are distinctly connected with Brāhmans. Thus it is said in that work, ii. 2, 2, 6: *Dvayāḥ vai devāḥ devāḥ aha eva devāḥ atha ye brāhmaṇāḥ śuśruvāṁso 'nūchānās te manushya-devāḥ | teshāṁ dvedhā vibhaktaḥ eva yajnaḥ āhutayaḥ eva devānāṁ dakshiṇāḥ manushya-devānām brāhmaṇānām śuśruvushām anūchānānām | āhutibhir eva devān prīṇāti dakshiṇābhir manushya-devān brāhmaṇān śuśruvusho 'nūchānān | te enam ubhaye devāḥ prītāḥ sudhāyāṁ dadhati |* "Two kinds of gods are gods, viz. the gods (proper), whilst those Brāhmans who have the Vedic tradition, and are learned, are the human gods. The worship (*yajna*) of these is divided into two kinds. Oblations constitute the worship offered to the gods, and presents (*dakshiṇā*) that offered to the human gods, the Brāhmans, who possess the Vedic tradition and are learned. It is with oblations that a man gratifies the gods, and with presents that he gratifies the human gods, the Brāhmans, who possess the Vedic tradition, and are learned. Both these two kinds of gods, when gratified, place him in a state of happiness" (*sudhāyām*); (or "convey him to the heavenly world," as the expression is varied in the parallel passage of the same work, iv. 3, 4, 4). It is similarly said in the Taitt. Sanh. i. 7, 3, 1: *Parokshaṁ vai anye devāḥ ijyante pratyaksham anye | yad yajate ye eva devāḥ paroksham ijyante tān eva tad yajati | yad anvāhāryam āharaty ete vai devāḥ pratyaksham yad brāhmaṇās tān eva tena prīṇāti | atho dakshiṇā eva asya eshā | atho yajnasya eva chhidram apidadhāti yad vai yajnasya krūram yad vilishṭam tad anvāhāryeṇa anvāharati | tad anvāhāryasya anvāhāryatvam | devadūtāḥ vai ete yad ṛitvijo yad anvāhāryam āharati devadūtān eva prīṇāti |* "Some gods are worshipped in their absence, and others in their presence. It is to those gods who are worshipped in their absence that the sacrificer offers the oblation which he presents. And it is these gods who are visible, *i.e.* the Brāhmans, whom he gratifies with the *anvāhārya* (present of cooked rice) which he afterwards brings. Now this *anvāhārya* is the present (*dakshiṇā*) connected with it (the sacrifice). Then he covers over the faults of the sacrifice. Whatever in it is excessive or defective, that he removes by means of the *anvāhārya*. In this consists the nature of that offering. These officiating priests are the messengers of the gods; and it is the messengers of the gods whom the sacrificer gratifies with this *anvāhārya* gift which he presents."

It is further clear, from some of the texts quoted above (ii. 1, 2; iv. 9, 3; x. 52, 2), as well as i. 162, 5, and from the contents of hymns ii. 36; ii. 37; ii. 43; and x. 124, 1,[45] that in the later part of the Vedic era, to which these productions are probably to be assigned, the ceremonial of worship had become highly developed and complicated, and that different classes of priests were required for its proper celebration.[46] It is manifest that considerable skill must have been required for the due performance of these several functions; and as such skill could only be acquired by early instruction and by practice, there can be little doubt that the priesthood must at that period have become a regular profession.[47] The distinction of king or noble and priest appears to be recognized in i. 108, 7, as well as in iv. 50, 8, 9; whilst in v. 47, 7, 14, a similar distinction is made between king and rishi; and it is noticeable that the verse, in other respects nearly identical, with which the 36th and 37th hymns of the eight maṇḍala respectively conclude, ends in the one hymn with the words, "Thou alone, Indra, didst deliver Trasadasyu in the conflict of men, magnifying prayers" (*brahmāṇi vardhayan*); whilst in the other the last words are, "magnifying (royal) powers" (*kshattrāṇi vardhayan*), as if the former contained a reference to the functions of the priest, and the latter to those of the prince. (Compare viii. 35, 16, 17.)

While, however, there thus appears to be every reason for supposing that towards the close of the Vedic period the priesthood had become a profession, the texts which have been quoted, with the exception of the verse in the Purusha Sūkta (x. 90, 12), do not contain anything which necessarily implies that the priests formed an exclusive caste, or, at least, a caste separated from all others by insurmountable barriers, as in later times. There is a wide difference between a profession, or even a hereditary order, and a caste in the fully developed Brahmanical sense.

[45] See also i. 94, 6, where it is said: "Thou (Agni) art an *adhvaryu*, and the earliest *hotṛi*, a *praśāstṛi*, a *potṛi*, and by nature a *purohita*. Knowing all the priestly functions (*ārtvijyā*) wise, thou nourishest us," etc. (*tvam adhvaryur uta hotā 'si pūrvyaḥ praśāstā potā janushā purohitaḥ | viśvā vidvān ārtijyā dhīra pushyasy Agne ity ādi*).

[46] See Prof. Müller's remarks on this subject, Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 485 ff.; and Dr. Haug's somewhat different view of the same matter in his Introd. to Ait. Br. pp. 11 ff.

[47] In regard to the great importance and influence of the priests, see Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 485 ff.

Even in countries where the dignity and exclusive prerogatives of the priesthood are most fully recognized (as in Roman Catholic Europe), the clergy form only a profession, and their ranks may be recruited from all sections of the community. So, too, is it in most countries, even with a hereditary nobility. Plebeians may be ennobled at the will of the sovereign. There is, therefore, no difficulty in supposing that in the Vedic era the Indian priesthood—even if we suppose its members to have been for the most part sprung from priestly families—may have often admitted aspirants to the sacerdotal character from other classes of their countrymen. Even the employment of the word *brāhmaṇa* in the Rig-veda does not disprove this. This term, derived from *brahman*, "priest," need not, as already intimated, signify anything further than the son or descendant of a priest (the word *brahmaputra*, "son of a priest," is, as we have seen, actually used in one text),—just as the *rājanya* means nothing more than the descendant of a king or chief (*rājan*), a member of the royal family, or of the nobility.

The paucity of the texts (and those, too, probably of a date comparatively recent) in which the word *brāhmaṇa* occurs, when contrasted with the large number of those in which *brăhmăn* is found, seems, as I have already observed, to prove conclusively that the former word was but little employed in the earlier part of the Vedic era, and only came into common use towards its close. In some of these passages (as in vii. 103, 1, 7, 8; x. 88, 19) there is nothing to shew that the Brāhman is alluded to as anything more than a professional priest, and in vii. 103, the comparison of frogs to Brāhmans may seem even to imply a want of respect for the latter and their office.[48] In other places (i. 164, 45, and x. 71, 8, 9) a distinction appears to be drawn between intelligent and unintelligent Brāhmans, between such as were thoughtful and others who were mere mechanical instruments in carrying on the ceremonial of worship,[49] which, certainly points to the existence of a sacerdotal class. In another passage (x. 97, 22) the importance of a Brāhman to the proper performance of religious rites appears to be clearly expressed. In x. 109, where the words *brăhmăn* (*passim*) and *brāh-*

[48] See Müller's remarks on this hymn in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 494.

[49] In R.V. viii. 50, 9, it is said: "Whether an unwise or a wise man, o Indra, has offered to thee a hymn, he has gladdened (thee) through his devotion to thee (*avipro vā yad avidhad vipro vā Indra te vachaḥ | sa pra mamandat tvāyā ity ādi*)."

maṇa (in verse 4) seem to be used interchangeably—the inviolability of Brāhman's wives, the peril of interfering with them, and the blessing attendant on reparation for any outrage committed against them, are referred to in such a way as to shew at once the loftiness of the claim set up by the Brāhmans on their own behalf, and to prove that these pretensions were frequently disregarded by the nobles. In x. 16, 6, the Brāhmans are spoken of as inspired by Soma, and in vi. 75, 10, the manes of earlier Brāhmans are reckoned among those divine beings who have power to protect the suppliant. But in none of these texts is any clear reference made to the Brāhmans as constituting an exclusive caste or race, and nothing whatever is said about their being descended from an ancestor distinct from those of the other classes of their countrymen.

SECT. II.—*Quotations from the Rig-veda, the Nirukta, the Mahābhārata, and other works, to shew that according to ancient Indian tradition, persons not of priestly families were authors of Vedic hymns, and exercised priestly functions.*

But in addition to the negative evidence adduced in the preceding section, that during the age to which the greater part of the hymns of the Rig-veda are referable, the system of castes had, to say the least, not yet attained its full development, we find also a considerable amount of proof in the hymns themselves, or in later works, or from a comparison of both, that many of the hymns either were, or from a remote antiquity were believed to be, the productions of authors not of sacerdotal descent; and that some of these persons also acted as priests. The most signal instance of this kind is that of Viśvāmitra; but from the abundance of the materials which exist for its illustration I shall reserve it for the next chapter, where I shall treat of the contests between the Brāhmans and the Kshattriyas.

In later times, when none but Brāhman priests were known, it seemed to be an unaccountable, and—as contradicting the exclusive sacerdotal pretensions of the Brāhmans—an inconvenient circumstance, that priestly functions should have been recorded as exercised by persons whom tradition represented as Rājanyas; and it therefore became necessary to explain away the historical facts, by inventing miraculous legends to make it appear that these men of the royal order had been

in reality transformed into Brāhmans, as the reward of their superhuman merits and austerities—an idea of which we shall meet with various illustrations in the sequel. The very existence, however, of such a word as *rājarshi*, or "royal rishi," proves that Indian tradition recognized as rishis or authors of Vedic hymns persons who were considered to belong to Rājanya families. A number of such are named (though without the epithet of *rājarshi*) in the Anukramaṇikā or index to the Rig-veda; but Sāyaṇa, who quotes that old document, gives them this title. Thus, in the introduction to hymn i. 100, he says: *Atra anukramyate "sa yo vṛishā 'ekonā Vārshāgirāḥ Ṛijrāśvāmbarīsha-Sahadeva-Bhayamāna-Surādhasaḥ" iti | Vṛishāgiro mahārājasya putrabhūtāḥ Ṛijrāśvādayaḥ pancha rājarshayaḥ sadehaṁ sūktaṁ dadṛiśuḥ | atas te asya sūktasya ṛishayaḥ | uktaṁ hy ārshānukramaṇyām "sūktaṁ sa yo vṛishety etat pancha Vārshāgirāḥ viduḥ | niyuktāḥ nāmadheyaiḥ svair api 'chaitat tyad' iti ṛichi" iti |* "It is said in the Anukramaṇikā, 'Of this hymn (the rishis) are Ṛijrāśva, Ambarīsha, Sahadeva, Bhayamāna, and Surādhas, sons of Vṛishāgir.' Ṛijrāśva and others, sons of King Vṛishāgir, in all five rājarshis, saw this hymn in a bodily form. Hence they are its rishis (or seers). For it is declared in the Ārsha Anukramaṇī: 'The five sons of Vṛishāgir, who are mentioned by name in the verse beginning "this praise" (the 17th), know this hymn.'" The 17th verse is as follows: *Etat tyat te Indra vṛishṇe ukthaṁ Vārshagirāḥ abhi gṛiṇanti rādhaḥ | Ṛijrāśvaḥ prashṭibhir Ambarīshaḥ Sahadevo Bhayamānaḥ Surādhāḥ |* "This hymn the Vārshāgiras, Ṛijrāśva, with his attendants, and Ambarīsha, Sahadeva, Bhayamāna, and Surādhas, utter to thee, the vigorous, o Indra, as their homage;" on which Sāyaṇa repeats the remark that these persons were rājarshis (*etad ukthaṁ stotraṁ rādhaḥ saṁrādhakaṁ tvat-priti-hetuṁ Vārshāgirāḥ Vṛishāgiro rājnaḥ putrāḥ Ṛijrāśvādayo 'bhi gṛiṇanti ābhimukhyena vadanti | .... Ṛijrāśvaḥ etat-sanjno rājarshiḥ prashṭibhiḥ pārśva-sthair anyair ṛishibhiḥ saha Indram astaut | ke te pārśva-sthāḥ | Ambarīshādayaś chatvāro rājarshayaḥ*). Ambarīsha is also said to be the rishi of ix. 98. Again, "Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, a Rājarshi," is said by Sāyaṇa on R.V. iv. 42, to be the rishi of that hymn (*Purukutsasya putras Trasadasyuḥ rājarshiḥ | .... atrānukramaṇikā 'mama dvitā' daśa Trasadasyuḥ Paurukutsyaḥ*). In the 8th and 9th verses Trasadasyu is thus mentioned: *Asmākam atra pitaras te āsan sapta ṛishayo Daurgahe badhyamāne | te ā*

ayajanta Trasadasyum asyāḥ Indraṁ na vṛittraturam arddhadevam | 9. *Purukutsānī hi vām adāśad havyebhir Indrā-varuṇā namobhiḥ* | *atha rājānaṁ Trasadasyum asyāḥ vṛittrahaṇaṁ dadathur arddhadevam* | 8. "These seven rishis were our fathers. When the son of Durgaha was bound they gained by sacrifice for her (Purukutsānī) a son Trasadasyu, a slayer of foes, like Indra, a demigod. 9. Purukutsānī worshipped you, o Indra and Varuṇa, with salutations and obeisances; then ye gave her king Trasadasyu, a slayer of enemies, a demigod." I give Sāyaṇa's note on these verses: "*Purukutsasya mahishī Daurgahe bandhana-sthite* | *patyāv arājakaṁ dṛishṭvā rāshṭram putrasya lipsayā* | *yadṛichchhayā samāyātān saptarshīn paryapūjayat* | *te cha prītāḥ punaḥ prochur 'yajendrā-varuṇau bhṛiśam'* | *sā chendra-varuṇāv ishṭvā Trasadasyum ajījanat* | *itihāsam imaṁ jānann ṛishir brūte ṛichāv iha*" | *atha asmākam atra asminn arājake deśe asyām pṛithivyāṁ vā pitaraḥ pālayitāraḥ utpādakās te āsann abhavan* | *ete saptarshayaḥ prasiddhāḥ Daurgahe Durgahasya putre Purukutse badhyamāne dṛiḍham pāśair yasmād asyāḥ asyai Purukutsānyai Trasadasyum āyajanta prādur Indrā-Varuṇayor anugrahāt* | "'The queen of Purukutsa, when her husband, the son of Durgaha, was imprisoned, seeing the kingdom to be destitute of a ruler, and desirous of a son, of her own accord paid honour to the seven rishis who had arrived. And they, again, being pleased told her to sacrifice to Indra and Varuṇa. Having done so she bore Trasadasyu. Knowing this story, the rishi utters these two verses;'" which Sāyaṇa then explains. Similarly Sāyaṇa says on v. 27: "Tryaruṇa son of Trivṛishṇa, Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa, and Aśvamedha son of Bharata, these three kings conjoined, are the rishis of this hymn; or Atri is the rishi" (*Atrānukramaṇikā* | "*Anasvantā shaṭ Traivṛishṇa-paurukutsyau dvau Tryaruṇa-Trasadasyū rājānau Bhārataś cha Aśvamedhaḥ* | . . . . '*na ātmā ātmane dadyād*' *iti sarvāsv Atriṁ kechit*" . . . *Trivṛishṇasya putras Tryaruṇaḥ Purukutsasya putras Trasadasyur Bharatasya putro 'śvamedhaḥ ete trayo 'pi rājānaḥ sambhūya asya sūktasya ṛishayaḥ* | *yadvā Atrir eva ṛishiḥ*). The Anukramaṇikā, however, adds that according to some, as "no one would give gifts to himself, none of the princes mentioned as donors could be the author; but Atri must be the rishi." As the hymn is spoken by a fourth person, in praise of the liberality of these kings, it is clear they cannot well be its authors. And a similar remark applies to iv. 42, 8 f. However, the Hindu tradition, being such as it is, is good proof that kings could, in

conformity with ancient opinion, be rishis. Trasadasyu and Trayaruṇa are also mentioned as the rishis of ix. 110.[50] The rishis of iv. 43 and iv. 44 are declared by Sāyaṇa, and by the Anukramaṇikā, to be Purumīḷha, and Ajamīḷha, sons or descendants of Suhotra (iv. 43, *Atrānukramaṇikā 'kaḥ u śaśvat' sapta Purumīḷhājamīḷhau Sauhotrau tv Āśvinaṁ hi* | iv. 44, *Purumīḷhājamīḷhāv eva ṛishī*). Though these persons are not said by either of these authorities to be kings, yet in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas the latter is mentioned as being of royal race, and a tribe of Brāhmans is said to have been descended from him (see above p. 227). In the sixth verse of iv. 44, the descendants of Ajamīḷha are said to have come to the worship of the Aśvins (*naro yad vām Aśvinā stomam āvan sadhastutim Ajamīḷhāso agman*). The following hymns, also, are said by tradition to have had the undermentioned kings for their rishis, viz.: vi. 15, Vītahavya (or Bharadvāja); x. 9, Sindhudvīpa, son of Ambarīsha (or Triśiras, son of Tvashṭṛi); x. 75, Sindhukshit, son of Priyamedha; x. 133, Sudās, son of Pijavana; x. 134, Māndhātṛi, son of Yuvanāśva (see above, p. 225); x. 179, Śibi, son of Uśīnara, Pratardana, son of Divodāsa and king of Kāśī (see above, p. 229), and Vasumanas, son of Rohidaśva; and x. 148 is declared to have had Pṛithī Vainya[51] as its rishi. In the fifth verse of that hymn it is said: *Śrudhi havam Indra śūra Pṛithyāḥ uta stavase Venyasya arkaiḥ* | "Hear, o heroic Indra, the invocation of Pṛithī; and thou art praised by the hymn of Venya." In viii. 9, 10, also, Pṛithī Vainya is mentioned at the same time with three rishis: *Yad vāṁ Kakshīvān uta yad Vyaśvaḥ ṛishir yad vāṁ Dīrghatamāḥ juhāva* | *Pṛithī yad vāṁ Vainyaḥ sadaneshu eva id ato Aśvinā chetayethām* | "Whatever oblation (or invocation) Kakshīvat has made to you, or the rishi Vyaśva, or Dīrghatamas, or Pṛithī, son of Vena, in the places of

[50] In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, as we have seen above, p. 237, Trayyāruṇa, Pushkariṇ, and Kapi are said to have been sons of Urukshaya, and all of them to have become Brāhmans; and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Trayyaruṇi, Pushkarāruṇi, and Kapi are said to have all become Brāhmans.

[51] The S'. P. Br. v. 3, 5, 4, refers to Pṛithī as "first of men who was installed as a king" (*Pṛithī ha vai Vainyo manushyāṇām prathamo 'bhishishiche*). I extract from Dr. Hall's edition of Prof. Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. the following verse, adduced by the editor from the Vāyu Purāṇa about royal rishis: *Mānave Vainave* (?) *vaṁśe Aiḍe vaṁśe cha ye nṛipāḥ* | *Aiḍā Aikshvākū Nābhāgā jneyā rājarshayas tu te* | "Kings in the race of Manu, Vena (?), and Iḍa, the descendants of Iḍa, Ikshvāku, and Nabhāga are to be known as having been rājarshis."

sacrifice, take notice of that, o Aśvins." Here Sāyaṇa refers to Pṛithī as "the royal rishi of that name."

From the details I have supplied it is clear that in many cases the evidence is against the supposition that the princes to whom the hymns are ascribed were in reality their authors. The only instances in which the authorship seems to be established by the tenor of the hymns themselves are those of the Vārshagiras, or, at all events, that of Pṛithī. But, as has been already remarked, the fact that ancient Hindu tradition recognizes royal rishis as the authors of hymns is sufficient to prove that such cases were not unknown. Even if we were to suppose that flattery had any share in the creation of these traditions, it no doubt proceeded upon the belief of those who put them into circulation, that in earlier times the distinction between the priests and other classes was not so sharply defined as in their own day.

I proceed, however, to the case of Devāpi, in which the materials for forming a judgment are more adequate and satisfactory, and prove that he was not merely a rishi but an officiating priest.

In the Anukramaṇikā, R.V. x. 98 is ascribed to him as its author; and Yāska states as follows in the Nirukta, ii. 10:

Tatra itihāsam āchakshate | Devāpiś cha Ārshṭishenaḥ S'antanuś cha Kauravyau bhrātarau babhūvatuḥ | sa S'antanuḥ kanīyān abhishechayānchakre | Devāpis tapaḥ pratipede | tataḥ S'antanoḥ rājye dvādaśa varshāṇi devo na vavarsha | tam ūchur brāhmaṇāḥ "adharmas tvayā charito jyeshṭham bhrātaram antaritya abhishechitam | tasmāt te devo na varshati" iti | sa S'antanur Devāpiṁ śiśiksha rājyena | tam uvācha Devāpiḥ "purohitas te 'sāni yājayāni cha tvā" iti | tasya etad varsha-kāma-sūktam | tasya eshā bhavati |

"Here they relate a story. Devāpi son of Ṛishṭisheṇa, and S'antanu, belonged to the race of Kuru and were brothers. S'antanu, who was the younger, caused himself to be installed as king, whilst Devāpi betook himself to austere fervour. Then the god did not rain for twelve years of S'antanu's reign. The Brāhmans said to him: 'Thou hast practised unrighteousness in that, passing by thy elder brother, thou hast caused thyself to be installed as king. It is for this reason that the god does not rain.' S'antanu then sought to invest Devāpi with the sovereignty; but the latter said to him: 'Let me be thy

purohita and perform sacrifice for thee.' This hymn, expressing a desire of rain, is his. The following verse is part of it."

Yāska then quotes a verse of R.V. x. 98, the whole of which is as follows:

Bṛihaspate prati me devatām ihi Mitro vā yad Varuṇo vā asi Pūshā | Ādityair vā yad Vasubhir Marutvān sa Parjanyaṁ S'antanave vṛishāya | 2. Ā devo dūto ajiraś chikitvān tvad Devāpe abhi mām āgachhat | pratīchīnaḥ prati mām ā vavṛitsva dadhāmi te dyumatīṁ vācham āsan | 3. Asme dhehi dyumatīṁ vācham āsan Bṛihaspate anamīvām ishirām | yayā vrishṭiṁ S'antanave vanāva divo drapso madhumān ā viveśa | 4. Ā no drapsāḥ madhumanto višantu Indra dehi adhirathaṁ sahasram | ni shīda hotram[52] *ṛituthā yajasva devān Devāpe havishā saparya | 5. Ārshṭisheṇo hotram ṛishir nishīdan Devāpir deva-sumatiṁ chikitvān | sa uttarasmād adharaṁ samudram apo divyaḥ asṛijad varshyāḥ abhi | 6. Asmin samudre adhi uttarasmin āpo devebhir nivṛitāḥ atishṭhan | tāḥ adravann Ārshṭisheṇena sṛishṭāḥ Devāpinā preshitāḥ mṛikshiṇīshu | 7. Yad Devāpiḥ S'antanave purohito hotrāya vṛitaḥ kṛipayann adīdhet | deva-śrutaṁ vrishṭi-vaniṁ rarāṇo Bṛihaspatir vācham asmai ayachhat | 8. Yaṁ tvā Devāpiḥ śuśuchāno Agne Ārshṭisheṇo manushyaḥ samīdhe | višvebhir devair anumadyamānaḥ pra Parjanyam īraya vrishṭimantam | 9. Tvām pūrve ṛishayo gīrbhir āyan tvām adhvareshu puruhūta višve | sahasrāṇi adhirathāni asme ā no yajnaṁ rohidaśva upa yāhi | 10. Etāni Agni navatir nava tve āhutāni adhirathā sahasrā | tebhir vardhasva tanvaḥ śūra pūrvīr divo no vrishṭim ishito rirīhi | 11. Etāni Agne navatiṁ sahasrā sam pra yachha vrishṇe Indrāya bhāgam | vidvān pathaḥ ṛituśo devayānān apy aulānaṁ divi deveshu dhehi | 12. Agne bādhasva vi mṛidho vi durgahā apa amīvām apa rakshāṁsi sedha | asmāt samudrād bṛihato divo no apām bhūmānam upa naḥ sṛija iha |*

"Approach, Bṛihaspati,[53] to my worship of the gods, whether thou art Mitra, Varuṇa, Pūshan, or art attended by the Ādityas, Vasus, or Maruts: cause Parjanya to rain for S'antanu. 2. The god, a rapid messenger, has become aware, and has come from thee, o Devāpi, to me, (saying) 'approach towards me; I will place a brilliant hymn

[52] Compare R.V. ii. 1, 2.

[53] It looks as if Agni were here to be understood by Bṛihaspati, see verses 9–12. In R.V. ii. 1, 4 ff. Agni is identified with Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Aṁśa, Tvashṭṛi, Rudra, Pūshan, Savitṛi, Bhaga.

in thy mouth.' 3. Place in our mouth, o Bṛihaspati, a brilliant hymn, powerful, and spirited, whereby we two may solicit rain for Śantanu. The drop full of sweetness has descended on us from the sky. 4. May the drops full of sweetness come down upon us: give us, o Indra, a thousand waggon-loads (of them?). Perform the function of a hotṛi, sacrifice in due form, worship the gods with an oblation, o Devāpi. 5. The rishi Devāpi, son of Ṛishṭisheṇa, performing the function of a hotṛi, knowing (how to gain) the goodwill of the gods, has discharged from the upper to the lower ocean those waters of the sky which fall in rain. 6. The waters remained shut up by the gods in this upper ocean: they rushed forth when released by the son of Ṛishṭisheṇa, when discharged by Devāpi into the torrents.[54] 7. When Devāpi, placed in front of Śantanu (as his purohita), chosen for the office of hotṛi, fulfilling his function, kindled (the fire),—then, granting the prayer for rain which was heard by the gods, Bṛihaspati gave him a hymn. 8. Do thou, o Agni, whom the man[55] Devāpi the son of Ṛishṭisheṇa has inflamed and kindled,—do thou, delighted, with all the the gods, send hither the rain-bearing Parjanya. 9. Former rishis have approached thee with their hymns; and all (approach) thee, o god, much-invoked, in their sacrifices: give us thousands of waggon-loads: come, thou who art borne by red horses,[56] to our sacrifice. 10. These ninety-nine thousands of waggon-loads (of wood and butter?) have been thrown into thee, o Agni, as oblations. Through them grow, hero, to (the bulk of) thy former bodies;[57] and stimulated, grant us rain from the sky. 11. (Of) these ninety thousands give, o Agni, a share to the vigorous Indra. Knowing the paths which rightly lead to the gods, convey the oblation (?) to the deities in the sky. 12. Overcome, o Agni, our enemies, our calamities; drive away sickness, and rakshasés. From this great ocean of the sky discharge upon us an abundance of waters."

The fact of Devāpi being reputed as the author of this hymn, and as the purohita and hotṛi of his brother, seems to have led the legendary writers to invent the story of his becoming a Brāhman, which (as men-

[54] So the word *mṛikshiṇī* is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon.

[55] Or, "descendant of Manush" (*manushya*).

[56] This is a common epithet of Agni.

[57] This means, I suppose, "burst forth into vast flames."

tioned by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, i. p. 203) is recorded in the Śalya-parvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 2281 ff. where he is there said to have attained this distinction at a certain place of pilgrimage called Pṛithūdaka; where Sindhudvīpa and Viśvāmitra also were received into the higher caste:

Tatrārshṭisheṇaḥ Kauravya brāhmaṇyaṁ saṁśita-vrataḥ | tapasā mahatā rājan prāptavān ṛishi-sattamaḥ | Sindhudvīpaś cha rājarshir Devāpiś cha mahātapāḥ | brāhmaṇyaṁ labdhavān yatra Viśvāmitras tathā muniḥ | mahātapasvī bhagavān ugra-tejāḥ mahātapāḥ | . . . . 2287. Purā kṛita-yuge rajann Ārshṭisheṇo dvijottamaḥ | vasan guru-kule nityaṁ nityam adhyayane rataḥ | tasya rājan guru-kule vasato nityam eva cha | samāptiṁ nāgamad vidyā nāpi vedāḥ viśāmpate | sa nirviṇṇas tato rājaṁs tapas tepe mahātapāḥ | tato vai tapasā tena prāpya vedān anuttamanān | sa vidvān veda-yuktaś cha siddhaś chāpy ṛishi-sattamaḥ | . . . . | evam siddhaḥ sa bhagavān Ārshṭisheṇaḥ pratāpavān | tasminn eva tadā tīrthe Sindhudvīpaḥ pratāpavān | Devāpiś cha mahārāja brāhmaṇyam prāpatur mahat |

2281. "There the most excellent rishi Ārshṭisheṇa, constant in his observances, obtained Brāhmanhood by great austere fervour; as did also the royal rishi Sindhudvīpa,[58] and Devāpi great in austere fervour, and the glorious muni Viśvamitra, of great austere fervour and fiery vigour." Some other particulars of Arshṭisheṇa are given further on: 2287. "Formerly in the Kṛita age the most excellent Brāhman Ārshṭisheṇa dwelt constantly in his preceptor's family, devoted to incessant study; but could not complete his mastery of science or of the vedas.[59] Being in consequence discouraged, he betook himself to intense austere fervour. By this means he acquired the incomparable Vedas, and became learned and perfect. . . . . At the same place of pilgrimage the majestic Sindhudvīpa and Devāpi obtained the great distinction of Brāhmanhood."

It will be observed that here Ārshṭisheṇa is, in opposition to the authority of the Nirukta, made a distinct person from Devāpi.

[58] This prince also, as we have seen above, is mentioned among those Rājanyas who composed Vedic hymns.

[59] The Vedas are here spoken of in the plural, although Ārshtisheṇa is said to have lived in the Kṛita age. But the M. Bh. itself says elsewhere (see above, p. 145) that there was then but one Veda.

In a note to his (French) translation of the Rig-veda, M. Langlois (vol. iv. 502) supposes that the hymn above translated (x. 98), like the Purusha Sūkta, is very much posterior in date to the other hymns in the collection. The names of Devāpi and Sāntanu indicate, he thinks, as the date of its composition, a period not far preceding that of the great war of the Mahābhārata. Professor Weber, on the other hand, considers (Indische Studien, i. 203) that the Sāntanu and Devāpi mentioned in that work (Ādi-parvan, 3750 f.) cannot be the same as the persons alluded to in the Rigveda, because their father was Pratīpa, not Ṛishṭisheṇa; and because he thinks it doubtful whether a prince who preceded the Pāṇḍavas by only two generations could have been named in the Rig-veda, and appear there as an author of hymns.

The verses of the Ādi-parvan just referred to are as follows:

Pratīpasya trayaḥ putrāḥ jajnire Bharatarshabha | Devāpiḥ S'āntanuś chaiva Vāhlīkaś mahārathaḥ | Devāpiś cha pravavrāja teshāṁ dharmahitepsayā | S'āntanuś cha mahīṁ lebhe Vāhlīkaś cha mahārathaḥ |

"Three sons were born to Pratīpa, viz. Devāpi, Sāntanu, and Vāhlīka the charioteer. Of these Devāpi, desiring the benefits of religious excellence, became an ascetic; whilst Sāntanu and Vāhlīka obtained (the rule of) the earth."

The Harivaṁśa gives a different story about the same Devāpi, verse 1819:

Pratīpo Bhīmasenāt tu Pratīpasya tu S'āntanuḥ | Devāpir Vāhlikaś chaiva trayaḥ eva mahārathāḥ | . . . . 1822. Upādhyāyas tu devānāṁ Devāpir abhavad muniḥ | Chyavanasya kṛitaḥ putraḥ ishṭaś chāsīd mahātmanaḥ |

"Prātīpa sprang from Bhīmasena; and Sāntanu, Devāpi, and Vāhlika were the three chariot-driving sons of Pratīpa. . . . . 1822. Devāpi became a muni, and preceptor of the gods, being the adopted son of Chyavana, by whom he was beloved."

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (iv. 20, 7 ff.) concurs with the preceding authorities in making Devāpi and Sāntanu to be sons of Pratīpa, and descendants of Kuru, and his son Jahnu. It repeats the legend given in the Nirukta of the country of Sāntanu being visited by a drought of twelve years duration, in consequence of his having assumed the royal authority while his elder brother lived. And although, as will be seen, the sequel of the story is widely different from that recorded by the

Nirukta, the earlier incidents in the two narratives are so similar, that it would appear to have been the intention of the Puranic writer to identify the Devāpi and Sāntanu whose history he relates with the persons of the same names, although of different parentage, mentioned in Yāska's work. He may, however, possibly have transferred an older legend to more recent personages. The passage of the Vishṇu Purāṇa is as follows:

Ṛikshād Bhīmasenas tatas cha Dilīpaḥ | Dilīpāt Pratīpas tasyāpi Devāpi Sāntanu-Vāhlīka-sanjñās trayaḥ putrāḥ babhūvuḥ | Devāpir bālaḥ eva araṇyaṁ viveśa | S'āntanūr avanīpatir abhavat | ayaṁ cha tasya ślokaḥ pṛithivyāṁ gīyate "yaṁ yaṁ karābhyāṁ spṛiśati jīrṇaṁ yauvanam eti saḥ | śāntiṁ chāpnoti yenāgryāṁ karmaṇā tena S'āntanuḥ" | tasya S'āntanoḥ rāshṭre dvādaśa varshāṇi devo na vavarsha | tataścha aśesha-rāshṭra-vināśam avekshya asau rājā brāhmaṇān aprichhad "bhoḥ kasmād asmin rāshṭre devo na varshati | ko mama aparādhaḥ" iti | te tam ūchur "agrajasya te 'rhā iyam avanis tvayā bhujyate parivettā tvam" | ity uktaḥ sa punas tān aprichhat "kim mayā vidheyam" iti | tena tam ūchur "yāvad Devāpir na patanādibhir doshair abhibhūyate tāvat tasya arhaṁ rājyam | tad alam etena tasmai dīyatām" | ity ukte tasya mantri-pravareṇa Aśmasāriṇā tatra araṇye tapasvino veda-vāda-virodha-vaktāraḥ prayojitāḥ | tair ati-ṛiju-mater mahīpati-putrasya buddhir veda-virodha-mārgānusāriny akriyata | rājā cha S'āntanur dvija-vachanotpanna-parivedana-śokas tān brāhmaṇān agraṇīkṛitya agraja-rājya-pradānāya araṇyaṁ jagāma | tad-āśramam upagatāś cha tam avanīpati-putraṁ Devāpim upatasthuḥ | te brāhmaṇāḥ veda-vādānurūpiddhāni vachāṁsi "rājyam agrajena karttavyam" ity arthavanti tam ūchuḥ | asāv api veda-vāda-virodha-yukti-dūshitam aneka-prakāram tān āha | tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ S'āntanum ūchur "āgachha bho rājann alam atra ati-nirbandhena | praśāntaḥ eva asāv anāvṛishṭi-doshaḥ | patito 'yam anādi-kāla-mahita-veda-vachana-dūshaṇochchāraṇāt | patite cha agraje naiva pārivettryam bhavati" | ity uktaḥ S'āntanuḥ sva-puram āgatya rājyam akarot | veda-vāda-virodhi-vachanochchāraṇa-dūshite cha jyeshṭhe 'smin bhrātari tishṭhaty api Devāpāv akhila-sasya-nishpattaye vavarsha bhagavān Parjanyaḥ |

"From Riksha sprang Bhīmasena; from him Dilīpa; from him Pratīpa, who again had three sons called Devāpi, Sāntanu, and Vāhlīka. Devāpi while yet a boy retired to the forest; and S'āntanu became

king. Regarding him this verse is current in the world: 'Every decrepit man whom he touches with his hands becomes young. He is called Sāntanu from that work whereby he obtains supreme tranquility (*śānti*).' The god did not rain on the country of this Sāntanu for twelve years. Beholding then the ruin of his entire realm, the king enquired of the Brāhmans: 'Why does not the god rain on this country; what is my offence?' The Brāhmans replied: 'This earth, which is the right of thy elder brother, is now enjoyed by thee; thou art a *parivettṛi* (one married before his elder brother).'[60] Receiving this reply, he again asked them: 'What must I do?' They then answered: 'So long as Devāpi does not succumb to declension from orthodoxy and other offences, the royal authority is his by right; to him therefore let it be given without further question.' When they had so said, the king's principal minister Aśmasārin employed certain ascetics propounding doctrines contrary to the declarations of the Vedas to proceed into the forest, by whom the understanding of the very simple-minded prince (Devāpi) was led to adopt a system at variance with those sacred books. King Sāntanu being distressed for his offence in consequence of what the Brāhmans had said to him, went, preceded by those Brāhmans, to the forest in order to deliver over the kingdom to his elder brother. Arriving at the hermitage, they came to prince Devāpi. The Brāhmans addressed to him statements founded on the declarations of the Veda, to the effect that the royal authority should be exercised by the elder brother. He, on his part, expressed to them many things that were vitiated by reasonings contrary to the tenor of the Veda. The Brāhmans then said to Sāntanu, 'Come hither, o king: there is no occasion for any excessive hesitation in this affair: the offence which led to the drought is now removed. Your brother has fallen by uttering a contradiction of the words of the Veda which

[60] This is illustrated by Manu iii, 171 f.: *Dārāgnihotra-saṁyogaṁ kurute yo 'grajе sthite | parivettā sa vijneyaḥ parivittis tu pūrvajaḥ* | 172. *Parivittiḥ parivettā yayā cha parividyate | sarve te narakaṁ yānti dātṛi-yājaka-panchamāḥ* | "171. He who, while his elder brother is unwedded, marries a wife with the nuptial fires, is to be known as a *parivettṛi*, and his elder brother as a *parivitti*. 172. The *parivitti*, the *parivettṛi*, the female by whom the offence is committed, he who gives her away, and fifthly the officiating priest, all go to hell." The Indian writers regard the relation of a king to his realm as analogous to that of a husband to his wife. The earth is the king's bride.

have been revered from time without beginning; and when the elder brother has fallen, the younger is no longer chargeable with the offence of *pārivettrya* (*i.e.* of marrying before his elder brother).' When he had been so addressed, Sāntanu returned to his capital, and exercised the royal authority. And although his eldest brother Devāpi continued to be degraded by having uttered words opposed to the doctrines of the Veda, the god Parjanya rained in order to produce a harvest of all sorts of grain."

Can the compiler of the Purāṇa have deviated from the conclusion of this history as found in the Nirukta, and given it a new turn, in order to escape from the conclusion that a Rājanya could officiate as a purohita?

The same story is briefly told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 22, 14–17.

In the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, Devāpi's virtues and orthodoxy are extolled in the highest terms, and his exclusion from the throne is ascribed solely to his being a leper, v. 5054:

Devāpis tu mahātejās tvag-doshī rāja-sattamaḥ | dhārmikaḥ satya-vādī cha pituḥ śuśrūshaṇe rataḥ | paura-jānapadānāṁ cha sammataḥ sādhu-satkṛitaḥ | sarveshām bāla-vṛiddhānāṁ Devāpir hṛidayangamaḥ | vadānyaḥ satyasandhaś cha sarva-bhūta-hite rataḥ | varttamānaḥ pituḥ śāstre brāhmaṇānāṁ tathaiva cha | . . . . . | tam brāhmaṇāś cha vṛiddhāś cha paura-jānapadaiḥ saha | sarve nivārayāmāsur Devāper abhisechanam | sa tach chhrutvā tu nṛipatir abhisheka-nivāraṇam | aśru-kaṇṭho 'bhavad rājā paryaśochata chātmajam | evaṁ vadānyo dharmajnaḥ satyasandhaś cha so 'bhavat | priyaḥ prajānām api sa tvag-doshena pradūshitaḥ | "hīnāngam pṛithivīpālaṁ nābhinandanti devatāḥ" | iti kṛitvā nṛipa-śreshṭham pratyashedhan dvijarshabhāḥ | . . . . | nivāritaṁ nṛipaṁ dṛishṭvā Devāpiḥ saṁśrito vanam |

"But the glorious Devāpi, a most excellent prince, righteous, veracious, and obedient to his father, was a leper. He was esteemed by the inhabitants both of town and country, honoured by the good, beloved by all, both young and old, eloquent, true to his engagements, devoted to the welfare of all creatures, and conformed to the commands of his father, and of the Brāhmans." [The king his father grew old and was making preparations for the investiture of his successor; but public opinion was opposed to the devolution of the royal authority on

a leper, however virtuous]. "The Brahmans and aged men, together with the dwellers both in town and country, all restrained him from the investiture of Devāpi. The king, learning their opposition, was choked with tears, and bewailed his son's fate. Thus Devāpi was eloquent, acquainted with duty, true to his promise, and beloved by the people, but vitiated by leprosy. The Brāhmans forbade the king (to make Devāpi his successor), saying, 'the gods do not approve a king who labours under any corporeal defect.' . . . . Perceiving that the king (his father) was hindered (from carrying out his wishes) Devāpi retired to the forest."

On the same subject, the Matsya Purāṇa, 49, v. 39 f., states as follows:

Dilīpasya Pratīpastu tasya putrās trayaḥ smṛitāḥ | Devāpiḥ Śāntanuś chaiva Bāhlīkaś chaiva te trayaḥ | Bāhlīkasya tu dāyādāḥ sapta Bāhlīśvarāḥ nṛipāḥ | Devāpis tu apadhvastaḥ prajābhir abhavad muniḥ | ṛishayaḥ ūchhuḥ | prajābhis tu kimarthaṁ vai apadhvasto janeśvaraḥ | ke doshāḥ rājaputrasya prajābhiḥ samudāhṛitāḥ | Sūta uvācha | kilāsīd rājaputras tu kushṭī taṁ nābhyapūjayan | ko 'rthān vai atra (? vetty atra) devānāṁ kshattram prati dvijottamāḥ |

"The son of Dilīpa was Pratīpa, of whom three sons are recorded, Devāpi, Śāntanu, and Bāhlīka. The sons of the last were the seven Bāhlīśvara kings. But the Muni Devāpi was rejected by the people. The rishis enquired: 'why was that prince rejected by the people? what faults were alleged against him?' Sūta replied: 'the prince was leprous, and they paid him no respect. Who knows the designs of the gods towards the Kshattriya race?'"

No more is said of Devāpi in this passage.[61] The Vishṇu Purāṇa has the following further curious particulars regarding him, iv. 24, 44 ff.:

Devāpiḥ Pauravo rājā Maruś chekshvāku-vaṁśajaḥ | mahāyoga-balopetau Kalāpa-grāma-saṁśrayau | kṛite yuge ihāgatya kshattra-prāvarttakau hi tau | bhavishyato Manor vaṁśe vīja-bhūtau vyavasthitau | etena krama-yogena Manu-putrair vasundharā | kṛita-tretādi-sanjñāni yugāni trīṇi bhujyate | Kalau tu vīja-bhūtās te kechit tishṭhanti bhūtale | yathaiva Devāpi-Marū sāmprataṁ samavasthitau |

"King Devāpi of the race of Puru,[62] and Maru of the family of

[61] See Prof. Wilson's note, 4to. ed. p. 458.

[62] In the twentieth chapter, as we have seen, he is said to be of the race of Kuru.

Ikshvāku, filled with the power of intense contemplation (*mahāyoga*) are abiding in the village of Kalāpa, continuing to exist as seeds in the family of Manu; they shall come hither in the (next) Kṛita age, and re-establish the Kshattriya race. According to this order the earth is enjoyed by the sons of Manu throughout the three ages called Kṛita, Tretā, and Dvāpara. But during the Kali certain persons remain upon earth as seeds (of a future race), as Devāpi and Maru now exist."

According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 22, 17, it is the lunar race, which had perished in the Kali age, that Devāpi is to restore in the future Kṛita (*soma-vaṁśe kalau nashṭe kṛitādau sthāpayishyati*).

I shall quote here from the 132nd section of the Matsya Puraṇa, entitled *Manvantara-varṇanam* (a description of the Manvantaras) some of the particulars about the rishis with which it concludes:

98. *Bhṛiguḥ Kāśyaḥ Prachetāś cha Dadhīcho hy Atmavān api* | 99. *Aurvo 'tha Jamadagniś cha Kṛipaḥ Śāradvatas tathā* | *Ārshṭisheṇo Yudhājich cha Vitahavya-Suvarchasau* | 100. *Vaiṇaḥ Pṛithur Divodāso Brahmāśvo Gṛitsa-Śaunakau* | *ekonaviṁśatir hy ete Bhṛigavo mantra-kṛittamāḥ* | 101. *Angirāḥ Vedhasaś chaiva Bharadvājo Bhalandanaḥ* | *Ṛitabādhas tato Gargaḥ Sitiḥ Sankṛitir eva cha* | 102. *Gurudhīraś cha Māndhātā Ambarīshas tathaiva cha* | *Yuvanāśvaḥ Puruḥ Kutsaḥ Pradyumnaḥ Śravanasya chá* | 103. *Ajamīḍho 'tha Haryaśvas Takshapaḥ Kavir eva cha* | *Pṛishadaśvo Virūpaś cha Kaṇvaś chaivātha Mudgalaḥ* | 104. *Utathyaś cha Śaradvāṁś cha tathā Vājaśravā iti* | *Apaśyo 'tha Suvittaś cha Vāmadevas tathaiva cha* | 105. *Ajito Bṛihadukthaś cha ṛishir Dīrghatamā api* | *Kakshīvāṁś cha trayastriṁśat smṛitā hy Angiraso varāḥ* | 106. *Ete mantra-kṛitaḥ sarve Kāśyapāṁs tu nibodhata* | . . . | 111. *Viśvāmitraś cha Gādheyo Devarājas tathā Balaḥ* | *tathā vidvān Madhuchchhandāḥ Ṛishabhaś chāghamarshaṇaḥ* | 112. *Ashṭako Lohitaś chaiva Bhṛitakīlaś cha tāv ubhau* | *Vedāśravāḥ Devarātaḥ Purāṇāśvo Dhananjayaḥ* | 113. *Mithīlaś cha mahātejāḥ Sālankāyana eva cha* | *trayodaśaite vijneyāḥ brahmishṭhāḥ Kauśikāḥ varāḥ* | . . . . | 115. *Manur Vaivasvataś chaiva Iḍo rājā Purūravāḥ* | *Kshattriyāṇāṁ varāḥ hy ete vijneyāḥ mantra-vādinaḥ* | 116. *Bhalandaś chaiva Vandyaś cha Sankīrttiś*[63] *chaiva te trayaḥ* | *ete mantra-kṛito jneyāḥ Vaiśyānām pravarāḥ sadā* | 117. *Ity eka-navatiḥ proktāḥ mantrāḥ yaiś cha bahiḥ kṛitaḥ* |

[63] Various readings—*Bhalandakaś cha Vāsāś cha Sankālaś cha.*

brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ ṛishiputrān nibodhata | 118. *Ṛishīkāṇāṁ sutāḥ hy ete rishi-putrāḥ śrutarshayaḥ* |[64]

"98. Bhṛigu, Kāśya, Prachetas, Dadhīcha, Ātmavat, (99) Aurva, Jamadagni, Kṛipa, S'āradvata, Ārshṭishena, Yudhājit, Vītahavya, Suvarchas, (100) Vaiṇa, Pṛithu, Divodāsa, Brahmāśva, Gṛitsa, S'aunaka, these are the nineteen[65] Bhṛigus, composers of hymns. 101. Angiras, Vedhasa, Bharadvāja, Bhalandana,[66] Ṛitabādha, Garga, Siti, Sankṛiti, Gurudhīra,[67] Māndhātṛi, Ambarīsha, Yuvanāśva, Purukutsa,[68] Pradyumna, S'ravaṇasya,[69] Ajamīḍha, Haryaśva, Takshapa, Kavi, Pṛishadaśva, Virūpa, Kaṇva, Mudgala, Utathya, S'aradvat, Vājaśravas, Apaśya, Suvitta, Vāmadeva, Ajita, Bṛihaduktha, Dīrghatamas, Kakshīvat, are recorded as the thirty-three eminent Angirases. These were all composers of hymns. Now learn the Kāśyapas. . . . . 111. Viśvāmitra, son of Gādhi, Devarāja, Bala, the wise Madhuchhandas, Ṛishabha, Aghamarshaṇa, (112) Ashṭaka, Lohita, Bhṛitakīla, Vedaśravas, Devarāta, Purāṇāśva, Dhanañjaya, the glorious (113) Mithila, Sālankayana, these are to be known as the thirteen devout and eminent Kuśikas.[70] . . . . . 115. Manu Vaivasvata, Iḍa, king Purūravas, these are to be known as the eminent utterers of hymns among the Kshattriyas. 116. Bhalanda, Vandya, and Sankīrtti,[71] these are always to be known as the three eminent persons among the Vaiśyas who were composers of hymns. 117. Thus ninety-one[72] persons have been declared, by whom hymns have been given forth, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas. Learn the sons of the rishis. 118. These are the offspring of the ṛishīkas, sons of rishis, secondary rishis (*śrutarshis*)."

The section ends here.

[64] I am indebted for an additional copy of this section of the Matsya Purāṇa (of which some account is given by Prof. Aufrecht in his Catalogue, p. 41), to the kindness of Mr. Griffith, Principal of Queen's College, Benares, who, at my request, has caused it to be collated with various other MSS. existing in Benares. I have not thought it necessary to exhibit all the various readings in the part I have quoted.

[65] The number of nineteen is only obtained by making Vaiṇa and Pṛithu two persons.

[66] Instead of this word, one Benares MS. has Lakshmaṇa.

[67] Two MSS. have Turavīta.

[68] This word is divided into two in the MS.

[69] Two MSS. have, instead, Svaśravas and Tamasyavat.

[70] Unless some of the words I have taken as names are really epithets, fifteen persons are enumerated here.

[71] Some MSS. have Bhalandaka, Vandha or Vāsas, and Sankāla or Sankīrna.

[72] This is the total of several lists, some of which I have omitted.

It will be observed from a comparison of this extract with the details previously given, that some of the rājarshis, or rishis of royal blood, such as Ārshṭisheṇa, Vītahavya, Pṛithu (the same as Pṛithī) are spoken of as belonging to the family of Bhṛigu, while others of the same class, such as Māndhātṛi, Ambarīsha, Yuvanāśva, Purukutsa, are reckoned among the Angirases. Viśvāmitra and his descendants are merely designated as Kuśikas without any specific allusion to their Rājanya descent; but Manu, Iḍa, and Purūravas, are distinctly recognized as being as once authors of hymns and Kshattriyas; and, what is more remarkable, three Vaiśyas are also declared to have been sacred poets. These traditions of an earlier age, though scanty in amount, are yet sufficient to show that in the Vedic times the capacity for poetical composition, and the prerogative of officiating at the service of the gods, was not regarded as entirely confined to men of priestly families.

Sect. III.—*Texts from the Atharva-veda illustrating the progress of Brāhmanical pretensions.*

I have already quoted (in pp. 21 and 22) three short passages from the Atharva-veda regarding the origin of the Brāhman and Kshattriya castes. I shall now bring forward some other texts from the same collection which show a much greater development of the pretensions of the priests to a sacred and inviolable character than we meet in any part of the Rig-veda, if the 109th hymn of the tenth book (cited above) be excepted.

I shall first adduce the 17th hymn of the fifth book, to which I have already alluded, as an expansion of R.V. x. 109.

Atharva-veda v. 17. (Verses 1–3 correspond with little variation to verses 1–3 of R.V. x. 109). 4. *Yām āhus "tārakā eshā vikeśī" iti duchchhunām̐ grāmam avapadyamānām | sā brahma-jāyā vi dunoti rāshṭraṁ yatra prāpādi śaśaḥ ulkushīmān* | (verses 5 and 6 = verses 5 and 4 of R.V. x. 109). 7. *Ye garbhāḥ avapadyante jagad yach chāpalupyate | virāḥ ye tṛihyante mitho brahma-jāyā hinasti tān* | 8. *Uta yat patayo daśa striyāḥ pūrve abrāhmaṇāḥ | brahmā ched hastam agrahīt sa eva patir ekadhā* | 9. *Brāhmaṇaḥ eva patir na rājanyo na vaiśyaḥ | tat sūryaḥ prabruvann eti panchabhyo mānavebhyaḥ* | (Verses 10 and 11 = verses 6 and 7 of R.V. x. 109). 12. *Nāsya jāyā śatavāhī kalyāṇī talpam*

ā śaye | yasmin rāshtre nirudhyate brahma-jāyā achittyā | 13. *Na vikarṇaḥ pṛithuśirās tasmin veśmani jāyate | yasminn ityādi* | 14. *Nāsya kshattā nishka-grīvaḥ sūnānām eti agrataḥ | yasminn ityādi* | 15. *Nāsya śvetaḥ kṛishṇa-karṇo dhuri yukto mahīyate | yasminn ityādi* | 16. *Nāsya kehettre pushkaraṇī nāṇḍīkaṁ jāyate visam | yasminn ityādi* | 17. *Nāsmai pṛiśniṁ vi duhanti ye 'syāḥ doham upāsate | yasminn ityādi* | 18. *Nāsya dhenuḥ kalyāṇī nānaḍvān sahate yugam | vijānir yatra brāhmaṇo rātriṁ vasati pāpayā* |

" . . . . . 4. That calamity which falls upon the village, of which they say, 'this is a star with dishevelled hair,' is in truth the *brāhmaṇ's* wife, who ruins the kingdom; (and the same is the case) wherever (a country) is visited by a hare attended with meteors. . . . . 7. Whenever any miscarriages take place, or any moving things are destroyed, whenever men slay each other, it is the *brāhmaṇ's* wife who kills them. 8. And when a woman has had ten former husbands not *brāhmans*, if a *brāhmaṇ* take her hand (*i.e.* marry her), it is he alone who is her husband. 9. It is a Brāhman only that is a husband, and not a Rājanya or a Vaiśya. That (truth) the Sun goes forward proclaiming to the five classes of men (*panchabhyo mānavebhyaḥ*), ... 12. His (the king's) wife does not repose opulent (*śatavāhī*) and handsome upon her bed in that kingdom where a *brāhmaṇ's* wife is foolishly shut up. 13. A son with large ears (*vikarṇaḥ*) and broad head is not born in the house in that kingdom, etc. 14. A charioteer with golden neckchain does not march before the king's hosts[73] in that kingdom, etc. 15. A white horse with black ears does not make a show yoked to his (the king's) chariot in that kingdom, etc. 16. There is no pond with blossoming lotuses[74] in his (the king's) grounds in that kingdom where, etc. 17. His (the king's) brindled cow is not milked by his milkmen in that kingdom, etc. 18. His (the king's) milch cow does not thrive, nor does his ox endure the yoke, in that country where a Brāhman passes the night wretchedly without his wife."

This hymn appears to show that, however extravagant the pretensions of the Brāhmans were in other respects, they had, even at the comparatively late period when it was composed, but little regard to

[73] The word here in the original is *sūnānām*, with which it is difficult to make any sense. Should we not read *senānām*?

[74] Compare R.V. x. 107, 10.

the purity of the sacerdotal blood, as they not only intermarried with women of their own order, or even with women who had previously lived single, but were in the habit of forming unions with the widows of Rājanyas or Vaiśyas,[75] if they did not even take possession of the wives of such men while they were alive.[76] Even if we suppose these women to have belonged to priestly families, this would only show that it was no uncommon thing for females of that class to be married to Rājanyas or Vaiśyas—a fact which would, of course, imply that the caste system was either laxly observed, or only beginning to be introduced among the Indians of the earlier Vedic age. That, agreeably to ancient tradition, Brāhmans intermarried with Rājanya women at the period in question, is also distinctly shewn

[75] That the remarriage of women was customary among the Hindus of those days is also shewn by A.V. ix. 5, 27 f., quoted in my paper on Yama, Jour. R. A. S. for 1865, p. 299.

[76] This latter supposition derives a certain support from the emphasis with which the two verses in question (A. V. v. 17, 8, 9) assert that the Brāhman was the only true husband. Whence, it may be asked, the necessity for this strong and repeated asseveration, if the Rājanya and Vaiśya husbands were not still alive, and prepared to claim the restoration of their wives? The verses are, however, explicable without this supposition.

It is to be observed, however, that no mention is here made of Śūdras as a class with which Brāhmans intermarried. Śūdras were not Āryas, like the three upper classes. This distinction is recognised in the following verse of the A.V. xix. 62, 1: "Make me dear to gods, dear to princes, dear to every one who beholds me, both to Śūdra and to Ārya." (Unless we are to suppose that both here and in xix. 32, 8, *ārya* = a Vaiśya, and not *ārya*, is the word). In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva Śākhā (Adhvara Kāṇḍa, i. 6), the same thing is clearly stated in these words (already partially quoted above, p. 176), for a copy of which I am indebted to Prof. Müller: *Tan na sarva eva prapadyeta na hi devāḥ sarveṇaiva saṅgachhante | ārya eva brāhmaṇo vā kshattriyo vā vaiśyo vā te hi yajniyāḥ | no eva sarveṇaiva saṁvadeta na hi devāḥ sarveṇaiva saṁvadante āryeṇaiva brāhmaṇena vā kshattriyeṇa vā vaiśyena vā te hi yajniyāḥ | yady enam śūdreṇa saṁvādo vindet "ittham enam nichakshva" ity anyam brūyād esha dīkshitasyopachāraḥ.* "Every one cannot obtain this (for the gods do not associate with every man), but only an Ārya, a Brāhman, or a Kshattriya, or a Vaiśya, for these can sacrifice. Nor should one talk with everybody (for the gods do not talk with every body), but only with an Ārya, a Brāhman, or a Kshattriya, or a Vaiśya, for these can sacrifice. If any one have occasion to speak to a Śūdra, let him say to another person, 'Tell this man so and so.' This is the rule for an initiated man."

In the corresponding passage of the Mādhyandina Śākhā (p. 224 of Weber's edition) this passage is differently worded.

From Manu (ix. 149–157; x. 7 ff.) it is clear that Brāhmans intermarried with Śūdra women, though the offspring of those marriages was degraded.

by the story of the rishi Chyavana and Sukanyā, daughter of king Saryāta, narrated in the Satapatha Brāhmana, and quoted in my paper entitled "Contributions to a Knowledge of Vedic Mythology," No. ii., in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, pp. 11 ff. See also the stories of the rishi Syāvāśva, who married the daughter of king Rathavīti, as told by the commentator on Rig-veda, v. 61, and given in Professor Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 344.

The next hymn, from the same work, sets forth with great liveliness and vigour the advantages accruing to princes from the employment of a domestic priest.

Atharva-veda, iii. 19, 1. *Saṁśitam me idam brahma saṁśitam vīryam balam | saṁśitam kshattram ajaram astu jishṇur* (? *jishṇu*) *yeshām asmi purohitaḥ* | 2. *Sam aham eshām rāshṭraṁ syāmi sam ojo vīryam balam | vṛiśchāmi śatrūṇām bāhūn anena havishā aham* | 3. *Nīchaiḥ padyantam adhare bhavantu ye naḥ sūrim maghavānam pṛitanyān | kshiṇāmi brahmaṇā 'mitrān unnayāmi svān aham* | 4. *Tīkshnīyāṁsaḥ paraśor agnes tīkshṇatarāḥ uta | Indrasya vajrāt tīkshṇīyāṁso yeshām asmi purohitaḥ* | 5. *Eshām aham āyudhā saṁ syāmi eshāṁ rāshṭraṁ suvīraṁ vardhayāmi | eshāṁ kshattram ajaram astu jishṇu eshāṁ chittaṁ visve avantu devāḥ* | 6. *Uddharshantām Maghavan vājināni ud vīrāṇāṁ jayatām etu ghoshaḥ | pṛithagghoshāḥ ululayaḥ 'ketumantaḥ udīratām | devāḥ Indra-jyeshṭhāḥ Maruto yantu senayā* | 7. *Preta jayata naraḥ ugrāḥ vaḥ santu bāhavaḥ | tīkshṇeshavo abala-dhanvāno hata ugrāyudhāḥ abalān ugra-bāhavaḥ* | 8. *Avasṛishṭā parā pata śaravye brahma-saṁśite | jayāmitrān pra padyasva jahy eshām varaṁ-varam mā 'mīshām mochi kaśchana* |

"1. May this prayer of mine be successful; may the vigour and strength be complete, may the power be perfect, undecaying, and victorious of those of whom I am the priest (*purohita*). 2. I fortify their kingdom, and augment their energy, valour, and force. I break the arms of their enemies with this oblation. 3. May all those who fight against our wise and prosperous (prince) sink downward, and be prostrated. With my prayer I destroy his enemies and raise up his friends. 4. May those of whom I am the priest be sharper than an axe, sharper than fire, sharper than Indra's thunderbolt. 5. I strengthen their weapons; I prosper their kingdom rich in heroes. May their power be undecaying and victorious. May all the gods foster their designs.

6. May their valorous deeds, o Maghavat, burst forth; may the noise of the conquering heroes arise; may their distinct shouts, their clear yells, go up; may the gods, the Maruts, with Indra as their chief, march forward with their host. 7. Go, conquer, ye warriors; may your arms be impetuous. Ye with the sharp arrows, smite those whose bows are powerless; ye whose weapons and arms are terrible (smite) the feeble. 8. When discharged, fly forth, o arrow, sped by prayer. Vanquish the foes, assail, slay all the choicest of them; let not one escape."

The two following hymns from the same collection declare the guilt, the peril, and disastrous consequences of oppressing Brāhmans, and robbing them of their property. The threats and imprecations of haughty sacerdotal insolence could scarcely be expressed more energetically.

Atharva-veda, v. 18. 1. *Naitāṁ te devāḥ adadus tubhyaṁ nṛipate attave | mā brāhmaṇasya rājanya gāṁ jighatso anādyām | 2. Akshadrugdho rājanyo pāpaḥ ātma-parājitaḥ | sa brāhmaṇasya gām adyād "adya jīvāni mā śvaḥ" | 3. Āvishṭitā agha-vishā pṛidākūr iva charmaṇā | mā brāhmaṇasya rājanya ṭrishṭā eshā gaur anādyā | 4. Nir vai kshattraṁ nayati hanti varcho agnir ārabdho vi dunoti sarvam | yo brāhmaṇam manyate annam eva sa vishasya pibati taimātasya | 5. Yaḥ enaṁ hanti mṛidum manyamāno deva-pīyur dhana-kāmo na chittāt | saṁ tasya Indro hṛidaye agnim indhe ubhe enaṁ dvishṭo nabhasī charantaṁ | 6. Na brāhmaṇo hiṁsitavyo agniḥ priyatanor iva | Somo hi asya dāyādaḥ Indro asyābhiśastipāḥ | 7. Śatāpāshṭhām ni girati tāṁ na śaknoti niḳkhidam | annaṁ yo brāhmaṇām malvaḥ svādu admīti manyate | 8. Jihvā jyā bhavati kulmalaṁ vāṅ nāḍīkāḥ dantās tapasā 'bhidagdhāḥ | tebhir brahmā vidhyati deva-pīyūn hṛid-balair dhanurbhir deva-jūtaiḥ | 9. Tīkshṇeshavo brāhmaṇāḥ hetimanto yām asyanti śaravyāṁ na sā mṛishā | anuhāya tapasā manyunā cha uta dūrād ava bhindanti enam | 10. Ye sahasram arājann āsan daśa-śatā uta | te brāhmaṇasya gāṁ jagdhvā Vaitahavyāḥ parābhavan | 11. Gaur eva tān hanyamānā Vaitahavyān avātirat | ye Kesaraprābandhāyāś charamājām apechiran | 12. Eka-śataṁ tāḥ janatāḥ yāḥ bhūmir vyadhūnuta | prajāṁ hiṁsitvā brāhmaṇīm asambhavyam parābhavan | 13. Deva-pīyuś charati marttyeshu gara-gīrṇo bhavati asthi-bhūyān | yo brāhmaṇaṁ deva-bandhuṁ hinasti na sa pitṛiyāṇam apyeti lokam | 14. Agnir vai naḥ padavāyaḥ Somo dāyāda uchyate |*

hantābhiśastā Indras tathā tad vedhaso viduḥ | 15. *Ishur iva digdhā nṛipate pṛidākūr iva gopate* | *sā brāhmaṇasya ishur ghorā tayā vidhyati pīyataḥ* |

"1. King, the gods have not given thee (this cow) to eat. Do not, o Rājanya (man of royal descent), seek to devour the Brāhman's cow, which is not to be eaten. 2. The wretched Rājanya, unlucky in play, and self-destroyed, will eat the Brāhman's cow, saying, 'Let me live to-day, (if I can) not (live) to-morrow.' 3. This cow, clothed with a skin, contains deadly poison, like a snake. Beware, Rājanya, of this Brāhman's (cow); she is ill-flavoured, and must not be eaten. 4. She takes away his regal power, destroys his splendour, consumes him entire like a fire which has been kindled. The man who looks upon the Brāhman as mere food to be eaten up, drinks serpent's poison. 5. Indra kindles a fire in the heart of that contemner of the gods who smites the Brāhman, esteeming him to be inoffensive, and foolishly covets his property. Heaven and earth abhor the man who (so) acts. 6. A Brāhman is not to be wronged, as fire (must not be touched) by a man who cherishes his own body. Soma is his (the Brāhman's) kinsman, and Indra shields him from imprecations. 7. The wicked (?) man who thinks the priests' food is sweet while he is eating it, swallows (the cow) bristling with a hundred sharp points, but cannot digest her. 8. The priest's tongue is a bow-string, his voice is a barb, and his windpipe is arrow-points smeared with fire. With these god-directed, and heart-subduing bows, the priest pierces the scorners of the gods. 9. Brāhmans bearing sharp arrows, armed with missiles, never miss their mark when they discharge a shaft. Shooting with fiery energy and with anger, they pierce (the enemy) from afar. 10. The descendants of Vītahavya, who ruled over a thousand men, and were ten hundred in number, were overwhelmed after they had eaten a Brāhman's cow.[77] 11. The cow herself, when she was slaughtered, destroyed them,—those men who cooked the last she-goat of Kesaraprābandhā. 12. Those hundred persons whom the earth shook off, after they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner. 13. He lives among mortals a hater of the gods; infected with poison he becomes reduced to a skeleton; he who wrongs a Brāhman the kins-

[77] I am not aware whether any traces of this story are discoverable in the Purāṇas or Mahābhārata. See the first verse of the hymn next to be quoted.

man of the deities, fails to attain to the heaven of the Forefathers. 14. Agni is called our leader; Soma our kinsman. Indra neutralizes imprecations (directed against us); this the wise understand. 15. Like a poisoned arrow, o king, like a serpent, o lord of cows,—such is the dreadful shaft of the Brāhman, with which he pierces his enemies."

Atharva-veda, v. 19, 1. *Atimātram avardhanta nod iva divam aspṛiśan | Bhṛiguṁ hiṁsitvā Sṛinjayāḥ Vaitahavyāḥ parābhavan | 2. Bṛihatsāmānam Āngirasam ārpayan brāhmaṇaṁ janāḥ | petvas teshām ubhayādam avis tokāny āvayat | 3. Ye brāhmaṇam pratyashṭhīvan ye vā 'smin śuklam īshire | asnas te madhye kulyāyāḥ keśān khādanta āsate | 4. Brahmagavī pachyamānā yāvat sā 'bhi vijangahe | tejo rāshṭrasya nirhanti na vīro jāyate vṛishā | 5. Krūram asyāḥ āśasanaṁ tṛishṭam piśitam asyate | kshīraṁ yad asyāḥ pīyate tad vai pitṛishu kilbisham | 6. Ugro rājā manyamāno brāhmaṇaṁ yaj jighatsati | parā tat sichyate rāshṭram brāhmaṇo yatra jīyate | 7. Ashṭāpadī chaturakshī chatuḥ-śrotrā chaturhanuḥ | dvyāsyā dvijihvā bhūtvā sā rāshṭram avadhūnute brahmajyasya | 8. Tad vai rāshṭram āsravati nāvam bhinnām ivodakam | brāhmāṇaṁ yatra hiṁsanti tad rāshṭraṁ hanti duchchhunā | 9. Taṁ vṛikshāḥ apa sedhanti "chhāyāṁ no mopa gāḥ" iti | yo brāhmaṇasya saddhanam abhi Nārada manyate | 10. Visham etad deva-kṛitaṁ rājā Varuṇo abravīt | na brāhmaṇasya gāṁ jagdhvā rāshṭre jāgāra kaśchana | 11. Navaiva tāḥ navatayo yāḥ bhūmir vyadhūnuta | prajāṁ hiṁsitvā brāhmaṇīm asambhavyam parābhavan | 12. Yām mṛitāyānubadhnanti kūdyam padayopanīm | tad vai brahmajya te devāḥ upastaraṇam abruvan | 13. Aśrūṇi kṛipamāṇasya yāni jītasya vāvṛituḥ | taṁ vai brahmajya te devāḥ apām bhāgam adhārayan | 14. Yena mṛitaṁ snapayanti śmaśrūṇi yena undate | taṁ vai brahmajya te devāḥ apām bhāgam adhārayan | 15. Na varshaṁ Maitrāvaruṇam brahmajyam abhi varshati | nāsmai samitiḥ kalpate na mitraṁ nayate vaśam |*

"1. The Sṛinjayas, descendants of Vītahavya, waxed exceedingly; they almost touched the sky; but after they had injured Bhrigu, they were overwhelmed. 2. When men pierced Brihatsāman, a Brāhman descended from Angiras, a ram with two rows of teeth swallowed their children. 3. Those who spit, or throw filth (?) upon a Brāhman, sit eating hair in the midst of a stream of blood. 4. So long as this Brāhman's cow is cut up (?) and cooked, she destroys the glory of the kingdom; no vigorous hero is born there. 5. It is cruel to

slaughter her; her ill-flavoured flesh is thrown away. When her milk is drunk, that is esteemed a sin among the Forefathers. 6. Whenever a king, fancying himself mighty, seeks to devour a Brāhman, that kingdom is broken up, in which a Brāhman is oppressed. Becoming eight-footed, four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-faced, two-tongued, she (the cow) shatters the kingdom of the oppressor of Brāhmans. 8. (Ruin) overflows that kingdom, as water swamps a leaky boat: calamity smites that country in which a priest is wronged. 9. Even trees, o Nārada, repel, and refuse their shade to, the man who claims a right to the property of a Brāhman. This (property), as king Varuṇa hath said, has been turned into a poison by the gods. No one who has eaten a Brāhman's cow continues to watch (*i.e.* to rule) over a country. 11. Those nine nineties (of persons) whom the earth shook off, when they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner (see verse 12 of the preceding hymn). 12. The gods have declared that the cloth wherewith a dead man's feet are bound shall be thy pall, thou oppressor of priests. 13. The tears which flow from a persecuted man as he laments,—such is the portion of water which the gods have assigned to thee, thou oppressor of priests. 14. The gods have allotted to thee that portion of water wherewith men wash the dead, and moisten beards. 15. The rain of Mitra and Varuṇa does not descend on the oppressor of priests. For him the battle has never a successful issue; nor does he bring his friend into subjection."

The attention of the reader is directed to the intensity of contempt and abhorrence which is sought to be conveyed by the coarse imagery contained in verses 3, and 12–14, of this last hymn.

There is another section of the same Veda, xii. 5, in which curses similar to those in the last two hymns are fulminated against the oppressors of Brāhmans. The following are specimens:

Atharva-veda, xii. 5, 4. *Brahma padavāyam brāhmaṇo 'dhipatiḥ* | 5. *Tām ādadānasya brahma-gavīm̃ jinato brāhmaṇān kshattriyasya* | 6. *Apa krāmati sūnṛitā vīryam puṇyā lakshmīḥ* | 7. *Ojaścha tejaś cha sahaś cha balam̃ cha vāk cha indriyam̃ cha śrīś cha dharmaś cha* | 8. *Brahma cha kshattram̃ cha rāshṭram̃ cha viśaś cha tvishiś cha yaśaś cha varchaś cha draviṇam̃ cha* | 9. *Āyuś cha rūpam̃ cha nāma cha kīrttiś cha prāṇaś cha apānaś cha chakshuś cha śrotram̃ cha* | 10. *Payaś cha rasaś*

cha annaṁ cha annādyaṁ cha ṛitaṁ cha satyaṁ cha ishṭaṁ cha pūrttaṁ cha prajā cha paśavaś cha | 11. *Tāni sarvāṇi apa krāmanti brahma-gavīm ādadānasya jinato brāhmaṇaṁ kshattriyasya* | 12. *Sā eshā bhīmā brahma-gavī agha-vishā . . . . .* | 13. *Sarvāṇy asyāṁ ghorāṇi sarve cha mṛityavaḥ* | 14. *Sarvāṇy asyāṁ krūrāṇi sarve purusha-vadhāḥ* | 15. *Sā brahma-jyaṁ deva-pīyum brahmagavī ādīyamānā mṛityoḥ paḍbīśe ā dyati* |

"4. Prayer (*brāhmăn*) is the chief (thing); the Brāhman is the lord (*adhipatī*). 5. From the Kshattriya who seizes the priest's cow, and oppresses the Brāhman, (6) there depart piety, valour, good fortune, (7) force, keenness, vigour, strength, speech, energy, prosperity, virtue, (8) prayer (*brāhmăn*), royalty, kingdom, subjects, splendour, renown, lustre, wealth, (9) life, beauty, name, fame, inspiration and expiration, sight, hearing, (10) milk, sap, food, eating, righteousness, truth, oblation, sacrifice, offspring, and cattle;—(11) all these things depart from the Kshattriya who seizes the priest's cow. 12. Terrible is the Brāhman's cow, filled with deadly poison. . . . 13. In her reside all dreadful things, and all forms of death, (14) all cruel things, and all forms of homicide. 15. When seized, she binds in the fetters of death the oppressor of priests and despiser of the gods."

A great deal more follows to the same effect, which it would be tiresome to quote.

I subjoin some further texts, in which reference is made to *brāhmăns*.

In xix. 22, 21 (= xix. 23, 30) it is said:

Brahma-jyeshṭhā sambhṛitā vīryāṇi brahmāgre jyeshṭhaṁ divam ātatāna | *bhūtānām brahmā prathamo ha jajne tenārhati brahmaṇā sparddhituṁ kaḥ* |

"Powers are collected, of which prayer (or sacred science, *brāhmăn*) is the chief. Prayer, the chief, in the beginning stretched out the sky. The priest (*brāhmăn*) was born the first of beings. Who, then, ought to vie with the *brāhmăn*.

A superhuman power appears to be ascribed to the *brāhmăn* in the following passages,—unless by *brāhmăn* we are to understand Bṛihaspati:—

xix. 9, 12. *Brahmā Prajāpatir Dhātā lokāḥ vedāḥ sapta-ṛishayo 'gnayaḥ* | *tair me kṛitaṁ svastyayanam Indro me śarma yachhatu brahmā me śarma yachhatu* |

"May a prosperous journey be granted to me by prayer, Prajāpati, Dhātṛi, the worlds, the Vedas, the seven rishis, the fires; may Indra grant me felicity, may the *brāhmăn* grant me felicity."

xix. 43, 8. *Yatra brahma-vido yānti dīkshayā tapasā saha | brahmā mā tatra nayatu brahmā brahma dadhātu me | brahmaṇe svāhā.*

"May the *brāhmăn* conduct me to the place whither the knowers of prayer (or of sacred science) go by initiation with austerity. May the *brāhmăn* impart to me sacred science. *Svāhā* to the *brāhmăn*."

The wonderful powers of the Brahmachārin, or student of sacred science, are described in a hymn (A.V. xi. 5), parts of which are translated in my paper on the progress of the Vedic Religion, pp. 374 ff.

And yet with all this sacredness of his character the priest must be devoted to destruction, if, in the interest of an enemy, he is seeking by his ceremonies to effect the ruin of the worshipper.

v. 8, 5. *Yam amī puro dadhire brahmāṇam apabhūtaye | Indra sa me adhaspadaṁ tam pratyasyāmi mṛityave |*

"May the *brāhmăn* whom these men have placed in their front (as a *purohita*) for our injury, fall under my feet, o Indra; I hurl him away, to death (compare A.V. vii. 70, 1 ff.).

Sect. IV.—*Opinions of Professor R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug regarding the origin of caste among the Hindus.*

I shall in this section give some account of the speculations of Prof. R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug on the process by which they conceive the system of castes to have grown up among the Indians.

The remarks which I shall quote from Prof. Roth are partly drawn from his third "Dissertation on the Literature and History of the Veda," p. 117, and partly from his paper on "Brahma and the Brāhmans," in the first volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society.[78] He says in the latter essay: "The religious development of India is attached through the course of three thousand years to the word *brāhmă*. This conception might be taken as the standard for estimating the progress of thought directed to divine things, as at every step taken by the latter, it has gained a new form, while at the same time

[78] The reader who is unacquainted with German will find a fuller account of this article in the Benares Magazine for October 1851, pp. 823 ff.

it has always embraced in itself the highest spiritual acquisition of the nation. . . . . The original signification of the word *brăhmă*, as we easily discover it in the Vedic hymns, is that of prayer; not praise or thanksgiving, but that invocation which, with the force of the will directed to God, seeks to draw him to itself, and to receive satisfaction from him. . . . . From this oldest sense and form of *brăhmă* (neuter) was formed the masculine noun *brahmā*, which was the designation of those who pronounced the prayers, or performed the sacred ceremonies; and in nearly all the passages of the Rig-veda in which it was thought that this word must refer to the Brahmanical caste, this more extended sense must be substituted for the other more limited one. . . . . From this sense of the word *brahmā*, nothing was more natural than to convert this offerer of prayer into a particular description of sacrificial priest: so soon as the ritual began to be fixed, the functions which were before united in a single person, who both prayed to the gods and sacrificed to them, became separated, and a priesthood interposed itself between man and God." [79]

Then further on, after quoting R.V. iv. 50, 4 ff. (see above, p. 247), Prof. Roth continues: "In this manner here and in many places of the liturgical and legal books, the promise of every blessing is attached to the maintenance of a priest by the king. Inasmuch as he supports and honours the priest, the latter ensures to him the favour of the gods. So it was that the caste of the Brāhmans arose and attained to power and consideration: first, they were only the single domestic priests of the kings; then the dignity became hereditary in certain families; finally a union, occasioned by similarity of interests, of these families in one larger community was effected; and all this in reciprocal action with the progress made in other respects by theological doctrine and religious worship. Still the extension of the power which fell into the hands of this priestly caste would not be perfectly comprehensible

[79] In his third Dissertation on the Literature and History of the Veda, Prof. Roth remarks: "In the Vedic age, access to the gods by prayer and sacrifice was open to all classes of the community; and it was only the power of expressing devotion in a manner presumed to be acceptable to the deities, or a readiness in poetical diction, that distinguished any individual or family from the mass, and led to their being employed to conduct the worship of others. The name given to such persons was *purohita*, one 'put forward;' one through whose mediation the gods would receive the offering presented. But these priests had as yet no especial sanctity or exclusive prerogative which would render their employment imperative."

from this explanation alone. The relation of spiritual superiority in which the priests came to stand to the kings was aided by other historical movements."

Professor Roth then proceeds: "When—at a period more recent than the majority of the hymns of the Rig-veda—the Vedic people, driven by some political shock, advanced from their abodes in the Punjab further and further to the south, drove the aborigines into the hills, and took possession of the broad tract of country lying between the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Vindhya range; the time had arrived when the distribution of power, the relation of king and priest, could become transformed in the most rapid and comprehensive manner. Principalities separated in such various ways, such a division into tribes as had existed in the Punjab, were no longer possible here, where nature had created a wide and continuous tract with scarcely any natural boundaries to dissever one part from another. Most of those petty princes who had descended from the north with their tribes must here of necessity disappear, their tribes become dissolved, and contests arise for the supreme dominion. This era is perhaps portrayed to us in the principal subject of the Mahābhārata, the contest between the descendants of Pāṇḍu and Kuru. In this stage of disturbance and complication, power naturally fell into the hands of those who did not directly possess any authority, the priestly races and their leaders, who had hitherto stood rather in the position of followers of the kings, but now rose to a higher rank. It may easily be supposed that they and their families, already honoured as the confidential followers of the princes, would frequently be able to strike a decisive stroke to which the king would owe his success. If we take further into account the intellectual and moral influence which this class possessed in virtue of the prerogative conceded to, or usurped by, them, and the religious feeling of the people, it is not difficult to comprehend how in such a period of transition powerful communities should arise among the domestic priests of petty kings and their families, should attain to the highest importance in every department of life, and should grow into a caste which, like the ecclesiastical order in the middle ages of Christianity, began to look upon secular authority as an effluence from the fulness of their power, to be conferred at their will; and how, on the other hand, the numerous royal families should

sink down into a nobility which possessed, indeed, the sole right to the kingly dignity, but at the same time, when elected by the people, required inauguration in order to their recognition by the priesthood, and were enjoined above all things to employ only Brāhmans as their counsellors."

In order to render the probability of this theory still more apparent, Professor Roth goes on to indicate the relations of the other castes to the Brāhmans. The position which the three superior classes occupied in the developed Brahmanical system was one of gradation, as they differed only in the extent of their religious and civil prerogatives, the Kshattriya being in some respects less favoured than the Brāhman, and the Vaiśya than the Kshattriya. With the Śūdras, on the other hand, the case was quite different. They were not admitted to sacrifice, to the study of the Vedas, or to investiture with the sacred cord. From this Professor Roth concludes that the three highest castes stood in a closer connection with each other, whether of descent, or of culture, than any of them did to the fourth. The Indian body politic, moreover, was complete without the Śūdras. The Brāhman and Kshattriya were the rulers, while the Vaiśyas formed the mass of the people. The fact of the latter not being originally a separate community is confirmed by the employment assigned to them, as well as by their name Vaiśya, derived from the word *Viś*, a word which in the Veda designates the general community, especially considered as the possessor of the pure Aryan worship and culture, in contradistinction to all barbarian races. Out of this community the priesthood arose in the manner above described, while the Kshattriyas were the nobility, descended in the main from the kings of the earlier ages. The fourth caste, the Śūdras, consisted, according to Prof. Roth, of a race subdued by the Brahmanical conquerors, whether that race may have been a branch of the Arian stock which immigrated at an earlier period into India, or an autochthonous Indian tribe.

In his tract on the origin of Brāhmanism, from which I have already quoted (see above, pp. 11 and 14), Dr. Haug thus states his views on this question: "It has been of late asserted that the original parts of the Vedas do not know the system of caste. But this conclusion was prematurely arrived at without sufficiently weighing the evidence. It is true the caste system is not to be found in such a developed state;

the duties enjoined to the several castes are not so clearly defined as in the Law Books and Purāṇas. But nevertheless the system is already known in the earlier parts of the Vedas, or rather presupposed. The barriers only were not so insurmountable as in later times." (p. 6). This view he supports by a reference to the Zend Avesta, in which he finds evidence of a division of the followers of Ahura Mazda into the three classes of Atharvas, Rathaesthas, and Vaśtrya fshuyans, which he regards as corresponding exactly to the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas of India. The Atharvas, or priests, in particular formed a class or even a caste; they had secrets which they were prohibited from divulging; they were the spiritual guides of their nation, and none but the son of a priest could become a priest—a rule which the Parsīs still maintain. From these facts, Dr. Haug deduces the conclusion that the nation of which both the Indo-Arians and the Perso-Arians originally formed a part had been divided into three classes even before the separation of the Indians from the Iranians; and he adds (p. 7): "From all we know, the real origin of caste appears to go back to a time anterior to the composition of the Vedic hymns, though its development into a regular system with insurmountable barriers can be referred only to the latest period of the Vedic times."

I shall furnish a short analysis of some other parts of Dr. Haug's interesting tract. He derives (p. 7) the word *brāhmaṇa* from *brăhmăn* (neuter), which originally meant "a sacred song, prayer," as an effusion of devotional feeling. *Brăhmă* was the "sacred element" in the sacrifice, and signified "the soul of nature, the productive power." The Brahmanic sacrifices had production as their object, and embraced some rites which were intended to furnish the sacrificer with a new spiritual body wherewith he might ascend to heaven, and others calculated to provide him with cattle and offspring (p. 8). The symbol of this *brăhmă*, or productive power, which must always be present at the sacrifice, was a bunch of *kuśa* grass, generally called Veda (a word alternating with *brăhmă*), which, at the sacrifice, was passed from one priest to another, and given to the sacrificer and his wife. The corresponding symbol of twigs used by the Parsīs was called in Zend *băresma*, which Dr. Haug considers to have been originally the same as *brăhmă* (p. 9). As it was essential to the success of these sacrifices

that every portion of the complicated ceremonial should be accurately performed, and as mistakes could not be avoided, it became necessary to obviate by an atonement (*prāyaśchitti*) the mischief which would otherwise have ensued; and the priest appointed to guard against or expiate such mistakes, when committed by the other priests—the *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, and *udgātṛi*—was called, "from the most ancient times," the *brăhmăn* (masculine), who was a functionary pre-eminently supplied with *brăhmă* (neuter) or sacred knowledge, and thereby connected "with the soul of nature, the cause of all growth, the last cause of all sacrificial rites" (p. 10). The office of *brăhmăn* was not one to which mere birth gave a claim, but had to be attained by ability and study. The descendants of these *brăhmăn* priests were the Brāhmans, and the speculations of the most eminent *brăhmăn* priests on divine things, and especially on sacrificial rites, are contained in the works called Brāhmaṇas (p. 12). Dr. Haug considers that no such a class as that of the *brăhmăn* priests existed at the early period when the ancestors of the Hindus separated from those of the Parsīs in consequence of religious differences. The few rites preserved by the Parsīs as relics of the remotest antiquity closely resemble those of the Brāhmans. Dr. Haug finds that in the Homa ritual of the former (corresponding to the Soma ceremony of the latter) only two priests, called *Zota* and *Raspi* or *Rathwi*, are required, whom he recognises as corresponding to the Hotṛi and Adhvaryu of the latter. So long as the rites were simple, no *brăhmăn* priest was wanted; but when they became complicated and multiform, the necessity for such a functionary arose. And it was only then that the sons of the *brăhmăns*, *i.e.* the Brāhmans, could rise through the possession of sacred knowledge, derived from their fathers, to great power, and form themselves into a regular caste. The development of these ceremonies out of their primitive simplicity into the complexity and multiformity which they ultimately assumed must, Dr. Haug thinks, have been the work of many centuries. This transformation must have taken place in the region bordering on the Sarasvatī, where the expansion of the Brahmanical system, and the elevation of the Brāhmans to full spiritual supremacy, is to be sought, before the Indo-Arians advanced southeastwards into Hindostan proper (p. 14). The ascendancy of the Brāhmans was not however attained without opposition on the part of the kings (p. 18). Dr. Haug concludes by relating the reception

of Viśvāmitra into the order of Brāhmans, and by giving some account of the rishis and the several classes into which they were divided.

As the question is generally stated by Dr. Haug in pages 6 and 12 ff., the difference between him and other European scholars is one of age and not of principle, for neither party admits any distinction of race or congenital diversity between the three superior castes or classes.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY CONTESTS BETWEEN THE BRAHMANS AND KSHATTRIYAS.

I proceed to give some legendary illustrations of the struggle which no doubt occurred in the early ages of Hindu history between the Brāhmans and the Kshattriyas, after the former had begun to constitute a fraternity exercising the sacerdotal profession, but before the respective provinces of the two classes had been accurately defined by custom, and when the members of each were ready to encroach on the prerogatives claimed as their own exclusive birthright by the other.

SECT. I.—*Manu's Summary of refractory and submissive monarchs.*

I shall begin with the following passage, which we find in the Institutes of Manu, vii. 38 ff., regarding the impious resistance, as the lawgiver considered it, of certain monarchs to the legitimate claims of the priests, and the dutiful behaviour of others.

38. *Vṛiddhāṁś cha nityaṁ seveta viprān veda-vidaḥ śuchīn | vṛiddha-sevī hi satataṁ rakshobhir api pūjyate |* 39. *Tebhyo 'dhigachhed vinayaṁ vinītātmā 'pi nityaśaḥ | vinītātmā hi nṛipatir na vinaśyati karhichit |* 40. *Bahavo 'vinayād nashṭāḥ rājānaḥ sa-parichhadāḥ | vanasthāḥ api rājyāni vinayāt pratipedire |* 41. *Veṇo vinaṣhṭo 'vinayād Nahushaś chaiva pārthivaḥ | Sudāḥ Paijavanaś*[80] *chaiva Sumukho Nimir eva cha |* 42. *Pṛithus tu vinayād rājyam prāptavān Manur eva cha | Kuveraś cha dhanaiśvaryyam brāhmaṇyaṁ chaiva Gādhijaḥ |*

"Let the king constantly reverence ancient Brāhmans skilled in the Vedas, and pure in conduct; for he who always respects the aged is honoured even by the Rākshāses. 39. Let him, even though humble-

[80] In support of this reading, see M. Loiseleur Deslongchamps's and Sir G. C. Haughton's notes on the passage.

minded, be continually learning submissiveness from them: for a submissive monarch never perishes. 40. Through want of this character many kings have been destroyed with all their possessions; whilst by humility even hermits have obtained kingdoms. 41. Veṇa perished through want of submissiveness, and king Nahusha, and Sūdas the son of Pijavana, and Sumukha, and Nimi. 42. But through submissiveness Pṛithu and Manu attained kingly power, Kuvera the lordship of wealth, and the son of Gādhi (Viśvāmitra) Brāhmanhood."[81]

Veṇa is again referred to in Manu ix. 66 f.: *Ayaṁ dvijair hi vidvadbhiḥ paśudharmo nigarhitaḥ | manushyāṇām api prokto Veṇe rājyam praśāsati | 67. Sa mahīm akhilām bhunjan rājarshi-pravaraḥ purā | varṇānāṁ sankaraṁ chakre kāmopahata-chetanaḥ |*

"This custom (of raising up seed to a deceased brother or kinsman by his widow) fit only for cattle, was declared to be (law) for men also, when Veṇa held sway. This eminent royal rishi, who in former times ruled over the whole earth, having his reason destroyed by lust, occasioned a confusion of castes."

The legendary history of nearly all the kings thus stigmatized or celebrated can be traced in the Purāṇas and other parts of Indian literature. I shall supply such particulars of the refractory monarchs as I can find.

It will be observed that Manu is spoken of as an ordinary prince; and that even Kuvera, the god of wealth, is said to have attained his dignity by the same species of merit as the other persons whom the writer eulogizes. I am not aware whether any legends exist to the same effect. Something of a contrary tendency is found with regard to the deity in question in the passage of the Mahābhārata, of which an extract is given above, in p. 140, note 249.

[81] Kullūka remarks on this passage: *Gādhi-putro Viśvamitras' cha kshattriyaḥ saṁs tenaiva dehena brāhmaṇyam prāptavān | rājya-lābhāvasare brāhmaṇya-prāptir aprastutā 'pi vinayotkarshārtham uktā | īdṛiśo 'yaṁ śāstrānushṭhāna-nishiddha-varjana-rūpa-vinayodayena kshattriyo 'pi durlabham brāhmaṇyam lebhe |* "Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, being a Kshattriya, obtained Brāhmanhood in the same body (*i.e.* without being again born in another body). The attainment of Brahmanhood by one who at the time held kingly authority, although an unusual occurrence, is mentioned to show the excellence of submissiveness. Through that quality, as exhibited in the observance of scriptural injunctions, and in abstinence from things forbidden, he, being a Kshattriya, obtained Brahmanhood, so difficult to acquire."

I have not met with any story of Sumukha's contest with the Brāhmans. Some MSS. read Suratha instead of Sumukha.

The name of Sudās, the son of Pijavana, occurs in several parts of the Rig-veda. I shall return to him in relating the contest between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra. I begin with the story of Veṉa.

Sect. II.—*Legend of Veṉa.*

According to the Vishṉu Purāṉa, i. 13, Veṉa was the son of Anga, and the descendant in the ninth generation of the first Manu, Svāyambhuva; the line of ancestors from the latter downwards being as follows: Uttānapāda, Dhruva, Slishti, Ṛipu, Chākshusha, the sixth Manu called Chākshusha, Uru, Anga (see Wilson's Vishṉu P. vol. i.). Veṉa thus belongs to a mythical age preceding by an enormous interval that of the descendants of Manu Vaivasvata mentioned in the preceding chapter of this volume; five Manvantaras, or periods of 308,571 years each, having intervened in the present Kalpa between the close of the Svāyambhuva, and the beginning of the existing, or Vaivasvata, Manvantara.

Vishṉu Purāṉa, i. 13, 7: *Parāśara uvācha | Sunīthā nāma yā kanyā Mṛityoḥ prathama-jā 'bhavat | Angasya bhāryyā sa dattā tasyāṁ Veṉas tv ajāyata |* 8. *Sa mātāmaha-doshaṉa tena Mṛityoḥ sutātmajaḥ | nisargād iva Maitreya dushṭaḥ eva vyajāyata |* 9. *Abhishikto yadā rājye sa Veṉaḥ paramarshibhiḥ | ghoshayāmāsa sa tadā pṛithivyām pṛithivīpatiḥ | "na yashṭavyaṁ na dātavyaṁ hotavyaṁ na kadāchana | bhoktā yajnasya kas tv anyo hy ahaṁ yajna-patiḥ sadā |* 10. *Tatas tam ṛishayaḥ sarve sampūjya pṛithivīpatim | ūchuḥ sāmakalaṁ saṁyaṁ Maitreya samupasthitāḥ | ṛishayaḥ ūchuḥ |* 11. *" Bho bho rājan śṛiṉushva tvaṁ yad vadāmas tava prabho | rājya-dehopakāre yaḥ prajānāṁ cha hitam param |* 12. *Dīrgha-sattreṉa deveśaṁ sarva-yajneśvaraṁ Harim | pūjayishyāmo bhadraṁ te tatrāṁśas te bhavishyati |* 13. *Yajnena yajna-purusho Vishṉuḥ samprīṉito vibhuḥ | asmābhir bhavataḥ kāmān sarvān eva pradāsyati | yajnair yajneśvaro yeshāṁ rāshṭre sampūjyate Hariḥ | teshāṁ sarvepsitāvāptiṁ dadāti nṛipa bhūbhujām" | Veṉaḥ uvācha | "mattaḥ ko 'bhyadhiko 'nyo 'sti kaś chārādhyo mamāparaḥ | ko 'yaṁ Harir iti khyāto yo vo yajneśvaro mataḥ | Brahmā Janārdano Rudraḥ Indro Vāyur Yamo Raviḥ |*

Hutabhug Varuṇo Dhātā Pūshā Bhūmir Niśākaraḥ | ete chānye cha ye devāḥ śāpānugraha-kāriṇaḥ | nṛipasya te śarīra-sthāḥ sarva-devamayo nṛipaḥ | etaj jñātvā mayā "jnaptaṁ yad yathā kriyatāṁ tathā | na dātavyaṁ na hotavyaṁ na yashṭavyaṁ cha vo dvijāḥ | 14. *Bharttuḥ śuśrūshaṇam dharmo yathā strīṇām paro matah | mamājnā-pālanaṁ dharmo bhavatāṁ cha tathā dvijāḥ" | ṛishayaḥ ūchuḥ | "dehy anujnām mahārāja mā dharmo yātu sankshayam | havishām pariṇāmo 'yaṁ yad etad akhilaṁ jagat |* 15. *Dharme cha sankshayaṁ yāte kshīyate chākhilaṁ jagat" | Parāśaraḥ uvācha | iti vijnāpyamāno 'pi sa Veṇaḥ paramarshibhiḥ | yadā dadāti nānujnām proktaḥ proktaḥ punah punaḥ | tatas te munayaḥ sarve kopāmarsha-samanvitāḥ | "hanyataṁ hanyatām pāpaḥ" ity ūchus te parasparam |* 16. *"Yo yajna-purushaṁ devam anādi-nidhanam prabhum | vinindaty adhamāchāro na sa yogyo bhuvaḥ patih" | ity uktvā mantra-pūtais te kuśair muni-gaṇāḥ nṛipam | nirjaghnur nihatam pūrvam bhagavan-nindanādinā | tataś cha munayo reṇuṁ dadṛiśuḥ sarvato dvija | "kim etad" iti chāsannam paprachhus te janaṁ tada |* 17. *Ākhyātaṁ cha janais teshām "chaurībhūtair arājake | rāshṭre tu lokair ārabdham para-svādānaṁ āturaiḥ |* 18. *Teshām udīrṇa-vegānāṁ chaurāṇāṁ muni-sattamāḥ | sumahān dṛiśyate reṇuḥ para-vittāpahāriṇām" | tataḥ sammantrya te sarve munayas tasya bhūbhṛitaḥ | mamanthur ūrum putrārtham anapatyasya yatnataḥ | mathyataś cha samutthau tasyoroḥ purushaḥ kila | dagdha-sthūṇāpratīkāśah kharvāṭāsyo 'tihrasvakaḥ |* 19. *Kiṁ karomīti tān sarvān viprān āha sa chāturaḥ | nishīdeti tam ūchus te nishādas tena so 'bhavat |* 20. *Tatas tat-sambhavāḥ jātāḥ Vindhya-śaila-nivāsinaḥ | nishādāḥ muni-śārdūla pāpa-karmopalakshaṇāḥ |* 21. *Tena dvāreṇa nishkrāntam tat pāpaṁ tasya bhūpateḥ | nishādās te tathā jātāḥ Veṇa-kalmasha-sambhavāḥ |* 22. *Tato 'sya dakshiṇaṁ hastam mamanthus te tadā dvijāḥ | mathyamāne cha tatrābhūt Pṛithur Vainyaḥ pratāpavān | dīpyamānaḥ sva-vapushā sākshād Agnir ivejjvalan |* 23. *Ādyam ājagavaṁ nāma khāt papāta tato dhanuḥ | śarāś cha divyāḥ nabhasaḥ kavachaṁ cha papāta ha | tasmin jāte tu bhūtāni samprahṛishṭāni sarvaśah | satputreṇa cha jātena Veṇo 'pi tridivaṁ yayau | pun-nāmno narakāt trātaḥ sa tena sumahātmanā |*

"7. The maiden named Sunīthā, who was the first-born of Mṛityu (Death)[82] was given as wife to Anga; and of her Veṇa was born. 8. This son of Mṛityu's daughter, infected with the taint of his ma-

[82] See above, p. 124, and note 230.

ternal grandfather, was born corrupt, as if by nature. 9. When Veṇa was inaugurated as king by the eminent rishis, he caused this proclamation to be made on the earth: 'Men must not sacrifice, or give gifts, or present oblations. Who else but myself is the enjoyer of sacrifices? I am for ever the lord of offerings.' 10. Then all the rishis approaching the king with respectful salutations, said to him in a gentle and conciliatory tone: 11. 'Hear, o king, what we have to say: 12. We shall worship Hari, the monarch of the gods, and the lord of all sacrifices, with a Dīrghasattra (prolonged sacrifice), from which the highest benefits will accrue to your kingdom, your person, and your subjects. May blessings rest upon you! You shall have a share in the ceremony. 13. Vishṇu the lord, the sacrificial Male, being propitiated by us with this rite, will grant all the objects of your desire. Hari, the lord of sacrifices, bestows on those kings in whose country he is honoured with oblations, everything that they wish.' Veṇa replied: 'What other being is superior to me? who else but I should be adored? who is this person called Hari, whom you regard as the lord of sacrifice? Brahmā, Janārdana, Rudra, Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Ravi (the Sun), Agni, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Pūshan, Earth, the Moon,—these and the other gods who curse and bless are all present in a king's person: for he is composed of all the gods.[83] Knowing this, ye must

[83] The orthodox doctrine, as stated by Manu, vii. 3 ff., coincides very nearly with Veṇa's estimate of himself, although the legislator does not deduce from it the same conclusions: 3. *Rakshārtham asya sarvasya rājānam asṛijat prabhuḥ* | 4. *Indrānila-yamārkāṇām Agneś cha Varuṇasya cha* | *Chandra-Vitteśayoś chaiva mātrāḥ nirhṛitya śāśvatīḥ* | 5. *Yasmād eshām surendrāṇām mātrābhyo nirmito nṛipaḥ* | *tasmād abhibhavaty esha sarva-bhūtāni tejasā* | 6. *Tapaty āditya-vach chaisha chakshūṃshi cha manāṃsi cha* | *na chainam bhuvi śaknoti kaśchid apy abhivīkshitum* | 7. *So 'gnir bhavati Vāyuś cha so 'rkaḥ Somaḥ sa Dharmarāṭ* | *sa Kuveraḥ sa Varuṇaḥ sa Mahendraḥ prabhāvataḥ* | 8. *Bālo 'pi nāvamantavyo "manushyaḥ" iti bhūmipaḥ* | *mahatī devatā hy eshā nara-rūpeṇa tishṭhati* | "3. The lord created the king for the preservation of this entire world, (4) extracting the eternal essential particles of Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Sūrya, Agni, Varuṇa, Chandra, and Kuvera. 5. Inasmuch as the king is formed of the particles of all these gods, he surpasses all beings in brilliancy. 6. Like the Sun, he distresses both men's eyes and minds; and no one on earth can ever gaze upon him. 7. He is Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Soma, Yama, Kuvera, Varuṇa, and Indra, in majesty. 8. Even when a child a king is not to be despised under the idea that he is a mere man; for he is a great deity in human form."

In another passage, ix. 303, this is qualified by saying that the king should imitate the functions of the different gods: *Indrasyārkasya Vāyoścha Yamasya Varuṇasya cha* | *Chandrasyāgneḥ Pṛithivyāś cha tejo vrittaṃ nripas' charet* | This expanded in the next verses.

act in conformity with my commands. Brāhmans, ye must neither give gifts, nor present oblations nor sacrifices. 14. As obedience to their husbands is esteemed the highest duty of women, so is the observance of my orders incumbent upon you.' The rishis answered: 'Give permission, great king: let not religion perish: this whole world is but a modified form of oblations. 15. When religion perishes the whole world is destroyed with it.' When Veṇa, although thus admonished and repeatedly addressed by the eminent rishis, did not give his permission, then all the munis, filled with wrath and indignation, cried out to one another, 'Slay, slay the sinner. 16. This man of degraded life, who blasphemes the sacrificial Male, the god, the lord without beginning or end, is not fit to be lord of the earth.' So saying the munis smote with blades of kuśa grass consecrated by texts this king who had been already smitten by his blasphemy of the divine Being and his other offences. The munis afterwards beheld dust all round, and asked the people who were standing near what that was. 17. They were informed: 'In this country which has no king, the people, being distressed, have become robbers, and have begun to seize the property of others. 18. It is from these robbers rushing impetuously, and plundering other men's goods, that this great dust is seen? Then all the munis, consulting together, rubbed with force the thigh of the king, who was childless, in order to produce a son. From his thigh when rubbed there was produced a man like a charred log, with flat face, and extremely short. 19. 'What shall I do?' cried the man, in distress, to the Brāhmans. They said to him, 'Sit down' (*nishīda*); and from this he became a Nishāda. 20. From him sprang the Nishādas dwelling in the Vindhya mountains, distinguished by their wicked deeds. 21. By this means the sin of the king departed out of him; and so were the Nishādas produced, the offspring of the wickedness of Veṇa. 22. The Brāhmans then rubbed his right hand; and from it, when rubbed, sprang the majestic Pṛithu, Veṇa's son, resplendent in body, glowing like the manifested Agni. 23. Then the primeval bow called Ājagava fell from the sky, with celestial arrows, and a coat of mail. At Pṛithu's birth all creatures rejoiced. And through the birth of this virtuous son, Veṇa, delivered from the hell called Put[84] by this eminent person, ascended to heaven."

[84] This alludes to the fanciful derivation of *puttra*, "son," from *put* + *tra*.

The Harivaṁśa (sect. 5) relates the same story thus, with little variation from the Vishṇu Purāṇa:

Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | Āsīd dharmasya goptā vai pūrvam Atri-samaḥ prabhuḥ | Atri-vaṁśa-samutpannas tv Ango nāma prajāpatiḥ | tasya putro 'bhavad Veno nātyarthaṁ dharma-kovidaḥ | jāto Mṛityu-sutāyāṁ vai Sunīthāyām prajāpatiḥ | sa mātāmaha-doshena tena kālātmajātmajaḥ | sva-dharmān prishṭhataḥ kṛitvā kāmāl lobheshv avarttata | maryādāṁ sthāpayāmāsa dharmāpetāṁ sa pārthivaḥ | veda-dharmān atikramya so 'dharma-nirato 'bhavat | niḥ-svādhyāya-vashaṭkārās tasmin rājani śāsati | prāvarttan na papuḥ somaṁ hutaṁ yajneshu devatāḥ | "na yashṭavyaṁ na hotavyaṁ" iti tasya prajāpateḥ | āsīt pratijnā krūreyaṁ vināśe samupasthite | aham ijyaś cha yashṭā cha yajnaś cheti kurūdvaha | "mayi yajnāḥ vidhātavyāḥ mayi hotavyam" ity api | tam atikrānta-maryādam ādadānam asāmpratam | ūchur maharshayaḥ sarve Marīchi-pramukhās tadā | "vayaṁ dīkshāṁ pravekshyāmaḥ saṁvatsara-ganān bahūn | adharmaṁ kuru mā Vena naisha dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ | anvaye 'treḥ prasūtas tvam prajāpatir asaṁśayam | 'prajāś cha pālayishye 'ham' iti te samayaḥ kṛitaḥ" | tāṁs tathā bruvataḥ sarvān maharshīn abravīt tadā | Venaḥ prahasya durbuddhir imam artham anartha-vit | Venaḥ uvācha | "srashṭā dharmasya kaś chānyaḥ śrotavyaṁ kasya vā mayā | śruta-vīrya-tapaḥ-satyair mayā vā kaḥ samo bhuvi | prabhavaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ dharmāṇāṁ cha viśeshataḥ | sammūḍhāḥ na vidur nūnam bhavanto mām achetasaḥ | ichhan daheyam pṛithivīm plāvayeyaṁ jalais tathā | dyām bhuvaṁ chaiva rundheyaṁ nātra kāryā vichāranā" | yadā na śakyate mohād avalepāch cha pārthivaḥ | anunetum tadā Venas tataḥ kruddhāḥ maharshayaḥ | nigṛihya tam mahātmāno visphurantam mahā-balam | tato 'sya savyam ūrum te mamanthur jāta-manyavaḥ | tasmiṁs tu mathyamāne vai rājnaḥ ūrau vijajnivān | hrasvo 'timātraḥ purushaḥ kṛishnaś chāpi babhūva ha | sa bhītaḥ prānjalir bhūtvā sthitavān Janamejaya | tam Atrir vihvalaṁ dṛishṭvā nishīdety abravīt tadā | nishāda-vaṁśa-karttā 'sau babhūva vadatāṁ vara | dhīvarān asṛijach chāpi Vena-kalmasha-sambhavān | ye chānye Vindhya-nilayās Tukhārās Tumburās tathā | adharma-ruchayas tāta viddhi tān Vena-sambhavān | tataḥ punar mahātmānaḥ pāniṁ Venasya dakshinam | araṇīm iva saṁrabdhāḥ mamanthur jāta-manyavaḥ | Pṛithus tasmāt samuttasthau karāj jvalana-sannibhaḥ | dīpyamanaḥ sva-vapushā sākshād Agnir iva jvalan |

"There was formerly a Prajāpati (lord of creatures), a protector of

righteousness, called Anga, of the race of Atri, and resembling him in power. His son was the Prajāpati Vena, who was but indifferently skilled in duty, and was born of Sunīthā, the daughter of Mṛityu. This son of the daughter of Kāla (Death), owing to the taint derived from his maternal grandfather, threw his duties behind his back, and lived in covetousness under the influence of desire. This king established an irreligious system of conduct: transgressing the ordinances of the Veda, he was devoted to lawlessness. In his reign men lived without study of the sacred books and without the vashaṭkāra, and the gods had no Soma-libations to drink at sacrifices. 'No sacrifice or oblation shall be offered,'—such was the ruthless determination of that Prajāpati, as the time of his destruction approached. 'I,' he declared, 'am the object, and the performer of sacrifice, and the sacrifice itself: it is to me that sacrifice should be presented, and oblations offered.' This transgressor of the rules of duty, who arrogated to himself what was not his due, was then addressed by all the great rishis, headed by Marīchi: 'We are about to consecrate ourselves for a ceremony which shall last for many years: practise not unrighteousness, o Vena: this is not the eternal rule of duty. Thou art in very deed a Prajāpati of Atri's race, and thou hast engaged to protect thy subjects.' The foolish Vena, ignorant of what was right, laughingly answered those great rishis who had so addressed him: 'Who but myself is the ordainer of duty? or whom ought I to obey? Who on earth equals me in sacred knowledge, in prowess, in austere fervour, in truth? Ye who are deluded and senseless know not that I am the source of all beings and duties. Hesitate not to believe that I, if I willed, could burn up the earth, or deluge it with water, or close up heaven and earth.' When owing to his delusion and arrogance Vena could not be governed, then the mighty rishis becoming incensed, seized the vigorous and struggling king, and rubbed his left thigh. From this thigh, so rubbed, was produced a black man, very short in stature, who, being alarmed, stood with joined hands. Seeing that he was agitated, Atri said to him 'Sit down' (*nishīda*). He became the founder of the race of the Nishādas, and also progenitor of the Dhīvaras (fishermen), who sprang from the corruption of Vena. So too were produced from him the other inhabitants of the Vindhya range, the Tukhāras, and Tumburas, who are prone to lawlessness. Then the mighty sages, excited and incensed, again rubbed

the right hand of Vena, as men do the *araṇi* wood, and from it arose Pṛithu, resplendent in body, glowing like the manifested Agni."

Although the Harivaṁśa declares Vena to be a descendant of Atri, yet as the Prajāpati Atri is said in a previous section to have adopted Uttānapāda, Vena's ancestor, for his son (Hariv. sect. 2, verse 60, *Uttānapādaṁ jagrāha putram Atriḥ prajāpatiḥ*) there is no contradiction between the genealogy given here and in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

The story of Vena is told in the same way, but more briefly, in the Mahābhārata, Śāntip. sect. 59. After narrating the birth of Pṛithu, the writer proceeds, verse 2221:

Tatas tu prāñjalir Vainyo maharshīṁs tān uvācha ha | "susūkshmā me samutpannā buddhir dharmārtha-darśinī | anayā kim mayā kāryyaṁ tad me tattvena śaṁsata | yad mām bhavanto vakshyanti kāryam artha-samanvitam | tad ahaṁ vai karishyāmi nātra kāryā vichāraṇā" | tam ūchus tattra devās te te chaiva paramarshayaḥ | "niyato yattra dharmo vai tvam aśankaḥ samāchara | priyāpriye parityajya samaḥ sarveshu jantushu | kāma-krodhau cha lobhaṁ cha mānaṁ chotsṛijya dūrataḥ | yaś cha dharmāt parichalel loke kaśchana mānavaḥ | nigrāhyās te sva-bāhubhyāṁ śaśvad dharmam avekshatā | pratijñāṁ chādhirohasva manasā karmaṇā girā | 'pālayishyāmy aham bhaumam brahma' ity eva chāsakṛit | . . . . adaṇḍyāḥ me dvijāś cheti pratijānīhi he vibho | lokaṁ cha sankarāt kṛitsnaṁ trātāsmīti parantapa" | Vainyas tatas tān uvācha devān ṛishi-purogamān | "brāhmaṇāḥ me mahābhāgāḥ namasyāḥ purusharshabhāḥ" | "evam astv" iti Vainyas tu tair ukto brahmavādibhiḥ | purodhāś chābhavat tasya Śukro brahmamayo nidhiḥ | mantriṇo Bālakhilyāś cha Sārasvatyo gaṇas tathā | maharshir bhagavān Gargas tasya sāṁvatsaro 'bhavat |

"The son of Vena (Pṛithu) then, with joined hands, addressed the great rishis: 'A very slender understanding for perceiving the principles of duty has been given to me by nature: tell me truly how I must employ it. Doubt not that I shall perform whatever you shall declare to me as my duty, and its object.' Then those gods and great rishis said to him: 'Whatever duty is enjoined perform it without hesitation, disregarding what thou mayest like or dislike, looking on all creatures with an equal eye, putting far from thee lust, anger, cupidity, and pride. Restrain by the strength of thine arm all those men who swerve from righteousness, having a constant regard to duty. And in thought, act, and word take upon thyself, and continually renew, the

engagement to protect the terrestrial Brăhmăn (Veda, or Brāhmans?) .... And promise that thou wilt exempt the Brāhmans from punishment, and preserve society from the confusion of castes.' The son of Vena then replied to the gods, headed by the rishis: 'The great Brāhmans, the chief of men, shall be reverenced by me.' 'So be it,' rejoined those declarers of the Veda. Śukra, the depository of divine knowledge, became his purohita; the Bālakhilyas and Sārasvatyas his ministers; and the venerable Garga, the great rishi, his astrologer."

The character and conduct of Pṛithu, as pourtrayed in the last passage presents a strong, and when regarded from a Brahmanical point of view, an edifying, contrast to the contempt of priestly authority and disregard of Vedic observances which his predecessor had shewn.

In legends like that of Vena we see, I think, a reflection of the questions which were agitating the religious world of India at the period when the Purāṇas in which they appear were compiled, viz., those which were then at issue between the adherents of the Veda, and the various classes of their opponents, Bauddha, Jaina, Chārvāka, etc. These stories were no doubt written with a purpose. They were intended to deter the monarchs contemporary with the authors from tampering with those heresies which had gained, or were gaining, circulation and popularity, by the example of the punishment which, it was pretended, had overtaken the princes who had dared to deviate from orthodoxy in earlier times. Compare the account given of the rise of heretical doctrines in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (pp. 209 ff. vol. iii. of Dr. Hall's edition of Professor Wilson's translation), which the writer no doubt intended to have something more than a merely historical interest.

The legend of Vena is told at greater length, but with no material variation in substance, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, iv. sections 13–15. See also Professor Wilson's note in his Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i. in loco.

In ascribing to Vena an irreligious character and a contempt for the priests, the Purāṇas contradict a verse in the Rig-veda x. 93, 14, in which (unless we suppose a different individual to be there meant) Vena is celebrated along with Duḥsīma, Pṛithavāna, and Rāma for his conspicuous liberality to the author of the hymn (*pra tad Duḥsīme Pṛithavāne Vene pra Rāme vocham asure maghavatsu | ye yuktvāya pancha śatā asmayu pathā viśrāvi eshām*). The two other passages,

viii. 9, 10, and x. 148, 5, in which he is alluded to as the father of Pṛithu have been quoted above, p. 268.

I observe that a Vena, called Bhārgava (or a descendant of Bhṛigu), is mentioned in the list of traditional authors of hymns, given at the end of Professor Aufrecht's Rig-veda, vol. ii., as the rishi of R.V. ix. 85, and x. 123.

Sect. III.—*Legend of Purūravas.*

Purūravas has been already alluded to (in pp. 158, 221, 226, 268, and 279 f.) as the son of Iḍa (or Iḍā), and the grandson of Manu Vaivasvata; as the author of the triple division of the sacred fire; and as a royal rishi. We have also seen (p. 172) that in Rig-veda i. 31, 4, he is referred to as *sukṛite*, a "beneficent," or "pious," prince. Rig-veda x. 95 is considered to contain a dialogue between him and the Apsaras Urvaśī (see above, p. 226). In verse 7 of that hymn the gods are alluded to as having strengthened Purūravas for a great conflict for the slaughter of the Dasyus (*mahe yat tvā Purūravo raṇāya avarddhayan dasyu-hatyāya devāḥ*); and in the 18th verse he is thus addressed by his patronymic: *Iti tvā devāḥ ime āhur Aila yathā īm etad bhavasi mṛityubandhuḥ | prajā te devān havishā yajāti svarge u tvam api mādayāse* | "Thus say these gods to thee, o son of Iḷa, that thou art indeed nothing more than a kinsman of death: (yet) let thy offspring worship the gods with an oblation, and thou also shalt rejoice in heaven."

It thus appears that in the Vedic hymns and elsewhere Purūravas is regarded as a pious prince, and Manu does not include him in his list of those who resisted the Brāhmans. But the M. Bh., Ādiparvan 3143 speaks of him as follows:

Purūravās tato vidvān Ilāyāṁ samapadyata | sā vai tasyābhavad mātā pitā chaiveti naḥ śrutam | trayodaśa samudrasya dvīpān aśnan Purūravāḥ | amānushair vṛitaḥ sarvair mānushaḥ san mahāyaśāḥ | vipraiḥ sa vigrahaṁ chakre vīryyonmattaḥ Purūravāḥ | jahāra cha sa viprāṇām ratnāny utkrośatām api | Sanatkumāras taṁ rājan Brahma-lokād upetya ha | anudarśaṁ tataś chakre pratyagṛihṇād na chāpy asau | tato maharshibhiḥ kruddhaiḥ sadyaḥ śapto vyanaśyata | lobhānvito bala-madād nashṭa-sanjno narādhipaḥ | sa hi gandharva-loka-sthān Urvaśyā sahito virāṭ | āninīya kriyārthe 'gnīn yathāvad vihitāṁs tridhā |

"Subsequently the wise Purūravas was born of Ilā, who, as we have heard, was both his father and his mother. Ruling over thirteen islands of the ocean, and surrounded by beings who were all superhuman, himself a man of great renown, Purūravas, intoxicated by his prowess, engaged in a conflict with the Brāhmans, and robbed them of their jewels, although they loudly remonstrated. Sānatkumāra came from Brahmā's heaven, and addressed to him an admonition, which, however, he did not regard. Being then straightway cursed by the incensed rishis, he perished, this covetous monarch, who, through pride of power, had lost his understanding. This glorious being (*virāṭ*), accompanied by Urvaśī, brought down for the performance of sacred rites the fires which existed in the heaven of the Gandharvas, properly distributed into three." (See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, 4to. ed. pp. 350 and 394 ff. with note p. 397.)

I cite from the Harivaṁśa another passage regarding Purūravas, although no distinct mention is made in it of his contest with the Brāhmans:

Harivaṁśa 8811. *Pitā Budhasyottama-vīrya-karmā Purūravāḥ yasya suto nṛi-devaḥ | prāṇāgnir īḍyo 'gniṁ ajījanad yo nashṭaṁ śamī-garbha-bhavam bhavātmā | tathaiva paśchāch chakame mahātmā purorvaśīm apsarasāṁ varishṭhām | pītaḥ purā yo 'mṛita-sarva-deho muni-pravīrair vara-gātri-ghoraiḥ | nṛipaḥ kuśāgraiḥ punar eva yaś cha dhīmān kṛito 'gnir divi pūjyate cha |*

"He (the Moon) was the father of Budha (Mercury), whose son was Purūravas, a god among men, of distinguished heroic deeds, the vital fire, worthy of adoration, the generator, who begot the lost fire which sprang from the heart of the śamī-wood, the great personage, who, placed to the west, loved Urvaśī, the paragon of Apsarases, who was placed to the east. This king with his entire immortal body was formerly swallowed up with the points of Kuśa grass by the munis terrible with their resplendent forms; but was again made wise, and is worshipped in heaven as fire."

Sect. IV.—*Story of Nahusha.*

The legend of Nahusha,[85] grandson of Purūravas (see above, p. 226),

[85] The name of Nahush occurs in the Rig-veda as that of the progenitor of a race.

the second prince described by Manu as having come into hostile collision with the Brāhmans is narrated with more or less detail in different parts of the Mahābhārata, as well as in the Purāṇas. The following passage is from the former work, Ādip. 3151:

Āyusho Nahushaḥ putro dhīmān satya-parākramaḥ | rājyaṁ śaśāsa sumahad dharmeṇa pṛithivīpate | pitṛīn devān ṛishīn viprān gandharvoraga-rākshasān | Nahushaḥ pālayāmāsa brahma kshattram atho viśaḥ | sa hatvā dasyu-sanghātān ṛishīn karam adāpayat | paśuvach chaiva tān pṛishṭhe vāhayāmāsa vīryyavān | kārayāmāsa chendratvam abhibhūya divaukasaḥ | tejasā tapasā chaiva vikrameṇaujasā tathā |

"Nahusha the son of Āyus, wise, and of genuine prowess, ruled with justice a mighty empire. He protected the pitṛis, gods, rishis, wise men, gandharvas, serpents (*uraga*), and rākshasas, as well as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas. This energetic prince, after slaying the hosts of the Dasyus, compelled the rishis to pay tribute, and made them carry him like beasts upon their backs. After subduing the celestials he conquered for himself the rank of Indra, through his vigour, austere fervour, valour and fire."

The story is thus introduced in another part of the same work, the Vanaparvan, section 180. Yudhishṭhira found his brother Bhīmasena seized by a serpent in a forest (see above, p. 133). This serpent, it appears, was no other than king Nahusha, who on being questioned thus relates his own history:

Nahusho nāma rājā 'ham āsam pūrvas tavānagha | prathitaḥ panchamaḥ Somād Āyoḥ putro narādhipa | kratubhis tapasā chaiva svādhyāyena damena cha | trailokyaiśvaryam avyagram prāpto 'haṁ vikrameṇa cha | tad aiśvaryyaṁ samāsādya darpo mām agamat tadā | sahasraṁ hi dvijātīnām uvāha śivikām mama | aiśvaryya-mada-matto 'ham avamanya tato dvijān | imām Agastyena daśām ānītaḥ pṛithivīpate | . . . . ahaṁ hi divi divyena vimānena charan purā | abhimānena mattaḥ san kanchid nānyam achintayam | brahmarshi-deva-gandharva-yaksha-rākshasa-pannagāḥ | karān mama prayachhanti sarve trailokya-vāsinaḥ | chakshushā yam prapaśyāmi prāṇinam prithivīpate | tasya tejo harāmy āśu tad hi dṛishṭer balam mama | maharshīṇām sahasraṁ hi uvāha śivikām mama |

See above, p. 165, note 7, and pp. 179 f. Nahusha Mānava is the traditional rishi of Rig-veda ix. 101, verses 7–9, and Yayāti Nāhusha of verses 4–6 of the same hymn. See list of rishis in Professor Aufrecht's Rig-veda ii. 464 ff.

sa mām apanayo rājan bhramśayāmāsa vai śriyaḥ | tatra hy Agastyaḥ pādena vahan sprishṭo mayā muniḥ | Agastyena tato 'smy ukto dhvaṁsa sarpeti vai rushā | tatas tasmād vimānāgryāt prachyutaś chyuta-lakshaṇaḥ | prapatan bubudhe "tmānaṁ vyālībhūtam adhomukham | ayācham tam ahaṁ vipraṁ "śāpasyānto bhaved" iti | "pramādāt sampramūḍhasya bhagavan kshantum arhasi" | tataḥ sa mām uvāchedam prapatantaṁ kṛipānvitaḥ | "Yudhishṭhiro dharma-rājaḥ śāpāt tvām mochayishyati" | . . . . ity uktvā "jagaraṁ deham muktvā na Nahusho nṛipaḥ | divyaṁ vapuḥ samāsthāya gatas tridivam eva cha |

"I was a king called Nahusha, more ancient than thou, known as the son of Āyus, and fifth in descent from Soma. By my sacrifices, austere fervour, sacred study, self-restraint, and valour, I acquired the undisturbed sovereignty of the three worlds. When I had attained that dominion, pride took possession of my soul: a thousand Brāhmans bore my vehicle. Becoming intoxicated by the conceit of my lordly power, and contemning the Brāhmans, I was reduced to this condition by Agastya." The serpent then promises to let Bhīmasena go, if Yudhishṭhira will answer certain questions (above referred to in p. 133 ff.). Yudhishṭhira afterwards enquires how delusion had happened to take possession of so wise a person as their conversation shewed Nahusha to be. The latter replies that he had been perverted by the pride of power, and proceeds: "Formerly, as I moved through the sky on a celestial car, intoxicated with self-conceit, I regarded no one but myself. All the inhabitants of the three worlds, brāhmanical rishis, gods, gandharvas, yakshas, rākshasas, pannagas, paid me tribute. Such was the power of my gaze that on what creature soever I fixed my eyes, I straightway robbed him of his energy. A thousand of the great sages bore my vehicle. That misconduct it was, o king, which hurled me from my high estate. For I then touched with my foot the muni Agastya who was carrying me. Agastya in his wrath cried out to me 'Fall, thou serpent.' Hurled therefore from that magnificent car, and fallen from my prosperity, as I descended headlong, I felt that I had become a serpent. I entreated the Brāhman (Agastya), 'Let there be a termination of the curse: thou, o reverend rishi, shouldest forgive one who has been deluded through his inconsideration.' He then compassionately replied to me as I fell, 'Yudhishṭhira, the king of righteousness, will free thee from the curse.'" And at the close of the

conversation between Yudhishṭhira and the serpent, we are told that "King Nahusha, throwing of his huge reptile form, became clothed in a celestial body, and ascended to heaven."

The same story is related in greater detail in the Udyogaparvan, sections 10–16, as follows:

After his slaughter of the demon Vṛittra, Indra became alarmed at the idea of having taken the life of a Brāhman (for Vṛittra was regarded as such), and hid himself in the waters. In consequence of the disappearance of the king of the gods, all affairs, celestial as well as terrestrial, fell into confusion. The rishis and gods then applied to Nahusha to be their king. After at first excusing himself on the plea of want of power, Nahusha at length, in compliance with their solicitations, accepted the high function. Up to the period of his elevation he had led a virtuous life, but he now became addicted to amusement and sensual pleasure; and even aspired to the possession of Indrāṇī, Indra's wife, whom he had happened to see. The queen resorted to the Angiras Vṛihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, who engaged to protect her. Nahusha was greatly incensed on hearing of this interference; but the gods endeavoured to pacify him, and pointed out the immorality of appropriating another person's wife. Nahusha, however, would listen to no remonstrance, and insisted that in his adulterous designs he was no worse than Indra himself: 373. *Ahalyā dharshitā pūrvam ṛishi-patnī yaśasvinī | jīvato bharttur Indreṇa sa vaḥ kiṁ na nivāritaḥ* | 374. *Bahūni cha nṛiśaṁsāni kṛitānīndreṇa vai purā | vaidharmyāṇy upadāś chaiva sa vaḥ kiṁ na nivāritaḥ* | "373. The renowned Ahalyā, a rishi's wife, was formerly corrupted by Indra in her husband's lifetime (see p. 121 f.): Why was he not prevented by you? 374. And many barbarous acts, and unrighteous deeds, and frauds, were perpetrated of old by Indra: Why was he not prevented by you?" The gods, urged by Nahusha, then went to bring Indrāṇī; but Vṛihaspati would not give her up. At his recommendation, however, she solicited Nahusha for some delay, till she should ascertain what had become of her husband. This request was granted. The gods next applied to Vishṇu on behalf of Indra; and Vishṇu promised that if Indra would sacrifice to him, he should be purged from his guilt, and recover his dominion, while Nahusha would be destroyed. Indra sacrificed accordingly; and the result is thus told: 419. *Vibhajya brahma-hatyām tu vṛiksheshu*

cha nadīshu cha | parvateshu pṛithivyāṁ cha strīshu chaiva Yudhishṭhira | sa vibhajya cha bhūteshu visṛijya cha sureśvaraḥ | vijvaro dhuta-pāpmā cha Vāsavo 'bhavad ātmavān | "Having divided the guilt of brahmanicide among trees, rivers, mountains, the earth, women, and the elements, Vāsava (Indra), lord of the gods, became freed from suffering and sin, and self-governed." Nahusha was by this means shaken from his place. But (unless this is said by way of prolepsis, or there is some confusion in the narrative) he must have speedily regained his position, as we are told that Indra was again ruined, and became invisible. Indrāṇī now went in search of her husband; and by the help of Upaśruti (the goddess of night and revealer of secrets) discovered him existing in a very subtile form in the stem of a lotus growing in a lake situated in a continent within an ocean north of the Himālaya. She made known to him the wicked intentions of Nahusha, and entreated him to exert his power, rescue her from danger, and resume his dominion. Indra declined any immediate interposition on the plea of Nahusha's superior strength; but suggested to his wife a device by which the usurper might be hurled from his position. She was recommended to say to Nahusha that "if he would visit her on a celestial vehicle borne by rishis, she would with pleasure submit herself to him" (449. *Ṛishi-yānena divyena mām upaihi jagatpate | evaṁ tava vaśe prītā bhavishyāmīti taṁ vada*). The queen of the gods accordingly went to Nahusha, by whom she was graciously received, and made this proposal: 457. *Ichhāmy aham athāpūrvaṁ vāhanaṁ te surādhipa | yad na Vishṇor na Rudrasya nāsurāṇām na rākshāsām | vahantu tvām mahābhāgāḥ ṛishayaḥ sangatāḥ vibho | sarve śivikayā rājann etad hi mama rochate* | "I desire for thee, king of the gods, a vehicle hitherto unknown, such as neither Vishṇu, nor Rudra, nor the asuras, nor the rakshases employ. Let the eminent rishis, all united, bear thee, lord, in a car: this idea pleases me." Nahusha receives favourably this appeal to his vanity, and in the course of his reply thus gives utterance to his self-congratulation: 463. *Na hy alpa-vīryo bhavati yo vāhān kurute munīn | ahaṁ tapasvī balavān bhūta-bhavya-bhavat-prabhuḥ | mayi kruddhe jagad na syād mayi sarvam pratishṭhitam | . . . . tasmāt te vachanaṁ devi karishyāmi na saṁśayaḥ | saptarshayo māṁ vakshyanti sarve brahmarshayas tathā | paśya māhātmyam asmākaṁ ṛiddhiṁ cha varavarṇini* | . . . . 468. *Vimāne yojayitvā sa ṛishīn niyamam āsthitān | abrahmaṇyo*

balopeto matto mada-balena cha | kāma-vṛittaḥ sa dushṭātmā vāhayāmāsa tān ṛishīn | "He is a personage of no mean prowess who makes the munis his bearers. I am a fervid devotee of great might, lord of the past, the future, and the present. If I were angry the world would no longer stand; on me everything depends. . . . . Wherefore, o goddess, I shall, without doubt, carry out what you propose. The seven rishis, and all the brāhman-rishis, shall carry me. Behold, beautiful goddess, my majesty and my prosperity." The narrative goes on: "Accordingly this wicked being, irreligious, violent, intoxicated by the force of conceit, and arbitrary in his conduct, attached to his car the rishis, who submitted to his commands, and compelled them to bear him." Indrāṇī then again resorts to Vṛihaspati, who assures her that vengeance will soon overtake Nahusha for his presumption; and promises that he will himself perform a sacrifice with a view to the destruction of the oppressor, and the discovery of Indra's lurking place. Agni is then sent to discover and bring Indra to Vṛihaspati; and the latter, on Indra's arrival, informs him of all that had occured during his absence. While Indra, with Kuvera, Yama, Soma, and Varuṇa, was devising means for the destruction of Nahusha, the sage Agastya came up, congratulated Indra on the fall of his rival, and proceeded to relate how it had occurred: 527. *Śramārttāścha vahantas tam Nahusham pāpakāriṇam | devarshayo mahābhāgas tathā brahmarshayo 'malāḥ | paprachchhur Nahusham devam saṁśayaṁ jayatāṁ vara | ye ime brāhmaṇāḥ proktāḥ mantrāḥ vai prokshaṇe gavām | ete pramāṇam bhavataḥ utāho neti Vāsava | Nahusho neti tān āha tamasā mūḍha-chetanaḥ | ṛishayaḥ ūchuḥ | adharme sampravṛittas tvaṁ dharmaṁ na pratipadyase | pramāṇam etad asmākam pūrvam proktam maharshibhiḥ | Agastyaḥ uvācha | Tato vivadamānaḥ sa munibhiḥ saha Vāsava | atha mām aspṛiśad mūrdhni pādenādharma-yojitaḥ | tenābhūd hata-tejāś cha niḥśrīkaś cha mahīpatiḥ | tatas taṁ sahasā vignam avocham bhaya-pīḍitam | "yasmāt pūrvaiḥ kṛitam brahma brahmarshibhir anushṭhitam | adushṭaṁ dūshayasi vai yach cha mūrdhny aspṛiśaḥ padā | yach chāpi tvam ṛishīn mūḍha brahma-kalpān durāsadān | vāhān kṛitvā vāhayasi tena svargād hata-prabhaḥ | dhvaṁsa pāpa paribhrashṭaḥ kshīṇa-puṇyo mahītalam | daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi sarpa-rūpa-dharo mahān | vicharishyasi pūrṇeshu punaḥ svargam avāpsyasi" | evam bhrashṭo durātmā sa deva-rājyād arindama | dishṭyā varddhāmahe śakra hato brāhmaṇa-kaṇ-*

ṭakaḥ | tripishṭapam prapadyasva pāhi lokān śachīpate | jetendriyo jitāmitraḥ stūyamāno maharshibhiḥ | "Wearied with carrying the sinner Nahusha, the eminent divine-rishis, and the spotless brāhman-rishis, asked that divine personage Nahusha [to solve] a difficulty: 'Dost thou, o Vāsava, most excellent of conquerors, regard as authoritative or not those Brāhmaṇa texts which are recited at the immolation of kine?' 'No,' replied Nahusha, whose understanding was enveloped in darkness. The rishis rejoined: 'Engaged in unrighteousness, thou attainest not unto righteousness: these texts, which were formerly uttered by great rishis, are regarded by us as authoritative.' Then (proceeds Agastya) disputing with the munis, Nahusha, impelled by unrighteousness, touched me on the head with his foot. In consequence of this the king's glory was smitten and his prosperity departed. When he had instantly become agitated and oppressed with fear, I said to him, 'Since thou, o fool, contemnest that sacred text, always held in honour, which has been composed by former sages, and employed by brāhman-rishis, and hast touched my head with thy foot, and employest the Brahmā-like and irresistible rishis as bearers to carry thee,—therefore, shorn of thy lustre, and all thy merit exhausted, sink down, sinner, degraded from heaven to earth. For ten thousand years thou shalt crawl in the form of a huge serpent. When that period is completed, thou shalt again ascend to heaven.' So fell that wicked wretch from the sovereignty of the gods. Happily, o Indra, we shall now prosper, for the enemy of the Brāhmans has been smitten. Take possession of the three worlds, and protect their inhabitants, o husband of Śachī (Indrāṇī), subduing thy senses, overcoming thine enemies, and celebrated by the great rishis." [86]

Indra, as we have seen above, was noted for his dissolute character. The epithet "subduing thy senses," assigned to him in the last sentence by Agastya, is at variance with this indifferent reputation. Is it to be regarded as a piece of flattery, or as a delicate hint that the god would do well to practise a purer morality in future?

This legend appears, like some others, to have been a favourite with the compilers of the Mahābhārata; for we find it once more related, though with some variety of detail, (which may justify its repetition in

[86] Further on, in verse 556, Nahusha is called "the depraved, the hater of brahman, the sinful-minded (*durāchāraś cha Nahusho brahma-dviṭ pāpachetanaḥ*).

a condensed form), in the Anuśāsanaparvan, verses 4745–4810. We are there told that Nahusha, in recompense for his good deeds, was exalted to heaven; where he continued to perform all divine and human ceremonies, and to worship the gods as before. At length he became puffed up with pride at the idea that he was Indra, and all his good works in consequence were neutralized. For a great length of time he compelled the rishis to carry him about. At last it came to Agastya's turn to perform the servile office. Bhṛigu then came and said to Agastya, 'Why do we submit to the insults of this wicked king of the gods?' Agastya answered that none of the rishis had ventured to curse Nahusha, because he had obtained the power of subduing to his service everyone upon whom he fixed his eyes; and that he had *amṛita* (nectar) for his beverage. However, Agastya said he was prepared to do anything that Bhṛigu might suggest. Bhṛigu said he had been sent by Brahmā to take vengeance on Nahusha, who was that day about to attach Agastya to his car, and would spurn him with his foot; and that he himself (Bhṛigu), "incensed at this insult, would by a curse condemn the transgressor and hater of Brāhmans to become a serpent" (*vyutkrānta-dharmaṁ tam ahaṁ dharshaṇāmarshito bhṛiśam | ahir bhavasveti rushā śapsye pāpaṁ dvija-druham*). All this accordingly happened as follows:

Athāgastyam ṛishi-śreshṭham vāhanāyājuhāva ha | drutaṁ Sarasvatī-kūlāt smayann iva mahābalaḥ | tato Bhṛigur mahātejāḥ Maitrāvaruṇim abravīt | "nimīlayasva nayane jaṭāṁ yāvad viśāmi te" | sthāṇubhūtasya tasyātha jaṭām prāviśad achyutaḥ | Bhṛiguḥ sa sumahātejāḥ pātanāya nṛipasya cha | tataḥ sa deva-rāṭ prāptas tam ṛishiṁ vāhanāya vai | tato 'gastyaḥ surapatiṁ vākyam āha viśāmpate | "yojayasveti māṁ kshipraṁ kaṁ cha deśaṁ vahāmi te | yattra vakshyasi tattra tvāṁ nayishyāmi surādhipa" | ity ukto Nahushas tena yojayāmāsa tam munim | Bhṛigus tasya jaṭāntaḥ-stho babhūva hṛishito bhṛiśam | na chāpi darśanaṁ tasya chakāra sa Bhṛigus tadā | vara-dāna-prabhāva-jño Nahushasya mahātmanaḥ | na chukopa tadā 'gastyo yukto 'pi Nahushena vai | taṁ tu rāja pratodena chodayāmāsa Bhārata | na chukopa sa dharmātmā tataḥ pādena deva-rāṭ | Agastyasya tadā kruddho vāmenābhyahanach chhiraḥ | tasmin śirasy abhihate sa jaṭāntargato Bhṛiguḥ | śaśāpa balavat kruddho Nahusham pāpachetasam | "yasmāt padā 'hanaḥ krodhāt śirasīmam mahāmunim | tasmād āśu mahīṁ gachha sarpo bhūtvā sudurmate" | ity uktaḥ sa tadā tena

sarpo bhūtvā papāta ha | adṛishṭenātha Bhṛiguṇā bhūtale Bharatarshabha | Bhṛiguṁ hi yadi so 'drakshyad Nahushaḥ pṛithivīpate | sa na śakto 'bhavishyad vai pātane tasya tejasā |

"The mighty Nahusha, as it were smiling, straightway summoned the eminent rishi Agastya from the banks of the Sarasvatī to carry him. The glorious Bhṛigu then said to Maitrāvaruṇi (Agastya), 'Close thy eyes whilst I enter into the knot of thy hair.' With the view of overthrowing the king, Bhṛigu then entered into the hair of Agastya who stood motionless as a stock. Nahusha then came to be carried by Agastya, who desired to be attached to the vehicle and agreed to carry the king of the gods whithersoever he pleased. Nahusha in consequence attached him. Bhṛigu, who was lodged in the knot of Agastya's hair, was greatly delighted, but did not venture to look at Nahusha, as he knew the potency of the boon which had been accorded to him (of subduing to his will everyone on whom he fixed his eyes). Agastya did not lose his temper when attached to the vehicle, and even when urged by a goad the holy man remained unmoved. The king of the gods, incensed, next struck the rishi's head with his left foot, when Bhṛigu, invisible within the knot of hair, became enraged, and violently cursed the wicked Nahusha: 'Since, fool, thou hast in thine anger smitten this great muni on the head with thy foot, therefore become a serpent, and fall down swiftly to the earth.' Being thus addressed, Nahusha became a serpent, and fell to the earth, through the agency of Bhṛigu, who remained invisible. For if he had been seen by Nahusha, the saint would have been unable, in consequence of the power possessed by the oppressor, to hurl him to the ground."

Bhṛigu, on Nahusha's solicitation, and the intercession of Agastya, placed a period to the effects of the curse, which, as in the other version of the legend, Yudhishṭhira was to be the instrument of terminating.

From several phrases which I have quoted from the version of this legend given in the Udyogaparvan, as well as the tenor of the whole, it appears to be the intention of the writers to hold up the case of Nahusha as an example of the nemesis awaiting not merely any gross display of presumption, but all resistance to the pretensions of the priesthood, and contempt of their persons or authority.

Sect. V.—*Story of Nimi.*

Nimi (one of Ikshvāku's sons) is another of the princes who are stigmatized by Manu, in the passage above quoted, for their want of deference to the Brāhmans. The Vishṇu P. (Wilson, 4to. ed. p. 388) relates the story as follows: Nimi had requested the Brāhman-rishi Vaśishṭha to officiate at a sacrifice, which was to last a thousand years. Vaśishṭha in reply pleaded a pre-engagement to Indra for five hundred years, but promised to return at the end of that period. The king made no remark, and Vaśishṭha went away, supposing that he had assented to this arrangement. On his return, however, the priest discovered that Nimi had retained Gautama (who was, equally with Vaśishṭha, a Brāhman-rishi) and others to perform the sacrifice; and being incensed at the neglect to give him notice of what was intended, he cursed the king, who was then asleep, to lose his corporeal form. When Nimi awoke and learnt that he had been cursed without any previous warning, he retorted, by uttering a similar curse on Vaśishṭha, and then died. "In consequence of this curse" (proceeds the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 5, 6) "the vigour of Vaśishṭha entered into the vigour of Mitra and Varuṇa. Vaśishṭha, however, received from them another body when their seed had fallen from them at the sight of Urvaśī" (*tach-chhāpāch cha Mitrā-varuṇayos tejasi Vaśishṭha-tejaḥ pravishṭam | Urvaśī-darśanād udbhūta-vīryya-prapātayoḥ sakāśād Vaśishṭho deham aparaṁ lehhe*).[87] Nimi's body was embalmed. At the close of the sacrifice which he had begun, the gods were willing, on the intercession of the priests, to restore him to life, but he declined the offer; and was placed by the deities, according to his desire, in the eyes of all living creatures. It is in consequence of this that they are always opening and shutting (*nimisha* means "the twinkling of the eye").

The story is similarly related in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 13, 1–13. A portion of the passage is as follows:

3. *Nimiś chalam idaṁ vidvān sattram ārabhatātmavān | ṛitvigbhir aparais tāvad nāgamad yāvatā guruḥ | śishya-vyatikramaṁ vīkshya nirvarttya gurur āgataḥ | aśapat "patatād deho Nimeḥ paṇḍita-māninaḥ" | Nimiḥ pratidadau śāpaṁ guruve 'dharma-varttine | "tavāpi patatād deho*

[87] This story will be further illustrated in the next section.

lobhād dharmam ajānataḥ" | *ity utsasarjja svaṁ dehaṁ Nimir adhyātma-kovidaḥ* | *Mitrā-varuṇayor jajne Urvaśyām prapitāmahaḥ* |

"Nimi, who was self-controlled, knowing the world to be fleeting, commenced the sacrifice with other priests until his own spiritual instructor should come back. The latter, on his return, discovering the transgression of his disciple, cursed him thus: 'Let the body of Nimi, who fancies himself learned, fall from him.' Nimi retorted the curse on his preceptor, who was acting unrighteously: 'Let thy body also fall from thee, since thou, through coveteousness, art ignorant of duty.' Having so spoken, Nimi, who knew the supreme spirit, abandoned his body: and the patriarch (Vaśishṭha) was born of Urvaśī to Mitra and Varuṇa."[88]

The offence of Nimi, as declared in these passages, is not that of contemning the sacerdotal order in general, or of usurping their functions; but merely of presuming to consult his own convenience by proceeding to celebrate a sacrifice with the assistance of another Brāhman (for Gautama also was a man of priestly descent) when his own spiritual preceptor was otherwise engaged, without giving the latter any notice of his intention. The Bhāgavata, as we have seen, awards blame impartially to both parties, and relates (as does also the Vishṇu Purāṇa) that the king's curse took effect on the Brāhman, as well as the Brāhman's on the king.

Sect. VI.—*Vasishṭha.*

One of the most remarkable and renowned of the struggles between Brāhmans and Kshattriyas which occur in the legendary history of India is that which is said to have taken place between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra. I propose to furnish full details of this conflict with its fabulous accompaniments from the Rāmāyaṇa, which dwells upon it at considerable length, as well as from the Mahābhārata, where it is repeatedly

[88] On the last verse the commentator S'rīdhara has the following note: *Urvaśī-darś'anāt sk'annaṁ retas tābhyāṁ kumbhe nishiktam* | *tasmāt prapitāmaho Vaśishṭho jajne* | *tathā cha śrutiḥ "kumbhe retaḥ sishichituḥ samānam" iti* | "Seed fell from them at the sight of Urvas'ī and was shed into a jar: from it the patriarch, Vas'ishṭha, was born. And so says the s'ruti" (R.V. vii. 33, 13, which will be quoted in the next section).

introduced; but before doing so, I shall quote the passages of the Rig-veda which appear to throw a faint light on the real history of the two rivals. It is clear from what has been said in the Introduction to this volume, pp. 1–6, as well as from the remarks I have made in pp. 139 f., that the Vedic hymns, being far more ancient than the Epic and Puranic compilations, must be more trustworthy guides to a knowledge of the remotest Indian antiquity. While the Epic poems and Puranas no doubt embody numerous ancient traditions, yet these have been freely altered according to the caprice or dogmatic views of later writers, and have received many purely fictitious additions. The Vedic hymns, on the contrary, have been preserved unchanged from a very remote period, and exhibit a faithful reflection of the social, religious, and ecclesiastical condition of the age in which they were composed, and of the feelings which were awakened by contemporary occurrences. As yet there was no conscious perversion or colouring of facts for dogmatic or sectarian purposes; and much of the information which we derive from these naïve compositions is the more trustworthy that it is deduced from hints and allusions, and from the comparison of isolated particulars, and not from direct and connected statements or descriptions. It is here therefore, if anywhere, that we may look for some light on the real relations between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra. After quoting the hymns regarding these two personages, I shall adduce from the Brāhmaṇas, or other later works, any particulars regarding their birth and history which I have discovered. The conflict between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra has been already discussed at length in the third of Dr. Rudolf Roth's "Dissertations on the literature and history of the Veda,"[89] where the most important parts of the hymns bearing upon the subject are translated. The first hymn which I shall adduce is intended for the glorification of Vasishṭha and his family. The latter part relates the birth of the sage, while the earlier verses refer to his connection with king Sudās. Much of this hymn is very obscure.

R.V. vii. 33, 1. *Śvityancho mā dakshiṇatas-kapardāḥ dhiyaṁjinvāso abhi hi pramanduḥ | uttishṭhan voce pari barhisho nṛīn na me dūrād avitave Vasishṭhāḥ | 2. Dūrād Indram anayann ā sutena tiro vaiśantam ati pāntam ugram | Pāśadyumnasya Vāyatasya somāt sutād Indro avṛiṇīta Vasishṭhān | 3. Eva in nu kaṁ sindhum ebhis tatāra eva in nu kam*

[89] Zur Litteratur und Geshichte des Weda. Stuttgart. 1846.

Bhedam ebhir jaghāna | eva in nu kaṁ dāśarājne Sudāsam prāvad Indro brahmaṇā vo Vasishṭhāḥ | 4. Jushṭī naro brahmaṇā vaḥ pitṝṇām aksham avyayaṁ na kila rishātha | yat śakvarīshu bṛihatā raveṇa Indre śushmam adadhāta Vasishṭhāḥ | 5. Ud dyām iva it tṛishṇajo nāthitāso adīdhayur dāśarājne vṛitāsaḥ | Vasishṭhasya stuvataḥ Indro aśrod uruṁ Tṛitsubhyo akṛiṇod u lokam | 6. Daṇḍā iva goajanāsaḥ āsan parichhinnāḥ Bharatāḥ arbhakāsaḥ | abhavach cha pura-etā Vasishṭhaḥ ād it Tṛitsūnāṁ viśo aprathanta | 7. Trayaḥ kṛiṇvanti bhuvaneshu retas tisraḥ prajāḥ āryāḥ jyotir-agrāḥ | trayo gharmāsaḥ ushasaṁ sachante sarvān it tān anu vidur Vasishṭhāḥ | 8. Sūryasya iva vakshatho jyotir eshām samudrasya iva mahimā gabhīraḥ | vātasya iva prajavo na anyena stomo Vasishṭhāḥ anu etave vaḥ | 9. Te in niṇyaṁ hṛidayasya praketaiḥ sahasra-valśam abhi saṁ charanti | yamena tatam paridhiṁ vayanto apsarasaḥ upa sedur Vasishṭhāḥ | 10. Vidyuto jyotiḥ pari saṁ jihānam Mitrā-varuṇā yad apaśyatāṁ tvā | tat te janma uta ekaṁ Vasishṭha Agastyo yat tvā viśaḥ ājabhāra | 11. Uta asi Maitrāvaruṇo Vasishṭha Urvaśyāḥ brahman manaso 'dhi jātaḥ | drapsaṁ skannam brahmaṇā daivyena viśve devāḥ pushkare tvā 'dadanta | 12. Sa praketaḥ ubhayasya pravidvān sahasradānaḥ uta vā sadānaḥ | yamena tatam paridhiṁ vayishyann apsarasaḥ pari jajne Vasishṭhaḥ | 13. Sattre ha jātāv ishitā namobhiḥ kumbhe retaḥ sishichatuḥ samānam | tato ha Mānaḥ 'ud iyāya madhyāt tato jātam ṛishim āhur Vasishṭham |

"1. The white-robed (priests) with hair-knots on the right, stimulating to devotion, have filled me with delight. Rising from the sacrificial grass, I call to the men, 'Let not the Vasishṭhas (stand too) far off to succour [or gladden] me.[90] 2. By their libation they brought Indra hither from afar across the Vaiśanta away from the powerful draught.[91] Indra preferred the Vasishṭhas to the soma offered by Pāśadyumna,[92] the son of Vayata. 3. So too with them he crossed the river; so too with them he slew Bheda; so too in the battle of the ten kings[93] Indra delivered Sudās through your prayer, o Vasishṭhas.

[90] Sāyaṇa thinks that Vasishṭha is the speaker, and refers here to his own sons. Professor Roth (under the word *av*) regards Indra as the speaker. May it not be Sudās?

[91] This is the interpretation of this clause suggested by Professor Aufrecht, who thinks Vaiśanta is probably the name of a river.

[92] According to Sāyaṇa, another king who was sacrificing at the same time as Sudās.

[93] See verses 6–8 of R.V. vii. 83, to be next quoted.

4. Through gratification caused by the prayer of your fathers, o men, ye do not obstruct the undecaying axle (?), since at (the recitation of the) Śakvarī verses[94] with a loud voice ye have infused energy into Indra, o Vasishṭhas. 5. Distressed, when surrounded in the fight of the ten kings, they looked up, like thirsty men, to the sky. Indra heard Vasishṭha when he uttered praise, and opened up a wide space for the Ṭṛitsus.[95] 6. Like staves for driving cattle, the contemptible Bharatas were lopped all round. Vasishṭha marched in front, and then the tribes of the Ṭṛitsus were deployed. 7. Three deities create a fertilizing fluid in the worlds. Three are the noble creatures whom light precedes. Three fires attend the dawn.[96] All these the Vasishṭhas know. 8. Their lustre is like the full radiance of the sun; their greatness is like the depth of the ocean; like the swiftness of the wind, your hymn, o Vasishṭhas, can be followed by no one else. 9. By the intuitions of their heart they seek out the mystery with a thousand branches. Weaving the envelopment stretched out by Yama, the Vasishṭhas sat down by the Apsaras. 10. When Mitra and Varuṇa saw thee quitting the flame of the lightning, that was thy birth; and thou hadst one (other birth), o Vasishṭha, when Agastya brought thee to the people. 11. And thou art also a son of Mitra and Varuṇa, o Vasishṭha, born, o priest, from the soul of Urvaśī. All the gods placed thee —a drop which fell through divine contemplation—in the vessel. 12. He, the intelligent, knowing both (worlds?), with a thousand gifts, or with gifts — he who was to weave the envelopment stretched out by Yama — he, Vasishṭha, was born of the Apsaras. 13. They, two (Mitra and Varuṇa?), born at the sacrifice, and impelled by adorations, dropped into the jar the same amount of seed. From the

[94] See R.V. x. 71, 11, above, p. 256.

[95] This is evidently the name of the tribe which the Vasishṭhas favoured, and to which they themselves must have belonged. See vii. 83, 4. The Bharatas in the next verse appear to be the hostile tribe.

[96] In explanation of this Sāyaṇa quotes a passage from the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa, as follows: "*Trayaḥ kṛiṇvanti bhuvaneshu retaḥ*" *ity Agniḥ pṛithivyām retaḥ kṛiṇoti Vāyur antarikshe Āditya divi* | "*tisraḥ prajāḥ āryyāḥ jyotir-agrāḥ*" *iti Vasavo Rudrāḥ Ādityās tāsaṁ jyotir yad asāv Ādityaḥ* | "*trayo gharmāsaḥ ushasaṁ sachante*" *ity Agnir Ushasaṁ sachate Vāyur Ushasaṁ sachate Adityaḥ Ushasaṁ sachate* | (1) "Agni produces a fertilizing fluid on the earth, Vāyu in the air, the Sun in the sky. (2) The 'three noble creatures' are the Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas. The Sun is their light. (3) Agni, Vāyu, and the Sun each attend the Dawn."

midst of that arose Māna (Agastya ?); and from that they say that the rishi Vasishṭha sprang." [97]

There is another hymn (R.V. vii. 18) which relates to the connection between Vasishṭha and Sudās (verses 4, 5, 21–25) and the conflict between the latter and the Tṛitsus with their enemies (verses 6–18); but as it is long and obscure I shall content myself with quoting a few verses.[98]

R.V. vii. 18, 4. *Dhenuṁ na tvā suyavase dudhukshann upa brahmāṇi sasṛije Vasishṭhaḥ | tvām id me gopatiṁ viśvaḥ āha ā naḥ Indraḥ sumatiṁ gantu achha | 5. Arṇāṁsi chit paprathānā Sudāse Indro gādhāni*

[97] Whatever may be the sense of verses 11 and 13, the Nirukta states plainly enough v. 13; *Tasyāḥ darśanād Mitrā-varuṇayoḥ retaś chaskanda | tad-abhivādiny eshā ṛig bhavati |* "On seeing her (Urvaśī) the seed of Mitra and Varuṇa fell from them. To this the following verse (R.V. vii.33, 11) refers." And Sāyaṇa on the same verse quotes a passage from the Bṛihaddevatā: *Tayor ādityayoḥ sattre dṛishṭvā 'psarasam Urvaśīm | retaś chaskanda tat kumbhe nyapatad vāsatīvare | tenaiva tu muhūrttena vīryavantau tapasvinau | Agastyaś cha Vasishṭhaś cha tatrarshī sambabhūvatuḥ | bahudhā patitaṁ retaḥ kalaśe cha jale sthale | sthale Vasishṭhas tu muniḥ samabhūvārshi-sattamaḥ | kumbhe tv Agastyaḥ sambhūto jale matsyo mahādyutiḥ | udiyāya tato 'gastyo śamyā-mātro mahātapāḥ | mānena sammito yasmāt tasmād Mānyaḥ ihochyate | yadvā kumbhād ṛishir jātaḥ kumbhenāpi hi mīyate | kumbhaḥ ity abhidhānaṁ cha parimāṇasya lakshyate | tato 'psu gṛihyamāṇāsu Vasishṭhaḥ pushkare sthitaḥ | sarvataḥ pushkare taṁ hi viśve devāḥ adhārayan |* "When these two Adityas (Mitra and Varuṇa) beheld the Apsaras Urvaśī at a sacrifice their seed fell from them into the sacrificial jar called *vāsatīvara*. At that very moment the two energetic and austere rishis Agastya and Vasishṭha were produced there. The seed fell on many places, into the jar, into water, and on the ground. The muni Vasishṭha, most excellent of rishis, was produced on the ground; while Agastya was born in the jar, a fish of great lustre. The austere Agastya sprang thence of the size of a *śamyā* (*i.e.* the pin of a yoke; see Wilson, *s.v.*, and Professor Roth, *s.v. māna*). Since he was measured by a certain standard (*māna*) he is called the 'measurable' (*mānya*). Or, the rishi, having sprung from a jar (*kumbha*), is also measured by a jar, as the word *kumbha* is also designated as the name of a measure. Then when the waters were taken, Vasishṭha remained in the vessel (*pushkara*); for all the gods held him in it on all sides." In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 64, Prof. Roth speaks of the verses of the hymn which relate to Vasishṭha's origin as being a more modern addition to an older composition, and as describing the miraculous birth of the sage in the taste and style of the Epic mythology. Professor Max Müller (Oxford Essays for 1856, pp. 61 f.) says that Vasishṭha is a name of the Sun; and that the ancient poet is also "called the son of Mitra and Varuṇa, night and day, an expression which has a meaning only in regard to Vasishṭha, the sun; and as the sun is frequently called the offspring of the dawn, Vasishṭha, the poet, is said to owe his birth to Urvaśī" (whom Müller identifies with Ushas). For M. Langlois's view of the passage, see his French version of the R.V. vol. iii. pp. 79 f. and his note, p. 234.

[98] See Roth's Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, pp. 87 ff. where it is translated into German.

akṛiṇot supārā | . . . . . 21. Pra ye gṛihād amamadus tvāyā Parāśaraḥ Śatayātur Vasishṭhaḥ | na te bhojasya sakhyam mṛishanta adha sūribhyaḥ sudinā vi uchhān | 22. Dve naptur Devavataḥ śate gor dvā rathā vadhūmantā Sudāsaḥ | arhann Agne Paijavanasya dānam hoteva sadma pari emi rebhan | 23. Chatvāro mā Paijavanasya dānāḥ smaddishṭayaḥ kṛiśanino nireke | ṛijrāso mā pṛithivishṭhāḥ Sudāsas tokaṁ tokāya śravase vahanti | 24. Yasya śravo rodasī antar urvī śīrshṇe śīrshṇe vibabhāja vibhaktā | sapta id Indraṁ na sravato gṛiṇanti ni Yudhyāmadhim aśiśād abhīke | imaṁ naro Marutaḥ saśchatānu Divodāsaṁ na pitaraṁ Sudāsaḥ | avishṭana Paijavanasya ketaṁ dūṇāśaṁ kshattram ajaraṁ duvoyu |

"4. Seeking to milk thee (Indra), like a cow in a rich meadow, Vasishṭha sent forth his prayers to thee; for every one tells me that thou art a lord of cows; may Indra come to our hymn. 5. However the waters swelled, Indra made them shallow and fordable to Sudās. . . . . 21. Parāśara,[99] Śatayātu, and Vasishṭha, devoted to thee, who from indifference have left their home, have not forgotten the friendship of thee the bountiful;—therefore let prosperous days dawn for these sages. 22. Earning two hundred cows and two chariots with mares, the gift of Sudās the son of Pijavana, and grandson of Devavat,[100] I walk round the house, o Agni, uttering praises, like a hotṛi priest. 23. The four brown steeds, bestowed by Sudās the son of Pijavana, vigorous, decked with pearls, standing on the ground, carry me on securely to renown from generation to generation. 24. That donor, whose fame pervades both worlds, has distributed gifts to every person. They praise him as the seven rivers[101] praise Indra; he has slain Yudhyāmadhi in battle. 25. Befriend him (Sudās), ye heroic Maruts, as

[99] *Parāśara* is said in Nir. vi. 30, which refers to this passage, to have been a son of Vasishṭha born in his old age (*Parāśaraḥ parāśīrṇasya Vasishṭhasya sthavirasya jajne*); or he was a son of Śakti and grandson of Vasishṭha (Roth *s.v.*)

[100] *Devavat* is said by Sāyana to be a proper name. He may be the same as Divodāsa in verse 25. Or Divodāsa may be the father, and Pijavana and Devavat among the forefathers of Sudās. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa Sarvakāma is said to have been the father and Ṛituparna the grandfather of Sudāsa, Wilson's V.P. 4to. ed. p. 380. At p. 454 f. a Sudāsa is mentioned who was son of Chyavana, grandson of Mitrayu and great-grandson of Divodāsa.

[101] Professor Roth (Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 100) compares R.V. i. 102, 2, *asya śravo nadyaḥ sapta bibhrati*, "the seven rivers exalt his (Indra's) renown." These rivers are, as Roth explains, the streams freed by Indra from Vṛittra's power.

ye did Divodāsa the (fore)father of Sudās; fulfil the desire of the son of Pijavana (by granting him) imperishable, undecaying power, worthy of reverence (?)."

Although the Vasishṭhas are not named in the next hymn, it must refer to the same persons and circumstances as are alluded to in the first portion of R.V. vii. 33, quoted above.

R.V. vii. 83, 1. *Yuvāṁ narā paśyamānāsaḥ āpyam prāchā gavyantaḥ pṛithu-parśavo yayuḥ | dāsā cha vṛittrā hatam āryāṇi cha Sudāsam Indrā-varuṇā 'vasā 'vatam | 2. Yatra naraḥ samayante kṛita-dhvajo yasminn ājā bhavati kinchana priyam | yatra bhayante bhuvanā svar-dṛiśas tatra naḥ Indrā-varuṇā 'dhi vochatam | 3. Sam bhūmyāḥ antāḥ dhvasirāḥ adṛikshata Indrā-varuṇā divi ghoshaḥ āruhat | asthur janānām upa mām arātayo arvāg avasā havana-śrutā āgatam | 4. Indrā-varuṇā vadhanābhir aprati Bhedaṁ vanvantā pra Sudāsam āvatam | brahmāṇi eshāṁ śṛiṇutaṁ havīmani satyā Tṛitsūnām abhavat purohitiḥ | 5. Indrā-varuṇāv abhi ā tapanti mā aghāni aryo vanushām arātayaḥ | yuvāṁ hi vasvaḥ ubhayasya rājatho adha sma no avatam pārye divi | 6. Yuvāṁ havante ubhayāsaḥ ājishu Indraṁ cha vasvo Varuṇaṁ cha sātaye | yatra rājabhir daśabhir nibādhitam pra Sudāsam āvataṁ Tṛitsubhiḥ saha | 7. Daśa rājānaḥ samitāḥ ayajyavaḥ Sudāsam Indrā-varuṇā na yuyudhuḥ | satyā nṛiṇām adma-sadām upastutir dēvāḥ eshām abhavan deva-hūtishu | 8. Dāśarājne pariyattāya viśvataḥ Sudāse Indra-varuṇāv aśikshatam | śvityancho yatra namasā kaparddino dhiyā dhīvanto asapanta Tṛitsavaḥ |*

"Looking to you, o heroes, to your friendship, the men with broad axes advanced to fight. Slay our Dāsa and our Arya enemies, and deliver Sudās by your succour, o Indra and Varuṇa. 2. In the battle where men clash with elevated banners, where something which we desire[102] is to be found, where all beings and creatures tremble, there, o Indra and Varuṇa, take our part. 3. The ends of the earth were seen to be darkened, o Indra and Varuṇa, a shout ascended to the sky; the foes of my warriors came close up to me; come hither with your help, ye hearers of our invocations. 4. Indra and Varuṇa, unequalled with your weapons, ye have slain Bheda, and delivered Sudās; ye heard the prayers of these men in their invocation; the priestly agency

[102] Sāyaṇa divides the *kinchana* of the Pada-text into *kincha na*, which gives the sense "where nothing is desired, but everything is difficult."

of the Tṛitsus[103] was efficacious. 5. O Indra and Varuṇa, the injurious acts of the enemy, the hostilities of the murderous, afflict me on every side. Ye are lords of the resources of both worlds: protect us therefore (where ye live) in the remotest heavens. 6. Both parties[104] invoke you, both Indra and Varuṇa, in the battles, in order that ye may bestow riches. (They did so in the fight) in which ye delivered Sudās —when harassed by the ten kings—together with the Tṛitsus. 7. The ten kings, who were no sacrificers, united, did not vanquish Sudās, o Indra and Varuṇa. The praises of the men who officiated at the sacrifice were effectual; the gods were present at their invocations. 8. Ye, o Indra and Varuṇa, granted succour to Sudās, hemmed in on every side in the battle of the ten kings,[105] where the white-robed Tṛitsus,[106] with hair-knots, reverentially praying, adored you with a hymn."

From these hymns it appears that Vasishṭha, or a Vasishṭha and his family were the priests of king Sudās (vii. 18, 4 f., 21 ff.; vii. 33, 3 f.); that, in their own opinion, these priests were the objects of Indra's preference (vii. 33, 2), and had by the efficacy of their intercessions been the instruments of the victory gained by Sudās over his enemies in the battle of the ten kings. It seems also to result from some of the verses (vii. 33, 6; vii. 83, 4, 6; and vii. 33, 1, compared with vii. 83, 8) that both the king and the priests belonged to the tribe of the Tṛitsus.[107] Professor Roth remarks that in none of the hymns which

[103] Compare verses 7 and 8. Sāyaṇa, however, translates the clause differently: "The act of the Tṛitsus for whom I sacrificed, and who put me forward as their priest, was effectual: my priestly function on their behalf was successful" (*Tṛitsūnām etat-sanjnānām mama yājyānām purohitir mama purodhānam satyā satya-phalam abhavat | teshu yad mama paurohityaṁ tat saphalaṁ jātam |*

[104] According to Sāyaṇa the two parties were Sudās and the Tṛitsus his allies (*ubhaya-vidhāḥ Sudāḥ-sanjno rājā tat-sahāya-bhūtās Tṛitsavaś cha evaṁ dvi-prakārāḥ janāḥ*). It might have been supposed that one of the parties meant was the hostile kings; but they are said in the next verse to be *ayajyavaḥ*, "persons who did not sacrifice to the gods."

[105] *Dāśarājne.* This word is explained by Sāyaṇa in his note on vii. 33, 3, *daśabhī rājabhiḥ saha yuddhe pravritte*, "battle having been joined with ten kings." In the verse before us he says "the lengthening of the first syllable is a Vedic peculiarity, and that the case-ending is altered, and that the word merely means 'by the ten kings'" (*daśa-śabdasya chhāndaso dīrghaḥ | vibhakti-vyatyayaḥ | daśabhī rājabhiḥ . . . . pariveshṭitāya*).

[106] Here Sāyaṇa says the Tṛitsus are "the priests so called who were Vasishṭha's disciples" (*Tṛitsavo Vasishṭha-śishyāḥ etat-sanjnāḥ ṛitvijaḥ*).

[107] See Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 120.

he quotes is any allusion made to the Vasishṭhas being members of any particular caste; but that their connection with Sudās is ascribed to their knowledge of the gods, and their unequalled power of invocation (vii. 33, 7 f.)

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii. 21, we have another testimony to the connection of Vasishṭha with Sudās, as he is there stated to have "consecrated Sudās son of Pijavana by a great inauguration similar to Indra's;[108] in consequence of which Sudās went round the earth in every direction conquering, and performed an aśvamedha sacrifice" (*etena ha vai aindreṇa mahābhishekeṇa Vasishṭhaḥ Sudāsam Paijavanam abhishishecha | tasmād u Sudāḥ Paijavanaḥ samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīṁ jayan parīyāya aśvena cha medhyena īje*).

The following passages refer to Vasishṭha having received a revelation from the god Varuṇa, or to his being the object of that god's special favour:

vii. 87, 4. *Uvācha me Varuṇo medhirāya triḥ sapta nāma aghnyā bibhartti | vidvān padasya guhyā na vochad yugāya vipraḥ upāraya śikshan |*

"Varuṇa has declared to me[109] who am intelligent, 'The Cow[110] possesses thrice seven names. The wise god, though he knows them, has not revealed the mysteries of (her) place, which he desires to grant to a future generation."

R.V. vii. 88, 3. *Ā yad ruhāva Varuṇaś cha nāvam pra yat samudram īrayāva madhyam | adhi yad apāṁ snubhiś charāva pra pra īnkhe īnkhayāvahai śubhe kam | 4. Vasishṭhaṁ ha Varuṇo nāvi ā adhād ṛishiṁ chakāra svapāḥ mahobhiḥ | stotāraṁ viprāḥ sudinatve ahnāṁ yād nu dyāvas tatanan yād ushasaḥ | 5. Kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuḥ sachāvahe yad*

[108] Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. 40.

[109] Vasishṭha is not named in this hymn, but he is its traditional author.

[110] Sāyaṇa says that either (1) Vāch is here meant under the figure of a cow having the names of 21 metres, the Gāyatrī, etc., attached to her breast, throat, and head, or (2) that Vāch in the form of the Veda holds the names of 21 sacrifices; but that (3) another authority says the earth is meant, which (in the Nighaṇṭu, i. 1) has 21 names, *go, gmā, jmā*, etc. (*Vāg atra gaur uchyate | sā cha urasi kaṇṭhe śirasi cha baddhāni gāyatry-ādīni sapta chhandasāṁ nāmāni bibhartti | yadvā vedātmikā vāg ekaviṁśati-saṁsthānāṁ yajnānāṁ nāmāni bibhartti | dhārayati | aparaḥ āha "gauḥ pṛithivī | tasyāś cha 'gaur gmā jmā' iti paṭhitāny ekaviṁsati-nāmāni" iti*). I have, in translating the second clause of the verse, followed for the most part a rendering suggested by Professor Aufrecht.

avṛikam purā chit | bṛihantam mānam Varuṇa svadhāvaḥ sahasra-dvāraṁ jagama gṛihaṁ te | 6. Yaḥ āpīr nityo Varuṇa priyaḥ san tvām āgāṁsi kṛiṇavat sakhā te | mā te enasvanto yakshin bhujema yandhi sma vipraḥ stuvate varūtham |

"When Varuṇa and I embark on the boat, when we propel it into the midst of the ocean, when we advance over the surface of the waters, may we rock upon the undulating element till we become brilliant. 4. Varuṇa took Vasishṭha into the boat; by his mighty acts working skilfully he (Varuṇa) has made him a rishi; the wise (god has made) him an utterer of praises in an auspicious time, that his days and dawns may be prolonged.[111] 5. Where are (now) our friendships, the tranquility which we enjoyed of old? We have come, o self-sustaining Varuṇa, to thy vast abode, to thy house with a thousand gates. 6. Whatever friend of thine, being a kinsman constant and beloved, may commit offences against thee;—may we not, though sinful, suffer (punishment), o adorable being; do thou, o wise god, grant us protection."

R.V. vii. 86 is a sort of penitential hymn in which Vasishṭha refers to the anger of Varuṇa against his old friend (verse 4) and entreats forgiveness of his offences. This hymn, which appears to be an earnest and genuine effusion of natural feeling, is translated in Professor Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 540.

The passage which follows is part of a long hymn, consisting chiefly of imprecations directed against Rākshăses and Yātudhānas, and said in the Bṛihaddevatā (as quoted by Sāyaṇa in his introductory remarks) to have "been 'seen' by the rishi (Vasishṭha) when he was overwhelmed with grief and anger for the loss of his hundred sons who had been slain by the sons of Sudās" (*ṛishir dadarśa raksho-ghnam puttra-śoka-pariplutāḥ | hate puttra-śate kruddhaḥ Saudāsair duḥkhitas tadā*). I shall cite only the verses in which Vasishṭha repels the imputation (by whomsoever it may have been made) that he was a demon (Rakshas or Yātudhana).

R.V. vii. 104, 12. *Suvijñānaṁ chikitushe janāya sach cha asach cha vachasī paspṛidhāte | tayor yat satyaṁ yatarad ṛijīyas tad it Somo avati hanti asat | 13. Na vai u Somo vṛijinaṁ hinoti na kshattriyam mithuyā*

[111] Professor Aufrecht renders the last clause, "As long as days and dawns shall continue."

dhārayantam | hanti raksho hanti asad vadantam ubhāv Indrasya prasitau śayāte | 14. Yadi vā aham anṛita-devaḥ āsa moghaṁ vā devān api ūhe Agne | kim asmabhyaṁ Jātavedo hṛiṇīshe droghavāchas te nirṛithaṁ sachantām | 15. Adya murīya yadi yātudhāno asmi yadi vā āyus tatapa pūrushasya | adha sa vīrair daśabhir vi yuyāḥ yo mā moghaṁ "Yātudhāna" ity āha | 16. Yo mā ayātuṁ "yātudhāna" ity āha yo vā rakshāḥ "śuchir asmi" ity āha | Indras taṁ hantu mahatā vadhena viśvasya jantor adhamas padīshṭa |

"The intelligent man is well able to discriminate (when) true and false words contend together. Soma favours that one of them which is true and right, and annihilates falsehood. 13. Soma does not prosper the wicked, nor the man who wields power unjustly. He slays the Rakshas; he slays the liar: they both lie (bound) in the fetters of Indra. 14. If I were either a follower of false gods, or if I erroneously conceived of the gods, o Agni:—Why, o Jātavedas, art thou incensed against us? Let injurious speakers fall into thy destruction. 15. May I die this very day, if I be a Yātudhāna, or if I have destroyed any man's life. May he be severed from his ten sons who falsely says to me, 'o Yātudhāna.' 16. He who says to me, who am no Yātu, 'o Yātudhāna,' or who (being himself) a Rakshas, says, 'I am pure,'—may Indra smite him with his great weapon; may he sink down the lowest of all creatures.

In elucidation of this passage Sāyaṇa quotes the following lines: *Hatvā puttra-śatam pūrvaṁ Vasishṭhasya mahātmanaḥ | Vasishṭhaṁ "rākshaso 'si tvaṁ" Vāsishṭhaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ | "aham Vasishṭhaḥ" ity evaṁ jighāṁsuḥ rākshaso 'bravīt | atrottarāḥ ṛicho dṛishṭāḥ Vasishṭheneti naḥ śrutam |*

"Having slain the hundred sons of the great Vasishṭha, a murderous Rākshasa, assuming the form of that rishi, formerly said to him, 'Thou art a Rākshasa, and I am Vasishṭha.' In allusion to this the latter verses were seen by Vasishṭha, as we have heard."

We may, however, safely dismiss this explanation resting on fabulous grounds.

The verses may, as Professor Max Müller supposes,[112] have arisen out

[112] "Vasishṭha himself, the very type of the Arian Brahman, when in feud with Viśvāmitra, is called not only an enemy, but a 'Yātudhāna,' and other names which in common parlance are only bestowed on barbarian savages and evil spirits. We

of Vasishṭha's contest with Viśvāmitra, and it may have been the latter personage who brought these charges of heresy, and of murderous and demoniacal character against his rival.[113]

Allusion is made both in the Taittirīya Sanhitā and in the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa to the slaughter of a son of Vasishṭha by the sons or descendants of Sudās. The former work states, Ashṭaka vii. (p. 47 of the India Office MS. No. 1702):

Vasishṭho hataputro 'kāmayata "vindeya prajām abhi Saudāsān bhaveyam" iti | sa etam ekasmānnapanchāśam apaśyat tam āharat tenāyajata | tato vai so 'vindata prajām abhi Saudāsān abhavat |

"Vasishṭha, when his son had been slain, desired, 'May I obtain offspring; may I overcome the Saudāsas.' He beheld this *ekasmānnapanchāśa* (?), he took it, and sacrificed with it. In consequence he obtained offspring, and overcame the Saudāsas."

The passage of the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, 4th adhyāya, as quoted by Professor Weber (Ind. St. ii. 299) is very similar:

Vasishṭho 'kāmayata hata-putraḥ "prajāyeya prajayā paśubhir abhi Saudāsān bhaveyam" iti | sa etaṁ yajna-kratum apaśyad Vasishṭhayajnam . . . . tena ishṭvā . . . . abhi Saudāsān abhavat |

"Vasishṭha, when his son had been slain, desired, 'May I be fruitful in offspring and cattle, and overcome the Saudāsas.' He beheld this form of offering, the Vasishṭha-sacrifice; and having performed it, he overcame the Saudāsas."

In his introduction to Rig-veda, vii. 32, Sāyaṇa has the following notice from the Anukramanikā:

"Saudāsair agnau prakshipyamāṇaḥ Ś'aktir antyam pragātham ālebhe so 'rdharche ukte 'dahyata | tam putroktaṁ Vasishṭhaḥ samāpayata" iti Sāṭyāyanakam | "Vasishṭhasya eva hata-putrasya ārsham" iti Tāṇḍakam |

"The Sāṭyayana Brāhmaṇa says that 'Śakti (son of Vasishṭha), when being thrown into the fire by the Saudāsas, received (by inspiration) the concluding pragātha of the hymn. He was burnt after he had spoken half a *ṛich*; and Vasishṭha completed what his son was

have still the very hymn in which Vasishṭha deprecates such charges with powerful indignation." Prof. Müller then quotes verses 14–16 of the hymn before us ("Last Results of the Turanian Researches," in Bunsen's "Outlines of the Philosophy of Univ. History," i. 344.

[113] See my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian society in the Vedic age," in the Journal Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, pp. 295 ff.

uttering. The Tāṇḍaka says that 'it was Vasishṭha himself who spoke the whole when his son was slain.'"

The words supposed to have been spoken by Śakti, viz. "O Indra, grant to us strength as a father to his sons" (*Indra kratuṁ naḥ ā bhara pitā putrebhyo yathā*) do not seem to be appropriate to the situation in which he is said to have been placed; and nothing in the hymn appears to allude to any circumstances of the kind imagined in the two Brāhmaṇas.

Manu says of Vasishṭha (viii. 110): *Maharshibhiś cha devaiś cha kāryyārthaṁ śapathāḥ kṛitāḥ | Vasishṭhaś chāpi śapathaṁ śepe Paiyavane nṛipe* | "Great rishis and gods too have taken oaths for particular objects. Vasishṭha also swore an oath to king Paiyavana." The occasion on which this was done is stated by the Commentator Kullūka: *Vasishṭho 'py anena puttra-śatam bhakshitam iti Viśvāmitreṇa ākrushṭo sva-pariśuddhaye Piyavanāpatye Sudāmni rājani śapathaṁ chakāra* | "Vasishṭha being angrily accused by Viśvāmitra of having eaten (his) hundred sons, took an oath before king Sudāman (Sudās, no doubt, is meant) the son of Piyavana in order to clear himself." This seems to refer to the same story which is alluded to in the passage quoted by the Commentator on Rig-veda vii. 104, 12.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 55, 5 f., a hundred sons of Viśvāmitra are said to have been burnt up by the blast of Vasishṭha's mouth when they rushed upon him armed with various weapons (*Viśvāmitra-sutānāṁ tu śataṁ nānā-vidhāyudham | abhyadhāvat susankruddhaṁ Vasishṭham japatāṁ varam | hunkareṇaiva tān sarvān nirdadāha mahān ṛishiḥ*).

Vasishṭha is also mentioned in Rig-veda, i. 112, 9, as having received succour from the Aśvins (—*Vasishṭhaṁ yābhir ajarāv ajinvatam*).

Vasishṭha, or the Vasishṭhas, are also referred to by name in the following verses of the seventh Mandala of the Rig-veda: 7, 7; 9, 6; 12, 3; 23, 1, 6; 26, 5; 37, 4; 39, 7; 42, 6; 59, 3; 70, 6; 73, 3; 76, 6, 7; 77, 6; 80, 1; 90, 7; 95, 6; 96, 1, 3; but as no information is derivable from these texts, except that the persons alluded to were the authors or reciters of the hymns, it is needless to quote them.[114]

[114] Another verse of a hymn in which the author is not referred to (vii. 72, 2) is as follows: *Ā no devebhir upa yātam arvāk sajoshashā nāsatyā rathena | yuvor hi naḥ sakhyā pitryāṇi samāno bandhur uta tasya vittam* | "Come near to us, Aśvins, on the same car with the gods: for we have ancestral friendships with you, a common relation; do ye recognize it." Although this has probably no mythological

In the Atharva-veda, iv. 29, 3 and 5, Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra are mentioned among other personages, Angiras, Agasti, Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, Bharadvāja, Gavishṭhira, and Kutsa, as being succoured by Mitra and Varuṇa (. . . . *yāv Angirasam avatho yāv Agastim Mitrā-Varuṇā Jamadagnim Atrim | yau Kaśyapam avatho yau Vasishṭham . . . . yau Bharadvājam avatho yau Gavishṭhiraṁ Viśvāmitraṁ Varuṇa Mitra Kutsam*). And in the same Veda, xviii. 3, 15 f., they are invoked as deliverers: *Viśvāmitro 'yaṁ Jamadagnir Atrir avantu naḥ Kaśyapo Vāmadevaḥ | Viśvāmitra Jamadagne Vasishṭha Bharadvāja Gotama Vāmadeva . . . |* "15. May this Viśvāmitra, may Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, Vāmadeva preserve us. 16. O Viśvāmitra, o Jamadagni, o Vasishṭha, o Bharādvaja, o Gotama, o Vāsmadeva." The second passage at least must be a good deal more recent than the most of the hymns of the Rig-veda.

Sudās is mentioned in other parts of the Rig-veda without any reference either to Vasishṭha or to Visvāmitra. In some cases his name is coupled with that of other kings or sages, which appears to shew that in some of these passages at least a person, and not a mere epithet, "the liberal man," is denoted by the word Sudās.

R.V. i. 47, 6. (The traditional rishi is Praskaṇva.) *Sudāse dasrā vasu bibhratā rathe pṛiksho vuhatam Aśvinā | rayiṁ samudrād uta vā divas pari asme dhattam puru-spṛiham |*

"O impetuous Aśvins, possessing wealth in your car, bring sustenance to Sudās. Send to us from the (aerial) ocean, or the sky, the riches which are much coveted."

Sāyaṇa says the person here meant is "king Sudās, son of Pijavana" (*Sudāse . . . . rājne Pijavana-puttrāya*).

i. 63, 7. (The rishi is Nodhas, of the family of Gotama.) *Tvaṁ ha tyad Indra sapta yudhyan puro vajrin Purukutsāya dardaḥ | barhir na yat Sudāse vṛithā varg anho rājan varivaḥ Pūrave kaḥ |*

"Thou didst then, o thundering Indra, war against, and shatter, the seven cities for Purukutsa, when thou, o king, didst without effort hurl

reference, Sāyaṇa explains it as follows: *Vivasvān Varuṇaś cha ubhāv api Kaśyapād Aditer jātau | Vivasvān Aśvinor janako Varuṇo Vasishṭhasya ity evam samāna-bandhutvam |* "Vivasvat and Varuṇa were both sons of Kaśyapa and Aditi. Vivasvat was the father of the Aśvins and Varuṇa of Vasishṭha; such is the affinity." Sāyaṇa then quotes the Bṛihaddevatā to prove the descent of the Aśvins from Vivasvat. Compare R.V. x. 17, 1, 2, and Nirukta, xii. 10, 11.

away distress from Sudās like a bunch of grass, and bestow wealth on Pūru.[115]

i. 112, 19. (The rishi is Kutsa.) . . . . *yābhir Sudāse ūhathuḥ sudevyaṁ tābhir u shu ūtibhir Aśvinā gatam* |

"Come, o Aśvins, with those succours whereby ye brought glorious power to Sudās" ['son of Pijavana'—Sāyaṇa].[116]

The further texts which follow are all from the seventh Mandala, of which the rishis, with scarcely any exception, are said to be Vasishṭha and his descendants:

vii. 19, 3. *Tvaṁ dhṛishṇo dhṛishatā vītahavyam prāvo viśvābhir ūtibhiḥ Sudāsam* | *pra Paurukutsiṁ Trasadasyum āvaḥ kshettrasātā vṛittrahatyeshu Pūrum* |

"Thou, o fierce Indra, hast impetuously protected Sudās, who offered oblations, with every kind of succour. Thou hast preserved Trasadasyu the son of Purukutsa, and Pūru in his conquest of land and in his slaughter of enemies."

vii. 20, 2. *Hantā Vṛittram Indraḥ śuśuvānaḥ prāvīd nu vīro jaritāram utī* | *karttā Sudāse aha vai u lokaṁ dātā vasu muhur u dāśushe bhūt* |

"Indra growing in force slays Vṛitra; the hero protects him who praises him; he makes room for Sudās [or the liberal sacrificer—*kalyāṇa-dānāya yajamānāya.* Sāyaṇa]; he gives riches repeatedly to his worshipper."

vii. 25, 3. *Śatam te śiprinn ūtayaḥ Sudāse sahasraṁ saṁsāḥ uta rātir astu* | *jahi vadhar vanusho marttyasya asme dyumnam adhi ratnaṁ cha dhehi* |

"Let a hundred succours come to Sudās, a thousand desirable (gifts) and prosperity. Destroy the weapon of the murderous. Confer renown and wealth on us."

(Sāyaṇa takes *sudās* here and in all the following citations to signify a "liberal man.")

[115] Professor Roth renders this passage differently in his Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 132; as does also Prof. Benfey, Orient und Occident, i. p. 590.

[116] In R.V. i. 185, 9, we find the word *sudās* in the comparative degree *sudāstara*, where it must have the sense of "very liberal": *bhūri chid aryaḥ sudāstarāya* | "(give the wealth) of my enemy, though it be abundant to (me who am) most liberal." In v. 53, 2, the term *sudās* appears to be an adjective: *ā etān ratheshu tasthushaḥ kaḥ śuśrāva kathā yayuḥ* | *kasmai sasruḥ sudāse anu āpayaḥ ilābhir vṛishṭayaḥ saha* | "Who has heard them (the Maruts) mounted on their cars, how they have gone? To what liberal man have they resorted as friends, (in the form of) showers with blessings?"

vii. 32. 10. *Nakiḥ Sudāso ratham pari āsa na rīramat | Indro yasya avitā yasya Maruto gamat sa gomati vraje |*

"No one can oppose or stop the chariot of Sudās. He whom Indra, whom the Maruts, protect, walks in a pasture filled with cattle."

vii. 53, 3: *Uto hi vaṁ ratnadheyāni santi purūṇi dyāvā-pṛithivī Sudāse |*

"And ye, o Heaven and Earth, have many gifts of wealth for Sudās [or the liberal man]."

vii. 60, 8. *Yad gopāvad Aditiḥ śarma bhadram Mitro yachhanti Varuṇaḥ Sudāse | tasminn ā tokaṁ tanayaṁ dadhānāḥ mā karma devaheḷanaṁ turāsaḥ | 9. . . . . pari dveshobhir Aryamā vṛiṇaktu uruṁ Sudāse vṛishaṇau u lokam |*

"Since Aditi, Mitra, and Varuṇa afford secure protection to Sūdas (or the liberal man), bestowing on him offspring;—may we not, o mighty deities, commit any offence against the gods. 9. . . . . May Aryaman rid us of our enemies. (Grant) ye vigorous gods, a wide space to Sudās."

There is another passage, vii. 64, 3 (*bravad yathā naḥ ād ariḥ Sudāse*), to which I find it difficult to assign the proper sense.

Vasishṭha is referred to in the following passages of the Brāhmaṇas:

Kāṭhaka 37, 17.[117] *Ṛishayo vai Indram pratyakshaṁ na apaśyaṁs taṁ Vasishṭhaḥ eva pratyasham apaśyat | so 'bibhed "itarebhyo mā ṛishibhyaḥ pravakshyati" iti*[118] *| so 'bravīd "brāhmaṇaṁ te vakshyāmi yathā tvat-purohitāḥ prajāḥ prajanishyante | atha mā itarebhyaḥ ṛishibhyo mā pravochaḥ" iti | tasmai etān stoma-bhāgān abravīt tato Vasishṭha-purohitāḥ prajāḥ prājāyanta |*

"The rishis did not behold Indra face to face; it was only Vasishṭha who so beheld him. He (Indra) was afraid lest Vasishṭha should reveal him to the other rishis; and said to him, 'I shall declare to thee a Brāhmaṇa in order that men may be born who shall take thee for their purohita. Do not reveal me to the other rishis.' Accordingly he declared to

[117] Quoted by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, iii. 478.

[118] The words from *so 'bibhet* down to *iti* are omitted in the Taitt. Sanhitā, iii. 5, 2, 2, where this passage is also found. Weber refers in Ind. St. ii. to another part of the Kāṭhaka, ii. 9, where Vasishṭha is alluded to as having "seen" a text beginning with the word *purovāta* during a time of drought ("*Purovāta*" *iti vṛishṭy-apete bhūta-grāme Vasishṭho dadarśa*).

him these parts of the hymn. In consequence men were born who took Vasishṭha for their purohita."

Professor Weber refers in the same place to a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa relating to the former superiority of Vasishṭha's family in sacred knowledge and priestly functions:

xii. 6, 1, 38. *Vasishṭho ha virājam vidānchakāra tāṁ ha Indro 'bhidadhyau | sa ha uvācha "ṛishe virājam ha vai vettha tām me brūhi" iti | sa ha uvācha "kim mama tataḥ syād" iti | "sarvasya cha te yajnasya prāyaśchittim brūyāṁ rūpaṁ cha tvā darśayeya" iti | sa ha uvācha "yad nu me sarvasya yajnasya prāyaśchittim brūyāḥ kim u sa syād yaṁ tvaṁ rūpaṁ darśayethāḥ" iti | jīva-svarga eva asmāl lokāt preyād" iti | tato ha etām ṛishir Indrāya virājam uvācha "iyaṁ vai virāḍ" iti | tasmād yo 'syai bhūyishṭhaṁ labhate sa eva śreshṭho bhavati | atha ha etām Indraḥ ṛishaye prāyaśchittim uvācha agnihotrād agre ā mahataḥ ukthāt | tāḥ ha sma etāḥ purā vyāhṛitīr Vasishṭhāḥ eva viduḥ | tasmād ha sma purā Vāsishṭhaḥ eva brahmā bhavati |*

"Vasishṭha was acquainted with the Virāj (a particular Vedic metre). Indra desired it; and said, 'O rishi, thou knowest the Virāj: declare it to me.' Vasishṭha asked: 'What (advantage) will result to me from doing so?' (Indra replied) 'I shall both explain to thee the forms for rectifying anything amiss (*prāyaśchitti*)[119] in the entire sacrifice, and show thee its form.' Vasishṭha further enquired, 'If thou declarest to me the remedial rites for the entire sacrifice, what shall he become to whom thou wilt show the form?' (Indra answered) 'He shall ascend from this world to the heaven of life.' The rishi then declared this Virāj to Indra, saying, 'this is the Virāj.' Wherefore it is he who obtains the most of this (Virāj) that becomes the most eminent. Then Indra explained to the rishi this remedial formula from the *agnihotra* to the great *uktha*. Formerly the Vasishṭhas alone knew these sacred syllables (*vyāhṛiti*). Hence in former times a Vasishṭha only was a (priest of the kind called) *brāhmaṇ*."

Professor Weber quotes also the following from the Kāṭhaka 32, 2. *Yām abrāhmaṇaḥ prāśnāti sā skannā āhutis tasyā vai Vasishṭhaḥ eva prāyaśchittaṁ vidānchakāra* | "The oblation of which a person not a brāhman partakes is vitiated. Vasishṭha alone knew the remedial rite for such a case."

[119] See above, p. 294.

In the Shaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-veda, quoted by the same writer (Ibid. i. 39, and described p. 37, as possessing a distinctly formed Brahmanical character indicating a not very early date), we have the following passage:

i. 5. *Indro ha Viśvāmitrāya uktham uvācha Vasishṭhāya brahma vāg uktham ity eva Viśvāmitrāya mano brahma Vasishṭhāya | tad vai etad Vāsishṭham brahma | api ha evaṁvidhaṁ vā Vāsishṭhaṁ vā brahmāṇaṁ kurvīta |*

"Indra declared the *uktha* (hymn) to Viśvāmitra, and the *brāhmăn* (devotion) to Vasishṭha. The *uktha* is expression (*vāk*); that (he made known) to Viśvāmitra; and the *brāhmăn* is the soul; that (he made known) to Vasishṭha. Hence this *brāhmăn* (devotional power) belongs to the Vasishṭhas. Moreover, let either a person of this description, or a man of the family of Vasishṭha, be appointed a *brāhmăn*-priest."

Here the superiority of Vasishṭha over Viśvāmitra is clearly asserted.[120]

Vasishṭha is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Śantip. verses 11221 ff., as having communicated divine knowledge to king Janaka, and as referring (see verses 11232, 11347, 11409, 11418, 11461, etc.) to the Sānkhya and Yoga systems. The sage is thus characterized:

11221. *Vasishṭhaṁ śreshṭham āsīnam ṛishīṇām bhāskara-dyutim | paprachha Janako rājā jñānaṁ naiśśreyasam param | param adhyātma-kuśalam adhātma-gati-niśchayam | Maitrāvaruṇim āsīnam abhivādya kṛitāñjaliḥ |*

"King Janaka with joined hands saluted Vasishṭha the son of Mitra and Varuṇa, the highest and most excellent of rishis, resplendent as the sun, who was acquainted with the Supreme Spirit, who had ascertained the means of attaining to the Supreme Spirit; and asked him after that highest knowledge which leads to final beatitude."

The doctrine which the saint imparts to the king he professes to have derived from the eternal Hiraṇyagarbha, *i.e.* Brahmā (*avāptam etad hi mayā sanātanād Hiraṇyagarbhād gadato narādhipa*).

I have already in former parts of this volume quoted passages from Manu, the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and the Mahābhārata, regarding the creation

[120] Professor Weber mentions (Ind. St. i. 53) that in the commentary of Rāmakṛishṇa on the Pāraskara Gṛihya Sūtras allusion is made to the "Chhandogas who follow the Sūtras of the Vasishṭha family" (*Vāsishṭha-sūtrānuchāriṇaś chhandogāḥ*).

of Vasishṭha. The first-named work (see above, p. 36) makes him one of ten Maharshis created by Manu Svāyambhuva in the first (or Svāyambhuva) Manvantara. The Vishṇu Purāṇa (p. 65) declares him to have been one of nine mind-born sons or Brahmās created by Brahmā in the Manvantara just mentioned. The same Purāṇa, however, iii. 1, 14, makes him also one of the seven rishis of the existing or Vaivasvata Manvantara, of which the son of Vivasvat, Śrāddhadeva,[121] is the Manu (*Vivasvataḥ suto vipra Śrāddhadevo mahādyutiḥ | Manuḥ saṁvarttate dhīmān sāmpratañ saptame 'ntare . . . . Vasishṭhaḥ Kāśyapo 'thātrir Jamadagniḥ sa-Gautamaḥ | Viśvāmitra-Bharadvājau sapta saptarshayo 'bhavan*). The Mahābhārata (see p. 122) varies in its accounts, as in one place it does not include Vasishṭha among Brahmā's six mind-born sons, whilst in a second passage it adds him to the number which is there raised to seven,[122] and in a third text describes him as one of twenty-one Prajāpatis.

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 10, 10, "Vasishṭha had by his wife Ūrjjā" (one of the daughters of Daksha, and an allegorical personage, see V. P. i. 7, 18), seven sons called Rajas, Gātra, Ūrddhvabāhu, Savana, Anagha, Sutapas, and Sukra, who were all spotless rishis" (*Ūrjjāyāñ cha Vasishṭhasya saptājāyanta vai sutāḥ | Rajo-Gātrordhhvabāhuścha Savanaś chānaghas tathā' | Sutapāḥ Śukraḥ ity ete sarve saptarshayo 'malāḥ*). This must be understood as referring to the Svāyambhuva Manvantara. The Commentator says these sons were the seven rishis in the third Manvantara (*saptarshayas tṛitīya-manvantare*). In the description of that period the V. P. merely says, without naming them (iii. 1, 9) that "the seven sons of Vasishṭha were the seven rishis" (*Vasishṭha-tanayās tatra sapta saptarshayo 'bhavan*).[123] The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (iv. 1, 40 f.) gives the names of Vasishṭha's sons differently; and also specifies Śaktṛi and others as the offspring of a different marriage. (Compare Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.)

[121] See above p. 209, note 66, and pp. 188 ff.

[122] In another verse also (Ādip. 6638, which will be quoted below in a future section) he is said to be a mind-born son of Brahmā.

[123] Ūrjja, who in the Vishṇu P. iii. 1, 6, is stated to be one of the rishis of the second or Svārochisha Manvantara, is said in the Vāyu P. to be a son of Vasishṭha. See Professor Wilson's note (vol. iii. p. 3) on Vishṇu P. iii. 1, 6. The Vāyu P. also declares that one of the rishis in each of the fourth and fifth Manvantaras was a son of Vasishṭha. (See Prof. Wilson's notes (vol. iii. pp. 8 and 11) on Vishṇu P. iii. 1.)

In Manu, ix. 22 f., it is said that "a wife acquires the qualities of the husband with whom she is duly united, as a river does when blended with the ocean. 23. Akshamālā, though of the lowest origin, became honourable through her union with Vasishṭha, as did also Sārangī through her marriage with Mandapāla" (*Yādṛig-guṇena bhartṛā strī saṁyujyate yathāvidhi | tādṛig-guṇā sā bhavati samudreṇeva nimnagā | 23. Akshamālā Vasishṭheṇa saṁyuktā 'dhama-yoni-jā | Sārangī Mandāpalena jagāmābhyarhaṇīyatām*).

Vasishṭha's wife receives the same name (*Vasishṭhas chākshamālayā*) in a verse of the Mahābhārata (Udyogaparvan, v. 3970);[124] but in two other passages of the same work, which will be adduced further on, she is called Arundhatī.[125]

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa (ii. 10, 8) Vasishṭha is one of the superintendents who in the month of Āshāḍha abide in the Sun's chariot, the others being Varuṇa, Rambhā, Sahajanyā, Huhu, Budha, and Rathachitra (*Vasishṭho Varuṇo Rambhā Sahajanyā Huhur Budhaḥ | Rathachitras tathā Sūkre vasanty Āshaḍha-sanjnite*); whilst in the month of Phalguna (ibid. v. 16) the rival sage Viśvāmitra exercises the same function along with Vishṇu, Aśvatara, Rambhā, Sūryavarchas, Satyajit, and the Rākshasa Yajnāpeta (*śrūyatāṁ chāpare sūrye phālgune nivasanti ye | Vishṇur Aśvataro Rambhā Sūryavarchāś cha Satyajit | Viśvāmitras tathā raksho Yajnāpeto mahātmanaḥ*).

At the commencement of the Vāyu Purāṇa Vaśishṭha is characterized as being the most excellent of the rishis (*ṛishīṇāṁ cha varishṭhāya Vasishṭhāya mahātmane*).

It is stated in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iii. 3, 9, that the Vedas have been already divided twenty-eight times in the course of the present or Vaivasvata Manvantara; and that this division has always taken place in the Dvāpara age of each system of four yugas. In the first Dvāpara Brahmā Svayambhū himself divided them; in the sixth Mṛityu (Death, or Yama); whilst in the eighth Dvāpara it was Vasishṭha who was the Vyāsa or divider (*Ashṭāviṁśatikṛitvo vai vedāḥ vyastāḥ maharshibhiḥ | Vaivasvate 'ntare tasmin dvāpareshu punaḥ punaḥ | . . . . 10. Dvāpare prathame vyastāḥ svayaṁ vedāḥ Svayambhuvā | . . . . 11. . . . Mṛityuḥ shashṭhe smṛitaḥ prabhuḥ | . . . . Vasishṭhaś chāshṭame smritaḥ*).

[124] Two lines below Haimavatī is mentioned as the wife of Viśvāmitra (*Haimavatyā cha Kauśikaḥ*).

[125] In the St. Petersburg Lexicon *akshamālā* is taken for an epithet of Arundhatī.

Vasishṭha was, as we have seen above, the family-priest of Nimi, son of Ikshvāku, who was the son of Manu Vaivasvata, and the first prince of the solar race of kings; and in a passage of the Mahābhārata, Ādip. (6643 f.), which will be quoted in a future section, he is stated to have been the purohita of all the kings of that family. He is accordingly mentioned in Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 3, 18, as the religious teacher of Sagara, the thirty-seventh in descent from Ikshvāku (*tat-kula-guruṁ Vasishṭham śaraṇaṁ jagmuḥ*); and as conducting a sacrifice for Saudāsa or Mitrasaha, a descendant in the fiftieth generation of the same prince (Vishṇu P. iv. 4, 25, *Kālena gachhatā sa Saudāso yajnam ayajat | parinishṭhita-yajne cha āchāryye Vasishṭhe nishkrānte ityādi*).

Vasishṭha is also spoken of in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 1 (see above, p. 115), and elsewhere (ii. 111, 1, etc.), as the priest of Rāma, who appears from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, (iv. 4, 40, and the preceding narrative), to have been a descendant of Ikshvāku in the sixty-first generation.[126]

Vasishṭha, according to all these accounts, must have been possessed of a vitality altogether superhuman; for it does not appear that any of the accounts to which I have referred intend under the name of Vasishṭha to denote merely a person belonging to the family so called, but to represent the founder of the family himself as taking part in the transactions of many successive ages.

It is clear that Vasishṭha, although, as we shall see, he is frequently designated in post-vedic writings as a Brāhman, was, according to some other authorities I have quoted, not really such in any proper sense of the word, as in the accounts which are there given of his birth he is declared to have been either a mind-born son of Brahmā, or the son of Mitra, Varuṇa, and the Apsaras Urvaśī, or to have had some other supernatural origin.

Sect. VII.—*Viśvāmitra.*

Viśvāmitra is stated in the Anukramaṇikā, as quoted by Sāyaṇa at the commencement of the third Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda, to be the rishi, or "seer," of that book of the collection: *Asya maṇḍala-drashṭā*

[126] Rāma's genealogy is also given in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 70, and ii. 110, 6 ff., where, however, he is said to be only the thirty-third or thirty-fourth from Ikshvāku.

Viśvāmitraḥ ṛishiḥ | "The rishi of this (the first hymn) was Viśvāmitra, the 'seer' of the Maṇḍala." This, however, is to be understood with some exceptions, as other persons, almost exclusively his descendants, are said to be the rishis of some of the hymns.

I shall quote such passages as refer, or are traditionally declared to refer, to Viśvāmitra or his family.

In reference to the thirty-third hymn the Nirukta states as follows:

ii. 24. *Tatra itihāsam āchakshate* | *Viśvāmitraḥ ṛishiḥ Sudāsaḥ Paijavanasya purohito babhūvā . . . .* | *sa vittaṁ gṛihītva Vipāṭ-chhutudryoḥ sambhedam āyayau* | *anuyayur itare* | *sa Viśvāmitro nadīs tushṭāva "gādhāḥ bhavata" iti* |

"They there relate a story. The rishi Viśvāmitra was the purohita of Sudās, the son of Pijavana. (Here the etymologies of the names Viśvāmitra, Sudās, and Pijavana are given.) Taking his property, he came to the confluence of the Vipāś and Śutudrī (Sutlej); others followed. Viśvāmitra lauded the rivers (praying them to) become fordable."

Sāyaṇa expands the legend a little as follows:

Purā kila Viśvāmitraḥ Paijavanasya Sudāso rājñaḥ purohito babhūva | *sa cha paurohityena labdha-dhanaḥ sarvam dhanam ādāya Vipāṭ-chhutudryoḥ sambhedam āyayāu* | *anuyayur itare* | *athottitīrshur Viśvāmitro 'gādha-jale te nadyau dṛishṭvā uttaraṇārtham ādyābhis tisṛibhis tushṭāva* |

"Formerly Viśvāmitra was the purohita of king Sudās, the son of Pijavana. He, having obtained wealth by means of his office as purohita, took the whole of it, and came to the confluence of the Vipāś and the Śutudrī. Others followed. Being then desirous to cross, but perceiving that the waters of the rivers were not fordable, Viśvāmitra, with the view of getting across lauded them with the first three verses of the hymn."

The hymn makes no allusion whatever to Sudās, but mentions the son of Kuśika (Viśvāmitra) and the Bharatas. It is not devoid of poetical beauty, and is as follows:

R.V. iii. 33, 1 (= Nirukta, ix. 39). *Pra parvatānām uśatī upasthād aśve iva vishite hāsamāne* | *gāveva śubhre mātarā rihāṇe Vipāṭ Chhutudrī payasā javete* | 2. *Indreshite prasavam bhikshamāṇe achha samudraṁ rathyā iva yāthaḥ* | *samārāṇe ūrmibhiḥ pinvamāne anyā vām anyām api eti śubhre* | 3. *Achha sindhum mātṛitamām ayāsam Vipāśam ūrvīṁ*

subhagām aganma | vatsam iva mātarā saṁrihāṇe samānaṁ yonim anu sancharantī | 4. Enā vayam payasā pinvamānā anu yoniṁ deva-kṛitaṁ charantīḥ | na varttave prasavaḥ sarga-taktaḥ kiṁyur vipro nadyo johavīti | 5 (= Nirukta, ii. 25). *Ramadhvam me vachase somyāya ṛitāvarīr upa muhūrttam evaiḥ | pra sindhum achha bṛihatī manīshā avasyur ahve Kuśikasya sūnuḥ |* 6 (= Nir. ii. 26). *Indro asmān aradat vajra-bāhur apāhan Vṛittram paridhiṁ nadīnām | devo 'nayat Savitā supāṇis tasya vayam prasave yāmaḥ ūrvīḥ |* 7. *Pravāchyaṁ śaśvadhā vīryaṁ tad Indrasya karma yad Ahiṁ vivriśchat | vi vajreṇa parishado jaghāna āyann āpo ayanam ichhamānāḥ |* 8. *Etad vacho jaritar mā 'pi mṛishṭāḥ ā yat te ghoshān uttarā yugāni | uktheshu kāro prati no jushasva mā no ni kaḥ purushatra namas te |* 9. *O su svasāraḥ kārave śṛiṇota yayau yo dūrād anasā rathena | ni su namadhvaṁ bhavata supārā adhoakshaḥ sindhavaḥ srotyābhiḥ |* 10 (= Nir. ii. 27). *Ā te 'kāro śṛiṇavāma vachāṁsi yayātha durād anasā rathena | ni te naṁsai pīpyānā iva yoshā maryāya iva kanyā śaśvachai te |* 11. *Yad anga tvā Bharatāḥ santareyur gavyan grāmaḥ ishitaḥ Indra-jūtaḥ | arshād aha prasavaḥ sarga-taktaḥ ā vo vṛiṇe sumatiṁ yajniyānām |* 12. *Atārishur Bharatāḥ gavyavaḥ sam abhakta vipraḥ sumatiṁ nadīnām | pra pinvadhvam ishayantīḥ surādhāḥ ā vakshaṇāḥ priṇadhvaṁ yāta śībham |*

"1. (Viśvāmitra speaks): Hastening eagerly from the heart of the mountains, contending like two mares let loose, like two bright mother-cows licking[127] (each her calf), the Vipāś and Śutudrī rush onward with their waters. 2. Impelled by Indra, seeking a rapid course, ye move towards the ocean, as if mounted on a car. Running together, as ye do, swelling with your waves, the one of you joins the other, ye bright streams. 3. I have come to the most motherly stream; we have arrived at the broad and beautiful Vipāś; proceeding, both of them, like two mother(-cows) licking each her calf, to a common receptacle. 4. (The rivers reply): Here swelling with our waters we move forward to the receptacle fashioned by the gods (the ocean); our headlong course cannot be arrested. What does the sage desire that he invokes the rivers? 5. (Viśvāmitra says): Stay your course for a moment, ye pure streams, (yielding) to my pleasant words.[128] With a powerful prayer, I, the son

[127] Prof. Roth (Illustr. of Nirukta, p. 133) refers to vii. 2. 5 (*pūrvī śiśuṁ na mātarā rihāṇe*) as a parallel passage.

[128] Prof. Roth (Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 103) renders: "Listen joyfully for a

of Kuśika,[129] desiring succour, invoke the river. 6. (The rivers answer): Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, has hollowed out our channels; he has smitten Ahi who hemmed in the streams. Savitṛi the skilful-handed has led us hither; by his impulse we flow on in our breadth. 7. For ever to be celebrated is the heroic deed of Indra, that he has split Vṛittra in sunder. He smote the obstructions with his thunderbolt; and the waters desiring an outlet went on their way. 8. Do not, o utterer of praises, forget this word, which future ages will re-echo to thee. In hymns, o bard, show us thy devotion; do not humble us before men; reverence be paid to thee. 9. (Viśvāmitra says): Listen, o sisters, to the bard who has come to you from afar with waggon and chariot. Sink down; become fordable; reach not up to our chariot-axles with your streams. 10. (The rivers answer): We shall listen to thy words, o bard; thou hast come from far with waggon and chariot. I will bow down to thee like a woman with full breast[130] (suckling her child); as a maid to a man will I throw myself open to thee. 11. (Viśvāmitra says): When the Bharatas,[131] that war-loving tribe, sent forward, impelled by Indra, have crossed thee, then thy headlong current shall hold on its course. I seek the favour of you the adorable. 12. The war-loving Bharatas have crossed; the Sage has obtained the favour of the rivers. Swell on impetuous, and fertilizing; fill your channels; roll rapidly."

The next quotation is from the fifty-third hymn of the same third Maṇḍala, verses 6 ff.:

6. *Apāḥ somam astam Indra pra yāhi kalyāṉīr jāyā suraṇaṁ gṛihe*

moment to my amiable speech, ye streams rich in water; stay your progress;" and adds in a note: "I do not connect the particle *upa* with *ramadhvam*, as the Nirukta and Sāyaṇa do; the fact that *upa* stands in another Pāda (quarter of the verse) requires a different explanation. The most of those interpretations of the Commentator which destroy the sense have their ultimate ground in the circumstance that he combines the words of different divisions of the verse; and any one may easily convince himself that every Pāda has commonly a separate sense, and is far more independent of the others than is the case in the śloka of later times." In his Lexicon Roth renders *ṛitāvarī* in this passage by "regular," "equably flowing."

[129] "Kuśika was a king" (*Kuśiko rājā babhūva.* Nir. ii. 25). Sāyaṇa calls him a royal rishi.

[130] This is the sense assigned by Prof. Roth, *s.v. pī* to *pīpyānā*. Sāyaṇa, following Yāska, ii. 27, gives the sense "suckling her child." Prof. Aufrecht considers that the word means "pregnant." In the next clause *śaśvachai* is rendered in the manner suggested by Prof. A., who compares R.V. x. 18, 11, 12.

[131] "The men of the family of Bharata, my people" (*Bharata-kula-jāḥ madīyāḥ sarve.*" Sāyaṇa).

te | yatra rathasya bṛihato nidhānaṁ vimochanaṁ vājino dakshiṇāvat | 7. *Ime bhojāḥ angiraso virūpāḥ divas putrāso asurasya vīrāḥ | Viśvāmitrāya dadato maghāni sahasra-sāve pratirante āyuḥ |* 8. *Rūpaṁ rūpam maghavā bobhavīti māyāḥ kṛiṇvānas tanvam pari svām | trir yad divaḥ pari muhūrttam āgāt svair mantrair anṛitupāḥ ṛitāvā |* 9. *Mahān ṛishir deva-jāḥ deva-jūto astabhnāt sindhum arṇavaṁ nṛichakshāḥ | Viśvāmitro yad avahat Sudāsam apriyāyata Kuśikebhir Indraḥ |* 10. *Haṁsāḥ iva kṛiṇutha ślokam adribhir madanto gīrbhir adhvare sute sachā | devebhir viprāḥ ṛishayo nṛichakshaso vi pibadhvaṁ Kuśikāḥ somyam madhu |* 11. *Upa preta Kuśikāś chetayadhvam aśvaṁ rāye pra munchata Sudāsaḥ | rājā vṛittraṁ janghanat prāg apāg udag atha yajāte vare ā pṛithivyāḥ |* 12. *Yaḥ ime rodasī ubhe aham Indram atushṭavam | Viśvāmitrasya rakshati brahma idam Bhāratajaṁ janam |* 13. *Viśvāmitrāḥ arāsata brahma Indrāya vajriṇe | karad in naḥ surādhasaḥ |* 14 (=Nir. vi. 32). *Kiṁ te kurvanti Kīkaṭeshu gāvo nāśiraṁ duhre na tapanti gharmam | ā no bhara Pramagandasya vedo Naichāśakham maghavan randhaya naḥ |* 15. *Sasarparīr amatim bādhamānā bṛihad mimāya Jamadagnidattā | ā Sūryasya duhitā tatāna śravo deveshu amṛitam ajuryam |* 16. *Sasarparīr abharat tūyam ebhyo adhi śravaḥ panchajanyāsu kṛishṭishu | sā pakshyā navyam āyur dadhānā yām me palastī-jamadagnayo daduḥ |* . . . . . 21. *Indra ūtibhir bahulābhir no adya 'yāchchhreshṭhābhir maghavan śūra jinva | yo no dveshṭi adharaḥ sas padīshṭa yam u dvishmas tam u prāṇo jahātu |* 22. *paraśuṁ chid vi tapati śimbalaṁ chid vi vṛiśchati | ukhā chid Indra yeshanti prayastā phenam asyati.* 23. *Na sāyakasya chikite janāso lodhaṁ nayanti paśu manyamānāḥ | nāvājinaṁ vājināḥ hāsayanti na gardabham puro aśvān nayanti |* 24. *Ime Indra Bharatasya putrāḥ apapitvaṁ chikitur na prapitvam | hinvanti aśvam araṇaṁ na nityaṁ jyāvājam pari nayanti ājau |*

"6. Thou hast drunk soma; depart, Indra, to thy abode: thou hast a handsome wife and pleasure in thy house. In whatever place thy great chariot rests, it is proper that the steed should be unyoked. 7. These bountiful Virūpas of the race of Angiras,[132] heroic sons of the divine

[132] Sāyaṇa says that the liberal men are the Kshattriyas, sons of Sudās, that *virūpāḥ* means their different priests of the race of Angiras, Medhātithi, and others, and that the sons of the sky are the Maruts, the sons of Rudra (*Ime yāgaṁ kurvāṇāḥ bhojāḥ Saudāsāḥ kshattriyāḥ teshāṁ yājakāḥ virūpāḥ nānārūpāḥ Medhātithi-prabhṛitayo 'ngirasaś cha divo 'surasya devebhyo 'pi balavato Rudrasya putrāso . . . . Marutaḥ*). The Virūpas are connected with Angiras in R.V. x. 62, 5; and a Virūpa is mentioned in i. 45, 3; and viii. 64, 6.

Dyaus (sky), bestowing wealth upon Viśvāmitra at the sacrifice with a thousand libations, prolong their lives. 8. The opulent god (Indra) constantly assumes various forms, exhibiting with his body illusive appearances; since he came from the sky thrice in a moment, drinking (soma) according to his own will, at other than the stated seasons, and yet observing the ceremonial. 9.[133] The great rishi, god-born, god-impelled, leader of men, stayed the watery current; when Viśvāmitra conducted Sudās, Indra was propitiated through the Kuśikas. 10. Like swans, ye make a sound with the (soma-crushing) stones, exulting with your hymns when the libation is poured forth; ye Kuśikas, sage rishis, leaders of men, drink the honied soma with the gods.[134] 11. Approach, ye Kuśikas, be alert; let loose the horse of Sudās to (conquer) riches; let the king smite strongly his enemy in the east, the west, and the north; and then let him sacrifice on the most excellent (spot) of the earth.[135] 12. I Viśvāmitra have caused both heaven and earth to sing the praises of Indra;[136] and my prayer protects the race of Bharata. 13. The Viśvāmitras have offered up prayer to Indra the thunderer. May he render us prosperous! 14. What are thy cows doing among the Kīkaṭas,[137] who neither draw from them the milk (which is to be mixed with soma), nor heat the sacrificial kettle. Bring to us the wealth of Pramagaṇda; subdue to us to the son of Nīchaśākha. 15. Moving swiftly, removing poverty, brought by the Jamadagnis, she has mightily uttered her voice: this daughter of the sun has conveyed (our) renown, eternal and undecaying, (even) to the gods. 16. Moving swiftly she has speedily brought down (our) renown from them to the five races of men; this winged[138] goddess whom the aged Jamadagnis brought to us, has conferred on us new life." Omitting verses

[133] Verses 9–13 are translated by Prof. Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 106 f.

[134] Comp. M. Bh. Ādip. v. 6695. *Apibach cha tataḥ somam Indreṇa saha Kauśikaḥ*| "And then the Kauśika drank soma with Indra."

[135] Compare R.V. iii. 23, 4, which will be quoted below.

[136] Compare R.V. iv. 17, 1.

[137] *Kīkaṭāḥ nāma deśo'nāryya-nivāsaḥ* | "Kīkaṭa is a country inhabited by people who are not Āryas." See the second vol. of this work, p. 362, and Journ. Royal As. Soc. for 1866, p. 340.

[138] *Pakshyā*. This word is rendered by Sāyaṇa "the daughter of the sun who causes the light and dark periods of the moon, etc." (*Pakshasya pakshādi-nirvāhakasya Sūryasya duhitā*). Prof. Roth *s.v.* thinks the word may mean "she who changes according to the (light and dark) fortnights."

17–20 we have the following: "21. Prosper us to-day, o opulent Indra, by numerous and most excellent succours. May he who hates us fall down low; and may breath abandon him whom we hate." This is succeeded by three obscure verses, of which a translation will be attempted further on.

Sāyaṇa prefaces verses 15 and 16 by a quotation from Shaḍguru-śishya's Commentary on the Anukramaṇikā, which is given with an addition in Weber's Indische Studien i. 119 f. as follows: *Sasarparīdv-ṛiche prāhur itihāsam purāvidaḥ | Saudāsa-nṛipater yajne Vasishṭhātmaja-Śaktinā | Viśvāmitrasyābhibhūtam balañ vāk cha samantataḥ | Vāsishṭhenābhibhūtaḥ sa hy avāsīdach cha Gādhi-jaḥ | tasmai Brāhmīñ tu Saurīñ vā nāmnā vāchañ Sasarparīm | Sūrya-veśmana āhṛitya dadur vai Jamadagnayaḥ | Kuśikānāñ tataḥ sā vāñ manāk chintām athānudat | upapreteti Kuśikān Viśvāmitro 'nvachodayat | labdhvā vāchañ cha hṛishṭātmā Jamadagnīn apūjayat | "Sasarparīr" iti dvābhyāñ ṛigbhyāñ Vācham stuvam svayam* | "Regarding the two verses beginning "*Sasarparīḥ*" those acquainted with antiquity tell a story. At a sacrifice of king Saudāsa[139] the power and speech of Viśvāmitra were completely vanquished by Śakti, son of Vasishṭha; and the son of Gādhi (Viśvāmitra) being so overcome, became dejected. The Jamadagnis drew from the abode of the Sun a Voice called "Sasarparī," the daughter of Brahmā, or of the Sun, and gave her to him. Then that voice somewhat dispelled the disquiet of the Jamadagnis [or, according to the reading of this line given by Sāyaṇa (*Kuśikānām matiḥ sā vāg amatiñ tām apānudat*) "that Voice, being intelligence, dispelled the unintelligence of the Kuśikas."]. Viśvāmitra then incited the Kuśikas with the words *upapreta* 'approach' (see verse 11). And being gladdened by receiving the Voice, he paid homage to the Jamadagnis; praising them with the two verses beginning 'Sasarparīḥ.'"

In regard to the verses 21-24 Sāyaṇa has the following remarks: "*Indra ūtibhir ity ādyāś chatasro Vasishṭha-dveshiṇyaḥ | purā khalu Viśvāmitra-śishyaḥ Sudāḥ nāma rājarshir āsīt | sa cha kenachit kāraṇena Vasishṭha-dveshyo 'bhūt | Viśvāmitras tu śishyasya rakshārtham ābhir ṛigbhir Vasishṭham aśapat | imāḥ abhiśāpa-rūpāḥ | tāḥ ṛicho Vasishṭhāḥ na śṛiṇvanti* | "The four verses beginning 'o Indra, with succours' express hatred to Vasishṭha. There was formerly a royal rishi called

[139] The Bṛihaddevatā, which has some lines nearly to the same effect as these I have quoted (see Ind. Stud. i. 119), gives Sudās instead of Saudāsa.

Sudās, a disciple of Viśvāmitra; who for some reason had incurred the ill-will of Vasishṭha. For his disciple's protection Viśvāmitra cursed Vasishṭha in these verses. They thus consist of curses, and the Vasishṭhas do not listen to them."

In reference to the same passage the Bṛihaddevatā iv. 23 f., as quoted in Indische Studien, i. 120, has the following lines: *Parāś chatasro yās tattra Vasishṭha-dveshiṇīr viduḥ | Viśvāmitreṇa tāḥ proktāḥ abhiśāpāḥ iti smṛitāḥ | dvesha-dveshās tu tāḥ proktāḥ vidyāch chaivābhichārikāḥ | Vasishṭhās tu na śṛiṇvanti tad āchārryaka-sammatam | kīrttanāch chhravaṇād vā 'pi mahān doshaḥ prajāyate | śatadhā bhidyate mūrdhā kīrttitena śrutena vā | teshām bālāḥ pramīyante tasmāt tās tu na kīrttayet |* "The other four verses of that hymn, which are regarded as expressing hatred to Vasishṭha, were uttered by Viśvāmitra, and are traditionally reported to contain imprecations. They are said to express hatred in return for (?) hatred, and should also be considered as incantations. The descendants of Vasishṭha do not listen to them, as this is the will of their preceptor. Great guilt is incurred by repeating or hearing them. The heads of those who do so are split into a hundred fragments; and their children die. Wherefore let no one recite them."

Dûrga, the commentator on the Nirukta,[140] in accordance with this injunction and warning, says in reference to verse 23: *Yasmin nigame esha śabdaḥ (lodhaḥ) sā Vasishṭha-dveshiṇī ṛik | ahaṁ cha Kāpishṭhalo Vāsishṭhaḥ | atas tāṁ na nirbravīmi |* "The text in which this word (*lodha*) occurs is a verse expressing hatred of Vasishṭha. But I am a Kāpishṭhala of the family of Vasishṭha; and therefore do not interpret it."

The following text also may have reference to the personal history of Viśvāmitra: R.V. iii. 43, 4. *Ā cha tvām etā vrishaṇā vahāto harī sakhāyā sudhurā svangā | dhānāvad Indraḥ savanaṁ jushānaḥ sakhā sakhyuḥ śṛiṇavad vandanāni |* 5. *Kuvid mā gopaṁ karase janasya kuvid rājānam maghavann ṛijīshin | kuvid mā ṛishim papivāṁsaṁ sutasya kuvid me vasvo amṛitasya śikshāḥ |* "4. May these two vigorous brown steeds, friendly, well-yoked, stout-limbed, convey thee hither. May Indra gratified by our libation mingled with grain, hear (like) a friend, the praises of a friend. 5. Wilt thou make me a ruler of the people? wilt

[140] As quoted both by Prof. Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 108, note, and by Prof. Müller, Pref. to Rig-veda, vol. ii. p. lvi.

thou make me a king, o impetuous lord of riches? wilt thou make me a rishi a drinker of soma? wilt thou endow me with imperishable wealth?"

The next passage refers to Devaśravas and Devavāta, of the race of Bharata, who are called in the Anukramanikā, quoted by Sāyaṇa, "sons of Bharata" (*Bharatasya putrau*); but one of whom at least is elsewhere, as we shall see, said to be a son of Viśvāmitra: R.V. iii. 23, 2. *Amanthishṭām Bhāratā revad Agnim Devaśravāḥ Devavātaḥ sudaksham | Agne vi paśya bṛihatā 'bhi rāyā ishāṁ no netā bhavatād anu dyūn | 3. Daśa kshipaḥ pūrvyaṁ sīm ajījanan sujātam mātṛishu priyam | Agniṁ stuhi Daivavātaṁ Devaśravo yo janānām asad vaśī | 4. Ni tvā dadhe vare ā pṛithivyāḥ iḷāyās pade sudinatve ahnām | Dṛishadvatyām mānushe Āpayāyāṁ Sarasvatyāṁ revad Agne didīhi |* "2. The two Bhāratas Devaśravas and Devavāta have brilliantly created by friction the powerful Agni. Look upon us, o Agni, manifesting thyself with much wealth; be a bringer of nourishment to us every day. 3. The ten fingers (of Devavāta) have generated the ancient god, happily born and dear to his mothers. Praise, o Devaśravas, Agni, the offspring of Devavāta, who has become the lord of men. 4. I placed (or he placed) thee on the most excellent spot of earth on the place of worship,[141] at an auspicious time. Shine, o Agni, brilliantly on the (banks of the) Dṛishadvatī, on (a site) auspicious for men, on (the banks of) the Āpayā, of the Sarasvatī."

Viśvāmitra is mentioned along with Jamadagni in the fourth verse of the 167th hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala, which is ascribed to these two sages as its authors: *Prasūto bhaksham akaram charāv api stomaṁ chemam prathamaḥ sūrir un mṛije | sute sātena yadi āgamaṁ vām prati Viśvāmitra-Jamadagnī dame |* "Impelled, I have quaffed this draught of soma when the oblation of boiled rice was presented; and I, the first bard, prepare this hymn, whilst I have come to you, o Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni in the house, with that which has been offered as a libation."

The family of the Viśvāmitras has, as we have seen, been already mentioned in R.V. iii. 53, 13. They are also named in the following passages:

iii. 1, 21. *Janman janman nihito Jātavedāḥ Viśvāmitrebhir idhyate ajasraḥ |*

[141] Compare R.V. iii. 29, 3, 4.

"The undecaying Jātavedas (Agni) placed (on the hearth) is in every generation kindled by the Viśvāmitras."

iii. 18, 4. *Uch chhochishā sahasas putraḥ stuto bṛihad vayaḥ śaśamāneshu dhehi | revad Agne Viśvāmitreshu śaṁ yor marmṛijma te tanvam bhūrī kṛitvaḥ |*

"Son of strength, when lauded, do thou with thy upward flame inspire vigorous life into thy worshippers; (grant) o Agni, brilliant good fortune and prosperity to the Viśvāmitras; many a time have we given lustre to thy body."

x. 89, 17. *Eva te vayam Indra bhunjatīnāṁ vidyāma sumatīnām navānām | vidyāma vastor avasā gṛiṇanto Viśvāmitrāḥ uta te Indra nūnam |*

"Thus may we obtain from thee new favours to delight us: and may we, Viśvāmitras, who praise thee, now obtain riches through thy help, o Indra."

This hymn is ascribed in the Anukramaṇī to Reṇu, the son or descendant of Viśvāmitra; and the 18th verse is identical with the 22nd of the 30th hymn of the third Maṇḍala, which is said to be Viśvāmitra's production.

In a verse already quoted (R.V. iii. 33, 11) Viśvāmitra is spoken of as the son of Kuśika; at least the Nirukta regards that passage as referring to him; and the Kuśikas, who no doubt belonged to the same family as Viśvāmitra, are mentioned in another hymn which I have cited (iii. 53, 9, 10). They are also alluded to in the following texts:

R.V. iii. 26, 1. *Vaiśvānaram manasā 'gniṁ nichāyya havishmanto anushatyaṁ svarvidam | sudānuṁ devaṁ rathiraṁ vasūyavo gīrbhiḥ raṇvaṁ Kuśikāso havāmahe | . . . . .* 3. *Aśvo na krandan janibhiḥ sam idhyate Vaiśvānaraḥ Kuśikebhir yuge yuge | sa no Agniḥ suvīryaṁ svaśvyaṁ dadhātu ratnam amṛiteshu jāgṛiviḥ |*

"We, the Kuśikas, presenting oblations, and desiring riches, revering in our souls, as is meet,[142] the divine Agni Vaiśvānara, the heavenly, the bountiful, the charioteer, the pleasant, invoke him with hymns. . . . . 3. Vaiśvanara, who (crackles) like a neighing horse, is kindled by the Kuśikas with the mothers (*i.e.* their fingers) in every age. May

[142] This is the sense of *anushatyam* according to Prof. Aufrecht. Sāyaṇa makes it one of the epithets of Agni "he who is true to his promise in granting rewards according to works" (*satyenānugataṁ karmānurūpa-phala-pradāne satya-pratijñam*).

this Agni, who is ever alive among the immortals, bestow on us wealth, with vigour and with horses."

iii. 29, 15. *Amitrāyudho Marutām iva prayāḥ prathamajāḥ brahmaṇo viśvam id viduḥ | dyumnavad brahma Kuśikāsaḥ ā īrire ekaḥ eko dame Agniṁ sam īdhire |*

"Combating their enemies like the hosts of the Maruts, (the sages) the first-born of prayer[143] know everything; the Kuśikas have sent forth an enthusiastic prayer; they have kindled Agni, each in his own house."

iii. 30, 20. *Imaṁ kāmam mandaya gobhir aśvaiś chandrāvatā rādhasā paprathaś cha | svaryavo matibhis tubhyam viprāḥ Indrāya vāhaḥ Kuśikāso akran |*

"Gratify this (our) desire with kine and horses; and prosper us with brilliant wealth. The wise Kuśikas, desiring heaven, have with their minds composed for thee a hymn."

iii. 42, 9. *Tvāṁ sutasya pītaye pratnam Indra havāmahe | Kuśikāso avasyavaḥ |*

"We, the Kuśikas, desiring succour, summon thee the ancient Indra to drink the soma libation."

It will be seen from these passages that the Viśvāmitras and the Kuśikas assert themselves to have been ancient worshippers of Agni, and to be the composers of hymns, and the possessors of all divine knowledge.

In the eleventh verse of the tenth hymn of the first Maṇḍala of the R.V., of which the traditional author is Madhuchhandas of the family of Viśvāmitra, the epithet *Kauśika* is applied to Indra: *Ā tu naḥ Indra Kauśika mandasānaḥ sutam piba | navyam āyuḥ pra sutira kṛidhi sahasra-sām ṛishim* | "Come, Indra, Kauśika, drink our oblation with delight. Grant me new and prolonged life; make the rishi the possessor of a thousand boons."

Sāyaṇa explains the epithet in question as follows: *Kauśika Kuśikasya putra . . . yadyapi Viśvāmitro Kuśikasya putras tathāpi tadrūpeṇa Indrasya eva utpannatvāt Kuśika-putratvam aviruddham | ayaṁ vṛittānto 'nukramaṇikāyām uktaḥ* | "*Kuśikas tv Aishīrathir Indra-*

[143] Compare with this the epithet of *devajāḥ*, "god-born," applied to Viśvāmitra in iii. 53, 9 (above p. 342); and the claim of knowledge made for the Vasishṭhas in vii. 33, 7 (above p. 320).

tulyam putram ichhan brahmacharyaṁ chachāra | tasya Indraḥ eva Gāthī putro jajne" iti | "Kauśika means the son of Kuśika . . . Although Viśvāmitra was the son of Kuśika, yet, as it was Indra who was born in his form, there is nothing to hinder Indra being the son of Kuśika. This story is thus told in the Anukramaṇikā: 'Kuśika, the son of Ishīratha desiring a son like Indra, lived in the state of a Brahmachārin. It was Indra who was born to him as his son Gāthin.'" To this the Anukramaṇī (as quoted by Prof. Müller, Rig-veda, vol. ii. pref. p. xl.) adds the words: *Gāthino Viśvāmitraḥ | sa tṛitīyam maṇḍalam apaśyat* | "The son of Gāthin was Viśvāmitra, who saw the third Maṇḍala." In quoting this passage Professor Müller remarks: "According to Shaḍguruśishya this preamble was meant to vindicate the Rishitva of the family of Viśvāmitra:[144] *Saty apavāde svayam ṛishitvam anubhavato Viśvāmitra-gotrasya vivakshayā itihāsaṁ āha"* | "Wishing to declare the rishihood of the family of Viśvāmitra which was controverted, although they were themselves aware of it, he tells a story."

Professor Roth in his Lexicon (*s.v. Kauśika*) thinks that this term as originally applied to Indra meant merely that the god "belonged, was devoted to," the Kuśikas; and Professor Benfey, in a note to his translation of R.V. i. 10, 11,[145] remarks that "by this family-name Indra is designated as the sole or principal god of this tribe."

[144] Prof. Müller states that "Sāyaṇa passes over what Kātyāyana (the author of the Anukramaṇī) says about the race of Viśvāmitra;" and adds "This (the fact of the preamble being 'meant to vindicate the Rishitva of the family of Viśvāmitra') was probably the reason why Sāyaṇa left it out." It is true that Sāyaṇa does not quote the words of the Anukramaṇī in his introductory remarks to the third Maṇḍala; but as we have seen he had previously adduced the greater part of them in his note on i. 10, 11.

[145] Orient und Occident, vol. i. p. 18, note 50. We have seen above, p. 345, that in R.V. iii. 23, 3, another god, Agni, is called *Daivavāta*, after the rishi Devavāta, by whom he had been kindled. Compare also the expression *Daivodāso Agniḥ* in R.V. viii. 92, 2, which Sāyaṇa explains as = *Divodāsena āhūyamāno 'gniḥ*, "Agni invoked by Divodāsa;" while Prof. Roth *s.v.* understands it to mean "Agni who stands in relation to Divodāsa." In R.V. vi. 16, 19, Agni is called *Divodāsasya satpatiḥ*, "the good lord of Divodāsa." Agni is also called Bhārata in R.V. ii. 7, 1, 5; iv. 25, 4; vi. 16, 19. On the first text (ii. 7, 1) Sāyaṇa says *Bharatāḥ ṛitvijaḥ | teshāṁ sambandhī Bhārataḥ*, "Bharatas are priests. Bhārata is he who is connected with them." On ii. 7, 5 he explains the word by *ṛitvijām putra-sthānīya*, "Thou who art in the place of a son to the priests." On the second text (iv. 25, 4) *tasmai Agnir Bhārataḥ śarma yaṁsat*, "may Agni Bhārata give him protection") Sāyaṇa takes Bhārata to mean "the bearer of the oblation" (*havisho bharttā*); but also refers to the S'.P.Br. i. 4, 2, 2, where it is said, "or Agni is called 'Bhārata,' because, becoming breath, he sustains all creatures"

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa (pp. 398–400, Wilson, 4to. ed.) Viśvāmitra was the twelfth in descent from Purūravas, the persons intermediate being (1) Amāvasu, (2) Bhīma, (3) Kānchana, (4) Suhotra, (5) Jahnu, (6) Sumantu, (7) Ajaka, (8) Valākāśva, (9) Kuśa, (10) Kuśāmba, and (11) Gādhi. The birth of Viśvāmitra's father is thus described, V.P. iv. 7, 4: *Teshāṁ Kuśāmbaḥ "śakra-tulyo me putro bhaved" iti tapaś chachāra | taṁ cha ugra-tapasam avalokya "mā bhavatv anyo 'smat-tulya-vīryyaḥ" ity ātmanā eva asya Indraḥ putratvam agachhat | Gādhir nāma sa Kauśiko 'bhavat* | "Kuśāmba (one of Kuśa's four sons) practised austere fervour with the view of obtaining a son equal to Indra. Perceiving him to be very ardent in his austere fervour, Indra, fearing lest another person should be born his own equal in vigour, became himself the son of Kuśāmba, with the name of Gādhi the Kauśika." Regarding the birth of Viśvāmitra himself, the Vishṇu Purāṇa relates the following story: Gādhi's daughter Satyavatī had been given in marriage to an old Brāhman called Ṛichīka, of the family of Bhṛigu. In order that his wife might bear a son with the qualities of a Brāhman, Ṛichīka had prepared for her a dish of charu (rice, barley, and pulse, with butter and milk) for her to eat; and a similar mess for her mother, calculated to make her conceive a son with the character of a warrior. Satyavatī's mother, however, persuaded her to exchange messes. She was blamed by her husband on her return home for what she had done. I quote the words of the original:

V.P. iv. 7, 14. "*Ati pāpe kim idam akāryyam bhavatyā kṛitam | atiraudraṁ te vapur ālakshyate | nūnaṁ tvayā tvan-mātṛi-satkṛitaś charur upayuktaḥ* (? *upabhuktaḥ*) | *na yuktam etat* | 15. *Mayā hi tattra charau sakalā eva śauryya-vīryya-bala-sampad āropitā tvadīye charāv apy akhila-śānti-jnāna-titikshādikā brāhmaṇa-sampat | etach cha vipa-*

(*esha u vai imāḥ prajāḥ prāṇo bhūtvā bibhartti tasmād vā iva āha "Bhārata" iti*). Another explanation had previously been given that the word *Bhārata* means "he who bears oblations to the gods." On the third text (vi. 16, 19) Sāyaṇa interprets the term in the same way. Roth, *s.v.*, thinks it may mean "warlike." In R.V. vii. 8, 4, (V.S. 12, 34) we find the words *pra pra ayam Agnir Bharatasya śriṇve*, "this Agni (the son?) of Bharata has been greatly renowned." Sāyaṇa makes *bharatasya* = *yajamānasya*, "the worshipper," and *pra pra śriṇve* = *prathito bhavati*, "is renowned." The Comm. on the Vāj. S. translates "Agni hears the invocation of the worshipper" (*śriṇve śriṇute āhvānam*). The S'. P. Br. vi. 8, 1, 14, quotes the verse, and explains *Bharata* as meaning "Prajāpati, the supporter of the universe" (*Prajāpatir vai Bharataḥ sa hi idaṁ sarvam bibhartti*).

rītaṁ kurvatyās tava atiraudrāstra-dhāraṇa-māraṇa-nishṭha-kshattriyāchāraḥ puttro bhavishyaty asyāś cha upaśama-ruchir brāhmaṇāchāraḥ" | *ity ākarṇya eva sā tasya pādau jagrāha praṇipatya cha enam āha "bhagavan mayā etad ajnānād anushṭhitam* | *prasādaṁ me kuru* | *mā evaṁvidaḥ putro bhavatu* | *kāmam evaṁvidhaḥ pautro bhavatu"* | *ity ukto munir apy āha "evam astv" iti* | 16. *Anantaraṁ cha sā Jamadagnim ajījanat tan-mātā cha Viśvāmitraṁ janayāmāsa* | *Satyavatī cha Kauśikī nāma nady abhavat* | *Jamadagnir Ikshvāku-vaṁśodbhavasya Reṇos tanayāṁ Reṇukām upayeme tasyāṁ cha aśesha-kshattra-vaṁśa-hantāram Paraśurāma-sanjnam bhagavataḥ sakala-loka-guror Nārāyaṇasya aṁśaṁ Jamadagnir ajījanat* | *Viśvāmitra-putras tu Bhārgavaḥ eva Śunaḥśepo nāma devair dattaḥ* | *tataś cha Devarāta-nāmā 'bhavat* | *tataś cha anye Madhuchchhanda-Jayakṛita-Devadeva-Ashṭaka-Kachchhapa-Hārītakākhyāḥ Viśvāmitra-putrāḥ babhūvuḥ* | 17. *Teshāṁ cha bahūni Kauśika-gotrāṇi ṛishyantareshu vaivāhyāni bhavanti* |

"'Sinful woman, what improper deed is this that thou hast done? I behold thy body of a very terrible appearance. Thou hast certainly eaten the charu prepared for thy mother. This was wrong. For into that charu I had infused all the endowments of heroism, vigour, and force, whilst into thine I had introduced all those qualities of quietude, knowledge, and patience which constitute the perfection of a Brāhman. Since thou hast acted in contravention of my design a son shall be born to thee who shall live the dreadful, martial, and murderous life of a Kshattriya; and thy mother's offspring shall exhibit the peaceful disposition and conduct of a Brāhman.' As soon as she had heard this, Satyavatī fell down and seized her husband's feet, and said, 'My lord, I have acted from ignorance; show kindness to me; let me not have a son of the sort thou hast described; if thou pleasest, let me have a grandson of that description.' Hearing this the muni replied, 'Be it so.' Subsequently she bore Jamadagni, and her mother gave birth to Viśvāmitra. Satyavatī became the river called Kauśikī. Jamadagni wedded Reṇukā, the daughter of Reṇu, of the family of Ikshvāku; and on her he begot a son called Paraśurāma, the slayer of the entire race of Kshattriyas, who was a portion of the divine Nārāyaṇa, the lord of the universe.[146] To Viśvāmitra a son called Śunaśśepa, of the race of

[146] According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 20, Paraśurāma was the sixteenth incarnation of Vishṇu: *Avatāre shoḍaśame paśyan brahma-druho nṛipān* | *trissapta-*

Bhṛigu, was given by the gods, who in consequence received the name of Devarāta ("god-given"). And then other sons, Madhuchhandas, Jayakṛita, Devadeva, Ashṭaka, Kachhapa, Hārītaka, etc., were born to Viśvāmitra. From them sprang many families of Kauśikas, which intermarried with those of other rishis."

The Harivaṁśa, verses 1425 ff., gives a similar account, but makes Kuśika, not Kuśāmba, the grandfather of Viśvāmitra:

Kuśa-putrāḥ babhūvur hi chatvāro deva-varchasaḥ | Kuśikaḥ Kuśanābhaś cha Kuśāmbo Mūrtimāṁs tathā | Pahlavaiḥ saha saṁvṛiddho rājā vana-charais tadā | Kuśikas tu tapas tepe puttram Indra-samaṁ vibhuḥ | labheyam iti taṁ Śakras trāsād abhyetya jajnivān | pūrṇe varsha-sahasre vai taṁ tu Śakro hy apaśyata | aty ugra-tapasaṁ dṛishṭvā sahasrākshaḥ purandaraḥ | samarthaḥ putra-janane svam evāṁśam avāsayat | putratve kalpayāmāsa sa devendraḥ surottamaḥ | sa Gādhir abhavad rājā Maghavān Kauśikaḥ svayam | Paurukutsy abhavad bhāryyā Gādhis tasyām ajāyata |

"Kuśa had four sons, equal in lustre to the gods, Kuśika, Kuśanābha, Kuśāmba, and Mūrttimat. Growing up among the Pahlavas, who dwelt in the woods, the glorious king Kuśika practised austere fervour, with the view of obtaining a son equal to Indra; and Indra from apprehension came and was born. When a thousand years had elapsed Śakra (Indra) beheld him. Perceiving the intensity of his austere fervour, the thousand-eyed, city-destroying, god of gods, highest of the deities, powerful to procreate offspring, introduced a portion of himself, and caused it to take the form of a son; and thus Maghavat himself became Gādhi, the son of Kuśika. Paurukutsī was the wife (of the latter), and of her Gādhi was born."

The Harivaṁśa then relates a story similar to that just extracted from the Vishṇu Purāṇa regarding the births of Jamadagni and Viśvāmitra, and then proceeds, verse 1456:

Aurvasyaivam Ṛichīkasya Satyavatyām mahāyaśāḥ | Jamadagnis tapovīryyāj jajne brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | madhyamaś cha Śunaśśephaḥ Śunaḥpuchhaḥ kanishṭhakaḥ | Viśvāmitraṁ tu dāyādam Gādhiḥ Kuśika-nandanaḥ | janayāmāsa putraṁ tu tapo-vidyā-śamātmakam | prāpya brah-

kṛitvaḥ kupito nikshattrām akarod mahīm | "In his sixteenth incarnation, perceiving that kings were oppressors of Brāhmans, he, incensed, made the earth destitute of Kshattriyas one and twenty times."

marshi-samatāṁ yo 'yam saptarshitāṁ gataḥ | Viśvāmitras tu dharmātmā nāmnā Viśvarathaḥ smṛitaḥ | jajne Bhṛigu-prasādena Kauśikād vaṁśa-varddhanaḥ | Viśvāmitrasya cha sutāḥ Devarātādayaḥ smṛitāḥ | vikhyātās trishu lokeshu teshāṁ nāmāni vai śṛiṇu | Devaśravāḥ Katiś chaiva yasmāt Kātyāyanāḥ smṛitāḥ | S'ālāvatyāṁ Hiraṇyāksho Reṇor jajne 'tha Reṇumān | Sāṅkṛitir Gālavaś chaiva Mudgalaś cheti viśrutāḥ | Madhuchchando Jayaś chaiva Devalaś cha tathā 'shṭakaḥ | Kachchapo Hāritaś chaiva Viśvāmitrasya te sutāḥ | teshāṁ khyātāni gotrāṇi Kauśikānām mahātmanām | Pāṇino Babhravaś chaiva Dhyānajapyās tathaiva cha | Pārthivāḥ Devarātāś cha S'ālankāyana-Vāskalāḥ | Lohitāḥ Yāmadūtāś cha tathā Kārīshayaḥ smṛitāḥ | Sauśrutāḥ Kauśikāḥ rājaṁs tathā 'nye Saindhavāyanāḥ | Devalāḥ Reṇavaś chaiva Yājnavalkyāghamarshaṇāḥ | Audumbarāḥ hy Abhishṇātās Tārakāyaṇa-chuṁchulāḥ | S'ālāvatyāḥ Hiraṇyākshāḥ Sāṅkṛityāḥ Gālavās tathā | Nārāyaṇir Naraś chānyo Viśvāmitrasya dhīmataḥ | ṛishy-antara-vivāhyāś cha Kauśikāḥ bahavaḥ smṛitāḥ | Pauravasya mahārāja brahmarsheḥ Kauśikasya cha | sambandho 'py asya vaṁśe 'smin brahma-kshattrasya viśrutaḥ |

"Thus was the renowned Jamadagni, the most excellent of those possessed of sacred knowledge, born by the power of austere fervour to Ṛichīka, the son of Ūrva, by Satyavatī. Their second son was S'unaśśepha [147] and the youngest S'unaḥpuchha. And Gādhi, son of Kuśika, begot as his son and inheritor Viśvāmitra, distinguished for austere fervour, science, and quietude; who attained an equality with Brahman-rishis, and became one of the seven rishis. The righteous Viśvāmitra, who was known by name as Viśvaratha,[148] was by the favour of a Bhṛigu born to the son of Kuśika, an augmenter (of the glory) of his race. The sons of Viśvāmitra are related to have been Devarāta and the rest, renowned in the three worlds. Hear their names: Devaśravas, Kati (from whom the Kātyāyanas had their name); Hiraṇyāksha, born of S'ālāvatī, and Reṇumat of Reṇu; Sāṅkṛiti, Gālava, Mudgala, Madhuchhanda, Jaya, Devala, Ashṭaka, Kachhapa, Hārita — these were the

[147] The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as we shall shortly see, makes 'S'unaśśepa' a son of Ajīgartta. The Mahābhārata Anuśāsanap. verse 186, coincides with the Harivaṁśa.

[148] In another passage of the Harivaṁśa (verses 1764 ff.), which repeats the particulars given in this passage, it appears to be differently stated, verse 1766, that besides a daughter Satyavatī, and his son Viśvāmitra, Gādhi had three other sons, Viśvaratha, Viśvakṛit, and Vis'vajit (*Vi'vāmitras tu Gādheyo rājā Viśvarathas tadā | Viśvakṛid Vis'vajich chaiva tathā Satyavatī nṛipa*).

sons of Viśvāmitra. From them the families of the great Kauśikas are said to have sprung: the Pāṇins, Babhrus, Dhānajapyas, Pārthivas, Devarātas, Sālankāyanas, Vāskalas, Lohitas, Yāmadūtas, Kārīshis, Sauśrutas, Kauśikas, Saindhavāyanas, Devalas, Reṇus, Yājnavalkyas, Aghamarshaṇas, Audumbaras, Abhishṇātas, Tārakayaṇas, Chunchulas, Sālāvatyas, Hiraṇyākshas, Sānkṛityas, and Gālavas.[149] Nārāyaṇi and Nara were also (descendants) of the wise Viśvāmitra. Many Kauśikas are recorded who intermarried with the families of other rishis. In this race of the Paurava and Kauśika Brahman-rishi, there is well known to have been a connection of the Brāhmans and Kshattriyas. Śunaśśepha, who was a descendant of Bhṛigu, and obtained the position of a Kauśika, is recorded to have been the eldest of Viśvāmitra's sons."

It will be observed that in this passage, Devaśravas is given as one of Viśvāmitra's sons. A Devaśravas, as we have already seen, is mentioned in R.V. iii. 23, 2, as a Bhārata, along with Devavāta. Here however in the Harivaṁśa we have no Devavāta, but a Devarāta, who is identified with Śunaśśepha. This, as we shall find, is also the case in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

In the genealogy given in both of the preceding passages, from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and the 27th chapter of the Harivaṁśa respectively, Viśvāmitra is declared to be the descendant of Amāvasu the third son of Purūravas. In the 32nd chapter of the Harivaṁśa, however, we find a different account. Viśvāmitra's lineage is there traced up to a Jahnu, as in the former case; but Jahnu is no longer represented as a descendant of Amāvasu, the third son of Purūravas; but (as appears from the preceding narrative) of Āyus, the eldest son of that prince, and of Puru, the great-grandson of Āyus. Professor Wilson (Vishṇu Purāṇa, 4to. ed. p. 451, note 23) is of opinion that this confusion originated in the recurrence of the name of Suhotra in different genealogical lists, and in the ascription to one king of this name of descendants who were

[149] Professor Wilson (V.P. 4to. ed. p. 405, note) gives these names, and remarks that the authorities add "an infinity of others, multiplied by intermarriages with other tribes, and who, according to the Vāyu, were originally of the regal caste like Viśvāmitra; but like him obtained Brahmanhood through devotion. Now these gotras, or some of them at least, no doubt existed, partaking more of the character of schools of doctrine, but in which teachers and scholars were very likely to have become of one family by intermarrying; and the whole, as well as their original founder, imply the interference of the Kshattriya caste with the Brahmanical monopoly of religious instruction and composition."

really sprung from another. It is not, however, clear that the genealogy of Viśvāmitra given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa is the right one. For in the Rig-veda, as we have seen, he is connected with the Bharatas, and in the passage about to be quoted from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, he is called a Bharata and his sons Kuśikas; and Bharata is said both in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (Wilson's V.P. 4to. ed. p. 449) and in the Harivaṁśa (sect. 32, v. 1723, and preceding narrative) to be a descendant of Āyus and of Puru. Accordingly we have seen that the Harivaṁśa styles Viśvāmitra at once a Paurava and a Kauśika.

A similar genealogy to that in the 32nd section of the Harivaṁśa is given in the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, verses 201 ff., where it is said that in the line of Bharata there was a king called Ajamīḍha who was also a priest (*Bharatasyānvaye chaivājamīḍho nāma pārthivaḥ | babhūva Bharata-śreshṭha yajvā dharma-bhṛitāṁ varaḥ*), from whom Viśvāmitra was descended through (1) Jahnu, (2) Sindhudvīpa, (3) Balākaśva, (4) Kuśika, (5) Gādhi.

One of the names applied to Viśvāmitra and his race, as I have just noticed, is Bharata.[150] The last of the four verses at the close of the 53rd hymn of the third Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda, which are supposed to contain a malediction directed by Viśvāmitra against Vaśishṭha (see above) is as follows: iii. 53, 24. *Ime Indra Bharatasya putrāḥ apapitvaṁ chikitur na prapitvam* | "These sons of Bharata, o Indra, desire to avoid (the Vasishṭhas), not to approach them." These words are thus explained by Sāyaṇa: *Bharatasya putrāḥ Bharata-vaṁśyāḥ ime Viśvāmitrāḥ apapitvam apagamanaṁ Vasishṭhebhyaś chikitur na prapitvam | [Va]sishṭaiḥ saha teshāṁ sangatir nāsti | brāhmaṇāḥ eva ity arthaḥ* | "These sons of Bharata, persons of his race, know departure from, and not approach to, the Vasishṭhas. They do not associate with the Vasishṭhas. This means they are Brāhmans."

The persons who accompanied Viśvāmitra when he wished to cross the Vipāś and the Śutudrī are, as we have seen above, called Bhărătas; and Devaśravas and Devavāta are designated in R.V. iii. 23, 2, as Bhārătas. On the other hand in one of the hymns ascribed to Vasishṭha (R.V. vii. 33, 6) the Bhărătas are alluded to as a tribe hostile to the Tṛitsus, the race to which Vasishṭha belonged.

[150] See Roth's Lexicon, *s.v. Bharata*, (7) "the name of a hero, the forefather of a tribe. His sons are called Viśvāmitras and the members of his family Bharatas."

In the legend of Sunaśśepa, told in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii. 13–18,[151] Viśvāmitra is alluded to as being the hotṛi-priest of king Hariśchandra, and as belonging to the tribe of the Bharatas. He is also addressed as *rājaputra*, and his sons are called Kuśikas. The outlines of the story are as follows: King Hariśchandra of the family of Ikshvāku having no son, promised to Varuṇa, by the advice of Nārada, that if a son should be born to him he would sacrifice him to that god. A son was accordingly born to the king, who received the name of Rohita; but Hariśchandra, though called upon by Varuṇa, put off from time to time, on various pleas, the fulfilment of his promise. When the father at length consented, the youth himself refused to be sacrificed and went into the forest. After passing six years there he met a poor Brāhman rishi called Ajīgartta who had three sons, the second of whom, Sunaśśepa, he sold for a hundred cows to Rohita, who brought the young Brāhman to be sacrificed instead of himself. Varuṇa accepted the vicarious victim, and arrangements were made accordingly, "Viśvāmitra being the hotṛi-priest, Jamadagni the adhvaryu, Vasishṭha the brāhmăn, and Ayāsya the udgātṛi (*tasya ha Viśvāmitro hotā āsīj Jamadagnir adhvaryur Vasishṭho brahmā Ayāsyaḥ udgātā*)." The sacrifice was not, however, completed, although the father received a hundred more cows for binding his son to the sacrificial post, and a third hundred for agreeing to slaughter him. By reciting verses in honour of different deities in succession Sunaśśepa was delivered; and at the request of the priests took part in the ceremonial of the day. I shall quote the remainder of the story at length:

17. *Atha ha Sunaḥśepo Viśvāmitrasyānkam āsasāda | sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttaḥ Sauyavasir "ṛishe punar me puttraṁ dehi" iti | "Na" iti ha uvācha Viśvāmitro "devāḥ vai imam mahyam arāsata" iti | sa ha Devarāto Vaiśvāmitraḥ āsa | tasya ete Kāpileya-Bābhravāḥ | sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttaḥ Sauyavasis "tvaṁ vehi vihvayāvahai" iti | sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttaḥ Sauyavasir "Āngiraso janmanā 'sy Ājīgarttiḥ śrutaḥ kaviḥ | ṛishe paitāmahāt tantor mā 'pagāḥ punar ehi mām" iti | sa*

[151] This legend is translated into German by Prof. Roth in Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 457 ff., into English by Prof. Wilson, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xiii. for 1851, pp. 96 ff., by Dr. Haug in his Ait. Brāhmaṇa, vol. ii. 460 ff., by Prof. Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 408 ff., and into Latin by Dr. Streiter in his "Diss. de Sunaḥsepo."

ha uvācha Śunaḥśepaḥ "adarśus tvā śāsa-hastaṁ na yach chhūdreshv alapsata | gavāṁ trīṇi śatāni tvam avriṇīthāḥ mad Angiraḥ" iti | sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttaḥ Sauyavasis "tad vai mā tāta tapati pāpaṁ karma mayā kṛitam | tad ahaṁ nihnave tubhyam pratiyantu śatā gavām" iti | sa ha uvācha Śunaḥśepaḥ "yaḥ sakṛit pāpakaṁ kuryāt kuryād enat tato 'param | nāpāgāḥ śaudrānyāyād asandheyaṁ tvayā kṛitam" iti | "asandheyam" iti ha Viśvāmitraḥ upapapāda | sa ha uvācha Viśvāmitraḥ "Bhīmaḥ eva Sauyavasiḥ śāsena viśiśāsishuḥ | asthād maitasya putro bhūr mamaivopehi putratām" iti | sa ha uvācha Śunaḥśepaḥ "sa vai yathā no jñāpāyā rājaputra tathā vada | yathaivāṅgirasaḥ sann upeyāṁ tava putratām" iti | sa ha uvācha Viśvāmitro "Jyeshṭho me tvam putrāṇāṁ syās tava śreshthā prajā syāt | upeyāḥ daivam me dāyaṁ tena vai tvopamantraye" iti | sa ha uvācha Śunaḥśepaḥ "sanjnānāneshu vai brūyāt sauhārdyāya me śriyai | yathā 'ham Bharata-ṛishabha upeyāṁ tava putratām" iti | atha ha Viśvāmitraḥ putrān āmantrayāmāsa "Madhuchhandāḥ śriṇotana Ṛishabho Reṇur Ashṭakaḥ | ye ke cha bhrātaraḥ sthana asmai jyaishṭhyāya kalpadhvam" iti | 18. *Tasya ha Viśvāmitrasya eka-śatam putrāḥ āsuḥ panchāśad eva jyāyāṁso Madhuchhandasaḥ panchāśat kanīyāṁsaḥ | tad ye jyāyāṁso na te kuśalam menire | tān anuvyājahāra "antān vaḥ prajā bhakshīshṭa" iti | te ete 'ndhrāḥ Puṇḍrāḥ Śabarāḥ Pulindāḥ Mūtibāḥ ity udantyāḥ bahavo bhavanti | Vaiśvāmitrāḥ Dasyūnām bhūyishṭhāḥ | sa ha uvācha Madhuchhandāḥ panchāśatā sardham "yad naḥ pitā sanjānīte tasmiṁs tishṭhāmahe vayam | puras tvā sarve kurmahe tvām anvancho vayaṁ smasi" iti | atha ha Viśvāmitraḥ pratītaḥ putrāṁs tushṭāva "te vai putrāḥ paśumanto vīravanto bhavishyatha | ye mānam me 'nugṛihṇanto vīravantam akartta mā | pura-etrā vīravanto Devarātena Gāthināḥ | sarve rādhyāḥ stha putrāḥ esha vaḥ sadvivāchanam | esha vaḥ Kuśikāḥ vīro Devarātas tam anvita | yushmāṁs dāyam me upetā vidyāṁ yām u cha vidmasi | te samyancho Vaiśvāmitrāḥ sarve sākaṁ sarātayaḥ | Devarātāya tasthire dhṛityai śraishṭhyāya Gāthināḥ | adhīyata Devarāto rikthayor ubhyayor ṛishiḥ | Jahnūnāṁ chādhipatye daive vede cha Gāthinām |*

"Śunaśśepa came to the side of Viśvāmitra. Ajīgartta, the son of Suyavasa, said, 'Rishi, give me back my son.' 'No,' said Viśvāmitra, 'the gods have given him to me' (*devāḥ arāśata*); hence he became Devarāta the son of Viśvāmitra. The Kāpileyas and Bābhravas are his descendants. Ajīgartta said to Viśvāmitra, 'Come; let us both call

(him) to us.'[152] He (again) said (to his son), 'Thou art an Āngirasa, the son of Ajīgartta, reputed a sage; do not, o rishi, depart from the line of thy ancestors; come back to me.' Śunaśśepa replied, 'They have seen thee with the sacrificial knife in thy hand—a thing which men have not found even among the Śūdras; thou didst prefer three hundred cows to me, o Angiras.' Ajīgartta rejoined, 'That sinful deed which I have done distresses me, my son; I abjure it to thee. Let the [three] hundreds of cows revert (to him who gave them).'[153] Śunaśśepa answered, 'He who once does a sinful deed, will add to it another; thou hast not freed thyself from that iniquity, fit only for a Śūdra. Thou hast done what cannot be rectified.' 'What cannot be rectified,' interposed Viśvāmitra; who continued, 'Terrible was the son of Suyavasa as he stood about to immolate (thee) with the knife: continue not to be his son; become mine.' Śunaśśepa replied, 'Speak, o king's son (*rājaputra*), whatever thou hast to explain to us, in order that I, though an Āngirasa, may become thy son.' Viśvāmitra rejoined, 'Thou shalt be the eldest of my sons, and thy offspring shall be the most eminent. Thou shalt receive my divine inheritance; with this (invitation) I address thee.' Śunaśśepa answered, 'If (thy sons) agree, then for my welfare enjoin on them to be friendly, that so, o chief of the Bharatas, I may enter on thy sonship.' Viśvāmitra then addressed his sons, 'Do ye, Madhuchhandas, Ṛishabha, Reṇu, Ashṭaka, and all ye who are brothers, listen to me, and concede to him the seniority.' 18. Now Viśvāmitra had a hundred sons, fifty of whom were older than Madhuchhandas and fifty younger. Then those who were older did not approve (their father's proposal). Against them he pronounced (this

[152] I follow here the tenor of the interpretation (which is that of the Commentator on the Śānkhāyana Brāhmaṇa) given by Prof. Weber in his review of Dr. Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, in Indische Studien, ix. 316. Prof. Weber remarks that in the Brāhmaṇas the root *hu* + *vi* is employed to denote the opposing invitations of two persons who are seeking to bring over a third person to their own side; in proof of which he quotes Taitt. S. 6, 1, 6, 6, and Ś. P. Br. 3, 2, 4, 4, and 22. Profs. Roth, Wilson, and Müller, as well as Dr. Haug, understand the words to be addressed to Śunaśśepa by his father, and to signify "we, too (I and thy mother), call, or will call (thee to return to us)." But it does not appear that Śunaśśepa's mother was present. And it is to be observed that the next words uttered by Ajīgartta, which are addressed to Śunaśśepa, are preceded by the usual formula *sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttaḥ Sauyavasiḥ*, "Ajīgartta the son of S. said," which perhaps would not have been the case if both sentences had been addressed to the same person.

[153] Here too I follow Weber, Ind. St. ix. p. 317.

doom), 'Let your progeny possess the furthest ends (of the country).' These are the numerous border-tribes, the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, Mūtibas. Most of the Dasyus are sprung from Viśvāmitra.[154] Madhuchhandas with the (other) fifty said, 'Whatever our father determines, by that we abide. We all place thee in our front, and follow after thee.' Then Viśvāmitra was pleased, and said to his sons, 'Ye, my children who, shewing deference to me, have conferred upon me a (new) son, shall abound in cattle and in sons. Ye, my sons, the offspring of Gāthin, who possess in Devarāta a man who shall go before you, are all destined to be prosperous; he is your wise instructor. This Devarāta, o Kuśikas, is your chief; follow him. He will receive you as my inheritance, and obtain all the knowledge which we possess.' All these sons of Viśvāmitra, descendants of Gāthin, submitted together in harmony and with good will to Devarāta's control and superiority. The rishi Devarāta was invested with both possessions, with the lordly authority of the Jahnus, and with the divine Veda of the Gāthins." [155]

On this legend Professor Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 415 f.) remarks, amongst other things, as follows: "So revolting, indeed, is the descrip-

[154] See Weber, Ind. St. ix. p. 317 f., and Roth in his Lexicon, *s.vv. anta* and *udantya*.

[155] This legend is perhaps alluded to in the Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa, 19, 11, quoted by Prof. Weber, Ind. St. iii. 478: *Śunaśśepo vai etām Ājīgarttir Varuṇa-gṛihīto'paśyat | tayā sa vai Varuṇa-pāśād amuchyata* | "Śunaśśepa the son of Ajīgartta, when seized by Varuṇa, saw this (verse); and by it he was released from the bonds of Varuṇa." Manu also mentions the story, x. 105: *Ajīgarttaḥ sutaṁ hantum upāsarpad bubhukshitaḥ | na chālipyata pāpena khut-pratīkāram ācharan* | "Ajīgartta, when famished, approached to slay his son; and (by so doing) was not contaminated by sin, as he was seeking the means of escape from hunger." On this Kullūka annotates: *Ṛishir Ajīgarttākhyo bubhukshitaḥ san puttraṁ Śunaśśepa-nāmānaṁ svayaṁ vikrītavān yajne go-śata-lābhāya yajna-yūpe baddhvā viśasitā bhūtvā hantum prachakrame | na cha khut-pratīkārārthaṁ tathā kurvan pāpena liptaḥ | etach cha Bahvṛicha-brāhmaṇe Śunaśśephākhyāneshu vyaktam uktam* | "A rishi called Ajīgartta, having, when famished, himself sold his son called Śunaśśepa, in order to obtain a hundred cows at a sacrifice, bound him to the sacrificial stake, and in the capacity of immolator was about to slay him. By doing so, as a means of escape from hunger, he did not incur sin. This is distinctly recorded in the Bahvṛicha (Aitareya) Brāhmaṇa in the legend of Śunaśśepa." The speakers in the Brāhmaṇa, however, do not take by any means so lenient a view of Ajīgartta's conduct as Manu. (See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 415.) The compiler of the latter work lived in an age when it was perhaps thought that a rishi could do no wrong. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. sect. 7, and sect. 16, verses 30–37 follows the Ait. Br. in the version it gives of the story; but, as we shall see in a subsequent section, the Rāmāyaṇa relates some of the circumstances quite differently.

tion given of Ajīgartta's behaviour in the Brāhmaṇa, that we should rather recognize in him a specimen of the un-Āryan population of India. Such a supposition, however, would be in contradiction with several of the most essential points of the legend, particularly in what regards the adoption of S'unaḥśepha by Viśvāmitra. Viśvāmitra, though arrived at the dignity of a Brāhman, clearly considers the adoption of S'unaḥśepha Devarāta, of the famous Brahmanic family of the Āngirasas, as an advantage for himself and his descendants; and the Devarātas are indeed mentioned as a famous branch of the Viśvāmitras (V.P. p. 405, 23). S'unaḥśepha is made his eldest son, and the leader of his brothers, evidently as the defender and voucher of their Brahmahood, which must have been then of very recent date, because Viśvāmitra himself is still addressed by S'unaḥśepha as *Rāja-putra* and *Bharata-ṛishabha*." It must, however, be recollected that the story, as told in the Brāhmaṇa, can scarcely be regarded as historical, and that it is not unreasonable to suppose that the incidents related, even if founded on fact, may have been coloured by the Brahmanical prepossessions of the narrator. But if so, the legend can give us no true idea of the light in which Viśvāmitra's exercise of priestly functions was looked upon either by himself or by his contemporaries.

In Indische Studien, ii. 112–123, this story forms the subject of an interesting dissertation by Professor Roth, who arrives at the following conclusions:

"(i.) The oldest legend about S'unaḥśepa (alluded to in R.V. i. 24, 11–13,[156] and R.V. v. 2, 7) knows only of his miraculous deliverance by divine help from the peril of death.

"(ii.) This story becomes expanded in the sequel into a narrative of S'unaḥśepa's threatened slaughter as a sacrificial victim, and of his deliverance through Viśvāmitra.

"(iii.) This immolation-legend becomes severed into two essentially distinct versions, the oldest forms of which are respectively represented by the stories in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and the Rāmāyaṇa.

"(iv.) The latter becomes eventually the predominant one; but its proper central-point is no longer the deliverance from immolation, but

[156] Compare also Rosen's remarks on the hymns ascribed to S'unas'śepa; Rig-veda Sanhita, Annotationes, p. lv. He thinks they contain nothing which would lead to the belief that they have any connection with the legend in the Rāmāyaṇa and Ait. Br.

the incorporation of Sunaḥśepa, or (with a change of persons) of Ṛichīka, into the family of the Kuśikas. It thus becomes in the end a family-legend of the race of Viśvāmitra.

"There is thus no historical, perhaps not even a genealogical, result to be gained here. On the other hand the story obtains an important place in the circle of those narratives in which the sacerdotal literature expressed its views regarding the character and agency of Viśvāmitra."

In a passage of the Mahābhārata, Ādip. verses 3694 ff.,[157] where the descendants of Pūru are recorded, we find among them Bharata the son of Dushyanta (verse 3709) from whom (1) Bhumanyu, (2) Suhotra, (3) Ajamīḍha, and (4) Jahnu are said to have sprung in succession (verses 3712–3722); and the last-named king and his brothers Vrajana and Rūpin are said to have been the ancestors of the Kuśikas (verse 3723: *anvayāḥ Kuśikāḥ rājan Jahnor amita-tejasaḥ | Vrajana-Rūpiṇoḥ*), who were therefore, according to this passage also, descended from Bharata (see above, p. 354). The Mahābhārata then goes on to relate that during the reign of Samvaraṇa, son of Jahnu's eldest brother Ṛiksha, the country over which he ruled was desolated by various calamities (verses 3725 f.). The narrative proceeds, verse 3727:

Abhyaghnan Bhāratāṁś chaiva sapatnānām balāni cha | chālayan vasudhāṁ chemām balena chaturangiṇā | abhyayāt taṁ cha Pānchālyo vijitya tarasā mahīm | akshauhiṇībhir daśabhiḥ sa enaṁ samare 'jayat | tataḥ sa-dāraḥ sāmātyaḥ sa-puttraḥ sa-suhṛijjanaḥ | rājā Saṁvaraṇas tasmāt palāyata mahābhayāt | 3730. *Sindhor nadasya mahato nikunje nyavasat tadā | nadī-vishaya-paryyante parvatasya samīpataḥ | tattrā-vasan bahūn kālān Bhāratāḥ durgam aśritāḥ | teshāṁ nivasatāṁ tattra sahasram parivatsarān | athābhyagachhad Bhāratan Vaśishṭho bhagavān ṛishiḥ | tam āgatam prayatnena pratyudgamyābhivādya cha | arghyam abhyāharaṁs tasmai te sarve Bhāratās tadā | nivedya sarvam ṛishaye satkāreṇa suvarchchase | tam āsane chopavishṭaṁ rājā vavre svayaṁ tadā | "purohito bhavān no 'stu rājyāya prayatemahi"* | 3735. "*Om*" *ity evaṁ Vaśishṭho 'pi Bhāratān pratyapadyata | athābhyasinchat sāmrājye sarva-kshattrasya Pauravam | vishāṇa-bhūtaṁ sarvasyām pṛithivyām iti naḥ śrutam | Bharatādhyushitam pūrvaṁ so 'dhyatishṭhat purottamam | punar balibhṛitaś chaiva chakre sarva-mahīkshitaḥ |*

[157] Referred to by Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, pp. 142 ff., and Wilson, Rig-veda, iii. p. 86.

"3727. And the hosts of their enemies also smote the Bhāratas. Shaking the earth with an army of four kinds of forces, the Pānchālya chief assailed him, having rapidly conquered the earth, and vanquished him with ten complete hosts. Then king Samvaraṇa with his wives, ministers, sons, and friends, fled from that great cause of alarm; (3730) and dwelt in the thickets of the great river Sindhu (Indus), in the country bordering on the stream, and near a mountain. There the Bhāratas abode for a long time, taking refuge in a fortress. As they were dwelling there, for a thousand years, the venerable rishi Vasishṭha came to them. Going out to meet him on his arrival, and making obeisance, the Bhāratas all presented him with the *arghya* offering, shewing every honour to the glorious rishi. When he was seated the king himself solicited him, 'Be thou our priest; let us strive to regain my kingdom.' 3735. Vasishṭha consented to attach himself to the Bhāratas, and, as we have heard, invested the descendant of Pūru with the sovereignty of the entire Kshattriya race, to be a horn (to have mastery) over the whole earth. He occupied the splendid city formerly inhabited by Bhărata, and made all kings again tributary to himself."

It is remarkable that in this passage the Bhāratas, who, as we have seen, are elsewhere represented as being so closely connected with Viśvāmitra, and are in one text of the Rig-veda (vii. 33, 6) alluded to as the enemies of Vasishṭha's friends, should be here declared to have adopted the latter rishi as their priest. The account, however, need not be received as historical, or even based on any ancient tradition; and the part referring to Vasishṭha in particular may have been invented for the glorification of that rishi, or for the honour of the Bhāratas.

The 11th and 12th khandas of the second adhyāya of the Sarvasāra Upanishad (as we learn from Professor Weber's analysis in Ind. St. i. 390) relate that Viśvāmitra was instructed on the identity of breath (*prāṇa*) with Indra, by the god himself, who had been celebrated by the sage on the occasion of a sacrifice, at which he officiated as hotṛi-priest, in a thousand Bṛihatī verses, and was in consequence favourably disposed towards him.

It is abundantly clear, from the details supplied in this section, that Viśvāmitra, who was a rājanya of the Bhārata and Kuśika families (Ait. Br. vii. 17 and 18), is represented by ancient Indian tradition as

the author of numerous Vedic hymns, as the domestic priest (purohita) of king Sudās (Nir. ii. 24), and as officiating as a hotṛi at a sacrifice of king Hariśchandra (Ait. Br. vii. 16). The Rāmāyaṇa also, as we shall see in a future section, connects him with Triśanku, the father of Hariśchandra, and makes him also contemporary with Ambarīsha; and in the first book of the same poem he is said to have visited king Daśaratha, the father of Rāma (Bālakanda, i. 20, 1 ff.). As these kings were separated from each other by very long intervals, Triśanku being a descendant of Ikshvāku in the 28th, Ambarīsha in the 44th,[158] Sudās in the 49th, and Daśaratha in the 60th generation (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. pp. 284, 303, 304, 313), it is manifest that the authors of these legends either intentionally or through oversight represented Viśvāmitra, like Vasishṭha (see above), as a personage of miraculous longevity; and on either supposition a great deal that is related of him must be purely fabulous. All the authorities describe him as the son of Gāthin or Gādhi, the Anukramaṇī, the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and the Harivaṁśa declaring also that Gāthin was an incarnation of Indra, and thus asserting Viśvāmitra to be of divine descent. It is not clear whether this fable is referred to in R.V. iii. 53, 9, where Viśvāmitra is styled *deva-jāḥ*, "born of a god," or whether this verse may not have led to the invention of the story. In either case the verse can scarcely have emanated from the rishi himself; but it is more likely to be the production of one of his descendants.[159]

[158] According to the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 70, 41; ii. 110, 32, Ambarīsha was only 28th from Ikshvāku. Compare Prof. Wilson's note on these genealogies, V.P. iii. 313 ff.

[159] The word *devajāḥ*, which, following Roth, *s.v.*, I have translated "god-born," is taken by Sāyaṇa as = *dyotamānānāṁ tejasāṁ janayitā*, "generator of shining lights," and appears to be regarded by him as referring to the creation of constellations by Viśvāmitra, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 60, 21. Prof. Wilson renders the phrase by "generator of the gods;" and remarks that "the compound is not *devajā*, 'god-born,' nor was Viśvāmitra of divine parentage" (R.V. iii. p. 85, note 4). This last remark overlooks the fact above alluded to of his father Gādhi being represented as an incarnation of Indra, and the circumstance that Prof. Wilson himself (following Sāyaṇa) had shortly before translated the words *prathama-jāḥ brahmaṇaḥ* in R.V. iii. 29, 15, as applied to the Kuśikas, by "the first-born of Brahmā," although from the accent *brahman* here must be neuter, and the phrase seems to mean, as I have rendered above, "the first-born of prayer." The word *jā* is given in the Nighaṇṭu as one of the synonymes of *apatya*, "offspring;" and in R.V. i. 164, 15, where it is coupled with *ṛishayaḥ*, the compound *devajāḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa as "born of the god," *i.e.* the sun, and by Prof. Wilson as "born of the gods." See

This verse (R.V. iii. 53, 9) which claims a superhuman origin for Viśvāmitra, and the following verses 11–13 of the same hymn, which assert the efficacy of his prayers, form a sort of parallel to the contents of R.V. vii. 33, where the supernatural birth of Vasishṭha (vv. 10 ff.), the potency of his intercession (vv. 2–5), and the sacred knowledge of his descendants (vv. 7 and 8), are celebrated.

As the hymns of Viśvāmitra and his descendants occupy so prominent a place in the Rig-veda Sanhitā, and as he is the alleged author of the text reputed the holiest in the entire Veda (iii. 62, 10), the Gāyatrī *par excellence*, there is no reason to doubt that, although he was a *rājanya*, he was unreservedly acknowledged by his contemporaries to be both a rishi and a priest. Nothing less than the uniform recognition and employment of the hymns handed down under his name as the productions of a genuine "seer," could have sufficed to gain for them a place in the sacred canon.[160] It is true we possess little authentic information regarding the process by which the hymns of different families were admitted to this honour; but at least there is no tradition, so far as I am aware, that those of Viśvāmitra and his family were ever treated as *antilegomena*. And if we find that later works consider it necessary to represent his priestly character as a purely exceptional one, explicable only on the ground of supernatural merit acquired by ardent devotion, we must recollect that the course of ages had brought about a most material change in Indian society, that the sacerdotal function had at length become confined to the members of an exclusive caste, and that the exercise of such an office in ancient times by persons of the regal or mercantile classes had ceased to be intelligible, except upon the supposition of such extraordinary sanctity as was alleged in the case of Viśvāmitra.

It is worthy of remark that although the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (see above) declares that Śunaśśepa, as belonging to a priestly family, was called on to exercise the sacerdotal office immediately after his release, yet the anterior possession of divine knowledge is also ascribed to Viśvāmitra and the Gāthins, and that Śunaśśepa is represented as suc-

also R.V. ix. 93, 1 = S.V. i. 538. (Compare Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1866, p. 387 ff.)

[160] That many at least of these compositions were really the work of Viśvāmitra, or his descendants, is proved, as we have seen, by the fact that their names are mentioned in them.

ceeding to this sacred lore, as well as to the regal dignity of the race on which he became engrafted.

The fact of Viśvāmitra having been both a rishi and an officiating priest, is thus, as we have seen, and if ancient tradition is to be believed, undoubted. In fact, if we look to the number of Vedic hymns ascribed to him and to his family, to the long devotion to sacerdotal functions which this fact implies, and to the apparent improbability that a person who had himself stood in the position of a king should afterwards have become a professional priest, we may find it difficult to believe that although (as he certainly was) a scion of a royal stock, he had ever himself exercised regal functions. Professor Roth remarks (Litt. u. Gesch. p. 125) that there is nothing either in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, or in the hymns of the Rig-veda to shew that he had ever been a king.[161] But on the other hand, as the same writer observes (p. 126), and as we shall hereafter see, there are numerous passages in the later authorities in which the fact of his being a king is distinctly, but perhaps untruly, recorded.

It is so well known, that I need scarcely adduce any proof of the fact, that in later ages Rājanyas and Vaiśyas, though entitled to sacrifice and to study the Vedas, were no longer considered to have any right to officiate as priests on behalf of others. I may, however, cite a few texts on this subject. Manu says, i. 88:

Adhyāpanam adhyayanaṁ yăjanaṁ yājanaṁ tathā | dānam pratigrahaṁ chaiva Brāhmaṇānām akalpayat | 89. *Prajānāṁ rakshaṇaṁ dānam ijyā'dhyayanam eva cha | vishayeshv aprasaktiṁ cha kshattriyasya samāsataḥ* | 90. *Paśūnāṁ rakshaṇaṁ dānam ijyā'dhyayanam eva cha | vaṇikpathaṁ kusīdaṁ cha Vaiśyasya kṛishim eva cha* | 91. *Ekam eva tu Śūdrasya prabhuḥ karma samādiśat | eteshām eva varṇānāṁ śuśrūshām anasūyayā* | 88. He (Brahmā) ordained teaching, study, sacrificing, officiating for others at sacrifices, and the giving and receiving of gifts, to be the functions of Brāhmans. 89. Protection of the people, the giving of gifts, sacrifice, study, and non-addiction to objects of sense he assigned as the duties of the Kshattriya. 90. The tending of cattle, giving of gifts, sacrifice, study, commerce, the taking of usury, and agriculture he appointed to be the occupations of the Vaiśya. 91. But the

[161] May not R.V. iii. 43, 5 (quoted above), however, be understood to point to something of this kind?

lord assigned only one duty to the Śūdra, that of serving these other three classes without grudging."

Similarly it is said in the second of the Yajna-paribhāshā Sūtras, translated by Professor M. Müller (at the end of the ninth volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, p. xliii.), "that sacrifice is proper to the three classes, the Brāhman, Rājanya, and also the Vaiśya."[162] Prof. Müller also refers to Kātyāyana's Śrauta Sūtras, of which i. 1, 5 and 6 are as follows:

5. *Angahīnāśrotriya-shaṇḍa-śūdra-varjam* | 6. *Brāhmaṇa-rājanya-vaiśyānāṁ śruteḥ* | "Men,[163] with the exception of those whose members

[162] Prof. Müller does not give the original text.

[163] In one of these Sutras of Kātyāyana (i. 1, 4) and its commentary a curious question (one of those which the Indian authors often think it necessary to raise and to settle, in order that their treatment of a subject may be complete and exhaustive) is argued, viz. whether the lower animals and the gods have any share in the practice of Vedic observances; or whether it is confined to men. The conclusion is that the gods cannot practise these rites, as they are themselves the objects of them, and as they have already obtained heaven and the other objects of desire with a view to which they are practised (*tatra devānāṁ devatāntarābhāvād anadhikāraḥ | na hy ātmānam uddiśya tyāgaḥ sambhavati | kincha | devāś cha prāpta-svargādi-kāmāḥ | na cha teshāṁ kinchid avāptavyam asti yad-arthaṁ karmāṇi kurvate* |). As regards the right of the lower animals to sacrifice, although the point is decided against them on the ground of their only "looking to what is near at hand, and not to the rewards of a future world" (*te hy āsannam eva chetayante no pāralaukikam phalam*); still it is considered necessary seriously to obviate a presumption in their favour that they seek to enjoy pleasure and avoid pain, and even appear to indicate their desire for the happiness of another world by seeming to observe some of the Vedic prescriptions: "*Nanu uktaṁ śunaś chaturdaśyām upavāsa-darśanāt śyenasya cha ashṭamyām upavāsa-darśanāch cha te 'pi pāralaukikaṁ jānanti" iti | tat katham avagamyate "te dharmārtham upavasanti" iti | ye hi veda-smṛiti-purāṇādikam paṭhanti te eva jānanti yad "anena karmaṇā idam phalam amutra prāpsyate" iti | na cha ete vedādikam paṭhanti nāpy anyebhyaḥ āgamayanti | tena śāstrārtham avidvāṁsaḥ phalam āmushmikam akāmayantaḥ kathaṁ tat-sādhanaṁ karma kuryuḥ | tasmād na dharmārtham upavasanti iti | kimarthaṁ tarhy eteshām upavāsaḥ | uchyate | rogād aruchir eshām | tarhi niyata-kāle kathaṁ rogaḥ | uchyate | niyata-kālāḥ api rogāḥ bhavanti yathā tṛitīyaka-chāturthikādi-jvarāḥ | adhanāś cha ete* | "But do not some say that 'from a dog having been noticed to fast on the fourteenth day of the month, and a hawk on the eighth, they also have a knowledge of matters connected with a future life?' But how is it known that these dogs and hawks fast from religious motives? For it is only those who read the Vedas, Smṛitis, Purāṇas, etc., who are aware that by means of such and such observances, such and such rewards will be obtained in another world. But these animals neither read the sacred books for themselves, nor ascertain their contents from others. How then, ignorant as they are of the contents of the scriptures, and devoid of any desire for future rewards, can they perform those rites which are the means of attaining them? It is therefore to be concluded that they do not fast from religious motives. But why, then, do they fast? We reply, because from sickness they have a disinclin-

are defective, those who have not read the Veda, eunuchs, and S'ūdras, have a right to sacrifice. 6. It is Brāhmans, Rājanyas, and Vaiśyas (only who) according to the Veda (possess this privilege)." [164]

ation for food. But how do they happen to be sick on certain fixed days? We answer, there are also certain diseases which occur on fixed days, as tertian and quartan agues. Another reason why the lower animals cannot sacrifice is that they are destitute of wealth (and so unable to provide the necessary materials)."

[164] "And yet," Prof. Müller remarks (ibid), "concessions were made (to other and lower classes) at an early period. One of the best known cases is that of the Rathakāra. Then the Nishādasthapati, though a Nishāda chief and not belonging to the three highest classes was admitted to great sacrifices, *e.g.* to the gāvedhukacharu." The S'atap. Br. i. 1, 4, 12, has the following words: *Tāni vai etāni chatvāri vāchaḥ "ehi" iti brāhmaṇasya "āgahi" "ādrava" vaiśyasya cha rājanyabandhoś cha "ādhāva" iti śūdrasya* | "[In the formula, *havishkṛid ehi*, 'come, o oblation-maker,' referred to in the previous paragraph, and its modifications] these four (different) words are employed to express 'come:' *ehi*, 'come,' in the case of a Brāhman; *āgahi*, 'come hither,' in the case of a Vaiśya; *ādrava*, 'hasten hither,' in the case of a Rājanyabandhu, and *ādhāva*, 'run hither,' in the case of a S'ūdra." On this Prof. Weber remarks, in a note on his translation of the first adhyāya of the first book of the S'. P. Br. (Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. iv. p. 301): "The entire passage is of great importance, as it shews (in opposition to what Roth says in the first vol. of this Journal, p. 83) that the S'ūdras were then admitted to the holy sacrifices of the Arians, and understood their speech, even if they did not speak it. The latter point cannot certainly be assumed as a necessary consequence, but it is highly probable; and I consequently incline to the view of those who regard the S'ūdras as an Arian tribe which immigrated into India before the others." See above, p. 141, note 251, and Ind. Stud. ii. 194, note, where Prof. Weber refers to the Mahābhārata, S'āntip. verses 2304 ff. which are as follows: *Svāhākāra-vashaṭkārau mantraḥ śūdre na vidyate* | *tasmāch chhūdraḥ pākayajnair yajetāvratavān svayam* | *pūrṇapātramayīm āhuḥ pākayajnasya dakshiṇām* | *śūdraḥ Paijavano nāma sahasrāṇāṁ śataṁ dadau* | *Aindrāgnyena vidhānena dakshiṇām iti naḥ śrutam* | "The svāhākāra, and the vashaṭkāra, and the mantras do not belong to a S'ūdra. Wherefore let a man of this class sacrifice with pākayajnas, being incapacitated for (Vedic) rites (*śrauta-vratopāya-hīnaḥ* | Comm.). They say that the gift (*dakshiṇā*) proper for a pākayajna consists of a full dish (*pūrṇapātramayī*). A S'ūdra called Paijavana gave as a present a hundred thousand (of these pūrṇapātras) after the Aindrāgnya rule." Here, says Prof. Weber, "the remarkable tradition is recorded that Paijavana, *i.e.* Sudās, who was so famous for his sacrifices, and who is celebrated in the Rig-veda as the patron of Viśvāmitra and enemy of Vasishṭha, was a S'ūdra." In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, vii. 11, 24, the duties of a S'ūdra are described to be "submissiveness, purity, honest service to his master, sacrifice without mantras, abstinence from theft, truth, and the protection of cows and Brāhmans" (*śūdrasya sannatiḥ śauchaṁ sevā svāminy amāyayā* | *amantrayajno hy asteyaṁ satyaṁ go-vipra-rakshaṇam* |). The Commentator defines *amantrayajnaḥ* thus: *namaskāreṇaiva pancha-yajnānushṭhānam*, "the practice of the five sacrifices with obeisance," and quotes Yājnavalkya. See also Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. p. 87, and notes; Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 203; the same author's Essay, at the end of the ninth vol. of the Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. p. lxxiii.; and Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v. pākayajna*.

According to the Ait. Br. vii. 19, "the Brāhman alone of the four castes has the right of consuming things offered in sacrifice" (*etāḥ vai prajāḥ hutādo yad brāhmaṇāḥ | atha etāḥ ahutādo yad rājanyo vaiśyaḥ śūdraḥ*). And yet, as Prof. Müller observes, it is said in the Śatap. Br. v. 5, 4, 9: *Chatvāro vai varṇāḥ brāhmaṇo rājanyo vaiśyaḥ śūdro na ha eteshāṁ ekaśchana bhavati yaḥ somaṁ vamati | sa yad ha eteshām ekaśchit syāt syād ha eva prāyaśchittiḥ |* "There are four classes, the Brāhman, Rājanya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra. There is no one of these who vomits (*i.e.*, I suppose, dislikes) the soma. If anyone of them however should do so, let there be an atonement."

Professor Weber, by whom also these words are quoted (Ind. St. x. 12), remarks that "they leave open the possibility of Rājanyas, Vaiśyas, and even Śūdras partaking of the soma, the only consequence being that they must as an expiation perform the Sautramaṇī rite."

In the twenty-first of the Yajna-paribhāshā Sūtras, translated by Müller, p. xlvii., it is declared that the priestly dignity belongs to the Brāhmans; and it is laid down by the Indian authorities that even when the sacrifice is of a kind intended exclusively for Kshattriyas, the priest must still be a Brāhman and not a Kshattriya, the reason being that men of the former class only can eat the remains of the sacrifice (see Kātyāyana's Śr. Sūtras, i. 2, 8): *Brāhmaṇāḥ ṛitvijo bhaksha-pratishedhād itarayoḥ*, "the Brāhmans only are priests, because the other two castes are forbidden to eat (the remains of the sacrifice"). See also Weber, Ind. St. x. pp. 17 and 31, and the passages of the Ait. Br. viii. 24 and 27, referred to in pages 30 and 31: 24. *Na ha vai apurohitasya rājno devāḥ annam adanti | tasmād rājā 'yakshamāṇo brāhmaṇam puro dadhīta |* "The gods do not eat the food offered by a king who has no purohita. Wherefore (even) when not about to sacrifice, the king should put forward a Brāhman (as his domestic priest)." 27. *Yo ha vai trīn purohitāṁs trīn purodhātṛīn veda sa brāhmaṇaḥ purohitāḥ | sa vadeta purodhāyai | Agnir vāva purohitaḥ pṛithivī purodhātā vāyur vāva purohito 'ntariksham purodhātā ādityo vāva purohito dyauḥ purodhātā | esha ha vai purohito yaḥ evaṁ veda atha sa tirohito yaḥ evaṁ na veda | tasya rājā mitraṁ bhavati dvishantam apabādhate | yasyaivaṁ vidvān brāhmaṇo rāshṭra-gopaḥ purohitaḥ | kshattreṇa kshattraṁ jayati balena balam aśnute | yasyaivaṁ vidvān brāhmaṇo rāshṭra-gopaḥ purohitaḥ | tasmai viśaḥ sanjānate sammukhāḥ ekamanasaḥ | yasyaivaṁ vidvān brāhmaṇo*

rāshṭra-gopaḥ purohitaḥ | "The Brāhman who knows the three purohitas, and their three appointers, is a (proper) purohita, and should be nominated to this office. Agni is one purohita, and the earth appoints him; Vāyu another, and the air appoints him; the Sun is a third, and the sky appoints him. He who knows this is a (proper) purohita; and he who does not know this is to be rejected. (Another) king becomes the friend of the prince who has a Brāhman possessing such knowledge for his purohita and the protector of his realm; and he vanquishes his enemy. He who has a Brāhman possessing etc. (as above) conquers (another's) regal power by (his own) regal power, and acquires another's force by (his own) force. With him who has a Brāhman etc. (as above) the people are openly united and in harmony."

I add another passage from the same Brāhmaṇa, which might also have been properly introduced in an earlier chapter of this work (chapt. i. sect. iii.) as it relates to the creation of the four castes:

Ait. Br. vii. 19. *Prajāpatir yajnam asṛijata* | *yajnaṁ sṛishṭam anu brahma-kshattre asṛijyetām* | *brahma-kshattre anu dvayyaḥ prajāḥ asṛijyanta hutādaś cha ahutādaś cha brahma eva anu hutādaḥ kshattram anv ahutādaḥ* | *etāḥ vai prajāḥ hutādo yad brāhmaṇāḥ* | *atha etāḥ ahutādo yad rājanyo vaiśyaḥ śūdraḥ* | *tābhyo yajnaḥ udakrāmat* | *tam brahma-kshattre anvaitāṁ yāny eva brahmaṇaḥ āyudhāni tair brahma anvait yāni kshattrasya taṁ* (? *taiḥ*) *kshattram* | *etāni vai brahmaṇaḥ āyudhāni yad yajnāyudhāni* | *atha etāni kshattrasya āyudhani yad aśva-rathaḥ kavachaḥ ishu-dhanva* | *taṁ kshattram ananvāpya nyavarttata* | *āyudhebhyo ha sma asya vijamānaḥ parāṇ eva eti* | *atha enam brahma anvait* | *tam āpnot* | *tam āptvā parastād nirudhya atishṭhat* | *sa āptaḥ parastād niruddhas tishṭhan jnātvā svāny āyudhāni brahma upāvarttata* | *tasmād ha apy etarhi yajno brahmany eva brāhmaṇeshu pratishṭhitaḥ* | *atha enat kshattram anvāgachhat tad abravīd "upa mā asmin yajne hvayasva" iti* | *tat "tathā" ity abravīt "tad vai nidhāya svāny āyudhāni brahmaṇaḥ eva āyudhair brahmaṇo rūpeṇa brahma bhūtvā yajnam upavārttasva" iti* | *"tathā" iti tat kshattraṁ nidhāya svāny āyudhāni brahmaṇaḥ eva āyudhair brahmaṇo rūpeṇa brahma bhūtvā yajnam upāvarttata* | *tasmād ha apy etarhi kshattriyo yajamāno nidhāya eva svāny āyudhāni brahmaṇaḥ eva āyudhair brahmaṇo rūpeṇa brahma bhūtvā yajnam upāvarttate* |

"Prajāpati created sacrifice. After sacrifice, Brăhmăn (sacred know-

ledge) and Kshăttra (regal power)[165] were created. After these, two kinds of creatures were formed, viz. those who eat, and those who do not eat, oblations. After Brăhmăn came the eaters of oblations, and after Kshăttra those who do not eat them. These are the eaters of oblations, viz. the Brāhmans. Those who do not eat them are the Rājanyâ, the Vaiśya, and the Śūdra. From these creatures sacrifice departed. Brăhmăn and Kshăttra followed it, Brăhmăn with the implements proper to itself, and Kshăttra with those which are proper to itself. The implements of Brăhmăn are the same as those of sacrifice, while those of Kshăttra are a horse-chariot,[166] armour, and a bow and arrows. Kshăttra turned back, not having found the sacrifice; which turns aside, afraid of the implements of Kshăttra. Brăhmăn followed after it, and reached it; and having done so, stood beyond, and intercepting it. Being thus found and intercepted, sacrifice, standing still and recognizing its own implements, approached to Brăhmăn. Wherefore now also sacrifice depends upon Brăhmăn, upon the Brāhmans. Kshăttra then followed Brăhmăn, and said, 'invite me[167] (too to participate) in this sacrifice.' Brăhmăn replied, 'so be it: then laying aside thy own implements, approach the sacrifice with the implements of Brăhmăn, in the form of Brăhmăn, and having become Brăhmăn.[168]

[165] The two principles or functions represented by the Brāhmans and Kshattriyas respectively.

[166] See Weber, Indische Studien, ix. p. 318.

[167] See Weber, in the same page as last quoted.

[168] This idea may be further illustrated by a reference to several passages adduced by Professor Weber, Ind. St. x. 17, who remarks: "Hence every Rājanya and Vaiśya becomes through the consecration for sacrifice (*dīkshā*) a Brāhman during its continuance, and is to be addressed as such in the formula employed," and cites Ś. P. Br. iii. 2, 1, 39 f., part of which has been already quoted above, in p. 136, note; and also Ait. Br. vii. 23: *Sa ha dīkshamāṇaḥ eva brāhmaṇatām abhyupaiti* | "He a king, when consecrated, enters into the condition of a Brāhman." See the rest of the section and sections 24, 25, and 31 in Dr. Haug's translation. The Ś. P. Br. xiii. 4, 1, 3, says, in opposition to the opinion of some, that an aśvamedha, which is a sacrifice proper to Rājanyas, should be begun in summer, which is their season: *tad vai vasante eva abhyārabheta* | *vasanto vai brāhmaṇasya ṛituḥ* | *yaḥ u vai kaś cha yajate brāhmaṇī-bhūya iva eva yajate* | "Let him commence in spring, which is the Brāhman's season. Whosoever sacrifices does so after having as it were become a Brāhman." So too Kātyāyana says in his Śrauta Sūtras vii. 4, 12: "*Brāhmaṇa*" *ity eva vaiśya-rājanyayor api* | "The word Brāhmaṇa is to be addressed to a Vaiśya and a Rājanya also." On which the Commentator annotates: *Vaiśya-rājanyayor api yajne* "*dīkshito 'yam brāhmaṇaḥ*" *ity eva vaktavyam* | *na* "*dīkshito 'yaṁ kshattriyo vaiśyo vā*" *iti* | "The formula 'This Brāhman has been consecrated' is to be used at the sacrifice of a Vaiśya

Kshăttra rejoined, 'Be it so,' and, laying aside its own implements, approached the sacrifice with those of Brăhmăn, in the form of Brăhmăn, and having become Brăhmăn. Wherefore now also a Kshattriya when sacrificing, laying aside his own implements, approaches the sacrifice with those of Brăhmăn, in the form of Brăhmăn, and having become Brăhmăn."

The Mahābhārata, S'āntip. verses 2280 f. distinctly defines the duty of a Kshattriya in reference to sacrifice and sacred study: *Kshattriyasyāpi yo dharmas tam̃ te vakshyāmi Bhārata | dadyād rājan na yācheta yajeta na cha yājayet | nādhyāpayed adhīyīta prajāś cha paripālayet |* "I will tell thee also the duties of a Kshattriya. Let him give, and not ask (gifts); let him sacrifice, but not officiate for others at sacrifices; let him not teach, but study; and let him protect the people."

It is clear that these passages which restrict the right of officiating ministerially at sacrifices to the members of the Brahmanical order,[169] represent a very different state of opinion and practice from that which prevailed in the earlier Vedic age, when Viśvāmitra, a Rājanya, and his relatives, were highly esteemed as the authors of sacred poetry, and were considered as perfectly authorized to exercise sacerdotal functions.

The result of the conflict between the opposing interests represented by Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra respectively, is thus described by Professor

and a Rājanya also; and not the words 'this Rājanya, or this Vais'ya, has been consecrated.'"

[169] It appears from Arrian that the Greeks were correctly informed of this prerogative of the Brāhmans. He says, Indica, ch. xi.: Καὶ ὅστις δὲ ἰδίᾳ θύει, ἐξηγητὴς αὐτῷ τῆς θυσίης τῶν τις σοφιστῶν τούτων γίνεται, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοῖς θύσαντας. "And whosoever sacrifices in private has one of these sophists" (so the highest of the classes, here said to be seven in number, is designated) "as director of the ceremony, since sacrifice could not otherwise be offered acceptably to the gods." Arrian makes another assertion (ibid. xii.) which, if applied to the time when he wrote (in the second Christian century), is not equally correct. After observing that the several classes were not allowed to intermarry, nor to practice two professions, nor to pass from one class into another, he adds: Μοῦνον σφίσιν ἀνεῖται σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς γένεος γενέσθαι· ὅτι οὐ μαλθακὰ τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν εἰσὶ τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαιπωρότατα. "Only it is permitted to a person of any class among them to become a sophist; for the life of that class is not luxurious, but the most toilsome of all." However indubitably true the first part of this sentence may have been in the age of Vis'vāmitra, it cannot be correctly predicated of the age of Arrian, or even of the period when India was invaded by Alexander the Great. The mistake may have arisen from confounding the Buddhists with the Brāhmans, or from supposing that all the Brahmanical Indians, who adopted an ascetic life, were regarded as "sophists."

Roth at the close of his work on the literature and history of the Veda, which has been so often quoted, p. 141: "Vasishṭha, in whom the future position of the Brahmans is principally foreshadowed, occupies also a far higher place in the recollections of the succeeding centuries than his martial rival; and the latter succumbs in the conflict out of which the holy race of Brahmāvartta was to emerge. Vasishṭha is the sacerdotal hero of the new order of things. In Viśvāmitra the ancient condition of military shepherd-life in the Punjab is thrown back for ever into the distance. This is the general historical signification of the contest between the two Vedic families, of which the literature of all the succeeding periods has preserved the recollection."

Sect. VII.—*Do the details in the last two sections enable us to decide in what relation Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra stood to each other as priests of Sudās?*

It appears from the data supplied in the two preceding sections that both Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra are represented as priests of a king called Sudās. This is shewn, as regards the former rishi (see pp. 319 ff., above), by R.V. vii. 18, 4, 5, and 21–25; and vii. 33, 1–6, where he is said to have interceded with Indra for Sudās, who, as appears from verse 25 of the second of these hymns, was the son of Pijavana. A similar relation is shewn by R.V. iii. 53, 9–13 to have subsisted between Viśvāmitra and Sudās (see above, p. 342); and although Sudās is not in that passage identified with the king who was Vasishṭha's patron, by the addition of his patronymic, we are told in the Nirukta, ii. 24, that he was the same person, the son of Pijavana. There is therefore no doubt that, according to ancient tradition, the two rishis were both priests of the same prince. It further appears that the Bharatas, with whom, as we have seen, Viśvāmitra was connected, are in R.V. vii. 33, 6 referred to as in hostility with Sudās and his priest. Are we then to conclude that the one set of facts excludes the other—that the two rishis could not both have been the family-priests of Sudās?

There is no reason to arrive at such an inference. Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra could not, indeed, have been the domestic priests of Sudās at one and the same period. But they may have been so at different

times; and the one may have supplanted the other. It is, however, very difficult to derive from the imperfect materials supplied in the passages to which I have referred any clear conception of the shape and course which the contest between these two rivals took, or to fix the periods at which they respectively enjoyed their patron's favour. Prof. Roth thinks[170] that some light is thrown on this obscure subject by the different parts of the 53rd hymn of the third mandala of the Rig-veda. This composition, as it stands, contains, as he considers, fragments of hymns by Viśvāmitra or his descendants, of different dates; and the verses (9–13), in which that rishi represents himself and the Kauśikas as being the priests of Sudās, are, in his opinion, earlier than the concluding verses (21–24),[171] which consist of imprecations directed against Vasishṭha. These last verses, he remarks, contain an expression of wounded pride, and threaten vengeance against an enemy who had come into possession of some power or dignity which Viśvāmitra himself had previously enjoyed. And as we find from one of his hymns (the 53rd) that he and his adherents had at one time led Sudās to victory, and enjoyed a corresponding consideration;—while from Vasishṭha's hymns it is clear that he and his family had also been elevated in consequence of similar claims to a like position;—it would seem to result that Viśvāmitra had cursed Vasishṭha for this very reason that he had been supplanted by him. The former with his Kuśikas had through the growing influence of his rival been driven away by Sudās to the Bharatas the enemies of that prince and of the Tṛitsus; and then

[170] See Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, pp. 121 ff.

[171] I have (above, p. 343) characterized these verses as obscure and have left them untranslated. The portions of the following version which are printed in italics are doubtful: verse 22. "He (or, it) vexes (*turns the edge of*) even an axe; and breaks even a *sword*. A *seething* cauldron, even, o Indra, when *over-heated*, casts out foam. 23. O men, no notice is taken of the arrow. They lead away the *intelligent* (*lodha*) looking upon him as a beast. Men do not, however, pit a hack to run against a racer; they do not lead an ass before horses. 24. These sons of Bharata, o Indra, desire separation, not vicinity. They constantly urge the horse *as if to a distance*; they carry about the *bow* in the battle." The reader may consult Prof. Wilson's translation R.V. vol. iii. p. 89 f., as well as Roth's Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 109 f. In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 42, Roth conjectures that both *lodha* and *paśu*, in verse 23, may denote animals of different natures, and that the clause may mean something to the same effect as "they look on the wolf as if it were a hare." In his Lexicon, *s.v.* *paśu*, he takes that word to denote a head of cattle (ein Stück Vieh) as a term of contempt. He takes *jyāvāja*, in verse 24, to mean "having the impulsive force (?) (*Schnell-Kraft*) of a bow-string."

vowed vengeance against their enemies. Roth remarks that if this conjecture appears too bold, which he does not allow, there is no alternative but to regard verses 9–11 of R.V. iii. 53, as interpolated, and to hold that Viśvāmitra had always been allied with the Bharatas. But, as he urges, in a period such as that which the hymns of the Veda represent to us—a time of feud and foray among the small neighbouring tribes, when the power of the leaders of families and petty chiefs was unlimited, when we observe that the ten kings were allied against Sudās—in a period of subdivided dominion like this it would be far more surprising to find a family so favoured by the gods as that of Viśvāmitra or Vasishṭha in continued and undisturbed possession of influence over any one of these chieftains, than to see mutual aggression, hostility, and vindictiveness, prevailing even among families and clans united to one another by community of language and manners. It is further evident from later tradition, as Roth remarks, that Vasishṭha and his family had not always been the objects of Sudās's favour; but had, on the contrary, been at some time or other sufferers from his enmity or that of his house; and in proof of this he refers to the passage which has been cited above (p. 328) from Sāyaṇa's note on R.V. vii. 32, and the Śāṭyāyana and Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇas, as there quoted; and also to the 176th adhyāya of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 6696 ff., which will be adduced in a future section.

According to Roth's view (p. 124) the alienation between Sudās and Vasishṭha fomented by Viśvāmitra was only of temporary duration, and we must, therefore, understand that according to his view, the former rishi and his family remained eventually victors in the contest for influence between themselves and their rivals.

Professor Weber, in a note appended to an article by Dr. A. Kuhn in page 120 of the first volume of his Indische Studien, expresses a different opinion. "The testimonies," he says, "adduced by Roth, pp. 122 ff., according to which Sudās appears in the Epic age as hostile to Brahmanical interests, stand in opposition to his assertion that Vasishṭha's family finally banished Viśvāmitra and the Kuśikas from the court of that prince. The enmity between the latter and Vasishṭha, the prototype of Brahmanhood, is thus by no means of temporary duration (Roth, p. 124), but the very contrary." The passages cited by Roth, which Weber here claims as supporting his

own view, are Manu, vii. 41 (see above, p. 296), the Anukramaṇī with the Śāṭyāyana and Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇas quoted in p. 328, and the 126th and following sections of the Ādip. of the M. Bh. which will be adduced hereafter. To these may be added the text from the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, cited in p. 328. If Sudās became ultimately reconciled to Vasishṭha, and re-instated him and his relatives in their position of court priests, to the exclusion of the rival family of Viśvāmitra, it seems hard to understand, according to Professor Weber's argument, how that prince's name should have been handed down by tradition as one of the most prominent examples of impiety displayed in resistance to Brahmanical pretensions. It is, however, to be observed that, except in the text of Manu, it is the descendants of Sudās, and not the king himself, who are charged with the outrages committed against Vasishṭha's family; and that in the passage of the M. Bh. above referred to (Ādip. vv. 7669 ff.) the son of Sudās is represented as becoming ultimately reconciled to Vasishṭha.[172] And if the passages, which have been cited above from the Rig-veda (pp. 330 f.) in allusion to Sudās's deliverance by the gods, refer to a real person, and to the

[172] It is also worthy of remark that the Anuś'āsanap. of the M.Bh. contains a conversation between Vasishṭha und Saudāsa (the son, or one of the descendants of, Sudās) about the pre-eminent purity and excellence of cows, verse 3732: *Etasminn eva kāle tu Vaśishṭham ṛishi-sattamam | Ikshvāku-vaṁśajo rājā Saudāso vadatāṁ varaḥ | sarva-loka-charaṁ siddham brahma-kośaṁ sanātanam | purohitam abhiprashṭum abhivādyopachakrame | Saudāsa uvācha | trailokye bhagavan kiṁsvit pavitraṁ kathyate 'nagha | yat kīrttayan sadā marttyaḥ prāpnuyāt puṇyam uttamam |* "At this time the eloquent king Saudāsa, sprung from the race of Ikshvāku, proceeded, after salutation, to make an enquiry of his family-priest Vaśishṭha, the eternal saint, the most excellent of rishis, who was able to traverse all the world, and was a treasure of sacred knowledge: 'What, O venerable and sinless man, is declared to be the purest thing in the three worlds, by constantly celebrating which one may acquire the highest merit?'" Vaśishṭha in reply expatiates at great length on the merit resulting from bestowing cows, and ascribes to these animals some wonderful properties, as that they are the "support of all beings" (*pratishṭhā bhūtānām*, verse 3736), "the present and the future" (*gāvo bhūtaṁ cha bhavyaṁ cha*, 3737), and describes the cow as "pervading the universe, mother of the past and future" (*yayā sarvam idaṁ vyāptaṁ jagat sthāvara-jangamam | tām dhenuṁ śirasā vande bhūta-bhavyasya mātaram*, 3799). The sequel is thus told in verse 3801: *Varam idam iti bhūmido (bhūmipo?) vichintya pravaram ṛisher vachanaṁ tato mahātmā | vyasṛijata niyatātmavān dvijebhyo subahu cha go-dhanam āptavāṁs lokān |* "The great, self-subduing king, considering that these words of the rishi were most excellent, lavished on the Brāhmans very great wealth in the shape of cows, and obtained the worlds."—So here we find the son of Saudāsa extolled as a saint.

same individual with whom we are at present concerned, they are difficult to reconcile with these traditions in the Brāhmaṇas, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas; inasmuch as they are not said to be the productions of Viśvāmitra or his descendants, and as they necessarily imply that Sudās was a pious prince who worshipped the popular deities in the way prescribed by the rishis by whom he was commemorated, since the latter would not otherwise have celebrated him in their hymns as a conspicuous object of divine favour. Tradition, too, as we have seen (p. 268) represents Sudās to have been the author of a Vedic hymn. The verses of the 104th hymn of the seventh book which I have quoted (above, p. 327) do not appear to contribute any further aid towards the solution of the question under consideration. Assuming that they contain a curse aimed at Viśvāmitra we have no means of ascertaining when they were uttered; whether the charge preferred against Vasishṭha preceded or followed the ascendancy of his rival.

We seem, therefore, to possess no sufficient data for settling the question of the relations in which Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra respectively stood to king Sudās, further than that they both appear, from the hymns of the Rig-veda, to have been, at one period or another, his family priests; but which of the two was the first, and which the last, to enjoy the king's favour, must, according to all appearance, remain a mystery.

Sect. VIII.—*Story of Triśanku.*

I shall now proceed to adduce the different legends in the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Mahābhārata, in which Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra are represented as coming into conflict.

In the third chapter of the fourth book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa (Wilson, vol. iii. pp. 284 ff.) we find a story about a king Satyavrata, called also Triśanku, the 26th in descent from Ikshvāku, who had become degraded to the condition of a Chaṇḍāla, about whom it is briefly related, iv. 3, 13: *Dvādaśa-vārshikyām anāvṛishṭyāṁ Viśvāmitra-kalatrāpatya-poshaṇārthaṁ chaṇḍāla-pratigraha-pariharaṇāya cha Jāhnavī-tīra-nyagrodhe mṛiga-māṁsam anudinam babandha* | 14. *Paritushṭena cha Viśvāmitreṇa sa-śarīraḥ svargam āropitaḥ* | "During a twelve years' drought he daily suspended deer's flesh for the support of Viśvāmitra's wife and children

on a nyagrodha-tree on the banks of the Ganges, intending by this means to spare them the (humiliation of) receiving a gift from a Chaṇḍāla; and was in consequence raised bodily to heaven by Viśvāmitra, who was gratified (with his conduct)." [173]

This story is told at greater length in the Harivaṁśa (sections 12 and 13) where Vasishṭha also is introduced. I have already (p. 337) remarked on the super-human longevity ascribed to this sage, who is represented as contemporary both with Ikshvāku, and with his descendants down to the sixty-first generation. But Indian mythology, with its boundless resources in supernatural machinery, and in the doctrine of transmigration, can reconcile all discrepancies, and explain away all anachronisms, making any sage re-appear at any juncture when his presence may be required, another and yet the same.

The Harivaṁśa states that Satyavrata (Triśanku) had been expelled from his home by his father for the offence of carrying off the young wife of one of the citizens under the influence of a criminal passion (verse 718. *Yena bhāryyā hṛitā pūrvaṁ kṛitodvāhā parasya vai* | 720. *Jahāra kāmāt kanyāṁ sa kasyachit puravāsinaḥ*); and that Vasishṭha did not interfere to prevent his banishment. His father retired to the woods to live as a hermit. In consequence of the wickedness which had been committed, Indra did not rain for a period of twelve years. At that time Viśvāmitra had left his wife and children and gone to practice austerities on the sea-shore. His wife, driven to extremity by want, was on the point of selling her second son for a hundred cows, in order to support the others; but this arrangement was stopped by the intervention of Satyavrata, who liberated the son when bound,[174] and

[173] In the Mahābh. S'āntip. verses 5330 ff. (referred to by Weber, Ind. St. i. 475, note) there is a story of Viśvāmitra determining to eat dog's flesh in a period of famine between the end of the the Tretā-age and the beginning of the Dvāpara; and holding a conversation on this subject with a Chaṇḍāla. The circumstance is referred to in Manu, x. 108: *Kshudhārttaś chāttum abhyāgād Viśvāmitraḥ śva-jāghanīm* | *chaṇḍāla-hastād ādāya dharmādharma-vichakshaṇaḥ* | "And Viśvāmitra, who knew right and wrong, resolved to eat a dog's thigh, taking it from the hand of a Chaṇḍāla."

[174] See in Ind. Stud. ii. 121 ff. Professor Roth's remarks on the peculiar relation in which he regards this story as standing to that of S'unaśśepa, as given in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The various incidents in the one present in many respects a curious parallel to those of the other, which he considers can hardly be accidental; and he thinks this version of the legend of Triśanku may have arisen out of a transformation and distortion of that of S'unaśśepa.

maintained the family by providing them with the flesh of wild animals: and according to his father's injunction, consecrated himself for the performance of a silent penance for twelve years (verse 732. *Upāṁśa-vratam āsthāya dīkshāṁ dvādaśa-vārshikīm | pitur niyogād avahat tasmin vana-gate nṛipe*). The story proceeds thus:

Verse 733. *Ayodhyāṁ chaiva rāshṭraṁ cha tathaivāntaḥpuram muniḥ | yājyopādhyāya-sambandhād Vaśishṭhaḥ paryarakshata | Satyavratas tu bālyād vai bhāvino 'rthasya vā balāt | Vaśishṭhe 'bhyadhikam manyuṁ dhārayāmāsa nityadā |* 735. *Pitrā hi taṁ tadā rājyāt tyajyamānaṁ svam ātmajam | na vārayāmāsa munir Vaśishṭhaḥ kāraṇena ha | pāṇigrahaṇa-mantrāṇām nishṭhā syāt saptame pade | na cha Satyavratas tasmād dhṛitavān saptame pade | jānan dharmān Vaśishṭhas tu na māṁ trātīti Bhārata | Satyavratas tadā roshaṁ Vaśishṭhe manasā 'karot | guṇa-buddhyā tu bhagavān Vaśishṭhaḥ kṛitavāṁs tadā | na cha Satyavratas tasya tam upāṁśum abudhyata | . . . .* 740. *Tena tv idānīṁ vahatā dīkshāṁ tāṁ durvahām bhuvi | "kulasya nishkṛitis tāta kṛitā sā vai bhaved" iti | na taṁ Vaśishṭho bhagavān pitrā tyaktaṁ nyavārayat | abhishekshyāmy aham putram asyety evam matir muneḥ | sa tu dvādaśa-varshāṇi tāṁ dīkshām udvahan balī | avidyamāne māṁse tu Vaśishṭhasya mahātmanaḥ | sarva-kāma-dughāṁ dogdhrīṁ dadarśa sa nṛipātmajaḥ | tāṁ vai krodhāch cha mohāch cha śramāch chaiva kshudhārditaḥ | daśadharma-gato rājā jaghāna Janamejaya | . . . .* 745. *Tach cha māṁsaṁ svayaṁ chaiva Viśvāmitrasya chātmajān | bhojayāmāsa tach chhrutvā Vaśishṭho 'py asya chukrudhe | . . . .* 750. *Viśvāmitras tu dārāṇām āgato bharaṇe kṛite | sa tu tasmai varam prādād muniḥ prītas Triśaṅkave | chhandyamāno vareṇātha varaṁ vavre nṛipātmajaḥ | saśarīro vraje svargam ity evaṁ yāchito varaḥ | anāvṛishṭi-bhaye tasmin gate dvādaśa-vārshike | pitrye 'bhishichya rājye tu yājayāmāsa tam muniḥ | mishatāṁ devatānāṁ cha Vaśishṭhasya cha Kauśikaḥ | saśarīraṁ tadā taṁ tu divam āropayat prabhuḥ |*

733. "Meanwhile Vaśishṭha, from the relation subsisting between the king (Satyavrata's father) and himself, as disciple[175] and spiritual preceptor, governed the city of Ayodhyā, the country, and the interior apartments of the royal palace. But Satyavrata, whether through folly or the force of destiny, cherished constantly an increased indignation against Vaśishṭha, who for a (proper) reason had not interposed to pre-

[175] Literally "the person in whose behalf sacrifice was to be performed."

vent his exclusion from the royal power by his father. 'The formulas of the marriage ceremonial are only binding,' said Satyavrata, 'when the seventh step has been taken,[176] and this had not been done when I seized the damsel: still Vaśishṭha, who knows the precepts of the law, does not come to my aid.' Thus Satyavrata was incensed in his mind against Vaśishṭha, who, however, had acted from a sense of what was right. Nor did Satyavrata understand (the propriety of) that silent penance imposed upon him by his father. . . . . 740. When he had supported this arduous rite, (he supposed that) he had redeemed his family position. The venerable muni Vaśishṭha did not, however, (as has been said) prevent his father from setting him aside, but resolved to install his son as king. When the powerful prince Satyavrata had endured the penance for twelve years, he beheld, when he was without flesh to eat, the milch cow of Vaśishṭha which yielded all objects of desire; and under the influence of anger, delusion, and exhaustion, distressed by hunger, and failing in the ten duties [the opposites of which are then enumerated] he slew her . . . . (745) and both partook of her flesh himself, and gave it to Viśvāmitra's sons to eat. Vaśishṭha hearing of this, became incensed against him," and imposed on him the name of Triśanku as he had committed three sins (verses 747–749). "750. On his return home, Viśvāmitra was gratified by the support which his wife had received, and offered Triśanku the choice of a boon. When this proposal was made, Triśanku chose the boon of ascending bodily to heaven. All apprehension from the twelve years' drought being now at an end, the muni (Viśvāmitra) installed Triśanku in his father's kingdom, and offered sacrifice on his behalf. The mighty Kauśika then, in spite of the resistance of the gods and of Vaśishṭha, exalted the king alive to heaven."

The legend of Triśanku is also related, though differently, in the Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa; but as it is there introduced as a portion of the history of Viśvāmitra's various contests with Vaśishṭha recorded in the 51st to 65th sections of that book, I shall reserve it till I take up that narrative.

[176] "The next ceremony is the bride's stepping seven steps. It is the most material of all the nuptial rites; for the marriage is complete and irrevocable so soon as she has taken the seventh step, and no sooner." Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 218, where further details will be found.

Sect. IX.—*Legend of Hariśchandra.*

The son of Triśanku, the subject of the preceding story, was Hariśchandra, whose name is mentioned in the Vishṇu P., but without any allusion to the events of his life. According to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,[177] however, he gave up his whole country, and sold his wife and son, and finally himself, in satisfaction of Viśvāmitra's demands for money. The following is a summary of the story as there told, book i. sections 7–9. We may perhaps regard it as having in part a polemical import, and as intended to represent Viśvāmitra, the Kshattriya rival of the Brāhmans, in the most unfavourable colours. The sufferings of Hariśchandra, his wife, and son, are very pathetically depicted, and the effect of the various incidents is heightened with great artistic skill. The story, in fact, appears to me one of the most touching to be found in Indian literature. Hariśchandra, the Purāṇa tells us, was a royal rishi (*rājarshi*) who lived in the Tretā age, and was renowned for his virtues, and the universal prosperity, moral and physical, which prevailed during his reign. On one occasion, when hunting, the king heard a sound of female lamentation which proceeded, it appears, from the Sciences who were becoming mastered by the austerely-fervid sage Viśvāmitra, in a way they had never been before by anyone else; and were consequently crying out in alarm at his superiority. In fulfilment of his duty as a Kshattriya to defend the weak, and inspired by the god Ganeśa, who had entered into him, Hariśchandra exclaimed (i. 7, 12) "'What sinner is this who is binding fire in the hem of his garment, while I, his lord, am present, resplendent with force and fiery vigour?' He shall to-day enter on his long sleep, pierced in all his limbs by arrows, which, by their discharge from my bow, illuminate all the quarters of the firmament" (12. *Ko 'yam badhnāti vastrānte pāvakam pāpa-kṛin naraḥ | baloshṇa-tejasā dīpte mayi patyāv upasthite | 13. So 'dya mat-kārmukākshepa-vidīpita-digantaraiḥ | śarair vibhinna-sarvāngo dīrghanidrām pravekshyati |*). Viśvāmitra was provoked by this address. In consequence of his wrath the Sciences instantly perished, and Hariśchandra, trembling like the leaf of an aśvattha tree, submissively represented that

[177] The same story is told in the Padma Purāṇa also. See Wilson's V.P. vol. iii. p. 287, and note. The glory of Hariśchandra is described in the M.Bh. Sabhāp. verses 489 ff.

he had merely done his duty as a king, which he defined as consisting in the bestowal of gifts on eminent Brāhmans and other persons of slender means, the protection of the timid, and war against enemies. Viśvāmitra hereupon demands a gift as a Brāhman intent upon receiving one. The king offers him whatever he may ask: Gold, his own son, wife, body, life, kingdom, good fortune (*hiraṇyaṁ vā suvarṇaṁ vā putraḥ patnī kalevaram | prāṇāḥ rājyam puraṁ lakshmīr yad abhipretam ātmanaḥ |*). The saint first requires the present for the Rājasūya sacrifice. On this being promised, and still more offered, he asks for the empire of the whole earth, including everything but Hariśchandra himself, his wife and son, and his virtue which follows its possessor wherever he goes[178] (i. 7, 28. *Vinā bhāryyāṁ cha putraṁ cha śarīraṁ cha tavānagha |* 29. *Dharmaṁ cha sarva-dharma-jna yo yāntam anugachhati*). Hariśchandra joyfully agrees. Viśvāmitra then requires him to strip off all his ornaments, to clothe himself in the bark of trees, and to quit the kingdom with his wife Śaivyā and his son. When he is departing the sage stops him and demands payment of his yet unpaid sacrificial fee. The king replies that he has only the persons of his wife, his son, and himself left. Viśvāmitra insists that he must nevertheless pay; and that "unfulfilled promises of gifts to Brāhmans bring destruction" (i. 7. 35. *Viśeshato brāhmaṇānāṁ hanty adattam pratiśrutam*). The unfortunate prince, after being threatened with a curse, engages to make the payment in a month; and commences his journey with a wife unused to such fatigues, amid the universal lamentations of his subjects. While he lingers, listening to their affectionate remonstrances against his desertion of his kingdom, Viśvāmitra comes up, and being

[178] Compare Manu's very striking verses, viii. 17, and iv. 239 ff., which may be freely rendered as follows:

"Our virtue is the only friend that follows us in death;
All other ties and friendships end with our departing breath.
Nor father, mother, wife, nor son beside us then can stay,
Nor kinsfolk:—virtue is the one companion of our way.
Alone each creature sees the light, alone the world he leaves;
Alone of actions, wrong or right, the recompence receives.
Like log or clod, beneath the sod their lifeless kinsman laid,
His friends turn round and quit the ground; but virtue tends the dead.
Be then a hoard of virtue stored, to help in day of doom;
By virtue led, we cross the dread, immeasurable gloom."

See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix. for 1862, p. 303 f.

incensed at the delay and the king's apparent hesitation, strikes the queen with his staff, as she is dragged on by her husband. All this Hariśchandra endures with patience, uttering no complaint. Then the five Viśvedevas, merciful gods, exclaimed, "'To what worlds shall this sinner Viśvāmitra go, who has thrust down this most excellent of sacrificers from the royal dignity? Whose faith shall now sanctify the soma-juice poured out with recitation of texts at the great sacrifice, that we may drink it, and become exhilarated'" (i. 7, 62. *Atha viśve tadā devāḥ pancha prāhuḥ kṛipālavaḥ | Viśvāmitraḥ supāpo 'yaṁ lokān kān samavāpsyati* | 63. *Yenāyaṁ yajvanāṁ śreshṭhaḥ sva-rājyād avaropitaḥ | kasya vā śraddhayā pūtaṁ sutaṁ somam mahādhvare | pītvā vayam prayāsyāmo mudam mantra-purassaram* |). Viśvāmitra heard what they said, and by a curse doomed them to become men; he relented, however, so far as to exempt them from having offspring, and from other family ties and human weaknesses, and promised that they should eventually be restored to their pristine position as gods. They in consequence became partially incarnate as the five Pāṇḍus, the sons of Draupadī. Resuming the story of Hariśchandra, the writer tells us that he then proceeded with his wife and little son to Benares, imagining that this divine city, as the special property of Śiva, could not be possessed by any mortal. Here he found the relentless Viśvāmitra waiting for him, and ready to press his demand for the payment of his sacrificial gift, even before the expiration of the full period of grace. In this extremity Śaivyā the queen suggests with a sobbing voice that her husband should sell her. On hearing this proposal Hariśchandra swoons, then recovers, utters lamentations, and swoons again, and his wife, seeing his sad condition, swoons also. While they are in a state of unconsciousness, their famished child exclaims in distress, "O father, father, give me bread; O mother, mother, give me food: hunger overpowers me; and my tongue is parched" (i. 8, 35. *Tāta tāta dadasvānnam ambāmba bhojanaṁ dada | kshud me balavatī jātā jihvāgraṁ śushyate tathā*). At this moment Viśvāmitra returns, and after recalling Hariśchandra to consciousness by sprinkling water over him, again urges payment of the present. The king again swoons, and is again restored. The sage threatens to curse him if his engagement is not fulfilled by sunset. Being now pressed by his wife, the king agrees to sell her, adding, however, "If my voice can utter such a wicked word, I do

what the most inhuman wretches cannot perpetrate" (i. 8, 48 f. *Nṛi-śaṁsair api yat karttuṁ na śakyaṁ tat karomy aham | yadi me śakyate vāṉī vaktum īdṛik sudurvachaḥ*). He then goes into the city, and in self-accusing language offers his queen for sale as a slave. A rich old Brāhman offers to buy her at a price corresponding to her value, to do his household work. Hariśchandra's heart was torn, and he could make no reply. The Brāhman paid down the money, and was dragging away the queen by the hair of her head, when her little son Rohitāśva, seeing his mother about to be taken away from him, began to cry, and laid hold of her skirts. The mother then exclaims: i. 8, 59, "*Munchāryya muncha māṁ tāvad yāvat pāśyāmy ahaṁ śiśum | durlabhaṁ darśanaṁ tāta punar asya bhavishyati* | 60. *Paśyaiḥi vatsa mām evam mātaraṁ dāsyatāṁ gatām | mām mā sprākshīḥ rāja-puttra aspṛiśyā 'haṁ tavādhunā*" | 61. *Tataḥ sa bālaḥ sahasā dṛishṭvā kṛishṭāṁ tu mātaram | samabhyadhāvad ambeti rudan sāsrāvilekshaṇaḥ* | 62. *Tam āgataṁ dvijaḥ kretā bālam abhyāhanat padā | vadaṁs tathāpi so 'mbeti naivāmunchata mātaram* | 63. *Rājapatny uvācha* | "*prasādaṁ kuru me nātha krīṇīshvemaṁ cha bālakam | krītā 'pi nāham bhavato vinainaṁ kāryya-sādhikā* | 64. *Ittham mamālpa-bhāgyāyāḥ prasāda-sumukho bhava | māṁ saṁyojaya bālena vatseneva payasvinīm*" | 65. *Brāhmaṇaḥ uvācha* | "*gṛihyatām vittam etat te dīyatām bālako maṁa*" | "'Let me go, let me go, venerable sir, till I look upon my son. I shall hardly ever behold him again. Come, my darling, see thy mother now become a slave. Touch me not, young prince; I may no longer be handled by thee.' Seeing his mother dragged away, the child ran after her, his eyes dimmed with tears, and crying 'mother.' The Brāhman purchaser kicked him when he came up; but he would not let his mother go, and continued crying 'mother, mother.' The queen then said to the Brāhman, 'Be so kind, my master, as to buy also this child, as without him I shall prove to thee but a useless purchase. 64. Be thus merciful to me in my wretchedness; unite me with my son, like a cow to her calf.'[179] The Brāhman agrees: 'Take this money and give me the boy.'" When his wife and son were being carried away, Hariśchandra broke out into lamentations: i. 8, 68. *Yāṁ na vāyur na chādityo nendur na cha pṛithag-janaḥ | dṛishṭavantaḥ purā patnīṁ seyaṁ dāsītvam āgatā* | 69. *Sūrya-vaṁśa-prasūto 'yaṁ sukumāra-karāṅgulīḥ | samprāpto vikrayam*

[179] The whole of this reads like a scene from "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

bālo dhiñ mām astu sudurmatim | "'She, my spouse, whom neither air, nor sun, nor moon, nor stranger had beheld, is now gone into slavery. This my son, a scion of the solar race, with his delicate hands and fingers, has been sold. Woe to me, wicked wretch that I am.'" After the Brāhman had gone out of sight with his purchases, Viśvāmitra again appeared and renewed his demands; and when the afflicted Hariśchandra offered him the small sum he had obtained by the sale of his wife and son, he angrily replied, i. 8, 74: *Kshattrabandho mamemāñ tvañ sadṛiśīñ yajna-dakshiṇām* | *manyase yadi tat kshipram paśya tvam me balam param* | 75. *Tapaso 'ttra sutaptasya brāhmaṇyasyāmalasya cha* | *mat-prabhāvasya chograsya śuddhasyādhyayanasya cha* | "'If, miserable Kshattriya, thou thinkest this a sacrificial gift befitting my deserts, thou shalt soon behold the transcendent power of my ardent austere-fervour, of my spotless Brāhmanhood, of my terrible majesty, and of my holy study.'" Hariśchandra promises an additional gift, and Viśvāmitra allows him the remaining quarter of the day for its liquidation. On the terrified and afflicted prince offering himself for sale, in order to gain the means of meeting this cruel demand, Dharma (Righteousness) appears in the form of a hideous and offensive Chaṇḍāla, and agrees to buy him at his own price, large or small. Hariśchandra declines such a degrading servitude, and declares that he would rather be consumed by the fire of his persecutor's curse than submit to such a fate. Viśvāmitra however again comes on the scene, asks why he does not accept the large sum offered by the Chaṇḍāla; and, when he pleads in excuse his descent from the solar race, threatens to fulminate a curse against him if he does not accept that method of meeting his liability. Hariśchandra, implores that he may be spared this extreme of degradation, and offers to become Viśvāmitra's slave in payment of the residue of his debt; whereupon the sage rejoins, "If thou art my slave, then I sell thee as such to the Chaṇḍāla for a hundred millions of money" (i. 8, 95. *Yadi preshyo mama bhavān chaṇḍālāya tato mayā* | *dāsa-bhāvam anuprāpto datto vittārbudena vai* |). The Chaṇḍāla, delighted, pays down the money, and carries off Hariśchandra, bound, beaten, confused, and afflicted, to his own place of abode. Morning, noon, and evening the unfortunate prince repeats these words: i. 8, 99. *Bālā dīna-mukhī dṛishṭvā bālañ dīna-mukham puraḥ* | *māñ smaraty asukhāvishṭā "mochayishyati nau nṛipaḥ* | 100. *Upātta-vitto*

viprāya dattvā vittam ato 'dhikam" | *na sā mām mṛiga-śāvākshī vetti pāpataraṁ kṛitam* | 101. *Rājya-nāśaḥ suhṛit-tyāgo bhāryyā-tanaya-vikrayaḥ* | *prāptā chaṇḍālatā cheyam aho duḥkha-paramparā* | "My tender wife, dejected, looking upon my dejected boy, calls me to mind while she says, 'The king will ransom us (100) after he has gained money, and paid the Brāhman a larger sum than he gave for us.' But my fawn-eyed spouse is ignorant that I have become yet more wretched than before. 101. Loss of my kingdom, abandonment of friends, sale of my wife and son, and this fall into the condition of a Chaṇḍāla,—what a succession of miseries!" Hariśchandra is sent by the Chaṇḍāla to steal grave-clothes in a cemetery (which is described at tedious length, with all its horrors and repulsive features), and is told that he will receive two-sixths of the value for his hire; three-sixths going to his master, and one-sixth to the king. In this horrid spot, and in this degrading occupation, he spent, in great misery, twelve months, which seemed to him like a hundred years (i. 8, 127. *Evaṁ dvādaśa-māsās tu nītāḥ śata-samopamāḥ*). He then falls asleep and has a series of dreams suggested by the life he had been leading (*śmaśānābhyāsa-yogena*, verse 129). After he awoke, his wife came to the cemetery to perform the obsequies of their son, who had died from the bite of a serpent (verses 171 ff.). At first the husband and wife did not recognize each other, from the change in appearance which had been wrought upon them both by their miseries. Hariśchandra, however, soon discovers from the tenor of her lamentations that it is his wife, and falls into a swoon; as the queen does also when she recognizes her husband. When consciousness returns, they both break out into lamentations, the father bewailing in a touching strain the loss of his son, and the wife the degradation of the king. She then falls on his neck, embraces him, and asks "whether all this is a dream, or a reality, as she is utterly bewildered;" and adds, that "if it be a reality, then righteousness is unavailing to those who practise it" (verse 210. *Rājan svapno 'tha tathyaṁ vā yad etad manyate bhavān* | *tat kathyatām mahābhāga mano vai muhyate mama* | 211. *Yady etad evaṁ dharmajna nāsti dharmę sahāyatā* |). After hesitating to devote himself to death on his son's funeral pyre without receiving his master's leave, (as such an act of insubordination might send him to hell) (verses 215 ff.), Hariśchandra resolves to do so, braving all the consequences, and consoling himself with the hopeful

anticipation: verse 224. *Yadi dattaṁ yadi hutaṁ guravo yadi toshitāḥ | paratra sangamo bhūyāt puttreṇa saha cha tvayā* | "If I have given gifts, and offered sacrifices, and gratified my religious teachers, then may I be reunited with my son and with thee (my wife) in another world."[180] The queen determines to die in the same manner. When Hariśchandra, after placing his son's body on the funeral pile, is meditating on the lord Hari Nārāyaṇa Kṛishṇa, the supreme spirit, all the gods arrive, headed by Dharma (Righteousness), and accompanied by Viśvāmitra.[181] Dharma entreats the king to desist from his rash in-

[180] In the following verses of the Atharva-veda a hope is expressed that families may be re-united in the next world: vi. 120, 3. *Yattra suhārddaḥ suhṛido madanti vihāya rogaṁ tanvaḥ svāyāḥ | aśloṇāḥ angair ahrutāḥ svarge tattra paśyema pitarau cha putrān* | "In heaven, where our friends, and intimates live in blessedness, having left behind them the infirmities of their bodies, free from lameness or distortion of limb,—may we behold our parents and our children." ix. 5, 27. *Yā pūrvam patiṁ vittvā athānyaṁ vindate 'param | panchaudanaṁ cha tāv ajaṁ dadāto na vi yoshataḥ* | 28. *Samānaloko bhavati punarbhuvā 'paraḥ patiḥ | yo 'jam panchaudanaṁ dakshiṇājyotishaṁ dadāti* | "When a woman has had one husband before, and takes another, if they present the *aja panchaudana* offering they shall not be separated. 28. A second husband dwells in the same (future) world with his re-wedded wife, if he offers the *aja panchaudana*, illuminated by presents." xii. 3, 17. *Svargaṁ lokam abhi no nayāsi saṁ jāyayā saha puttraiḥ syāma* | "Mayest thou conduct us to heaven; may we be with our wives and children." xviii. 3, 23. *Svān gachhatu te mano adha pitṝn upa drava* | "May thy soul go to its own (its kindred) and hasten to the fathers." From the texts cited by Mr. Colebrooke "on the duties of a faithful Hindu widow," (Misc. Ess. 115 ff.) it appears that the widow who becomes a satī (*i.e.* burns herself with her husband's corpse, or, in certain cases, afterwards) has the promise of rejoining her lord in another life, and enjoying celestial felicity in his society. In order to ensure such a result in all cases it was necessary either that both husband and wife should have by their lives merited equal rewards in another existence, or that the heroism of the wife, in sacrificing herself on her husband's funeral-pile should have the vicarious effect of expiating his offences, and raising him to the same heavenly region with herself. And it is indeed the doctrine of the authorities cited by Mr. Colebrooke that the self-immolation of the wife had this atoning effect. But in other cases where the different members of a family had by their actions during life merited different kinds of retribution, they might, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls current in later ages, be re-born in the shape of different animals, and so rendered incapable of any mutual communication after death. In regard to the absence of any traces of the tenet of metempsychosis from the earliest Indian writings, see Professor Weber's remarks in the Journ. of the Germ. Or. Soc. ix. 327 ff. and the abstract of them given in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, pp. 305 ff.

[181] An attempt is here made, verses 234 f., to give the etymology of Viśvāmitra: *Viśva-trayeṇa yo mitram karttuṁ na śakitāḥ purā | Viśvāmitras tu te māittrīm ishṭaṁ chāharttum ichhati* | "That Viśvāmitra, whom the three Viśvas formerly could not induce to be their friend, wishes to offer thee his friendship, and whatsoever thou desirest."

tention; and Indra announces to him that he, his wife, and son have conquered heaven by their good works. Ambrosia, the antidote of death, and flowers, are rained by the god from the sky; and the king's son is restored to life and the bloom of youth. The king, adorned with celestial clothing and garlands, and the queen, embrace their son. Harischandra, however, declares that he cannot go to heaven till he has received his master the Chaṇḍāla's permission, and has paid him a ransom. Dharma then reveals to the king that it was he himself who had miraculously assumed the form of a Chaṇḍāla. The king next objects that he cannot depart unless his faithful subjects, who are sharers in his merits, are allowed to accompany him to heaven, at least for one day. This request is granted by Indra; and after Visvāmitra has inaugurated Rohitāśva the king's son to be his successor, Hariśchandra, his friends and followers, all ascend in company to heaven. Even after this great consummation, however, Vaśishṭha, the family-priest of Harischandra, hearing, at the end of a twelve years' abode in the waters of the Ganges, an account of all that has occurred, becomes vehemently incensed at the humiliation inflicted on the excellent monarch, whose virtues and devotion to the gods and Brāhmans he celebrates, declares that his indignation had not been so greatly roused even when his own hundred sons had been slain by Viśvāmitra, and in the following words dooms the latter to be transformed into a crane: i. 9, 9. *Tasmād durātmā brahma-dviṭ prājnānām avaropitaḥ | mach-chhāpopahato mūḍhaḥ sa vakatvam avāpsyati* | "Wherefore that wicked man, enemy of the Brāhmans, smitten by my curse, shall be expelled from the society of intelligent beings, and losing his understanding shall be transformed into a Vaka." Visvāmitra reciprocates the curse, and changes Vasishṭha into a bird of the species called Āṛi. In their new shapes the two have a furious fight,[182] the Āṛi being of the portentous height of two thousand yojanas (= 18000 miles), and the Vaka of 3090 yojanas. They first assail each other with their wings; then the Vaka smites his antagonist in the same manner, while the Āṛi strikes with his talons. Falling mountains, overturned by the blasts of wind raised by the

[182] On the subject of this fight the Bhāgavata Purāna has the following verse: ix. 7, 6. *Traiśankavo Hariśchandro Viśvāmitra-Vaśishṭhayoḥ | yan-nimittam abhūd yuddham pakshiṇor bahu-vārshikam* | "The son of Triśanku was Hariśchandra, on whose account Visvāmitra and Vaśishṭha in the form of birds had a battle of many

flapping of their wings, shake the whole earth, the waters of the ocean overflow, the earth itself, thrown off its perpendicular, slopes downwards towards Pātāla, the lower regions. Many creatures perish by these various convulsions. Attracted by the dire disorder, Brahmā arrives, attended by all the gods, on the spot, and commands the combatants to desist from their fray. They were too fiercely infuriated to regard this injunction: but Brahmā put an end to the conflict by restoring them to their natural forms, and counselling them to be reconciled: i. 9, 28. *Na chāpi Kauśika-śreshṭhas tasya rājno 'parādhyate | svarga-prāptikaro brahmann upakāra-pade sthitaḥ | 29. Tapo-vighnasya karttārau kāma-krodha-vaśaṁ gatau | parityajata bhadraṁ no brahma hi prachuram balam |* 'The son of Kuśika has not inflicted any wrong on Hariśchandra: inasmuch as he has caused the king's elevation to heaven he stands in the position of a benefactor. 29. Since ye have yielded to the influence of desire and anger ye have obstructed your austere fervour; leave off, bless you; the Brahmanical power is transcendent.' The sages were accordingly pacified, and embraced each other."

This interesting legend may be held to have had a double object, viz. first to portray in lively colours the heroic fortitude and sense of duty exhibited by Hariśchandra and his wife in enduring the long series of severe trials to which they were subjected; and secondly, to represent Viśvāmitra in an unamiable light, as an oppressive assertor of those sacerdotal prerogatives, which he had conquered for himself by his austerities,[183] to place him in striking contrast with the genuine Brāhman Vaśishṭha who expresses strong indignation at the harsh procedure of his rival, and to recall the memory of those conflicts between

years duration." On this the Commentator remarks: *Viśvāmitro rājasūya-dakshiṇā-chhalena Hariśchandrasya sarva-svam apahṛitya yātayāmāsa | tach chhrutvā kupito Vaśishṭho 'pi Viśvāmitraṁ "tvam āṛī bhava" iti śaśāpa | so 'pi "tvaṁ vako bhava" iti Vaśishṭham śaśāpa | tayos cha yuddham abhūd iti prasiddam |* "Viśvāmitra under pretence of taking a present for a rajasūya sacrifice, stripped Hariśchandra of all his property, and afflicted him. Vaśishṭha hearing of this, became incensed, and by an imprecation turned him into an Āṛī. Viśvāmitra retorted the curse and changed Vaśishṭha into a Vāka. And then a battle took place between them, as is well known." Here it will be seen that the Commentator changes the birds into which the rishis were transformed, making Viśvāmitra the Āṛī and Vasishṭha the Vāka.

[183] It is true that the Brāhman rishi Durvāsas also is represented as a very irascible personage. See vol. iv. of this work, pp. 165, 169, 208, 407; and Weber's Ind. St. iii. 398.

the Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, which were exemplified in the persons of these two sages, of whom the one is said to have been made the "lord of Brāhmans" (*Vaśishṭham īśaṁ viprāṇām*, M.Bh. Sāntip. v. 4499), and the other is declared in the story before us to have been the "enemy of the priests."

Sect. X.—*Contest of Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra according to the Mahābhārata.*

In the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 6638 ff., we find another legend, in the Brahmanical interest, regarding the same two great personages, which begins with a panegyric on Vaśishṭha, at the expense of the rival rishi:

6638. *Brahmaṇo mānasaḥ putro Vaśishṭho 'rundhatī-patiḥ | tāpasā nirjitau śaśvad ajeyāv amarair api | kāma-krodhāv ubhau yasya charaṇau saṁvavāhatuḥ | yas tu nochchhedanaṁ chakre Kuśikānām udāra-dhīḥ | Viśvāmitrāparādhena dhārayan manyum uttamam |* 6640. *Putra-vyasana-santaptaḥ śaktimān apy aśakta-vat | Viśvāmitra-vināśāya na chakre karma dāruṇam | mṛitāṁś cha punar āharttum yaḥ sa putrān Yama-kshayāt | kṛitāntaṁ nātichakrāma velām iva mahodadhiḥ | yam prāpya vijitātmānam mahātmānaṁ narādhipāḥ | Ikshvākavo mahīpālāḥ lebhire pṛithivīm imām | purohitam imam prāpya Vaśishṭham ṛishi-sattamam | ījire kratubhiś chaiva nṛipās te Kuru-nandana | sa hi tān yājayāmāsa sarvān nṛipati-sattamān | brahmarshiḥ Pāṇḍava-śreshṭha Vṛihaspatir ivāmarān |* 6645. *Tasmād dharma-pradhānātmā veda-dharma-vid īpsitaḥ | brāhmaṇo guṇavān kaśchit purodhāḥ paridṛiśyatām | kshattriyeṇābhijātena pṛithivīṁ jetum ichhatā | pūrvam purohitaḥ kāryyaḥ pārtha rājyābhisiddhaye | mahīm jigīshatā rājñā brahma kāryam purassaram |* . . . 6666. *Kshattriyo 'ham bhavān vipras tapaḥ-svādhyāya-sādhanaḥ | brāhmaṇeshu kuto vīryyam praśānteshu dhṛitātmasu | arbudena gavāṁ yas tvaṁ na dadāsi mamepsitam | sva-dharmaṁ na prahāsyāmi neshyāmi cha balena gām |* . . . . 6679. *"Sthīyatām" iti tach chhrutvā Vaśishṭhasya payasvinī | ūrddhvānchita-śiro-grīvā prababhau raudra-darśanā |* 6680. *Krodha-raktekshaṇā sā gaur hambhā-rava-ghana-svanā | Viśvāmitrasya tat sainyaṁ vyadrāvayata sarvaśaḥ | kaśāgra-daṇḍābhihatā kālyamānā tatastataḥ | krodha-raktekshaṇā krodham bhūya eva samādadhe | āditya iva madhyāhne krodha-dīpta-vapur babhau | angāra-varsham munchantī muhur bāladhito*

mahat | asṛijat Pahlavān puchhāt prasravād Drāviḍān Śakān | yonideśāch cha Yavanān śakṛitaḥ Śavarān bahūn | . . . . 6691. *Dṛishṭvā tad mahad āścharyam brahma-tejo-bhavam tadā | Viśvāmitraḥ kshattra-bhāvād nirviṇṇo vākyam abravīt | "dhig balaṁ kshattriya-balam brahma-tejo-balam balam | balābalaṁ viniśchitya tapaḥ eva param balam" | sa rājyaṁ sphītam utsṛijya tāṁ cha dīptāṁ nṛipa-śriyam | bhogāṁś cha pṛishṭhataḥ kṛitvā tapasy eva mano dadhe | sa gatvā tapasā siddhiṁ lokān vishṭabhya tejasā |* 6695. *Tatāpa sarvān dīptaujāḥ brāhmaṇatvam avāptavān | apibach cha tataḥ somam Indreṇa saha Kauśikaḥ |*

6638. "Vaśishṭha," a Gandharva informs Arjuna, "was the mind-born son of Brahmā and husband of Arundhatī.[184] By his austere fervour, lust and anger, invincible even by the immortals, were constantly vanquished and embraced his feet. Restraining his indignation at the wrong done by Viśvāmitra, he magnanimously abstained from exterminating the Kuśikas.[185] 6640. Distressed by the loss of his sons, he acted, although powerful, like one who was powerless, and took no

[184] Arundhatī is again mentioned as the wife of Vasishṭha, in the following lines of the M. Bh. Ādip. 7351 f. addressed to Draupadī: *Yathendrāṇī Harihaye Svāhā chaiva Vibhāvasau | Rohiṇī cha yathā Some Damayantī yathā Nale | yathā Vaiśravaṇe Bhadrā Vaśishṭhe chāpy Arundhatī | yathā Nārāyaṇe Lakshmīs tathā tvam bhava bharttṛishu |* "What Indrāṇī is to Indra, Svāhā to the Sun, Rohiṇī to the Moon, Damayantī to Nala, Bhadrā to Kuvera, Arundhatī to Vaśishṭha, and Lakshmī to Nārāyaṇa, that be thou to thy husbands." She is again noticed in verses 8455 ff.: *Suvratā chāpi kalyāṇī sarva-bhūteshu viśrutā | Arundhatī mahātmānaṁ Vaśishṭham paryaśankata | viśuddha-bhāvam atyantaṁ sadā priya-hite ratam | saptarshi-madhya-gaṁ vīram avamene cha tam munim | apadhyānena sā tena dhūmāruṇa-sama-prabhā | lakshyā 'lakshyā nābhirūpā nimittam iva paśyati |* "The faithful and beautiful Arundhatī, renowned among all creatures, was suspicious about the great Vaśishṭha, whose nature was eminently pure, who was devoted to the welfare of those he loved, who was one of the seven rishis, and heroic; and she despised the muni. In consequence of these evil surmises, becoming of the dusky colour of smoke, both to be seen and not to be seen, devoid of beauty, she looks like a (bad) omen." This version of the last line is suggested by Prof. Aufrecht. The Commentator explains it thus: "*Nimittam" bharttur lakshmaṇām "iva paśyati" kapaṭena | ataḥ eva "nābhirūpā prachhanna-veshā | tena hetunā "lakshyā 'lakshyā cha"* | "'She regards as it were' *i.e.* by guile 'the omen' afforded by her husband's (bodily) marks, hence she assumed a disguise, and was 'both to be seen and not to be seen.'"

[185] As regards the magnanimous character here assigned to Vasishṭha, I quote a passage from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 9, 15 ff., where the irascible Durvāsas (to whom I lately referred, and who is said, in verse 2, to be a partial incarnation of Śiva, *Śankarasyāṁśaḥ*), addressing Indra, who, he conceived, had insulted him, thus speaks of that sage's amiable temper, as contrasted with his own fierce and revengeful disposition: 15. *Nāhaṁ kṛipālu-hṛidayo na cha mām bhajate kshamā | anye te mun-*

dreadful measures for the destruction of Viśvāmitra. To recover those sons from the abode of Yama, he would not overstep fate, as the ocean respects its shores. Having gained this great self-mastering personage, the kings of Ikshvāku's race acquired (the dominion of) this earth. Obtaining this most excellent of rishis for their family-priest, they offered sacrifices. This Brāhman-rishi officiated as priest for all those monarchs, as Vṛihaspati does for the gods. 6645. Wherefore let some desirable, virtuous Brāhman, with whom righteousness is the chief thing, and skilled in Vedic observances, be selected for this office. Let a well-born Kshattriya, who wishes to subdue the earth, first of all appoint a family-priest in order that he may augment his dominion. Let a king, who desires to conquer the earth, give precedence to the Brahmanical power." The Gandharva then, at Arjuna's request, goes on (verses 6650 ff.) to relate the "ancient story of Vaśishṭha" (*vāśishṭham ākhyānam purāṇam*) and to describe the cause of enmity between that rishi and Viśvāmitra. It happened that the latter, who was son of Gādhi, king of Kānyakubja (Kanouj), and grandson of Kuśika, when out hunting, came to the hermitage of Vaśishṭha, where he was received with all honour, entertained together with his attendants with delicious food and drink, and presented with precious jewels and dresses obtained by the sage from his wonder-working cow, the fulfiller of all his desires. The cupidity of Viśvāmitra is aroused by the sight of this beautiful animal (all of whose fine points are enumerated in the legend), and he offers Vaśishṭha a hundred million cows, or his kingdom, in exchange for her. Vaśishṭha, however, replies that he is unable to part with her even in return for the kingdom. Viśvāmitra then tells him that he will enforce the law of the stronger: 6665. "I am a Kshattriya, thou art a Brāhman, whose functions are austere fervour, and sacred study. How can there be any vigour in Brāhmans who are calm and self-restrained? Since thou doest not give up to me, in exchange for a

ayaḥ S'akra Durvāsasam avehi mām | Gautamādibhir anyais tvaṁ garvam āpādito mudhā | akshānti-sāra-sarvasvaṁ Durvāsasam avehi mām | 17. Vasishṭhādyair dayā-sāraiḥ stotraṁ kurvadbhir uchchakaiḥ | garvaṁ gato 'si yenaivam mām athādyāva-manyase | 15. "I am not tender-hearted: patience lodges not in me. Those munis are different: know me to be Durvāsas. 16. In vain hast thou been rendered proud by Gautama and others: know me to be Durvāsas, whose nature and whose entire substance is irascibility. 17. Thou hast become proud through the loud praises of Vasishṭha and other merciful saints, since thou thus contemnest me to-day."

hundred million of cows, that which I desire, I shall not abandon my own class-characteristic; I will carry away the cow by force." Vaśishṭha, confident, no doubt, of his own superior power, tells him to do as he proposes without loss of time. Viśvāmitra accordingly seizes the wonder-working cow; but she will not move from the hermitage, though beaten with whip and stick, and pushed hither and thither. Witnessing this, Vaśishṭha asks her what he, a patient Brāhman, can do? She demands of him why he overlooks the violence to which she is subjected. Vaśishṭha replies: "Force is the strength of Kshattriyas, patience that of Brāhmans. As patience possesses me, go, if thou pleasest" (6676. *Kshattriyāṇām balaṁ tejo brāhmaṇānāṁ kshamā balam | kshamā mām bhajate yasmāt gamyatāṁ yadi rochate*). The cow enquires if he means to abandon her; as, unless he forsakes her, she can never be carried off by force. She is assured by Vaśishṭha that he does not forsake her, and that she should remain if she could. "Hearing these words of her master, the cow tosses her head aloft, assumes a terrific aspect, (6680) her eyes become red with rage, she utters a deep bellowing sound, and puts to flight the entire army of Viśvāmitra. Being (again) beaten with whip and stick, and pushed hither and thither, she becomes more incensed, her eyes are red with anger, her whole body, kindled by her indignation, glows like the noonday sun, she discharges showers of firebrands from her tail, creates Pahlavas from the same member, Drāviḍas and Śakas, Yavanas, Śabaras," Kāñchis, Śarabhas, Pauṇḍras, Kirātas, Sinhalas, Vaśas, and other tribes of armed warriors from her sweat, urine, excrement, etc., who assail Viśvāmitra's army, and put it to a complete rout. 6692. "Beholding this great miracle, the product of Brahmanical might, Viśvāmitra was humbled at (the impotence of) a Kshattriya's nature, and exclaimed, 'Shame on a Kshattriya's force; it is the force of a Brāhman's might that is force indeed.' Examining what was and was not force, and (ascertaining) that austere fervour is the supreme force, he abandoned his prosperous kingdom and all its brilliant regal splendour; and casting all enjoyments behind its back, he devoted himself to austerity. Having by this means attained perfection, and Brāhmanhood, he arrested the worlds by his fiery vigour, and disturbed them all by the blaze of his glory; and at length the Kauśika drank soma with Indra." [186]

[186] See above, p. 342, and note 134.

The same legend is repeated in the Śalyaparvan, verses 2295 ff.:

Tathā cha Kauśikas tāta tapo-nityo jitendriyaḥ | tapasā vai sutaptena brāhmaṇatvam avāptavān | Gādhir nāma mahān āsīt kshattriyaḥ prathito bhuvi | tasya puttro 'bhavad rājan Viśvāmitraḥ pratāpavān | sa rājā Kauśikas tāta mahāyogy abhavat kila | sa puttram abhishichyātha Viśvāmitram mahātapāḥ | deha-nyāse manaś chakre tam ūchuḥ praṇatāḥ prajāḥ | "na gantavyam mahāprājna trāhi chāsmān mahābhayāt" | evam uktaḥ pratyuvācha tato Gādhiḥ prajās tataḥ | "viśvasya jagato goptā bhavishyati suto mama" | 2300. Ity uktvā tu tato Gādhir Viśvāmitraṁ niveśya cha | jagāma tridivaṁ rājan Viśvāmitro 'bhavad nṛipaḥ | na sa śaknoti pṛithivīṁ yatnavān api rakshitum | tataḥ śuśrāva rājā sa rākshasebhyo mahābhayam | niryayau nagarāch chāpi chatur-anga-balānvitaḥ | sa yātvā dūram adhvānam Vaśishṭhāśramam abhyagāt | tasya te sainikāḥ rājaṁs chakrus tattrālayān bahūn | tatas tu bhagavān vipro Vaśishṭho Brahmaṇaḥ sutaḥ | dadṛiśe 'tha tataḥ sarvam bhajyamānam mahāvanam | tasya kruddho mahārāja Vaśishṭho muni-sattamaḥ | 2305. "Sṛijasva Savarān ghorān" iti svāṁ gām uvācha ha | tathoktā sā 'sṛijad dhenuḥ purushān ghora-darśanān | te cha tad balam āsādya babhanjuḥ sarvato diśam | tach chhrutvā vidrutaṁ sainyaṁ Viśvāmitras tu Gādhijaḥ | tapaḥ param manyamānas tapasy eva mano dadhe | so 'smiṁs tīrtha-vare rājan Sarasvatyāḥ samāhitaḥ | niyamaiś chopavāsaiś cha karshayan deham ātmanaḥ | jalāhāro vāyubhakshaḥ parṇāhāraś cha so 'bhavat | tathā sthaṇḍila-śāyī cha ye chānye niyamāḥ pṛithak | asakṛit tasya devās tu vratavighnam prachakrire | 2310. Na chāsya niyamād buddhir apayāti mahātmanaḥ | tataḥ pareṇa yatnena taptvā bahu-vidhaṁ tapaḥ | tejasā bhāskarākāro Gādhijaḥ samapadyata | tapasā tu tathā yuktaṁ Viśvāmitram Pitāmahaḥ | amanyata mahātejāḥ vara-do varam asya tat | sa tu vavre varaṁ rājan "syām aham brāhmaṇas tv" iti | tatheti chābravīd Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | sa labdhvā tapasogreṇa brāhmaṇatvam mahāyaśāḥ | vichachāra malīṁ kṛitsnāṁ kṛitakāmaḥ suropamaḥ |

"2295. So too the Kauśika, constant in austerities, and subduing his senses, acquired Brāhmanhood by the severity of his exercises. There was a great Kshattriya named Gādhi, renowned in the world, whose son was the powerful Viśvāmitra. This Kauśika prince (Gādhi) was greatly addicted to contemplation (*mahāyogī*): and after having installed his son as king, he resolved to abandon his corporeal existence. His subjects, however, submissively said to him, 'Do not go, o great sage, but deliver

us from our great alarm.' He replied, 'My son shall become the protector of the whole world.' 2300. Having accordingly installed Viśvāmitra, Gādhi went to heaven, and his son became king. Viśvāmitra, however, though energetic, was unable to protect the earth. He then heard that there was great cause of apprehension from the Rākshasas, and issued forth from the city, with an army consisting of four kinds of forces. Having performed a long journey, he arrived at the hermitage of Vaśishṭha. There his soldiers constructed many dwellings. In consequence the divine Brāhman Vaśishṭha, son of Brahmā, beheld the whole forest being cut up; and becoming enraged, he said to his cow, (2305) 'Create terrible Savaras.' The cow, so addressed, created men of dreadful aspect, who broke and scattered in all directions the army of Viśvāmitra. Hearing of this rout of his army, the son of Gādhi devoted himself to austerities, which he regarded as the highest (resource). In this sacred spot on the Sarasvatī he macerated his body with acts of self-restraint and fastings, absorbed in contemplation, and living on water, air, and leaves, sleeping on the sacrificial ground, and practising all the other rites. Several times the gods threw impediments in his way; (2310) but his attention was never distracted from his observances. Having thus with strenuous effort undergone manifold austerities, the son of Gādhi became luminous as the sun; and Brahmā regarded his achievements as most eminent. The boon which Viśvāmitra chose was to become a Brāhman; and Brahmā replied, 'So be it.' Having attained Brāhmanhood, the object of his desire, by his severe austerities, the renowned sage traversed the whole earth, like a god."

We have already seen how the power of austere fervour (*tapas*) is exemplified in the legend of Nahusha (above, pp. 308 ff.). In regard to the sense of this word *tapas*, and the potency of the exercise which it denotes, I may refer to my articles in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, p. 348 f., and for 1864, p. 63, as well as to the fourth volume of this work, pp. 20 ff. and 288; and to pp. 23 and 28 of the present volume. In further illustration of the same subject I quote the following panegyric upon *tapas* from Manu, xi. 234 ff. where, however, the word cannot have the same sense in all the verses:

Tapo-mūlam idaṁ sarvaṁ daiva-mānushakaṁ sukham | tapo-madhyam budhaiḥ proktaṁ tapo 'ntaṁ veda-darśibhiḥ | 235. Brāhmaṇasya tapo jñānaṁ tapaḥ kshattrasya rakshaṇam | vaiśyasya tu tapo vārttā tapaḥ śūdra-

sya sevanam | 236. *Ṛishayaḥ saṁyatātmānaḥ phala-mūlānilāśanāḥ* | *tapasaiva prapaśyanti trailokyaṁ sa-charācharam* | 237. *Aushadhāny agado vidyā daivī cha vividhā sthitiḥ* | *tapasaiva prasiddhyanti tapas teshāṁ hi sādhanam* | 238. *Yad dustaraṁ yad durāpaṁ yad durgaṁ yach cha dushkaram* | *sarvaṁ tu tapasā sādhyaṁ tapo hi duratikramam* | 239. *Mahāpātakinaś chaiva śeshāś chākāryya-kāriṇaḥ* | *tapasaiva sutaptena muchyante kilvishāt tataḥ* | 240. *Kīṭāś chāhi-patangāś cha paśavaś cha vayāṁsi cha* | *sthāvarāṇi cha bhūtāni divaṁ yānti tapo-balāt* | 241. *Yat kinchid enaḥ kurvanti mano-vāṅ-mūrttibhir janāḥ* | *tat sarvaṁ nirdahanty āśu tapasaiva tapodhanāḥ* | 242. *Tapasaiva viśuddhasya brāhmaṇasya divaukasaḥ* | *ijyāś cha pratigṛihṇanti kāmān saṁvarddhayanti cha* | 243. *Prajāpatir idaṁ śāstraṁ tapasaivāsṛijat prabhuḥ* | *tathaiva vedān ṛishayas tapasā pratipedire* | 244. *Ity etat tapaso devāḥ mahābhāgyam prachakshate* | *sarvasyāsya prapaśyantas tapasaḥ puṇyam uttamam* |

"234. All the enjoyment, whether of gods or men, has its root, its centre, and its end in *tapas;* so it is declared by the wise who have studied the Veda. 235. Knowledge is a Brāhman's *tapas;* protection that of a Kshattriya; traffic that of Vaiśya; and service that of a Śūdra. 236. It is by *tapas* that rishis of subdued souls, subsisting on fruits, roots, and air obtain a vision of the three worlds with all things moving and stationary. 237. Medicines, health, science, and the various divine conditions are attained by *tapas* alone as their instrument of acquisition. 238. Whatever is hard to be traversed, or obtained, or reached, or effected, is all to be accomplished through *tapas*, of which the potency is irresistible. 239. Both those who are guilty of the great sins, and all other transgressors, are freed from sin by fervid *tapas*. 240. Worms, serpents, insects, beasts, birds, and beings without motion attain to heaven through the force of *tapas*. 241. Whatever sin men commit by thought, word, or bodily acts, by *tapas* they speedily consume it all, when they become rich in devotion. 242. The gods both accept the sacrifices and augment the enjoyments of the Brāhman who has been purified by *tapas*. 243. It was by *tapas* that Prajāpati the lord created this scripture; and through it that the rishis obtained the Vedas. 244. Such is the great dignity which the gods ascribe to *tapas*, beholding its transcendent merit."

I return for a moment to the story of Vasishṭha and his cow.

Lassen remarks (Ind. Alt. 2nd ed. i. 631, note) that Atharvan is given

in the Lexicons as a name of Vasishṭha (see Wilson's Dictionry, *s.v.*). Weber (Ind. St. i. 289) quotes from Mallinātha's Commentary on the the Kirātārjunīya the following words: *Atharvaṇas tu mantroddhāro Vaśishṭhena kṛitaḥ ity āgamaḥ* | "There is a passage of scripture to the effect that the mantras of the Atharvan were selected by Vasishṭha." In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* Atharvan, it is noticed that the eleventh hymn of the fifth book of the Atharva-veda contains a conversation between Atharvan and Varuṇa about the possession of a wonderful cow bestowed by the latter on the former; and it is remarked that this circumstance may explain the subsequent identification of Atharvan with Vasishṭha. Prof. Roth, however (Diss. on the A.V., Tübingen, 1865, p. 9), thinks the two sages are distinct. The cow is spoken of in A.V. vii. 104, as the "brindled cow given by Varuṇa to Atharvan which never lacked a calf" (*pṛiśniṁ dhenuṁ Varuṇena dattām Atharvaṇe nitya-vatsām*). The following is the curious hymn referred to:

A.V. v. 11, 1. *Katham mahe asurāya abravīr iha katham pitre haraye tvesha-nṛimraḥ* | *pṛiśniṁ Varuṇa dakshiṇāṁ dadāvān punarmaghatvam*[187] *manasā 'chikitsīḥ* | 2. *Na kāmena punarmagho bhavāmi saṁ chakshe kam pṛiśnim etām upāje* | *kena nu tvam Atharvan kāvyena kena jātena asi jāta-vedāḥ* | 3. *Satyam ahaṁ gabhīraḥ kāvyena satyaṁ jātena asmi jāta-vedāḥ* | *na me dāso na āryyo mahitvā vratam mīmāya yad ahaṁ dharishye* | 4. *Na tvad anyaḥ kavitaro na medhayā dhīrataro Varuṇa svadhāvan* | *tvaṁ tā viśvā bhuvanāni vettha sa chid nu tvaj jano māyī bibhāya* | 5. *Tvaṁ hi anga Varuṇa svadhāvan viśvā vettha janimā suprayīte* | *kiṁ rajasaḥ enā paro anyad asti enā kim pareṇa avaram amūra* | 6. *Ekaṁ rajasaḥ enā paro anyad asti enā paraḥ ekena durṇaśaṁ chid arvāk* | *tat te vidvān Varuṇa pra bravīmi adhovarchasaḥ paṇayo bhavantu* | *nīchair dāsāḥ upa sarpantu bhūmim* | 7. *Tvaṁ hi anga Varuṇa bravīshi punarmagheshu avadyāni bhūri* | *mo shu paṇīr abhi etāvato bhūr mā tvā vochann arādhasaṁ janāsaḥ* | 8. *Mā mā vochann arādhasaṁ janāsaḥ punas te pṛiśniṁ jaritar dadāmi* | *stotram me viśvam ā yāhi śachībhir antar viśvāsu mānushīshu vikshu* | 9. *Ā te stotrāṇi udyatāni yantu antar viśvāsu mānushīshu vikshu* | *dehi nu me yad me ādatto asi yujyo me sapta-padaḥ sakhā 'si* | 10. *Samāno bandhur Varuṇa samā jā vedāhaṁ tad yad nāv eshā samā jā* | *dadāmi tad yat te ādatto asmi yujyas*

[187] This is the reading proposed by Professor Aufrecht instead of *punarmagha tvam*, which is found in Roth and Whitney's edition of the A.V.

te sapta-padaḥ sakhā 'smi | 11. *Devo devāya gṛṇate vayodāḥ vipro viprāya stuvate sumedhāḥ* | *ajījano hi Varuṇa svadhāvann Atharvāṇam pitaraṁ deva-bandhum* | *tasmai u rādhaḥ kṛṇuhi suprāśastaṁ sakhā no asi paramaś cha bandhuḥ* |

1. (Atharvan speaks) "How hast thou, who art mighty in energy, declared before the great deity, how before the shining father (that the cow was mine)? [188] Having bestowed a brindled cow (on me) as a sacrificial gift, thou hast resolved in thy mind to take her back. 2. (Varuṇa replies) It is not through desire that I revoke the gift; I drive hither this brindled cow that I may contemplate her. But by what wisdom, o Atharvan, in virtue of what nature, doest thou know the nature of beings? 3. (Atharvan answers) In truth I am profound in wisdom; in truth by my nature I know the nature of beings. Neither Dāsa nor Āryya can hinder the design which I shall undertake. 4. There is none other wiser or sager in understanding than thou, o self-dependent Varuṇa. Thou knowest all creatures; even the man of deep devices is afraid of thee. 5. Thou, o self-dependent Varuṇa, o wise director, knowest all creatures. What other thing is beyond this atmosphere? and what is nearer than that remotest thing, o thou unerring? 6. (Varuṇa replies) There is one thing beyond this atmosphere; and on this side of that one there is that which is near though inaccessible. Knowing that thing I declare it to thee. Let the glory of the niggards be cast down; let the Dāsas sink downward into the earth. 7. (Atharvan rejoins) Thou, o Varuṇa, sayest many evil things of those who revoke their gifts. Be not thou numbered among so many niggards; let not men call thee illiberal. 8. (Varuṇa replies) Let not men call me illiberal; I restore to thee, o worshipper, the brindled cow. Attend with all thy powers at every hymn in my honour among all the tribes of men. 9. (Atharvan answers) Let hymns ascend to thee among all the tribes of men. Give me that which thou hast taken from me; thou art to me an intimate friend of seven-fold value. 10. We two have a common bond, o Varuṇa, a common descent. I know what this common descent of ours is. (Varuṇa answers) I give thee that which I

[188] Professor Aufrecht thinks that *Dyaus*, 'the Heaven,' is denoted by *mahe asurāya*, and that *pitre haraye*, if the correct reading, can only mean the Sun, the word *hari* being several times applied to that great luminary. I am otherwise indebted to Prof. A. for the correct sense of this line, and for other suggestions.

have taken from thee. I am thy intimate friend of seven-fold value, who, myself a god, confer life on thee a god [or priest, *devāya*] who praisest me, an intelligent sage on thee a sage. (The poet says) Thou, o self-dependent Varuṇa, hast begotten our father Atharvan, a kinsman of the gods. Grant to him most excellent wealth; thou art our friend and most eminent kinsman."

Sect. XI.—*The same, and other legends, according to the Rāmāyaṇa.*

The story told in the preceding section is related at greater length in chapters 51–65[189] of the Bālakāṇḍa, or first book, of the Rāmāyaṇa, of which I shall furnish an outline, noting any important variations from, or aditions to, the account in the Mahābhārata, and at the same time giving an abstract of the other legends which are interwoven with the narrative. There was formerly, we are told, a king called Kuśa, son of Prajāpati, who had a son called Kuśanābha, who was father of Gādhi, the father of Viśvāmitra. The latter ruled the earth for many thousand years. On one occasion, when he was making a circuit of the earth, he came to Vaśishṭha's hermitage, the pleasant abode of many saints, sages, and holy devotees (chapter 51, verses 11–29), where, after at first declining, he allowed himself to be hospitably entertained with his followers by the son of Brahmā (ch. 52). Viśvāmitra (ch. 53), however, coveting the wondrous cow, which had supplied all the dainties of the feast, first of all asked that she should be given to him in exchange for a hundred thousand common cows, adding that "she was a gem, that gems were the property of the king, and that, therefore, the cow was his by right" (53, 9. *Ratnaṁ hi bhagavann etad ratna-hārī cha pārthivaḥ* | 10. *Tasmād me śabalāṁ dehi mamaishā dharmato dvija*). On this price being refused, the king advances immensely in his offers, but all without effect. He then proceeds (ch. 54)—very ungratefully and tyrannically, it must be allowed—to have the cow removed by force, but she breaks away from his attendants, and rushes back to her master, complaining that he was deserting her. He replies that he was not deserting her, but that the king was

[189] These are the sections of Schlegel's and the Bombay editions, which correspond to sections 52–67 of Gorresio's edition.

much more powerful than he. She answers, 54, 14: *Na balam kshattriyasyāhur brāhmaṇāḥ balavattarāḥ | brahman brahma-balaṁ divyaṁ kshāttrāch cha balabattaram | aprameyam balaṁ tubhyaṁ na tvayā balavattaraḥ | Viśvāmitro mahāvīryo tejas tava durāsadam | niyunkshva mām mahātejas tvam brahma-bala-sambhṛitām | tasya darpam balam yatnaṁ nāśayāmi durātmanaḥ |* "Men do not ascribe strength to a Kshattriya: the Brāhmans are stronger. The strength of Brāhmans is divine, and superior to that of Kshattriyas. 15. Thy strength is immeasurable. Viśvāmitra, though of great vigour, is not more powerful than thou. Thy energy is invincible. Commission me, who have been acquired by thy Brahmanical power, and I will destroy the pride, and force, and attempt of this wicked prince."[190] She accordingly by her bellowing creates hundreds of Pahlavas, who destroy the entire host (*nāśayanti balaṁ sarvam*, verse 19) of Viśvāmitra, but are slain by him in their turn. Sakas and Yavanas, of great power and valour, and well armed, were then produced, who consumed the king's soldiers,[191] but were routed by him. The cow then (ch. 55) calls into existence by her bellowing, and from different parts of her body, other warriors of various tribes, who again destroyed Viśvāmitra's entire army, foot soldiers, elephants, horses, chariots, and all. A hundred of the monarch's sons, armed with various weapons, then rushed in great fury on Vaśishṭha, but were all reduced to ashes in a moment by the blast of that sage's mouth.[192] Viśvāmitra, being thus utterly vanquished and humbled, appointed one of his sons to be regent, and travelled to the Himālaya, where he betook himself to austerities, and thereby obtained a vision of Mahādeva, who at his desire revealed to him the science of arms in all its branches, and gave him celestial weapons with which, elated and full of pride, he consumed the hermitage of Vaśishṭha, and put its inhabitants to flight. Vaśishṭha then threatens Viśvāmitra and

[190] Compare Manu, xi. 32: *Sva-vīryād rāja-vīryāch cha sva-vīryam balavattaram | tasmāt svenaiva vīryeṇa nigṛihṇīyād arīn dvijaḥ |* "Of the two, his own, and a king's might, let a Brāhman know that his own is superior. By his own might alone, therefore, let him restrain his enemies."

[191] We had been before told that they had been killed, so that this looks like a slaying of the slain, as no resuscitation of the army is alluded to.

[192] On this the Commentator remarks that "though these princes were Kshattriyas, they were not actual kings, and had acted tyrannically; so that a very slight expiation was required for killing them" (*kshattriyatve 'pi pṛithivī-patitvābhāvāt tad-badhe alpa-prāyaśchittam ātatāyitvāch cha |*).

uplifts his Brahmanical mace. Viśvāmitra, too, raises his fiery weapon and calls out to his adversary to stand. Vaśishṭha bids him to show his strength, and boasts that he will soon humble his pride. He asks: (56, 4) *Kva cha te kshattriya-balam kva cha brahma-balam mahat | paśya brahma-balaṁ divyam mama kshattriya-pāṁśana | tasyāstram Gādhiputrasya ghoram āgneyam udyatam | brahma-daṇḍena tach chhāntam agner vegaḥ ivāmbhasā |* "'What comparison is there between a Kshattriya's might, and the great might of a Brāhman? Behold, thou contemptible Kshattriya, my divine Brahmanical power.' The dreadful fiery weapon uplifted by the son of Gādhi was then quenched by the rod of the Brāhman, as fire is by water." Many and various other celestial missiles, as the nooses of Brahmā, Kāla (Time), and Varuṇa, the discus of Vishṇu, and the trident of Śiva, were hurled by Viśvāmitra at his antagonist, but the son of Brahmā swallowed them up in his all-devouring mace. Finally, to the intense consternation of all the gods, the warrior shot off the terrific weapon of Brāhmā (*brāhmāstra*); but this was equally ineffectual against the Brahmanical sage. Vaśishṭha had now assumed a direful appearance: (58, 18) *Roma-kūpeshu sarveshu Vaśishṭhasya mahātmanaḥ | marīchyaḥ iva nishpetur agner dhūmākulārchishaḥ | prājvalad brahma-daṇḍaś cha Vaśishṭhasya karodyataḥ | vidhūmaḥ iva kālāgnir Yama-daṇḍaḥ ivāparaḥ |* "Jets of fire mingled with smoke darted from the pores of his body; (19) the Brahmanical mace blazed in his hand like a smokeless[193] mundane conflagration, or a second sceptre of Yāma." Being appeased, however, by the munis, who proclaimed his superiority to his rival, the sage stayed his vengeance; and Viśvāmitra exclaimed with a groan: (56, 23) *Dhig balam kshattriya-balam brahma-tejo-balam balam | ekena brahma-daṇḍena sarvāstrāṇi hatāni me |* "'Shame on a Kshattriya's strength: the strength of a Brahman's might alone is strength: by the single Brahmanical mace all my weapons have been destroyed.'" No alternative now remains to the humiliated monarch, but either to acquiesce in this helpless inferiority, or to work out his own elevation to the Brahmanical order. He embraces the latter alternative: (56, 24) *Tad etat prasamīkshyāham prasannendriya-mānasaḥ | tapo mahat samāsthāsye yad vai brahmatva-kāraṇam |* "Having pondered well this defeat, I shall betake myself, with composed senses and mind,

[193] The Bombay edition has *vidhūmaḥ*. Schlegel's and Gorresio's editions have *sadhūmaḥ*, "enveloped in smoke."

to strenuous austere fervour, which shall exalt me to the rank of a Brāhman." Intensely vexed and mortified, groaning and full of hatred against his enemy, he travelled with his queen to the south, and carried his resolution into effect; (ch. 57) and we are first of all told that three sons Havishyanda, Madhusyanda, and Dṛiḍhanetra were born to him. At the end of a thousand years Brahmā appeared, and announced that he had conquered the heaven of royal sages (*rājārshis*); and, in consequence of his austere fervour, he was recognised as having attained that rank. Viśvāmitra, however, was ashamed, grieved, and incensed at the offer of so very inadequate a reward, and exclaimed: "'I have practised intense austerity, and the gods and ṛishis regard me only as a rājarshi![194] Austerities, it appears, are altogether fruitless'" (57, 5. *Jitāḥ rājarshi-lokās te tapasā Kuśikātmaja* | 6. *Anena tapasā tvaṁ hi rājarshir iti vidmahe* | . . . . 7. *Viśvāmitro 'pi tach chhrutvā hriyā kiṁchid avāṅ-mukhaḥ* | *duḥkhena mahatā "vishṭaḥ samanyur idam abravīt* | *tapaś cha sumahat taptaṁ rājarshir iti māṁ viduḥ* | *devāḥ sarshi-guṇāḥ sarve nāsti manye tapaḥ-phalam* |). Notwithstanding

[194] The Vishṇu Purāṇa, iii. 6, 21, says: "There are three kinds of rishis: Brăhmărshis, after them Dēvarshis, and after them Rājarshis" (*jneyāḥ brahmarshayaḥ pūrvaṁ tebhyo devarshayaḥ punaḥ* | *rājarshayaḥ punas tebhyaḥ ṛishi-prakṛitayas trayaḥ* |). Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. ṛishi*, mention also (on the authority of the vocabulary called Trikāṇḍaśesha) the words *măharshi* (great rishi), *părămarshi* (most eminent rishi), *śrutarshi* (secondary rishi), and *kāṇḍarshi*, who is explained *s.v.* to be a teacher of a particular portion (*kāṇḍa*) of the Veda. *Devarshis* are explained by Professor Wilson (V.P. iii. p. 68, paraphrasing the text of the Vishṇu Purāṇa), to be "sages who are demi-gods also;" *Brăhmărshis* to be "sages who are sons of Brahmā or Brahmans;" and *Rājarshis* to be "princes who have adopted a life of devotion." In a note he adds: "A similar enumeration is given in the Vāyu, with some additions: Rishi is derived from *ṛish*, 'to go to,' or 'approach;' the Brahmarshis, it is said, are descendants of the five patriarchs, who were the founders of races or gotras of Brahmans, or Kaśyapa, Vaśishṭha, Aṅgiras, Atri, and Bhṛigu; the Devarshis are Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the sons of Dharma; the Bālakhilyas, who sprang from Kratu; Kardama, the son of Pulaha; Kuvēra, the son of Pulastya; Achala, the son of Pratyūsha; Nārada and Parvata, the sons of Kaśyapa. Rājarshis are Ikshvāku and other princes. The Brahmarshis dwell in the sphere of Brahmā; the Devarshis in the region of the gods; and the Rājarshis in the heaven of Indra." Brahmarshis are evidently rishis who were priests; and Rājarshis, rishis of kingly extraction. If so, a Devarshi, having a divine character, should be something higher than either. Professor Roth, following apparently the Trikaṇḍaśesha, defines them as "rishis dwelling among the gods." I am not aware how far back this classification of rishis goes in Indian literature. Roth, *s.vv. ṛishi*, *brahmarshi* and *devarshi* does not give any references to these words as occurring in the Brāhmaṇas; and they are not found in the hymns of the R.V. where, however, the "seven rishis" are mentioned. Regarding *rājarshis* see pp. 266 ff. above.

this disappointment, he had ascended one grade, and forthwith recommenced his work of mortification.

At this point of time his austerities were interrupted by the following occurrences: King Triśanku, one of Ikshvāku's descendants, had conceived the design of celebrating a sacrifice by virtue of which he should ascend bodily to heaven. As Vaśishṭha, on being summoned, declared that the thing was impossible (*aśakyam*), Triśanku travelled to the south, where the sage's hundred sons were engaged in austerities, and applied to them to do what their father had declined. Though he addressed them with the greatest reverence and humility, and added that "the Ikshvākus regarded their family-priests as their highest resource in difficulties, and that, after their father, he himself looked to them as his tutelary deities" (57, 22. *Ikshvākūṇāṁ hi sarveshām purodhaḥ paramā gatiḥ | tasmād anantaram sarve bhavanto daivatam mama*), he received from the haughty priests the following rebuke for his presumption: (58, 2) *Pratyākhyāto 'si durbuddhe guruṇā satyavādinā | taṁ kathaṁ samatikramya śākhāntaram upeyivān | 3. Ikshvākūṇām hi sarveshām purodhāḥ paramā gatiḥ | na chātikramituṁ śakyaṁ vachanaṁ satyavādinaḥ | 4. "Aśakyam" iti chovācha Vaśishṭho bhagavān ṛishiḥ | taṁ vayaṁ vai samāharttum kratuṁ śaktāḥ kathaṁ tava | 5. Bāliśas tvaṁ nara-śreshṭha gamyatāṁ sva-puram punaḥ | yājane bhagavān śaktas trailokyasyāpi pārthiva | avamānaṁ kathaṁ kartuṁ tasya śakshyāmahe vayam* | "Fool, thou hast been refused by thy truth-speaking preceptor. How is it that, disregarding his authority, thou hast resorted to another school (*śākhā*)?[195] 3. The family-priest is the highest oracle of all the Ikshvākus; and the command of that veracious personage cannot be transgressed. 4. Vaśishṭha, the divine ṛishi, has declared that 'the thing cannot be;' and how can we undertake thy sacrifice? 5. Thou art foolish, king; return to thy capital. The divine (Vaśishṭha) is competent to

[195] It does not appear how Triśanku, in asking the aid of Vaśishṭha's sons after applying in vain to their father, could be charged with resorting to another *śākhā* (school), in the ordinary sense of that word: as it is not conceivable that the sons should have been of another Śākhā from the father, whose cause they espouse with so much warmth. The Commentator in the Bombay edition explains the word *śākhāntaram* as = *yājanādinā rakshakāntaram*, "one who by sacrificing for thee, etc., will be another protector." Gorresio's Gauḍa text, which may often be used as a commentary on the older one, has the following paraphrase of the words in question, ch. 60, 3 *Mūlam utsṛijya kasmāt tvaṁ śākhāsv ichhasi lambitum* | "Why, forsaking the root, dost thou desire to hang upon the branches."

act as priest of the three worlds; how can we shew him disrespect?" Triśanku then gave them to understand, that as his preceptor and "his preceptor's sons had declined compliance with his requests, he should think of some other expedient." In consequence of his venturing to express this presumptuous intention, they condemned him by their imprecation to become a Chaṇḍāla (58, 7. "*Pratyākhyāto bhagavatā guruputraıs tathaiva cha | anyāṁ gatim gamishyāmi svasti vo 'stu tapodhanāḥ*" | *ṛishi-putrās tu tach chhrutvā vākyaṁ ghorābhisaṁhitam | śepuḥ parama-sankruddhāś "chāṇḍālatvaṁ gamishyasi"* |). As this curse soon took effect, and the unhappy king's form was changed into that of a degraded outcast, he resorted to Viśvāmitra (who, as we have seen, was also dwelling at this period in the south), enlarging on his own virtues and piety, and bewailing his fate. Viśvāmitra commiserated his condition (ch. 59), and promised to sacrifice on his behalf, and exalt him to heaven in the same Chaṇḍāla-form to which he had been condemned by his preceptors' curse. "Heaven is now as good as in thy possession, since thou hast resorted to the son of Kuśika" (59, 4. *Guru-śāpa-kṛitaṁ rūpaṁ yad idaṁ tvayi varttate | anena saha rūpeṇa saśarīro gamishyasi | hasta-prāptam aham manye svargaṁ tava narādhipa | yas tvaṁ Kauśikam āgamya śaraṇyaḥ śaraṇaṁ gataḥ* |). He then directed that preparations should be made for the sacrifice, and that all the rishis, including the family of Vaśishṭha, should be invited to the ceremony. The disciples of Viśvāmitra, who had conveyed his message, reported the result on their return in these words: (59, 11) *Śrutvā te vachanaṁ sarve samāyānti dvijātayaḥ | sarva-deśeshu chāgachhan varjayitvā Mahodayam | Vāśishṭhaṁ tach chhataṁ sarvaṁ krodha-paryākulākṣharam | yad uvācha vacho ghoraṁ śriṇu tvaṁ muni-pungava | "kshattriyo yājako yasya chaṇḍālasya viśeshataḥ | kathaṁ sadasi bhoktāro havis tasya surarshayaḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ vā mahātmāno bhuktvā chaṇḍāla-bhojanam | kathaṁ svargaṁ gamishyanti Viśvāmitreṇa pālitāḥ" | etad vachana-naishṭhuryyam ūchuḥ saṁrakta-lochanāḥ | Vaśishṭhāḥ muni-śārdūla sarve saha-mahodayāḥ* | "Having heard your message, all the Brāhmans are assembling in all the countries, and have arrived, excepting Mahodaya (Vaśishṭha?). Hear what dreadful words those hundred Vaśishṭhas, their voices quivering with rage, have uttered: 'How can the gods and rishis[196] con-

[196] The rishis as priests (*ṛitvik*) would be entitled to eat the remains of the sacrifice, according to the Commentator.

sume the oblation at the sacrifice of that man, especially if he be a Chaṇḍāla, for whom a Kshattriya is officiating-priest? How can illustrious Brāhmans ascend to heaven, after eating the food of a Chaṇḍāla, and being entertained by Viśvāmitra?' These ruthless words all the Vaśishṭhas, together with Mahodaya, uttered, their eyes inflamed with anger." Viśvāmitra, who was greatly incensed on receiving this message, by a curse doomed the sons of Vaśishṭha to be reduced to ashes, and reborn as degraded outcasts (*mṛitapāḥ*) for seven hundred births, and Mahodaya to become a Nishāda. Knowing that this curse had taken effect (ch. 60), Viśvāmitra then, after eulogizing Triśanku, proposed to the assembled rishis that the sacrifice should be celebrated. To this they assented, being actuated by fear of the terrible sage's wrath. Viśvāmitra himself officiated at the sacrifice as *yājăka*;[197] and the other rishis as priests (*ṛitvijaḥ*) (with other functions) performed all the ceremonies. Viśvāmitra next invited the gods to partake of the oblations: (60, 11) *Nābhyagaman yadā tattra bhāgārthaṁ sarva-devatāḥ | tataḥ kopa-samāvishṭo Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ | sruvam udyamya sakrodhas Triśankum idam abravīt | "paśya me tapaso vīryaṁ svārjitasya nareśvara | esha tvām svaśarīreṇa nayāmi svargam ojasā | dushprāpyaṁ svaśarīreṇa svargaṁ gachchha nareśvara | svārjitaṁ kinchid apy asti mayā hi tapasaḥ phalam |* "When, however, the deities did not come to receive their portions, Viśvāmitra became full of wrath, and raising aloft the sacrificial ladle, thus addressed Triśanku: 'Behold, o monarch, the power of austere fervour acquired by my own efforts. I myself, by my own energy, will conduct thee to heaven. Ascend to that celestial region which is so arduous to attain in an earthly body. I have surely earned *some* reward of my austerity.'" Triśanku ascended instantly to heaven in the sight of the munis. Indra, however, ordered him to be gone, as a person who, having incurred the curse of his spiritual preceptors, was unfit for the abode of the celestials;—and to fall down headlong to earth (60, 17. *Triśanko gachha bhūyas tvaṁ nāsi svargakṛitālayaḥ | guru-śāpa-hato mūḍha pata bhūmim avāk-śirāḥ |*). He accordingly began to descend, invoking loudly, as he fell, the help of his spiritual patron. Viśvāmitra, greatly incensed, called out to him to stop: (60, 20) *Tato brahma-tapo-yogāt Prajāpatir ivāparaḥ | sasarjja dakshiṇe bhāge saptarshīn aparān punaḥ | dakshiṇāṁ diśam āsthāya*

[197] This means as *adhvaryu* according to the Commentator.

ṛishi-madhye mahāyaśāḥ | nakshattra-mālām aparām asṛijat krodha-mūrchhitaḥ | anyam Indraṁ karishyāmi loko vā syād anindrakaḥ | daivatāny api sa krodhāt srashṭuṁ samupachakrame |[198] "Then by the power of his divine knowledge and austere fervour he created, like another Prajāpati, other Seven Rishis (a constellation so called) in the southern part of the sky. Having proceeded to this quarter of the heavens, the renowned sage, in the midst of the rishis, formed another garland of stars, being overcome with fury. Exclaiming, 'I will create another Indra, or the world shall have no Indra at all,' he began, in his rage, to call gods also into being." The rishis, gods (Suras), and Asuras now became seriously alarmed and said to Viśvāmitra, in a conciliatory tone, that Triśanku, "as he had been cursed by his preceptors, should not be admitted bodily into heaven, until he had undergone some lustration" (60, 24. *Ayaṁ rājā mahābhāga guru-śāpa-parikshataḥ | saśarīro divaṁ yātuṁ nārhaty akṛita-pāvanaḥ |*).[199] The sage replied that he had given a promise to Triśanku, and appealed to the gods to permit his protegé to remain bodily in heaven, and the newly created stars to retain their places in perpetuity. The gods agreed that "these numerous stars should remain, but beyond the sun's path, and that Triśanku, like an immortal, with his head downwards, should shine among them, and be followed by them," adding "that his object would be thus attained, and his renown secured, and he would be like a dweller in heaven" (60, 29. *Evam bhavatu bhadraṁ te tishṭhantv etāni sarvaśaḥ | gagane tāny anekāni vaiśvānara-pathād vahiḥ | nakshattrāṇi muni-śreshṭha teshu jyottishshu jājvalan | avāk-śirās Triśankuś cha tishthatv amara-sannibhaḥ | anuyāsyanti chaitāni jyotīṁshi nṛipa-sattamam | kṛitārthaṁ kīrtimantaṁ cha svarga-loka-gataṁ yathā |*). Thus was this great dispute adjusted by a compromise, which Viśvāmitra accepted.

This story of Triśanku, it will have been observed, differs materially from the one quoted above (p. 375 ff.) from the Harivaṁśa; but brings out more distinctly the character of the conflict between Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra.

When all the gods and rishis had departed at the conclusion of the

[198] I follow Schlegel's text, which differs verbally, though not in substance, both from the Bombay edition and from Gorresio's.

[199] The last compound word *akṛitapāvanaḥ*, "without lustration," is given by Schlegel and Gorresio. The Bombay edition has instead of it *eva tapodhana*, "o sage rich in austerity."

sacrifice, Viśvāmitra said to his attendant devotees: (61, 2) *Mahān vighnaḥ pravṛitto 'yaṁ dakshiṇām āsthito diśam | diśam anyām prapatsyāmas tattra tapsyāmahe tapaḥ* | "This has been a great interruption [to our austerities] which has occurred in the southern region: we must proceed in another direction to continue our penances." He accordingly went to a forest in the west, and began his austerities anew. Here the narrative is again interrupted by the introduction of another story, that of king Ambarīsha, king of Ayodhyā, who was, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, the twenty-eighth in descent from Ikshvāku, and the twenty-second from Triśanku. (Compare the genealogy in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 70, and ii. 110, 6 ff., with that in Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. pp. 260 ff. 280, 284 ff. and 303; which is different.) Viśvāmitra is nevertheless represented as flourishing contemporaneously with both of these princes. The story relates that Ambarīsha was engaged in performing a sacrifice, when Indra carried away the victim. The priest said that this ill-omened event had occurred owing to the king's bad administration; and would call for a great expiation, unless a human victim could be produced (61, 8. *Prāyaśchittam mahad hy etad naraṁ vā purusharshabha | ānayasva pāśuṁ śīghraṁ yāvat karma pravarttate*|). After a long search the royal-rishi (Ambarīsha) came upon the Brāhman-rishi Ṛichīka, a descendant of Bhṛigu, and asked him to sell one of his sons for a victim, at the price of a hundred thousand cows. Richīka answered that he would not sell his eldest son; and his wife added that she would not sell the youngest: "eldest sons," she observed, "being generally the favourites of their fathers, and youngest sons of their mothers" (61, 18. *Prāyeṇa hi nara-śreshṭha jyeshṭhāḥ pitṛishu vallabhāḥ | mātṛīṇāṁ cha kanīyāṁsas tasmād rakshe kanīyasam* |). The second son, Sunaśśepa, then said that in that case he regarded himself as the one who was to be sold, and desired the king to remove him. The hundred thousand cows, with ten millions of gold-pieces and heaps of jewels, were paid down, and Sunaśśepa carried away. As they were passing through Pushkara (ch. 62) Sunaśśepa beheld his maternal uncle Viśvāmitra (see Rāmāyaṇa, i. 34, 7,[200] and p. 352 above) who was engaged in austerities there with other rishis, threw himself into his arms,

[200] *Pūrvajā bhaginī chāpi mama Rāghava suvratā | nāmnā Satyavatī nāma Ṛichīke pratipāditā* | "And I have a religious sister older than myself called Satyavatī, who was given in marriage to Ṛichīka."

and implored his assistance, urging his orphan, friendless, and helpless state, as claims on the sage's benevolence (62, 4. *Na me 'sti mātā na pitā jnātayo bāndhavāḥ kutaḥ | trātum arhasi māṁ saumya dharmeṇa muni-pungava | . . . . 7. Na me nātho hy anāthasya bhava bhavyena chetasā |*). Viśvāmitra soothed him; and pressed his own sons to offer themselves as victims in the room of Sunaśśepa. This proposition met with no favour from Madhushyanda[201] and the other sons of the royal hermit, who answered with haughtiness and derision: (62, 14) *Kathaṁ ātma-sutān hitvā trāyase 'nya-sutān vibho | akāryyam iva paśyāmaḥ svamāṁsam iva bhojane |* "How is it that thou sacrificest thine own sons, and seekest to rescue those of others? We look upon this as wrong, and like the eating of one's own flesh."[202] The sage was exceedingly wroth at this disregard of his injunction, and doomed his sons to be born in the most degraded classes, like Vaśishṭha's sons, and to eat dog's flesh,[203] for a thousand years. He then said to Sunaśśepa: (62, 19) *Pavitrapāśair ābaddho rakta-mālyānulepanaḥ | Vaishṇavaṁ yūpam āsādya vāgbhir Agniṁ udāhara | ime cha gāthe dve divye gāyethāḥ muni-puttraka | Ambarīshasya yajne 'smiṁs tataḥ siddhim avāpsyasi |* "When thou art bound with hallowed cords, decked with a red garland, and anointed with unguents, and fastened to the sacrificial post of Vishṇu, then address thyself to Agni, and sing these two divine verses (*gāthās*), at the sacrifice of Ambarīsha; then shalt thou attain the fulfilment [of thy desire]." Being furnished with the two gāthās, Sunaśśepa proposed at once to king Ambarīsha that they should set out for their destination. When bound at the stake to be immolated, dressed in a red garment, "he celebrated the two gods, Indra and his younger brother (Vishṇu), with the excellent verses. The Thousand-eyed (Indra) was pleased with the secret hymn, and bestowed long life on Sunaśśepa" (62, 25. *Sa baddho vāgbhir agryābhir abhitushṭāva vai surau | Indram Indrānujaṁ chaiva yathāvad muni-puttrakaḥ | tasmai prītaḥ sahasrāksho*

[201] The word is written thus in Schlegel's and Gorresio's editions. The Bombay edition reads Madhuchhanda.

[202] Schlegel and Gorresio read *svamāṁsam*, "one's own flesh," which seems much more appropriate than *śva-māṁsam*, "dog's flesh," the reading of the Bombay edition.

[203] Gorresio's edition alone reads *sva-māṁsa-vṛittayaḥ*, "subsisting on your own flesh," and makes this to be allusion to what the sons had just said and a punishment for their impertinence (64, 16. *Yasmāt sva-māṁsam uddishṭaṁ yushmābhir avamanya mām*).

rahasya-stuti-toshitaḥ | dīrgham āyus tadā prādāch Chhunaśśephāya Vāsavaḥ |).[204] King Ambarīsha also received great benefits from this sacrifice. Viśvāmitra meanwhile proceeded with his austerities, which he prolonged for a thousand years.

At the end of this time (ch. 63) the gods came to allot his reward; and Brahmā announced that he had attained the rank of a rishi, thus apparently advancing an additional step. Dissatisfied, as it would seem, with this, the sage commenced his task of penance anew. After a length of time he beheld the nymph (Apsăras) Menăkā, who had come to bathe in the lake of Pushkara. She flashed on his view, unequalled in her radiant beauty, like lightning in a cloud (63, 5. *Rūpeṇāpratimāṁ tattra vidyutaṁ jalade yathā*). He was smitten by her charms, invited her to be his companion in his hermitage, and for ten years remained a slave to her witchery, to the great prejudice of his austerities.[205] At length he became ashamed of this ignoble subjection, and full of indignation at what he believed to be a device of the gods to disturb his devotion; and, dismissing the nymph with gentle accents, he departed for the northern mountains, where he practised severe austerities for a thousand years on the banks of the Kauśikī river. The gods became alarmed at the progress he was making, and decided that he should be dignified with the appellation of great rishi (*măhărshi*); and Brahmā, giving effect to the general opinion of the deities, announced that he had conferred that rank upon him. Joining his hands and bowing his head, Viśvāmitra replied that he should consider himself to have indeed completely subdued his senses, if the incomparable title of Brāhman-rishi were conferred upon him (63, 31. *Brahmarshi-śabdam atulaṁ svārjitaiḥ karmabhiḥ śubhaiḥ | yadi me bhagavān āha tato 'haṁ vijitendriyaḥ |*). Brahmā informed him in answer, that he had not yet acquired the power of perfectly controlling his senses; but should make further efforts with that view. The sage then began to put himself through a yet more rigorous course of austerities, standing with his arms erect, without support, feeding on air, in summer exposed to five fires (*i.e.* one on each of four sides, and the sun overhead), in the rainy season remaining unsheltered from the wet, and in

[204] I have alluded above, p. 358, note, to the differences which exist between this legend of S'unaśśepa and the older one in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

[205] Compare Mr. Leckie's History of Rationalism, vol. i. p. 86.

winter lying on a watery couch night and day. This he continued for a thousand years. At last Indra and the other deities became greatly distressed at the idea of the merit he was storing up, and the power which he was thereby acquiring; and the chief of the celestials desired (ch. 64) the nymph Rămbhā to go and bewitch him by her blandishments. She expressed great reluctance to expose herself to the wrath of the formidable muni, but obeyed the repeated injunction of Indra, who promised that he and Kandarpa (the god of love) should stand by her, and assumed her most attractive aspect with the view of overcoming the sage's impassibility. He, however, suspected this design, and becoming greatly incensed, he doomed the nymph by a curse to be turned into stone and to continue in that state for a thousand years.[206] The curse took effect, and Kandarpa and Indra slunk away. In this way, though he resisted the allurements of sensual love,[207] he lost the whole fruit of his austerities by yielding to anger; and had to begin his work over again. He resolved to check his irascibility, to remain silent, not even to breathe for hundreds of years; to dry up his body; and to fast and stop his breath till he had obtained the coveted character of a Brāhman. He then (ch. 65) left the Himālăya and travelled to the east, where he underwent a dreadful exercise, unequalled in the whole history of austerities, maintaining silence, according to a vow, for a thousand years. At the end of this time he had attained to perfection, and although thwarted by many obstacles, he remained unmoved by anger. On the expiration of this course of austerity, he prepared some food to eat; which Indra, coming in the form of a Brāhman, begged that he would give him. Viśvāmitra did so, and though he had none left for himself, and was obliged to remain fasting, he said nothing to the Brāhman, on account of his vow of silence. 65, 8. *Tasyānuchchhvasamānasya mūrdhni dhūmo vyajāyata* | 9. *Trailokyaṁ yena sambhrāntam ātāpitam ivābhavat* | . . . . 11. "*Bahubhiḥ kāraṇair deva Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ* | *lobhitaḥ krodhitaś chaiva tapasā chābhivardhate* | . . . . 12. *Na dīyate yadi tv asya manasā yad abhīpsitam* | 13. *Vināśayati trailokyaṁ tapasā sa-charācharam* | *vyākulāś*

[206] On this the Commentator remarks that this incident shews that anger is more difficult to conquer than even lust (*etena kāmād api krodho durjeyaḥ iti sūchitam*).

[207] The Commentator, however, suggests that the sudden sight of Rambhā may at first have excited in him some feelings of this kind (*āpātato Rambhā-darśana-pravṛittyā kāmenāpi tapaḥ-kshayaḥ*).

cha diśaḥ sarvāḥ na cha kinchit prakāśate | 14. *Sāgaraḥ kshubhitāḥ sarve viśīryante cha parvatāḥ* | *prakampate cha vasudhā vāyur vātīha sankulaḥ* | 15. *Brahman na pratijānīmo nāstiko jāyate janaḥ* | . . . . 16. *Buddhiṁ na kurute yāvad nāśe deva mahāmuniḥ* | 17. *Tāvat prasādyo bhagavān agnirūpo mahādyutiḥ*" | . . . . 19. *Brahmarshe svāgataṁ te 'stu tapasā smaḥ sutoshitāḥ* | 20. *Brāhmaṇyaṁ tapasogreṇa prāptavān asi Kauśika* | *dīrgham āyuś che te brahman dadāmi sa-marud-gaṇaḥ* | 21. . . . . *svasti prāpnuhi bhadraṁ te gachha saumya yathāsukham* | . . . 22. . . . *brāhmaṇyaṁ yadi me prāptaṁ dīrgham āyus tathaiva cha* | 23. *Oṁkāro 'tha vashaṭkāro vedāś cha varayantu mām* | *kshattra-veda-vidāṁ śreshṭho brahma-veda-vidām api* | 24. *Brahma-putro Vaśishṭho mām evaṁ vadatu devatāḥ* | . . . . 25. *Tataḥ prasādito devair Vaśishṭho japatāṁ varaḥ* | *sakhyaṁ chakāra brahmarshir "evam astv" iti chābravīt* | 26. "*Brahmarshitvaṁ na sandehaḥ sarvam sampadyate tava*" | . . . . 27. *Viśvāmitro 'pi dharmātmā labdhvā brāhmaṇyam uttamam* | *pūjayāmāsa brahmarshiṁ Vaśishṭhaṁ japatāṁ varam* | "As he continued to suspend his breath, smoke issued from his head, to the great consternation and distress of the three worlds." The gods, rishis, etc., then addressed Brahmā: "The great muni Viśvāmitra has been allured and provoked in various ways, but still advances in his sanctity. If his wish is not conceded, he will destroy the three worlds by the force of his austerity. All the regions of the universe are confounded, no light anywhere shines; all the oceans are tossed, and the mountains crumble, the earth quakes, and the wind blows confusedly. 15. We cannot, o Brahmā, guarantee that mankind shall not become atheistic. . . . . 16. Before the great and glorious sage of fiery form resolves to destroy (everything) let him be propitiated." . . . . The gods, headed by Brahmā, then addressed Viśvāmitra: "'Hail Brāhman rishi, we are gratified by thy austerities; o Kauśika, thou hast, through their intensity, attained to Brāhmanhood. I, o Brāhman, associated with the Maruts, confer on thee long life. May every blessing attend thee; depart wherever thou wilt.' The sage, delighted, made his obeisance to the gods, and said: 'If I have obtained Brāhmanhood, and long life, then let the mystic monosyllable (*oṁkāra*) and the sacrificial formula (*vāshaṭkāra*) and the Vedas recognise me in that capacity. And let Vaśishṭha, the son of Brahmā, the most eminent of those who are skilled in the Kshattra-veda, and the Brāhma-veda (the knowledge of the Kshattriya and the Brahmanical disciplines), address me simi-

larly.' . . . . Accordingly Vaśishṭha, being propitiated by the gods, became reconciled to Viśvāmitra, and recognised his claim to all the prerogatives of a Brāhman rishi. . . . . Viśvāmitra, too, having attained the Brahmanical rank, paid all honour to Vaśishṭha." Such was the grand result achieved by Viśvāmitra, at the cost of many thousand years of intense mortification of the body, and discipline of the soul. During the course of the struggle he had manifested, as the story tells us, a power little, if at all, inferior to that of Indra, the king of the gods; and as in a former legend we have seen King Nahusha actually occupying the throne of that deity, we cannot doubt that—according to the recognised principles of Indian mythology—Viśvāmitra had only to recommence his career of self-mortification in order to raise himself yet higher than he had yet risen, to the rank of a devarshi, or divine rishi (if this be, indeed, a superior grade to that of brahmarshi), or to any other elevation he might desire. But, as far as the account in the Rāmāyaṇa informs us, he was content with his success. He stood on a footing of perfect equality with his rival Vaśishṭha, and became indifferent to further honours. In fact, it was not necessary for the purpose of the inventors of the legend to carry him any higher. They only wished to account for his exercising the prerogatives of a Brāhman; and this had been already accomplished to their satisfaction.

In the story of Śakuntalā, however, as narrated in the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, sixty-ninth and following sections, we are informed that, to the great alarm of Indra, Viśvāmitra renewed his austerities, even long after he had attained the position of a Brāhman, verse 2914: *Tapyamānaḥ kila purā Viśvāmitro mahat tapaḥ | subhriśaṁ tāpayāmāsa Śakraṁ sura-gaṇeśvaram | tapasā dīpta-vīryyo'yaṁ sthānād māṁ chyāvayed iti |* "Formerly Viśvāmitra, who was practising intense austere-fervour, occasioned great distress to Śakra (Indra), the lord of the deities, lest by the fiery energy so acquired by the saint he himself should be cast down from his place." Indra accordingly resorted to the usual device of sending one of the Apsarases, Menakā, to seduce the sage by the display of her charms, and the exercise of all her allurements, "by beauty, youth, sweetness, gestures, smiles, and words" (verse 2920, *Rūpa-yauvana-mādhuryya-cheshṭita-smita-bhāshitaiḥ*), into the indulgence of sensual love; and thus put an end to his efforts after increased sanctity. Menakā urges the dangers of the mission arising from the great power

and irascibility of the sage, of whom, she remarked, even Indra himself was afraid, as a reason for excusing her from undertaking it; and refers to some incidents in Viśvāmitra's history, verse 2923: *Mahābhāgaṁ Vaśishṭhaṁ yaḥ putrair ishṭair vyayojayat | kshattra-jātaś cha yaḥ pūrvam abhavad brāhmaṇo balāt | śauchārthaṁ yo nadīṁ chakre durgamām bahubhir jalaiḥ | yāṁ tām puṇyatamāṁ loke Kauśikīti vidur janāḥ |* 2925. *Babhāra yatrāsya purā kāle durge mahātmanaḥ | dārān Matango dharmātmā rājarshir vyādhatāṁ gataḥ | atīta-kāle durbhikshe abhyetya punar āśramam | muniḥ Pāreti nadyāḥ vai nāma chakre tadā prabhuḥ | Mātangam yājayānchakre yatra prīta-manāḥ svayam | tvaṁ cha somam bhayād yasya gataḥ pātuṁ sureśvara | chakārānyaṁ cha lokaṁ vai kruddho nakshattra-sampadā | pratiśravaṇa-pūrvāṇi nakshattrāṇi chakāra yaḥ | guru-śāpa-hatasyāpi Triśankoḥ śaraṇaṁ dadau |* "2923. He deprived the great Vaśishṭha of his beloved sons; and though born a Kshattriya, he formerly became a Brāhman by force. For the purpose of purification he rendered the holy river, known in the world as the Kauśikī, unfordable from the mass of water. 2925. His wife was once maintained there in a time of distress by the righteous rājarshi Matanga, who had become a huntsman; and when the famine was past, the muni returned to his hermitage, gave to the river the name of Pārā, and being gratified, sacrificed for Matanga on its banks; and then thou thyself, Indra, from fear of him wentest to drink his soma. He created, too, when incensed, another world, with a garland of stars, formed agreeably to his promise, and gave his protection to Triśanku, even when smitten by his preceptor's curse." Menakā, however, ends by saying that she cannot decline the commission which has been imposed upon her; but begs that she may receive such succours as may ensure her success. She accordingly shows herself in the neighbourhood of Viśvāmitra's hermitage. The saint yields to the influence of love, invites her to become his companion, and as a result of their intercourse Śakuntalā is born. The Apsaras then returns to Indra's paradise.

Sect. XII.—*Other accounts, from the Mahābhārata, of the way in which Viśvāmitra became a Brāhman.*

In the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata, sections 105–118, a story is told regarding Viśvāmitra and his pupil Gālava, in which a different

account is given of the manner in which Viśvāmitra attained the rank of a Brāhman; viz. by the gift of Dharma, or Righteousness, appearing in the form of his rival. M. Bh. Udyogap. 3721: *Viśvāmitraṁ tapasyantam Dharmo jijñāsayā purā | abhyāgachhat svayam bhūtvā Vaśishṭho bhagavān ṛishiḥ | . . . .* 3728. *Atha varsha-śate pūrṇe Dharmaḥ punar upāgamat | Vāśishṭhaṁ veśam āsthāya Kauśikam bhojanepsayā | sa dṛishṭvā śirasā bhaktaṁ dhriyamāṇam maharshiṇā | tishṭhatā vāyubhakshaṇa Viśvāmitreṇa dhīmatā | pratigṛihya tato Dharmas tathaivoshṇaṁ tathā navam | bhuktvā "prīto 'smi viprarshe" tam uktvā sa munir gataḥ | kshattra-bhāvād apagato brāhmaṇatvam upāgataḥ | Dharmasya vachanāt prīto Viśvāmitras tathā 'bhavat* | "Dharma, assuming the personality of the sage Vaśishṭha, once came to prove Viśvāmitra, when he was living a life of austerity;" and after consuming some food, given him by other devotees, desired Viśvāmitra, who brought him some freshly cooked charu, quite hot, to stand still for the present. Viśvāmitra accordingly stood still, nourished only by air, with the boiled rice on his head. "The same personage, Dharma, in the same disguise, reappeared after a hundred years, desiring food, and consumed the rice (still quite hot and fresh), which he saw supported upon the hermit's head, while he himself remained motionless, feeding on air. Dharma then said to him, 'I am pleased with thee, o Brāhman rishi;' and went away. Viśvāmitra, having become thus transformed from a Kshattriya into a Brāhman by the word of Dharma, was delighted."

In the Anuśāsanaparvan of the Mahābhārata, we have another reference to the story of Viśvāmitra. King Yudhishṭhira enquires of Bhīshma (verse 181) how, if Brāhmanhood is so difficult to be attained by men of the other three castes, it happened that the great Kshattriya acquired that dignity. The prince then recapitulates the chief exploits of Viśvāmitra: 183. *Tena hy amita-vīryeṇa Vaśishṭhasya mahātmanaḥ | hatam putra-śataṁ sadyas tapasā 'pi pitāmaha | yātudhānāś cha bahavo rākshasās tigma-tejasaḥ | manyunā "vishṭa-dehena sṛishṭāḥ kālāntakopamāḥ |* 185. *Mahān Kuśika-vaṁśaś cha brahmarshi-śata-sankulaḥ | sthāpito nara-loke 'smin vidvān brāhmaṇa-saṁyutaḥ | Ṛichīkasyātmajaś chaiva Śunaḥśepho mahātapāḥ | vimokshito mahāsattrāt paśutām apy upāgataḥ | Hariśchandra-kratau devāṁs toshayitvā "tma-tejasā | putratām anusamprāpto Viśvāmitrasya dhīmataḥ | nābhivādayato jyeshṭhaṁ Devarātaṁ narā-*

dhipa | puttrāḥ panchāśad evāpi śaptāḥ śvapachatāṁ gatāḥ | Triśankur bandhubhir muktaḥ Aikshvākuḥ prīti-pūrvakam | avāk-śirāḥ divaṁ nīto dakshiṇām āśrito diśam | . . . . tato vighnakarī chaiva Panchachūḍā susammatā | Rambhā nāmāpsarāḥ śāpād yasya śailatvam āgatā | tathaivāsya bhayād baddhvā Vaśishṭhaḥ salile purā | ātmānam majjayan śrīmān vipāśaḥ punar utthitaḥ | "For he destroyed Vaśishṭha's hundred sons by the power of austere-fervour; when possessed by anger, he created many demons, fierce and destructive as death; he (185) established the great and wise family of the Kuśikas, which was full of Brāhmans and hundreds of Brāhman rishis; he delivered Sunaśśepha, son of Ṛichīka, who was on the point of being slaughtered as a victim, and who became his son, after he had, at Hariśchandra's sacrifice, through his own power, propitiated the gods; he cursed his fifty sons who would not do homage to Devarāta, (adopted as) the eldest, so that they became outcastes; through affection he elevated Triśanku, when forsaken by his relations, to heaven, where he remained fixed with his head downwards in the southern heavens; (191) . . . . he changed the troublesome nymph Rambhā, known as Panchachūḍā, by his curse into a form of stone; he occasioned Vaśishṭha through fear to bind and throw himself into the river, though he emerged thence unbound;" and performed other deeds calculated to excite astonishment. Yudhishṭhira ends by enquiring, "how this Kshattriya became a Brāhman without transmigrating into another body" (197. *Dehāntaram anāsādya kathaṁ sa brāhmaṇo 'bhavat* |). In answer to this question, Bhīshma (verses 200 ff.) deduces the descent of Viśvāmitra from Ajamīḍha, of the race of Bharata, who was a pious priest, or sacrificer (*yajvā dharma-bhṛitāṁ varaḥ*), the father of Jahnu, who again was the progenitor of Kuśika, the father of Gādhi; and narrates the same legend of the birth of Viśvāmitra, which has been already extracted from the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see above, pp. 349 f.). The conclusion of the story as here given is, that the wife of Ṛichīka bore Jamadagni, while "the wife of Gādhi, by the grace of the rishi, gave birth to Viśvāmitra, who was a Brāhman rishi, and an utterer of the Veda; who, though a Kshattriya, attained to Brāhmanhood, and became afterwards also the founder of a Brāhman race" (246. *Viśvāmitraṁ chājanayad Gādhi-bhāryyā yaśasvinī | ṛisheḥ prasādād rājendra brahmarshim brahmavādinam | tato brāhmaṇatāṁ yāto Viśvāmitro mahātapaḥ | kshattriyaḥ so 'py atha tathā brahma-vaṁśasya kārakaḥ* |).

of which the members are detailed,[208] including the great rishi Kapila. In regard to the mode in which Viśvāmitra was transformed from a Kshattriya into a Brāhman, we are only told that he belonged to the former class, and that "Ṛichīka infused into him this exalted Brāhmanhood" (259. *Tathaiva kshattriyo rājan Viśvāmitro mahātapāḥ | Ṛichīkenāhitam brahma param etad Yudhishṭhira |*).

This version of the story is different from all those preceding ones which enter into any detail, as it makes no mention of Viśvāmitra having extorted the Brahmanical rank from the gods by force of his austerities; and ascribes his transformation to a virtue communicated by the sage Ṛichīka.

I have above (p. 296 f.) quoted a passage from Manu on the subject of submissive and refractory monarchs, in which reference is made to Viśvāmitra's elevation to the Brahmanical order. Nothing is there said of his conflict with Vaśishṭha, or of his arduous penances, endured with the view of conquering for himself an equality with his rival. On the contrary, it is to his submissiveness, *i.e.* to his dutiful recognition of the superiority of the Brāhmans, that his admission into their class is ascribed. Kullūka, indeed, explains the word submissiveness (*vinăya*) to mean virtue in general; but the contrast which is drawn between Pṛithu, Manu, and Viśvāmitra, on the one hand, and Vena, Nahusha, Sudās, and Nimi, the resisters of Brāhmanical prerogatives (as all the legends declare them to have been), on the other, makes it tolerably evident that the merit which Manu means to ascribe to Viśvāmitra is that of implicit submission to the spiritual authority of the Brāhmans.

Sect. XIII.—*Legend of Saudāsa.*

In the reign of Mitrasaha, also called Saudāsa, and Kalmāshapāda, the son of Sudāsa, and the descendant of Triśanku in the twenty-second generation (see p. 337, above), we still find Vaśishṭha figuring in the legend, as the priest of that monarch, and causing him, by an imprecation, to become a cannibal, because he had, under the influence of a delusion, offered the priest human flesh to eat. I shall not extract the

[208] The names in this list differ considerably from those given above, p. 352, from the Harivaṁśa.

version of the story given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa in detail (Wilson, V.P. vol. iii. pp. 304 ff.), as it does not in any way illustrate the rivalry of Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra.

The Mahābhārata gives the following variation of the history (Ādi-parvan, sect. 176): "Kalmāshapāda was a king of the race of Ikshvāku. Viśvāmitra wished to be employed by him as his officiating priest; but the king preferred Vaśishṭha" (verse 6699. *Akāmayat taṁ yājyārthe Viśvāmitraḥ pratāpavān | sa tu rājā mahātmānaṁ Vaśishṭham ṛishi-sattamam* |). It happened, however, that the king went out to hunt, and after having killed a large quantity of game, he became very much fatigued, as well as hungry and thirsty. Meeting Śaktri, the eldest of Vaśishṭha's hundred sons, on the road, he ordered him to get out of his way. The priest civilly replied (verse 6703): *Mama panthāḥ mahārāja dharmaḥ esha sanātanaḥ | rājnā sarveshu dharmeshu deyaḥ panthāḥ dvijātaye* | "The path is mine, o king; this is the immemorial law; in all observances the king must cede the way to the Brāhman." Neither party would yield, and the dispute waxing warmer, the king struck the muni with his whip. The muni, resorting to the usual expedient of offended sages, by a curse doomed the king to become a man-eater. "It happened that at that time enmity existed between Viśvāmitra and Vaśishṭha on account of their respective claims to be priest to Kalmāshapāda" (verse 6710. *Tato yājya-nimittaṁ tu Viśvāmitra-Vaśishṭhayoḥ | vairam āsīt tadā taṁ tu Viśvāmitro 'nvapadyata* |). Viśvāmitra had followed the king; and approached while he was disputing with Śaktri. Perceiving, however, the son of his rival Vaśishṭha, Viśvāmitra made himself invisible, and passed them, watching his opportunity. The king began to implore Śaktri's clemency: but Viśvāmitra wishing to prevent their reconciliation, commanded a Rākshasa (a man-devouring demon) to enter into the king. Owing to the conjoint influence of the Brāhman-rishi's curse, and Viśvāmitra's command, the demon obeyed the injunction. Perceiving that his object was gained, Viśvāmitra left things to take their course, and absented himself from the country. The king having happened to meet a hungry Brāhman, and sent him, by the hand of his cook (who could procure nothing else), some human flesh to eat, was cursed by him also to the same effect as by Śaktri. The curse, being now augmented in force, took effect, and Śaktri himself was the first victim, being eaten up by the king. The same fate

befell all the other sons of Vaśishṭha at the instigation of Viśvāmitra: 6736. *S'aktrim tam tu mṛitam dṛishṭvā Viśvāmitraḥ punaḥ punaḥ | Vaśishṭhasyaiva putreshu tad rakshaḥ sandideśa ha | sa tān S'aktry-avarān putrān Vaśishṭhasya mahātmanaḥ | bhakshayāmāsa sankruddhaḥ siṁhaḥ kshudra-mṛigān iva | Vaśishṭho ghātitān śrutvā Viśvāmitreṇa tān sutān | dhārayāmāsa taṁ śokam mahādrir iva medinīm | chakre chātma-vināśāya buddhiṁ sa muni-sattamaḥ | na tv eva Kauśikochchedam mene matimatāṁ varaḥ |* 6740. *Sa Meru-kūṭād ātmānam mumocha bhagavān ṛishiḥ | gires tasya śilāyāṁ tu tūla-rāśāv ivāpatat | na mamāra cha pātena sa yadā tena Pāṇḍava | tadā 'gnim iddham bhagavān saṁviveśa mahāvane | taṁ tadā susamiddho 'pi na dadāha hutāśanaḥ | dīpyamāno 'py amitra-ghna śīto 'gnir abhavat tataḥ | sa samudram abhiprekshya śokāvishṭo mahāmuniḥ | baddhvā kaṇṭhe śilāṁ gurvīṁ nipapāta tadā 'mbhasi | sa samudror-mi-vegena sthale nyasto mahāmuniḥ | jagāma sa tataḥ khinnaḥ punar evāśramam prati |* 6745. *Tato dṛishṭvā "śrama-padaṁ rahitaṁ taiḥ sutair muniḥ | nirjagāma suduḥkhārttaḥ punar apy āśramāt tataḥ | so 'paśyat saritam pūrṇām prāvṛit-kāle navāmbhasā | vṛikshān bahuvidhān pārtha harantīṁ tīra-jān bahūn | atha chintāṁ samāpede punaḥ kaurava-nandana | "ambhasy asyāṁ nimajjeyam" iti duḥkha-samanvitaḥ | tataḥ pāśais tadā "tmānam gāḍham baddhvā mahāmuniḥ | tasyāḥ jale mahānadyāḥ nimamajja suduḥkhitaḥ | atha chhittvā nadī pāśāṁs tasyāri-bala-sūdana | sthala-sthaṁ tam ṛishim kṛitvā vipāśaṁ samavāsṛijat |* 6750. *Uttatāra tataḥ pāśair vimuktaḥ sa mahān ṛishiḥ | Vipāśeti cha nāmāsyāḥ nadyāś chakre mahān ṛishiḥ | . . . .* 6752. *Dṛishṭvā sa punar evarshir nadīṁ haimavatīṁ tadā | chandragrāhavatīm bhīmāṁ tasyāḥ srotasy apātayat | sā tam agni-samaṁ vipram anuchintya sarid varā | śatadhā vidrutā yasmāch śatadrur iti viśrutā | . . . .* 6774. *Saudāso 'ham mahābhāga yājyas te muni-sattama | asmin kāle yad iṣhṭaṁ te brūhi kiṁ karavāṇi te | Vaśishṭha uvācha | vṛittam etad yathā-kālaṁ gachha rājyam praśādhi vai | brāhmaṇāṁs tu manushyendra mā 'vamaṁsthāḥ kadāchana | rājā uvācha | nāvamaṁsye mahābhāga kadāchid brāhmaṇarshabhān | tvan-nideśe sthitaḥ samyak pūjayishyāmy ahaṁ dvijān | Ikshvākūṇāṁ cha yenāham anṛiṇaḥ syāṁ dvijottama | tat tvattaḥ prāptum ichchhāmi sarva-veda-vidāṁ vara | apatyam īpsitam mahyaṁ dātum arhasi sattama |* "Perceiving S'aktri to be dead, Viśvāmitra again and again incited the Rākshasa against the sons of Vaśishṭha; and accordingly the furious demon devoured those of his sons who were younger than S'aktri, as a lion eats up the small

beasts of the forest.[209] On hearing of the destruction of his sons by Viśvāmitra, Vaśishṭha supported his affliction, as the great mountain sustains the earth. He meditated his own destruction, but never thought of exterminating the Kauśikas. 6740. This divine sage hurled himself from the summit of Meru, but fell upon the rocks as if on a heap of cotton. Escaping alive from his fall, he entered a glowing fire in the forest; but the fire, though fiercely blazing, not only failed to burn him, but seemed perfectly cool. He next threw himself into the sea with a heavy stone attached to his neck; but was cast up by the waves on the dry land. He then went home to his hermitage; (6745) but seeing it empty and desolate, he was again overcome by grief and went out; and seeing the river Vipāśā which was swollen by the recent rains, and sweeping along many trees torn from its banks, he conceived the design of drowning himself into its waters: he acccordingly tied himself firmly with cords, and threw himself in; but the river severing his bonds, deposited him unbound (*vipāśa*) on dry land; whence the name of the stream, as imposed by the sage.[210] 6752. He afterwards saw and threw himself into the dreadful Śatadru (Sutlej), which was full of alligators, etc., and derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Brāhman brilliant as fire. In consequence of this he was once more stranded; and seeing he could not kill himself, he went back to his hermitage. After roaming about over many mountains and countries, he was followed home by his daughter-in-law Adṛiśyantī, Śaktri's widow, from whose womb he heard a sound of the recitation of the Vedas, as she was pregnant with a child, which, when born, received the name of Parāśara, verse 6794. Learning from her that there was

[209] See above (pp. 327 ff.), the passages quoted from the Brāhmaṇas, about the slaughter of Vasishṭha's sons. In the Panchaviṁśa Br. (cited by Prof. Weber, Ind St. i. 32) Vasishṭha is spoken of as *puttra-hataḥ*.

[210] The Nirukta, ix. 26, after giving other etymologies of the word Vipāś, adds a verse: *Pāśāḥ asyāṁ vyapāśyanta Vasishṭhasya mumūrshataḥ | tasmād Vipāḍ uchyate pūrvam āsīd Urunjirā* | "In it the bonds of Vasishṭha were loosed, when he was on the point of death: hence it is called Vipāś. It formerly bore the name of Urunjirā." It does not appear whether or not this verse is older than the Mahābhārata. On this text of the Nirukta, Durga (as quoted by Prof. Müller, Rig-veda, ii. Pref. p. liv.) annotates: *Vasishṭhaḥ kila nimamajja asyām mumūrshuḥ puttra-maraṇa-śokārttaḥ pāśair ātmānam baddhvā | tasya kila te pāśāḥ asyāṁ vyapāśyanta vyamuchyanta udakena* | "Vasishṭha plunged into it, after binding himself with bonds, wishing to die when grieved at the death of his sons. In it (the river) his bonds were loosed by the water."

thus a hope of his line being continued, he abstained from further attempts on his own life. King Kalmāshapāda, however, whom they encountered in the forest, was about to devour them both, when Vaśishṭha stopped him by a blast from his mouth; and sprinkling him with water consecrated by a holy text, he delivered him from the curse by which he had been affected for twelve years. The king then addressed Vaśishṭha thus: "'Most excellent sage, I am Saudāsa, whose priest thou art: what can I do that would be pleasing to thee?' Vaśishṭha answered: 'This which has happened has been owing to the force of destiny: go, and rule thy kingdom; but, o monarch, never contemn the Brāhmans.' The king replied: 'Never shall I despise the most excellent Brāhmans; but submitting to thy commands I shall pay them all honour. And I must obtain from thee the means of discharging my debt to the Ikshvākus. Thou must give me the offspring which I desire.'" Vaśishṭha promised to comply with his request. They then returned to Ayodhyā. And Vaśishṭha having been solicited by the king to beget an heir to the throne[211] (verse 6787. *Rājnas tasyājnayā devī Vaśishṭham upachakrame | maharshiḥ saṁvidaṁ kritvā sambabhūva tayā saha | devyā divyena vidhinā Vaśishṭho bhagavān ṛishiḥ*), the queen became pregnant by him, and brought forth a son at the end of twelve years. This extraordinary proceeding, so contrary to all the recognized rules of morality, is afterwards (verses 6888–6912) explained to have been necessitated by the curse of a Brāhmaṇī, whose husband Kalmāshapāda had devoured when in the forest, and who had doomed him to die if he should attempt to become a father, and had foretold that Vaśishṭha should be the instrument of propagating his race (verse 6906: *Patnīm ṛitāv anuprāpya sadyas tyakshyasi jīvitam | yasya charsher Vaśishṭhasya tvayā putrāḥ vināśitāḥ | tena sangamya te bhāryyā tanayaṁ janayishyati*).[212]

[211] The same story is told in the Vishṇu Pur. iv., 4, 38 (Wilson, vol. 3, p. 310).

[212] This incident is alluded to in the Ādip., section 122. It is there stated that in the olden time women were subject to no restraint, and incurred no blame for abandoning their husbands and cohabiting with anyone they pleased (verse 4719. *Anāvṛitāḥ kila purā striyaḥ āsan varānane | kāma-chāra-vihāriṇyaḥ svatantrāś chāru-hāsini | tāsāṁ vyuchcharamāṇānāṁ kaumārāt subhage patīn | nādharmo 'bhūd varārohe sa hi dharmaḥ purā 'bhavat*, compare verse 4729). A stop was, however, put to this practice by Uddālaka S'vetaketu, whose indignation was on one occasion aroused by a Brāhman taking his mother by the hand, and inviting her to go away with him, although his father, in whose presence this occurred, informed him that

The Mahābhārata has a further legend, regarding Viśvāmitra's jealousy of Vaśishṭha, which again exhibits the former in a very odious light, and as destitute of the moral dispositions befitting a saint, while Vaśishṭha is represented as manifesting a noble spirit of disinterestedness and generosity.

Śalyap. 2360. *Viśvāmitrasya viprarsher Vaśishṭhasya cha Bhārata | bhṛiśaṁ vairam abhūd rājaṁs tapaḥ-sparddhā-kṛitam mahat | āśramo vai Vaśishṭhasya sthāṇu-tīrthe 'bhavad mahān | pūrvataḥ pārśvataś chāsīd Viśvāmitrasya dhīmataḥ | . . . .* 2366. *Viśvāmitra-Vaśishṭhau tāv ahany ahani Bhārata | sparddhāṁ tapaḥ-kṛitāṁ tīvrām chakratus tau tapo-dhanau | tattrāpy adhika-santapto Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ | dṛishṭvā tejo Vaśishṭhasya chintām ati jagāma ha | tasya buddhir iyaṁ hy āsīd dharma-nityasya Bhārata | iyaṁ Sarasvatī tūrṇam mat-samīpaṁ tapo-dhanam | ānayishyati vegena Vaśishṭhaṁ japatāṁ varam | ihāgataṁ dvija-śreshṭhaṁ hanishyāmi na saṁśayaḥ |* 2370. *Evaṁ niśchitya bhagavān Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ | sasmāra saritaṁ śreshṭhāṁ krodha-saṁrakta-lochanaḥ | sā dhyātā muninā tena vyākulatvaṁ jagāma ha | jajne chainam mahāvīryyam mahākopaṁ cha bhāvinī | tataḥ enaṁ vepamānā vivarṇā prāñjalis tadā | upatasthe muni-varaṁ Viśvāmitraṁ Sarasvatī | hata-vīrā yathā nārī sā 'bhavad duḥkhitā bhṛiśam | brūhi kiṁ karavāṇīti provācha muni-sattamam | tām uvācha muniḥ kruddho "Vaśishṭhaṁ śīghram ānaya | yāvad enaṁ nihanmy adya" tach chhrutvā vyathitā nadī |* 2375. *Prāñjaliṁ tu tataḥ kṛitvā puṇḍarīka-nibhekshaṇā |*

there was no reason for his displeasure, as the custom was one which had prevailed from time immemorial (verse 4726. *S'vetaketoḥ kila purā samaksham mātaram pituḥ | jagrāha brāhmaṇaḥ pāṇau "gachchhāva" iti chābravīt | ṛishis-puttras tataḥ kopaṁ chakārāmarsha-choditaḥ | mātaraṁ tāṁ tathā dṛishṭvā nīyamānām balād iva | kruddhaṁ taṁ tu pitā dṛishṭvā S'vetaketum uvāchha ha | "mā tāta kopaṁ kārshīs tvam esha dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ | "*). But S'vetaketu could not tolerate the practice, and introduced the existing rule (verse 4730. *Ṛishi-puttro 'tha taṁ dharmaṁ S'vetaketur na chakshame | chakāra chaiva maryādām imāṁ strī-puṁsayor bhuvi | *). A wife and a husband indulging in promiscuous intercourse were therefore thenceforward guilty of sin. But a wife, when appointed by her husband to raise up seed to him (by having intercourse with another man), is in like manner guilty if she refuse (4734. *Patyā niyuktā yā chaiva patnī puttrārtham eva cha | na karishyati tasyāś cha bhavishyati tad eva hi | iti tena purā bhīru maryādā sthāpitā balāt | *). Pāṇḍu, the speaker, then proceeds to give an instance of the latter procedure in the case of Madayantī, the wife of Saudāsa, who, by her husband's command, visited Vaśishṭha for the purpose in question (4736. *Saudāsena cha rambhoru niyuktā puttra-janmani | Madayantī jagāmarshiṁ Vaśishṭham iti naḥ śrutam | *). Compare what is said above, p. 224, of Angiras, and in pp. 232 and 233 of Dīrgatamas or Dīrghatapas; and see p. 423, below.

prākampata bhṛiśam bhītā vāyunevāhatā latā | ... 2377. Sā tasya vachanaṁ śrutvā jñātvā pāpa-chikīrshitam | Vaśishṭhasya prabhāvaṁ cha jānanty apratimam bhuvi | sā 'dhigamya Vaśishṭhaṁ cha imam artham achodayat | yad uktā saritām śreshṭhā Viśvāmitreṇa dhīmatā | ubhayoḥ śāpayor bhītā vepamānā punaḥ punaḥ | ... 2380. Tāṁ kṛiśāṁ cha vivarṇāṁ cha dṛishṭvā chintā-samanvitām | uvācha rājan dharmātmā Vaśishṭho dvipadāṁ varaḥ | Vaśishṭhaḥ uvācha | "pāhy ātmānaṁ sarich-chhreṣṭhe vaha māṁ śīghra-gāmini | Viśvāmitraḥ śaped hi tvām mā kṛithās tvaṁ vichāraṇam" | tasya tad vachanaṁ śrutvā kṛipā-śīlasya sā sarit | chintayāmāsa Kauravya kiṁ kṛitvā sukṛitam bhavet | tasyāś chintā samutpannā "Vaśishṭho mayy atīva hi | kṛitavān hi dayāṁ nityam tasya kāryyaṁ hitam mayā" | atha kūle svake rājan japantam ṛishi-sattamam | juhvānaṁ Kauśikam prekshya sarasvaty abhyachintayat | 2385. "Idam antaram" ity eva tataḥ sā saritām varā | kūlāpahāram akarot svena vegena sā sarit | tena kūlāpahāreṇa Maitrāvaruṇir auhyata | ūhyamānaḥ sa tushṭāva tadā rājan Sarasvatīm | Pitāmahasya sarasaḥ pravṛittā 'si Sarasvati | vyāptaṁ chedaṁ jagat sarvaṁ tavaivambhobhir uttamaiḥ | tvam evākāśa-gā devi megheshūtsṛijase payaḥ | sarvāś chāpas tvam eveti tvatto vayam adhīmahi | pushṭir dyutis tathā kīrttiḥ siddhir buddhir umā tathā | tvam eva vāṇī svāhā tvaṁ tavāyattam idaṁ jagat | 2390. Tvam eva sarva-bhūteshu vasasīha chaturvidhā | .... 2392. Tam ānītaṁ Sarasvatyā dṛishṭvā kopa-samanvitāḥ | athānveshat praharaṇaṁ Vaśishṭhānta-karaṁ tadā | taṁ tu kruddham abhiprekshya brahma-badhyā-bhayād nadī | apovāha Vaśishthaṁ tu prāchīṁ diśam atandritā | ubhayoḥ kurvatī vākyaṁ vanchayitvā cha Gādhijam tato 'pavāhitaṁ dṛishṭvā Vaśishṭham ṛishi-sattamam | 2395. Abravīd duḥkha-sankruddho Viśvāmitro hy amarshaṇaḥ | "yasmād māṁ tvaṁ sarick-chhreshṭhe vanchayitvā punargatā | soṇitaṁ vaha kalyāṇi raksho-'gra-maṇi-sammatam" | tataḥ Sarasvatī śaptā Viśvāmitreṇa dhīmatā | avahach chhoṇitonmiśraṁ toyaṁ saṁvatsāraṁ tadā | .... 2401. Athājagmus tato rājan rākshasās tattra Bhārata | tattra te śoṇitaṁ sarve pivantaḥ sukham āsate | .... 2402. Nṛityantaś cha hasantaś cha yathā svarga-jitas tathā | .... 2407. tān dṛishṭvā rākshasān rājan munayaḥ saṁśita-vratāḥ | paritrāṇe Sarasvatyāḥ paraṁ yatnam prachakrire |

"2360. There existed a great enmity, arising from rivalry in their austerities, between Viśvāmitra and the Brāhman rishi Vaśishṭha. Vaśishṭha had an extensive hermitage in Sthāṇutīrtha, to the east of

which was Viśvāmitra's . . . . 2366. These two great ascetics were every day exhibiting intense emulation in regard to their respective austerities. But Viśvāmitra, beholding the might of Vaśishṭha, was the most chagrined; and fell into deep thought. The idea of this sage, constant in duty (!), was the following: 'This river Sarasvatī will speedily bring to me on her current the austere Vaśishṭha, the most eminent of all mutterers of prayers. When that most excellent Brāhman has come, I shall most assuredly kill him.' 2370. Having thus determined, the divine sage Viśvāmitra, his eyes reddened by anger, called to mind the chief of rivers. She being thus the subject of his thoughts, became very anxious, as she knew him to be very powerful and very irascible. Then trembling, pallid, and with joined hands, the Sarasvatī stood before the chief of munis. Like a woman whose husband has been slain, she was greatly distressed; and said to him, 'What shall I do?' The incensed muni replied, 'Bring Vaśishṭha hither speedily, that I may slay him.' 2375. The lotus-eyed goddess, joining her hands, trembled in great fear, like a creeping plant agitated by the wind." . . . . Viśvāmitra, however, although he saw her condition, repeated his command. 2377. "The Sarasvatī, who knew how sinful was his design, and that the might of Vaśishṭha was unequalled, went trembling, and in great dread of being cursed by both the sages, to Vaśishṭha, and told him what his rival had said. 2380. Vaśishṭha seeing her emaciated, pale, and anxious, spoke thus: 'Deliver thyself, o chief of rivers; carry me unhesitatingly to Viśvāmitra, lest he curse thee.' Hearing these words of the merciful sage, the Sarasvatī considered how she could act most wisely. She reflected, 'Vaśishṭha has always shown me great kindness; I must seek his welfare.' Then observing the Kauśika sage [so in the text, but does not the sense require Vaśishṭha?] praying and sacrificing on her brink, she regarded (2385) that as a good opportunity, and swept away the bank by the force of her current. In this way the son of Mitra and Varuṇa (Vaśishṭha)[213] was carried down; and while he was being borne along, he thus celebrated the river: 'Thou, o Sarasvatī, issuest from the lake of Brahmā, and pervadest the whole world with thy excellent streams. Residing in the sky, thou dischargest water into the clouds. Thou alone art all waters. By thee we study.' [Here the river Sarasvatī is identified with Saras-

[213] See above, pp. 316 and 320 f.

vatī the goddess of speech.][214] 'Thou art nourishment, radiance, fame, perfection, intellect, light. Thou art speech; thou art Svāhā; this world is subject to thee. 2390. Thou, in fourfold form, dwellest in all creatures.' . . . . 2392. Beholding Vaśishṭha brought near by the Sarasvatī, Viśvāmitra searched for a weapon with which to make an end of him. Perceiving his anger, and dreading lest Brahmanicide should ensue, the river promptly carried away Vaśishṭha in an easterly direction; thus fulfilling the commands of both sages, but eluding Viśvāmitra. Seeing Vaśishṭha so carried away, (2395) Viśvāmitra, impatient, and enraged by vexation, said to her: 'Since thou, o chief of rivers, hast eluded me, and hast receded, roll in waves of blood acceptable to the chief of demons," [which are fabled to gloat on blood]. "The Sarasvatī, being thus cursed, flowed for a year in a stream mingled with blood. . . . 2401. Rākshasas came to the place of pilgrimage, where Vaśishṭha had been swept away, and revelled in drinking to satiety the bloody stream in security, dancing and laughing, as if they had conquered heaven." Some rishis who arrived at the spot some time after were horrified to see the blood-stained water, and the Rākshasas quaffing it, and (2407) "made the most strenuous efforts to rescue the Sarasvatī." After learning from her the cause of the pollution of her waters, they propitiated Mahādeva by the most various austerities, and thus obtained the restoration of the river to her pristine purity (2413 ff.).

We have another reference to the connection of the families of Sudās and Vaśishṭha in the legend of Paraśurāma,[215] the destroyer of the Kshattriyas, in the 49th section of the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata. Sarvakarman, a descendant of Sudās, is there mentioned as one of those

[214] See the remarks on Sarasvatī in my "Contributions to a knowledge of the Vedic Theogony and Mythology No. II.," in the Journ. R. A. S., for 1866, pp. 18 ff.

[215] Paraśurāma was the son of Jamadagnī, regarding whose birth, as well as that of Viśvāmitra and the incarnation of Indra in the person of his father Gādhi, the same legend as has been already given above, p, 349 ff, is repeated at the commencement of the story referred to in the text. In discoursing with his wife Satyavatī about the exchange of her own and her mother's messes, Ṛichīka tells her, verse 1741: *Brahmabhūtaṁ hi sakalam pitus tava kulam bhavet* | "All the family of thy father (Gādhi) shall be Brahmanical;" and Vāsudeva, the narrator of the the legend, says, verse 1745: *Viśvāmitraṁ cha dāyādaṁ Gādhiḥ Kuśikanandanaḥ* | *yam prāpa brahmasammitaṁ viśvair brahmaguṇair yutam* | "And Gādhi begot a son, Viśvāmitra, whom he obtained equal to a Brāhman, and possessed of all Brahmanical qualities."

Kshattriyas who had been preserved from the general massacre by Parāśara, grandson of Vaśishṭha: verse 1792. *Tathā 'nukampamānena yajvanā 'mita-tejasā | Parāśareṇa dāyādaḥ Saudāsasyābhirakshitaḥ | sarva-karmāṇi kurute śūdra-vat tasya vai dvijaḥ | Sarvakarmety abhikhyātaḥ sa māṁ rakshatu pārthivaḥ |* "Sarvakarman, the son of Saudāsa, was preserved by the tender-hearted priest Paraśara, who performed, though a Brāhman, all menial offices for him, like a Śūdra; whence the prince's name;—may this king protect me (the earth)." The same book of the Mahābhārata, when recording a number of good deeds done to Brāhmans, has also the following allusion to Mitrasaha and Vaśishṭha: verse 8604. *Rājā Mitrasahaś chāpi Vaśishṭhāya mahātmane | Damayantīm priyām dattvā tayā saha divaṁ gataḥ |* "King Mitrasaha, having bestowed his dear Damayantī on Vaśishṭha, ascended to heaven along with her."[216]

The same passage has two further allusions to Vaśishṭha, which, though unconnected with our present subject, may be introduced here. In verse 8591 it is said: *Rantidevaś cha Sāṅkṛityo Vaśishṭhāya mahātmane | apaḥ pradāya śītoshṇāḥ nāka-pṛishṭhe mahīyate |* "Rantideva, son of Sankṛiti, who gave Vaśishṭha tepid water, is exalted to the heavenly regions." (See the Bhāg. Pur. ix. 21, 2–18, where the various acts of self-sacrifice practised by this prince are celebrated:) It is said of Vaśishṭha in verse 8601: *Avarshati cha Parjanye sarva-bhūtāni bhūta-kṛit | Vaśishṭho jīvayāmāsa prajāpatir ivāparaḥ |* "When Parjanya failed to send rain, the creative Vaśishṭha, like Brahmā, gave life to all beings."

Vaśishṭha, in short, is continually reappearing in the Mahābhārata. I will here adduce but one other passage. In the Śāntiparvan, verses 10,118 ff., it is said: *Tasya Vṛittrārdditasyātha mohaḥ āsīch chhatakratoḥ | rathantareṇa taṁ tattra Vaśishṭhaḥ samabodhayat | Vaśishṭhaḥ uvācha | deva-śreshṭho 'si devendra daityāsura-nibarhaṇa | trailokya-bala-*

[216] This appears to refer to the story told above, p. 418 ff., of Kalmāshapāda (who was the same as Mitrasaha), allowing Vasishṭha to be the agent in propagating the royal race; for both there (v. 6910) and in the Vishṇu Pur. (Wilson, vol. iii., pp. 308 and 310), the name of the queen is said to have been Madayantī, which is probably the right reading here also, the first two letters only having been transposed. If so, however, it is to be observed that a quite different turn is given to the story here, where it is represented as a meritorious act on the king's part, and as a favour to Vaśishṭha, that the queen was given up to him; whilst, according to the other account, the king's sole object in what he did was to get progeny.

saṁyuktaḥ kasmāch chhakra nishīdasi | esha Brahmā cha Vishṇuś cha S'ivaś chaiva jagat-patiḥ | Somaś cha bhagavān devaḥ sarve cha paramarshayaḥ | mā kārshīḥ kaśmalaṁ S'akra kaśchid evetaro yathā | āryyāṁ yuddhe matiṁ kṛitvā jahi śatrūn surādhipa | "By reciting the Rathantāra, Vaśishṭha encouraged Indra, when he had become bewildered and distressed in his conflict with Vrittra, saying to him, 'Thou art the chief of the gods, o slayer of the Daityas and Asuras, possessing all the strength of the three worlds: wherefore, Indra, dost thou despond? There are here present Brahmā, Vishṇu, S'iva, the divine Soma, and all the chief rishis. Faint not, o Indra, like an ordinary being. Assume a heroic spirit for the fight, and slay thine enemies, etc.'" Strength was thus infused into Indra.

In a later work, the Rāja Taranginī, Book IV. verses 619–655 (pp. 188 ff. and note, pp. 521 and 522, of Troyer's edition, vol. i. and vol. ii. 189, 469, note), a curious echo of these old legends is found still reverberating. A story is there told of a king Jayāpīḍa who oppressed his people, and persecuted the Brāhmans, and was eventually destroyed by them in a miraculous manner. He is compared to Saudāsa in verse 625: *Sa Saudāsaḥ ivāneka-loka-prāṇāpahārakṛit | astutya-kṛitya-sauhityaṁ svapne 'pi na samāyayau |* "Like Saudāsa, depriving many persons of their lives, he was not satiated with wicked deeds even in his dreams." One of the Brāhmans stood up on behalf of the rest to remonstrate: *Āha sma "Viśvāmitro vā Vaśishṭho vā taponidhiḥ | tvam Agastyo 'thavā kiṁ stha" iti darpeṇa taṁ nṛipaḥ | . . . . bhavān yatra Hariśchandras Triśaṅkur Nahusho 'pi vā | Viśvāmitra-mukhebhyo 'haṁ tattraiko bhavituṁ kshamaḥ | vihasyovācha taṁ rājā "Viśvāmitrādikopataḥ | Hariśchandrāyo nashṭās tvayi kruddhe tu kim bhavet" | pāṇinā tāḍayann ūrviṁ tataḥ kruddho 'bhyadhād dvijaḥ | "mayi kruddhe kshaṇād eva brahma-daṇḍaḥ pated na kim" | tach chhrutvā vihasan rājā kopād brāhmaṇam abravīt | "patatu brahma-daṇḍo 'sau kim adyāpi vilambate" | nanv ayam patito jālmety atha vipreṇa bhāshite | rājñaḥ kanaka-daṇḍo 'nge vitāna-skhalito 'patat |* "The king haughtily asked him: 'Art thou Viśvāmitra, or Vaśishṭha, so rich in devotion? or Agastya? or what art thou?' . . . . The Brāhman answered, swelling with indignation: 'Just as thou art a Hariśchandra, a Triśanku, or a Nahusha, so too have I power to be a Viśvāmitra, or one of those other rishis.' The king answered with a smile of contempt: 'Hariśchandra

and the rest perished by the wrath of Viśvāmitra and the other sages: but what will come of thy wrath?' The Brāhman angrily replied, smiting the ground with his hand, 'When I am incensed, shall not the Brahmanical bolt instantly descend?' The king retorted with an angry laugh: 'Let it descend; why does it not come down at once?' 'Has it not fallen, tyrant?' said the Brāhman; and he had no sooner spoken, than a golden beam fell from the canopy and smote the king," so that he became tortured by worms, and shortly after died; and went, as the story concludes, to hell.

Professor Lassen, who quotes the stories regarding Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra (Ind. Alt. 2nd ed. i. 718 f.), makes the following remarks on their import:

"The legend of the struggle between Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra embraces two distinct points: one is the contest between the priests and warriors for the highest rank; the other is the temporary alienation of the Ikshvākus from their family priests. Vaśishṭha is represented as the exemplar of such a priest; and the story of Kalmāshapāda is related for the express purpose of showing by an example that the Ikshvākus, after they had retained him, were victorious, and fulfilled perfectly the duties of sacrifice (see above, p. 390): in his capacity of priest he continues to live on, and is the representative of his whole race. We may conclude from the legend that his descendants had acquired the position of family priests to the Ikshvākus, though neither he himself nor his son Śaktri belonged to their number. Triśanku is the first prince who forsook them, and had recourse to Viśvāmitra. His successor Ambarīsha received support from that personage, as well as from Ṛichīka, one of the Bhṛigus;—a family whose connection with the Kuśikas appears also in the story of Paraśurāma. The hostility between the Ikshvākus and the family of Vaśishṭha continued down to Kalmāshapāda. Viśvāmitra is represented as having intentionally fostered the alienation; while Vaśishṭha is described as forbearing (though he had the power) to annihilate his rival.

"The conflict between the two rivals with its motives and machinery is described in the forms peculiar to the fully developed epos. To this style of poetry is to be referred the wonder-working cow, which supplies all objects of desire. There is no ground for believing in any actual war with weapons between the contending parties, or in

any participation of degraded Kshattriyas, or aboriginal tribes, in the contest; for all these things are mere poetical creations. Besides, the proper victory of Vasishṭha was not gained by arms, but by his rod. The legend represents the superiority of the Brāhmans as complete, since Viśvāmitra is forced to acknowledge the insufficiency of a warrior's power; and acquires his position as a Brāhman by purely Brahmanical methods.

"From Viśvāmitra are derived many of the sacerdotal families, which bear the common name of Kauśika, and to which many rishis famous in tradition belong. As there were also kings in this family, we have here an example of the fact that one of the old Vedic races became divided, and in later times belonged to both of the two higher castes. It appears impossible that any of the aboriginal tribes should have been among the descendants of Viśvāmitra's sons, as the legend represents; and the meaning of this account may therefore be that some of his sons and their descendants accepted the position of priests among these tribes, and are in consequence described as accursed."[217]

Sect. XIV.—*Story from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa about king Janaka becoming a Brāhman.*

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has the following account of a discussion between Janaka, king of Videha, and some Brāhmans:[218]

xi. 6, 2, 1. *Janako ha vai Vaideho brāhmaṇair dhāvayadbhir samājagāma Śvetaketunā Āruṇeyena Somaśushmeṇa Sātyayajninā Yājnavalkyena | tān ha uvācha "kathaṁ katham agnihotram juhutha" iti |* 2. *Sa ha uvācha Śvetaketur Āruṇeyo "gharmāv eva samrāḍ aham ajasrau yaśasā visyandamanāv anyo 'nyasmin juhomi" iti | "kathaṁ tad" iti | ādityo vai gharmas taṁ sāyam agnau juhomi agnir vai gharmas tam pratar āditye juhomi" iti | "kiṁ sa bhavati yaḥ evaṁ juhoti" | "ajasraḥ eva śriyā yaśasā bhavaty etayoś cha devatayoḥ sāyujyaṁ salokatāṁ jayati" iti |* 3. *Atha ha uvācha Somaśushmaḥ Sātyayajniḥ "tejaḥ eva samrāḍ ahaṁ tejasi juhomi" iti | "kathaṁ tad" iti | "Ādityo vai tejas taṁ sāyam agnau juhomi | agnir vai tejas tam prātar āditye juhomi"*

[217] See also Prof. Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 80 f., 383 f., 408, 413 ff., 485 f.

[218] This passage is referred to and translated by Prof. Müller, Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 421 ff.

iti | "kiṁ sa bhavati yaḥ evaṁ juhoti" iti | "tejasvī yaśasvy annādo bhavaty etayoś chaiva devatayoḥ sāyujyaṁ salokatāṁ jayati" iti | 4. Atha ha uvācha Yājnavalkyaḥ "yad aham agnim uddharāmy agnihotram eva tad udyachhāmi | ādityaṁ vai astaṁ yantam sarve devāḥ anuyanti | te me etam agnim uddhṛitaṁ dṛishṭvā upāvarttante atha aham pātrāṇi nir_ṇijya upavāpya āgnihotrīṁ dohayitvā paśyan paśyatas tarpayāmi" iti | tvaṁ nedishṭhaṁ yājnavalkya agnihotrasya amīmāṁsishṭhāḥ | dhenuśataṁ dadāmi" iti ha uvācha "na tv eva enayos tvam utkrāntiṁ na gatiṁ na pratishṭhāṁ na tṛiptiṁ na punarāvṛittiṁ na lokaṁ pratyuthāyinam" | ity uktvā ratham āsthāya pradhāvayān chakāra | 5. Te ha ūchur "ati vai no 'yaṁ rājanyabandhur avādīd hanta enam brahmodyam āhvayāmahai" iti | sa ha uvācha Yājnavalkyo "brāhmaṇāḥ vai vayaṁ smo rājanyabandhur asau yady amuṁ vayaṁ jayema kam ajaishma iti brūyāma atha yady asāv asmān jayed brāhmaṇān rājanyabandhur ajaishīd iti no brūyuḥ | mā idam ādṛiḍhvam" iti | tad ha asya jajnuḥ | atha ha Yājnavalkyo ratham āsthāya pradhāvayānchakāra taṁ ha anvājagāma | sa ha uvācha "agnihotraṁ Yājnavalkya veditum" iti | "agnihotraṁ samrāḍ" iti | 6. "Te vai ete āhutī hute utkrāmatas te antariksham āviśatas te antariksham eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte vāyuṁ samidham marīchīr eva śukrāṁ āhutiṁ te antarikshaṁ tarpayatas te tataḥ utkrāmataḥ | 7. Te divam āviśatas te divam eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte ādityaṁ samidhaṁ chandramasam eva śukrām āhutiṁ te divaṁ tarpayatas te tataḥ āvarttete | 8. Te imām āviśatas te imām eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte agniṁ samidham oshadhīr eva śukrām āhutiṁ te imāṁ tarpayatas te tataḥ utkrāmataḥ | 9. Te purusham āviśatas tasya mukham eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte jihvāṁ samidham annam eva śukrām āhutiṁ te purushaṁ tarpayataḥ | sa yaḥ evaṁ vidvān aśnāty agnihotram eva asya hutam bhavati | te tataḥ utkrāmataḥ | 10. Te striyam āviśatas tasyāḥ upastham eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte dhārakāṁ samidham (dhārakā ha vai nāma eshā | etayā ha vai Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ dhārayānchakāra) retaḥ eva śukrām āhutiṁ te striyaṁ tarpayataḥ | sa yaḥ evaṁ vidvān mithunam upaity agnihotram eva asya hutam bhavati yas tataḥ putro jāyate sa lokaḥ pratyutthāyī | etad agnihotraṁ Yājnavalkya na ataḥ param asti" iti ha uvācha | tasmai Yājnavalkyo varaṁ dadau | sa ha uvācha "kāmapraśnaḥ eva me tvayi Yājnavalkya asad" iti | tato brahmā Janakaḥ āsa |

"Janaka of Videha met with some travelling Brāhmans, Śvetaketu

Aruṇeya, Somaśushma Sātyayajni, and Yājnavalkya, and said to them, 'How do ye respectively offer the agnihotra oblation?' 2. Śvetaketu replied, 'I, o monarch, in sacrificing, throw the one of the two eternal heats which pervade the world with their splendour into the other.' 'How is that done,' asked the king. (Ś. replied), 'Āditya (the sun) is one heat; in the evening I throw him into Agni (Fire). Agni is the other heat; in the morning I throw him into Āditya.' 'What' (enquired the king) 'does he become who thus sacrifices?' 'He acquires' (replied Ś.) 'perpetual prosperity and renown; conquers for himself an union with these two deities, and dwells in the same region as they.' 3. Then Somaśushma answered, 'I, o monarch, in sacrificing, throw light into light.' 'How is that done,' asked the king. 'The Sun" (answered S.) 'is light; in the evening I throw him into Fire: and Fire is light; in the morning I throw him into the Sun.' 'What' (enquired the king) 'does he become who thus sacrifices?' 'He becomes' (rejoined S.) 'luminous, and renowned, an eater of food, and conquers for himself an union with these two deities, and dwells in the same region as they.' 4. Then Yājnavalkya said, 'When I take up the fire I lift the agnihotra. All the gods follow the Sun when he sets; and when they see me take up the Fire, they come back to me. Then, after washing and putting down the vessels, and having the Agnihotra Cow milked, beholding them as they behold me, I satisfy them (with sacrificial food).' The king answered, 'Thou hast approached very close to a solution of the Agnihotra, o Yājnavalkya; I give thee a hundred milch-cows: but thou hast not discovered the ascent of these two (oblations), nor the course, nor the resting-place, nor the satisfaction, nor the return, nor the world where they reappear(?).' Having so spoken, Janaka mounted his car and drove away. 5. The Brāhmans then said amongst themselves, 'This Rājanya has surpassed us in speaking; come, let us invite him to a theological discussion.' Yājnavalkya, however, interposed, 'We are Brāhmans, and he a Rājanya; if we overcome him, we shall ask ourselves, whom have we overcome? but if he overcome us, men will say to us, a Rājanya has overcome Brāhmans. Do not follow this course.' They assented to his advice. Then Yājnavalkya mounted his car, and drove after the king; and came up to him. Janaka asked, 'is it to learn the agnihotra (that thou hast come), Yājnavalkya?' 'The agnihotra, o

monarch,' said Y. 6. The king rejoined, 'These two oblations, when offered, ascend; they enter the air, they make the air their āhavanīya fire, the wind their fuel, the rays their bright oblation, they satisfy the air, and thence ascend. 7. They enter the sky, they make the sky their āhavanīya fire, the sun their fuel, the moon their bright oblation; they satisfy the sky, they return thence. 8. They enter this earth, they make this earth their āhavanīya fire, Agni their fuel, the plants their bright oblation; they satisfy the earth, they ascend thence. They enter man, they make his mouth their āhavanīya fire, his tongue their fuel, food their bright oblation; they satisfy man. (He who, thus knowing, eats, truly offers the agnihotra). 9. They ascend from him, they enter into woman [the details which follow are better left untranslated], they satisfy her. The man who, thus knowing, approaches his wife, truly offers the agnihotra. The son who is then born is the world of re-appearance. This is the agnihotra, o Yājnavalkya; there is nothing beyond this.' Y. offered the king the choice of a boon. He replied, 'Let me enquire of thee whatever I desire, o Yājnavalkya.' Henceforward Janaka was a Brāhmăn." [219]

By Brāhmăn in the last sentence we have, I presume, to understand a Brāhman. Even if it were taken to dignify a priest of the kind called Brāhmăn, the conclusion would be the same; as at the time when the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa was written, none but Brāhmans could officiate as priests.[220]

Janaka's name occurs frequently in the Mahābhārata. In the Vana-parvan of that poem (8089) he is called a rājarshi. In the Śānti-parvan, verse 6640, it is said: *Atrāpy udāharantīmam itihāsam purātanam | gītaṁ Videha-rājena Janakena praśāmyatā | "anantaṁ vata me vittaṁ yasya me nāsti kinchana | Mithilāyām pradīptāyāṁ na me dahyati kinchana" |* "They here relate an ancient story,—the words recited by Janaka the tranquil-minded king of Videha:

> 'Though worldly pelf I own no more,
> Of wealth I have a boundless store:
> While Mithilā the flames devour,
> My goods can all defy their power.'"

[219] The Commentator explains *brahmā* by *brahmishṭhaḥ*, "Most full of divine knowledge."

[220] Prof. Müller remarks in his article on Caste (Chips from a German Workshop, ii. 338): "That king Janaka of Videha possessed superior knowledge is acknowledged by one of the most learned among the Brahmans, by Yājnavalkya himself; and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which is believed to have been the work of Yājnavalkya, it is said that king Janaka became a Brahman."

The same sentiment is ascribed to the same royal rishi in verse 7891 : *Api cha bhavati Maithilena gītañ nagaram upāhitam agninā 'bhivīkshya | "na khalu mama hi dahyate 'ttra kinchit" svayam idam āha sma bhūmipālaḥ |* "And these words were repeated by the king of Mithilā when he beheld the city enveloped in fire, 'nothing of mine is burnt here;' —so said the king himself."

Another "ancient story" of Janaka is related in verses 7882–7983 of the same book. It is there stated that this king was constantly engaged in thinking on matters connected with a future life; and that he had a hundred religious teachers to instruct him on different points of duty (verse 7884). He was, however, visited by the rishi Panchaśikha[221] (verses 7886, 7888), a pupil of Āsuri (verse 7890), who so confounded the king's hundred instructors by his reasoning, that they were abandoned by their pupil, who followed this new teacher (7898. *Upetya śatam āchāryān mohayāmāsa hetubhiḥ |* 7899. *Janakas tv abhisañraktaḥ Kāpileyānudarśanāt | utsṛijya śatam āchāryyān pṛishṭhato 'nujagāma tam*). Panchaśikha appears also, at verse 11839, as his instructor. At verse 10699 Janaka is again brought forward as receiving religious information from Parāśara; in verses 11545–11836 as being taught by the rishi Yājnavalkya the principles of the Yoga and Sānkhya philosophies; and in verses 11854–12043 as holding a conversation with a travelling female mendicant (*bhikshukī*), named Sulabhā, who sought to prove him, and to whom he declares himself to be a pupil of Panchaśikha (here said to belong to the family of Parāśara, verse 11875), and an adept in the systems just mentioned; and from whom, in answer to some reproaches he had addressed to her regarding her procedure, he learns that she belongs to the Rājanya class, like himself, of the family of the rājarshi Pradhāna, that she had obtained no suitable husband, and wandered about, following an ascetic life, and seeking final emancipation (verses 12033 ff.).

A further story in illustration of Janaka's indifference to worldly objects is told in the Āśvamedhikaparvan, verses 887 ff.

[221] See Prof. Wilson's Sānkhya-kārikā, p. 190; and Dr. Hall's Preface to his edition of the Sānkhya-pravachana-bhāshya, pp. 9 ff.

SECT. XV.—*Other instances in which Brāhmans are said to have been instructed in divine knowledge by Kshattriyas.*

Two other cases in which Brāhmans are recorded to have received instruction from Kshattriyas are thus stated by Professor Müller:[222]

"For a Kshattriya to teach the law was a crime (*sva-dharmātikrama*), and it is only by a most artificial line of argument that the dogmatic philosophers of the Mīmaṁsā school tried to explain this away. The Brāhmans seem to have forgotten that, according to their own Upanishads, Ajātaśatru, the king of Kāśi, possessed more knowledge than Gārgya, the son of Balāka, who was renowned as a reader of the Veda, and that Gārgya desired to become his pupil, though it was not right, as the king himself remarked, that a Kshatriya should initiate a Brāhman. They must have forgotten that Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, king of the Panchālas, silenced Śvetaketu Āruṇeya and his father, and then communicated to them doctrines which Kshatriyas only, but no Brāhmans, had ever known before." I subjoin two separate versions of each of these stories. The first is that of Ajātaśatru:

Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa Upanishad, iv. 1. *Atha ha vai Gārgyo Bālākir anūchānaḥ saṁspashṭaḥ āsa | so 'vasad Uśīnareshu savasan Matsyeshu Kuru-panchāleshu Kāśi-videheshv iti | sa ha Ajātaśatruṁ Kāśyam āvrajya uvācha "brahma te bravāṇi" iti | taṁ ha uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "sahasraṁ dadmaḥ" iti "etasyāṁ vāchi | 'Janako Janakaḥ' iti vai u janāḥ dhāvanti" iti | . . . . 19. Tataḥ u ha Bālākis tūshṇīm āsa | taṁ ha uvācha Ajātaśatrur "etāvad nu Bālāke" iti | "etāvad" iti ha uvācha Bālākiḥ" | tam ha uvācha Ajātaśatrur "mṛishā vai khalu mā saṁvādayishṭhāḥ "brahma te bravāṇi" iti | yo vai Bālāke eteshām purushāṇāṁ karttā yasya vai tat karma sa vai veditavyaḥ" iti | tataḥ u ha Bālākiḥ samit-pāṇiḥ pratichakrame "upāyāni" iti | taṁ ha uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "pratiloma-rūpam eva tad manye yat kshattriyo brāhmaṇam upanayeta ehi vy eva tvā jnapayishyāmi" iti | taṁ ha pāṇāv abhipadya pravavrāja |*

"Now Gārgya Bālāki was renowned as a man well read in the Veda. He dwelt among the Uśīnaras, Matsyas, Kurus, Panchālas, Kāśis, and Videhas, travelling from place to place. He came to

[222] Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. p. 338.

Ajātaśatru, the Kāśya, and said, 'Let me declare to thee divine knowledge.' Ajātaśatru said, 'We bestow on thee a thousand (cows) for this word.' Men run to us crying, 'Janaka, Janaka.'" The learned man accordingly addresses Ajātaśatru in a series of statements regarding the object of his own worship, but is silenced by the king's display of superior knowledge on every topic.[223] The story ends thus: 19. "Then the son of Balāka remained silent. Ajātaśatru said to him, 'Dost (thou know only) so much, o Bālāki.' 'Only so much,' he answered. The king rejoined, 'Thou hast vainly proposed to me, let me teach thee divine knowledge.' He, son of Balāka, who is the maker of these souls, whose work that is, — he is the object of knowledge.' Then the son of Balāka approached the king with fuel in his hand, and said, 'Let me attend thee (as thy pupil).' The king replied, 'I regard it as an inversion of the proper rule that a Kshattriya should initiate a Brāhman. (But) come, I will instruct thee. Then, having taken him by the hand, he departed."

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 5, 1, 1 (= Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, ii. 1, 1, p. 334 of Cal. edit.). *Dṛiptabālākir ha anūchāno Gārgyaḥ āsa | sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatruṁ Kāśyam "brahma te bravāṇi" iti | sa uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "sahasram etasyāṁ vāchi dadmaḥ 'Janako Janakaḥ' iti vai janāḥ dhāvanti" iti | . . . . 12. Sa ha tūshṇīm āsa Gārgyaḥ | 13. Sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatrur "etavad nu" iti | "etāvad hi" iti | "na etāvatā viditaṁ bhavati" iti | sa ha uvācha Gārgyaḥ "upa tvā ayāni" iti | 14. Sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "pratilomaṁ vai tad yad brāhmaṇaḥ kshattriyam upeyād 'brahma me vakshyati' iti | vy eva tvā jñāpayishyāmi" iti | tam pāṇāv ādāya uttasthau |*

"Dṛiptabālāki Gārgyya was well read in the Veda. He said to Ajātaśatru, the Kāśya, 'Let me declare to thee divine knowledge.' Ajātaśatra replied, 'We give thee a thousand (cows) for this word. Men run to me calling out, "Janaka, Janaka."' At the end of their conversation we are told: 12. "Gārgya remained silent. 13. Then Ajātaśatru asked him, '(Dost thou know) so much only?' 'Only so much,' he replied. 'But this,' rejoined Ajātaśatru, 'does not comprehend the whole of knowlege.' Then said Gārgya, 'Let me come to thee (as thy disciple).' Ajātasatru answered, 'This is an inversion of the proper rule, that a Brāhman should attend a Kshattriya with the view

[223] See Prof. Cowell's Translation of the Upanishad, pp. 167 ff.

of being instructed in divine knowledge. (But) I will teach thee.' He took him by the hand, and rose."

The second story is that of Pravāhaṇa Jaivali:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 9, 1, 1 (= Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, vi. 2, 1, p. 1030 of Cal. edit.). *Śvetaketur ha vai Āruṇeyaḥ Panchālānām parishadam ājagāma | sa ājagāma Pravāhaṇaṁ Jaivalim parichārayamāṇam | tam udīkshya abhyuvāda "kumāra" iti | sa "bhoḥ" iti pratiśuśrāva | "anuśishṭo nv asi pitrā" | "om" iti ha uvācha | 2. "Vettha yathā imāḥ prajāḥ prayatyo vipratipadyante" iti | "na" iti ha uvācha | "vettha yāthā imaṁ lokam punar āpadyante" iti | "na" iti ha eva uvācha | "vettha yathā 'sau lokaḥ evam bahubhiḥ punaḥ punaḥ prayadbhir na sampūryyate" iti | "na" iti ha eva uvācha | 3. "Vettha yatithyām āhutyāṁ hutāyām āpaḥ „purusha-vācho bhūtvā samutthāya vadanti" iti | "na" iti ha eva uvācha | "vettha u devayānasya vā pathaḥ pratipadam pitṛiyāṇasya vā yat kṛitvā devayānaṁ vā panthānam pratipadyate pitṛiyāṇaṁ vā | 4. Api hi naḥ ṛisher vachaḥ śrutam* (R. V. x. 88, 15 = Vāj. S. 19, 47) *'dve sṛitī aśṛiṇavam pitṛīṇām ahaṁ devānām uta marttyānām | tābhyām idaṁ viśvam ejat sameti yad antarā pitaram mātaraṁ cha'" iti | "na aham ataḥ ekanchana veda" iti ha uvācha | 5. Atha ha enaṁ vasatyā upamantṛayānchakre | anādṛitya vasatiṁ kumāraḥ pradadrāva | sa ājagāma pitaram | taṁ ha uvācha "iti vāva kila no bhavān purā 'nuśishṭān avochaḥ"*[224] *iti | "kathaṁ sumedhaḥ" iti | "pancha mā praśnān rājanyabandhur aprākshīt tato na ekanchana veda" iti ha uvācha | "katame te" iti | "ime" iti ha pratīkāny udājahāra | 6. Sa ha uvācha | "tathā nas tvaṁ tāta jānīthāḥ yathā yad ahaṁ kincha veda sarvam ahaṁ tat tubhyam avocham | prehi tu tattra pratītya brahmacharyyaṁ vatsyāva" iti | bhavān eva gachhatv" iti | 7. Sa ājagāma Gautamo yatra Pravāhaṇasya Jaivaler āsa | tasmai āsanam āhāryya*[225] *udakam āhārayānchakāra | atha ha asmai arghaṁ*[226] *chākara | 8. Sa ha uvācha "varam bhavate Gautamāya dadmaḥ" iti | sa ha uvācha "pratijñāto me esha varaḥ | yāṁ tu kumārasya ante vācham abhāshathās tām me brūhi" iti | 9. Sa ha uvācha "daiveshu vai Gautama tad vareshu | mānushāṇām brūhi" iti | 10. Sa ha uvācha "vijñāyate ha asti hiraṇyasya apāttaṁ go-aśvānāṁ dāsīnām pravarāṇām paridhānānām | mā no bhavān bahor anantasya*

[224] The text of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Up. reads *avochat*.

[225] The Bṛih. Ār. reads *āhṛitya*.

[226] The Bṛih. Ār. reads *arghyam*.

aparyantasya abhy avadānyo bhūd" iti | "sa vai Gautama tīrthena ichhāsai" iti | "upaimy aham bhavantam" iti "vāchā ha sma eva pūrve upayanti" | 11. Sa ha upāyana-kīrttā[227] *uvācha | "tathā nas tvaṁ Gautama mā 'parādhās tava cha pitāmahāḥ yathā | iyaṁ vidyā itaḥ pūrvaṁ na kasmiṁschana brāhmaṇe uvāsa | tāṁ tv ahaṁ tubhyaṁ vakshyāmi | ko hi tvā evam bruvantam arhati pratyākhyātum" iti |*

"Śvetaketu Āruṇeya came to the assembly of the Panchālas. He came to Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, who was receiving service from his attendants. Seeing Śvetaketu, the king said, 'o youth.' 'Sire,' he answered. (King) 'Hast thou been instructed by thy father?' (Śvetaketu) 'I have.' 2. (K.) 'Dost thou know how these creatures, when departing, proceed in different directions?' (Ś.) 'No.' (K.) 'Dost thou know how they return to this world?' (Ś.) 'No.' (K.) 'Dost thou know how it is that the other world is not filled with those numerous beings who are thus constantly departing?' (Ś.) 'No.' 3. (K.) 'Dost thou know after the offering of what oblation the waters, acquiring human voices, rise and speak?' (Ś.) 'No.' (K.) 'Dost thou know the means of attaining the path which leads to the gods, or that which leads to the Pitṛis; by what act the one or the other is gained? 4. And we have heard the words of the rishi: (R.V. x. 88, 15 = Vaj. S. 19, 47) "I have heard of two paths for mortals, one to the pitṛis, another to the gods. By these proceeds every moving thing that exists between the father and the mother (*i.e.* between Dyaus and Pṛithivī, heaven and earth)."' 'I know none of all these things,' answered Śvetaketu. 5. The king then invited him to stay. The youth, however, did not accept this invitation, but hastened away, and came to his father, to whom he said, 'Thou didst formerly declare me to be instructed.' 'How now (my) intelligent (son)?' asked his father. 'The Rājanya,' replied the son, 'asked me five questions, of which I know not even one.' 'What were the questions?' 'They were these,' and he told him the initial words of each of them. 6. The father then said, 'Be assured, my son, that I told thee all that I myself know. But come, let us proceed thither, and become (his) pupils.' 'Do thou thyself go,' rejoined the son. 7. Gantama accordingly arrived (at the abode) of Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, who caused a seat to be brought, and water and the madhuparka mess to be

[227] The text of the Bṛih. Ār. Up. reads *kīrttyā uvāsa*.

presented: 8. and said, 'We offer thee a boon, Gautama.' Gautama replied, 'Thou hast promised me this boon: explain to me the questions which thou hast proposed to the youth.' 9. The king replied, 'That is one of the divine boons; ask one of those that are human.' 10. Gautama rejoined, 'Thou knowest that I have received gold, cows, horses, female slaves, attendants, raiment; be not illiberal towards us in respect to that which is immense, infinite, boundless.' 'This, o Gautama,' said the king, 'thou rightly desirest.' 'I approach thee (as thy) disciple,' answered Gautama. The men of old used to approach (their teachers) with words (merely). He (accordingly) attended him by merely intimating his intention to do so.[228] 'Do not,' then said the king, 'attach any blame to me, as your ancestors (did not). This knowledge has never heretofore dwelt in any Brāhman; but I shall declare it to thee. For who should refuse thee when thou so speakest?'"

Chhāndogya Upanishad, v. 3, 1. *Śvetaketur ha Āruṇeyaḥ Panchālānāṁ samitim eyāya | taṁ ha Pravāhaṇo Jaivalir uvācha "kumāra anu tvā 'śishat pitā" iti | "anu hi bhagavaḥ" iti | 2. "Vettha yad ito 'dhi prajāḥ prayanti" iti | "na bhagavaḥ" iti | "vettha yathā punar āvarttante" iti | "na bhagavaḥ" iti | "vettha pathor deva-yānasya pitṛiyāṇasya cha vyāvarttane" iti | "na bhagavaḥ" iti | 3. "Vettha yathā 'sau loko na sampūryyate" | "na bhagavaḥ" iti | "vettha yathā pañchamyām āhutāv āpaḥ purusha-vachaso bhavanti" iti | "naiva bhagavaḥ" iti | 4. "Atha nu kim anuśishṭo 'vochathāḥ | yo hi imāni na vidyāt kathaṁ so 'nuśishṭo bravīta" iti | sa ha āyastaḥ pitur arddham eyāya | taṁ ha uvācha "ananuśishya vāva kila mā bhagavān abravīd 'anu tvā 'śisham'" iti | 5. "Pancha mā ɾājanyabandhuḥ praśnān aprākshīt teshāṁ na ekanchana aśakaṁ vivaktum" iti | sa ha uvācha "yathā mā tvaṁ tadā etān avado yathā 'ham eshāṁ na ekanchana veda yady aham imān avedishyaṁ kathaṁ te na avakshyam" iti | 6. Sa ha Gautamo rājno 'rddham eyāya | tasmai ha prāptāya arhāṁ chakāra | sa ha prātaḥ sabhāgaḥ udeyāya | taṁ ha uvācha "mānushasya bhagavan Gautama vittasya varaṁ vṛiṇīthāḥ" iti | sa ha uvācha "tava eva rājan mānushaṁ vittam | yām eva kumārasya ante vācham abhāshathās tām eva me brūhi" iti | 7. Sa ha kṛichchhrī babhūva | taṁ ha "chiraṁ vasa" ity ājnāpayān-*

[228] Or, "by merely intimating, not performing, the respectful mode of approach by touching his feet," according to the Commentator.

chakāra | taṁ ha uvācha "yathā mā tvaṁ Gautama avado yathā iyaṁ na prāk tvattaḥ purā brāhmaṇān gachhati tasmād u sarveshu lokeshu kshattrasya eva praśāsanam abhūd" iti | tasmai ha uvācha |

"1. Śvetaketu Āruṇeya came to the assembly of the Panchālas. Pravāhaṇa Jaivali asked him, 'Young man, has thy father instructed thee?' 'He has, sire,' replied Śvetaketu. 2. 'Dost thou know,' asked the king, 'whither living creatures proceed when they go hence?' (Ś.) 'No, sire.' (King) 'Dost thou know how they return?' (Ś.) 'No, sire.' (K.) 'Dost thou know the divergences of the two paths whereof one leads to the gods, and the other to the pitṛis?' (Ś.) 'No, sire.' 3. (K.) 'Dost thou know how it is that the other world is not filled?' (Ś.) 'No, sire.' (K.) 'Dost thou know how at the fifth oblation the waters acquire human voices?' (Ś.) 'I do not, sire.' 4. (K.) 'And hast thou then said "I have been instructed?" for how can he who does not know these things allege that he has been so?' The young man, mortified, went to his father, and said, 'Thou didst tell me, I have instructed thee, when thou hadst not done so. 5. That Rājanya proposed to me five questions, of which I could not solve even one.' The father replied, 'As thou didst then say to me regarding these five questions, I know not one of them,—(so I ask thee whether) if I had known them, I would not have told them to thee?' 6. Gautama went to the king, who received him with honour. In the morning, having received his share (of attention), he presented himself before the king, who said to him, 'Ask, o reverend Gautama, a present of human riches.' He replied, 'To thee, o king, belongs wealth of that description. Declare to me the questions which thou proposedst to the youth.' 7. The king was perplexed and desired him to make a long stay: and said to him, 'As thou hast declared to me, o Gautama, that this knowledge has not formerly reached the Brāhmans (who lived) before thee, it has therefore been among all peoples a discipline inculcated by the Kshattriya class alone.' He then declared it to him."

Sect. XVI.—*Story of King Viśvantara and the Śyāparṇa Brāhmans.*

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii. 27. *Viśvantaro ha Saushadmanaḥ Śyāparnān parichakshāṇo viśyāparṇaṁ yajnam ājahre | tad ha anubudhya Śyāparṇās taṁ yajnam ājagmuḥ | te ha tad-antarvedy āsānchakrire | tān ha dṛishṭvā*

uvācha "pāpasya vai ime karmaṇaḥ karttāraḥ āsate apūtāyai vācho vaditāro yach chhyāparṇāḥ imān utthāpayata ime me 'ntarvedim āsishata" iti | "tathā" iti tān utthāpayānchakruḥ | te ha utthāpyamānāḥ ruruvire "ye tebhyo Bhūtavīrebhyaḥ Asitamṛigāḥ Kaśyapānāṁ somapītham abhijigyuḥ Pārikshitasya Janamejayasya vikaśyape yajne tais te tattra vīravantaḥ āsuḥ | kaḥ svit so 'smāka asti vīro yaḥ imaṁ somapītham abhijeshyati" iti | "ayam aham asmi vo vīraḥ" iti ha uvācha Rāmo Mārgaveyaḥ | Rāmo ha āsa Mārgaveyo 'nūchānaḥ Śyāparṇīyaḥ | teshāṁ ha uttishṭhatām uvācha "api nu rājann itthaṁvidaṁ veder utthāpayanti" iti | "yas tvaṁ kathaṁ vettha brahmabandho" iti | 28. "Yattra Indraṁ devatāḥ paryavṛinjan Viśvarūpaṁ Tvāshṭram abhyamaṁsta Vṛittram astṛita yatīn sālāvṛikebhyaḥ prādād Arurmaghān avadhīd Bṛihaspateḥ pratyavadhīd" iti | "tattra Indrah somapīthena vyārdhyata | Indrasya anu vyṛiddhiṁ kshattram somapīthena vyārdhyata | api Indraḥ somapīthe 'bhavat Tvashtur āmushya somam | tad vyṛiddham eva adyāpi kshattraṁ somapīthena | sa yas tam bhakshaṁ vidyād yaḥ kshattrasya somapīthena vyṛiddhasya yena kshattraṁ samṛidhyate kathaṁ taṁ veder utthāpayanti" iti | "vettha brāhmaṇa tvaṁ tam bhaksham" | "veda hi" iti | "taṁ vai no brāhmaṇa brūhi" iti | "tasmai vai te rājann" iti ha uvācha | 29. Trayāṇām bhakshāṇām ekam āharishyanti somaṁ vā dadhi vā apo vā | sa yadi somam brāhmaṇānāṁ sa bhakshaḥ | brāhmaṇāṁs tena bhakshena jinvishyasi | brāhmaṇa-kalpas te prajāyām ājanishyate ādāyī āpāyī āvasāyī yathā-kāma-prayāpyaḥ | yadā vai kshattriyāya pāpam bhavati brāhmaṇa-kalpo 'sya prājāyām ājāyate īśvaro ha asmād dvitīyo vā tṛitīyo vā brāhmaṇatām abhyupaitoḥ sa brahmabandhavena jijyūshataḥ | atha yadi dadhi vaiśyānāṁ sa bhakshaḥ | vaiśyāṁs tena bhakshena jinvishyasi | vaiśya-kalpas te prajāyām ājanishyate 'nyasya bali-kṛid anyasya ādyo yathā-kāma-jyeyaḥ | yadā vai kshattriyāya pāpam bhavati vaiśya-kalpo 'sya prajāyām ājāyate īśvaro ha asmād dvitīyo vā tṛitīyo vā vaiśyatām abhyupaitoḥ sa vaiśyatayā jijyūshitaḥ | atha yady apaḥ śūdrāṇāṁ sa bhakshaḥ | śūdrāṁs tena bhakshena jinvishyasi | śūdra-kalpas te prajāyām ājanishyate 'nyasya preshyaḥ kāmotthāpyo yathākāma-vadhyaḥ | yadā vai kshattriyāya pāpam bhavati śūdra-kalpo 'sya prajāyām ājāyate | īśvaro ha asmād dvitīyo vā tṛitīyo vā śūdratām abhyupaitoḥ | sa śūdratayā jijyūshitaḥ | 30. Ete vai te trayo bhakshāḥ rājann" iti ha uvācha "yeshām āśāṁ na iyāt kshattriyo yajamānaḥ atha asya esha svo 'bhakshaḥ" ityādi |

"Viśvantara, the son of Sushadman, setting aside the Śyāparṇas, was performing a sacrifice without their aid. Hearing of this the Śyāparṇas came to the ceremony, and sat down within the sacrificial enclosure. Observing them, the king said, 'Remove these Śyāparṇas, doers of evil deeds, and speakers of impure language,[229] who have sat down within my sacrificial enclosure.' Saying, 'So be it,' they removed them. When they were being removed, they exclaimed, 'The Kaśyapas found champions in the Asitamṛigas who conquered for them from the Bhūtavīras the soma-draught at the sacrifice which Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, was performing without their (the Kaśyapas') aid. Who is the champion who will conquer for us this soma-draught?' 'I am your champion,' cried Rāma Mārgaveya. This Rāma was a learned man, belonging to the Śyāparṇa race. When the Śyāparṇas were moving away, he said, 'Do they, o king, remove from the sacrificial enclosure a man who possesses such knowledge [as I]?' 'How dost thou possess it, Brāhman?' asked the king. 28. (Rāma answered) "When the deities rejected Indra, who had killed Tvāshṭra,[230] prostrated Vṛittra, given over the Yatis to the wolves, slain the Arurmaghas, and contradicted Bṛihaspati, then he (Indra) forfeited the soma-draught. In consequence of his forfeiture, the Kshăttra (Kshattriya) class lost it

[229] Prof. Weber (Ind. St. i., 215) thinks the words "doers of evil deeds" appear to refer to some variety of ceremonial peculiar to the Śyāparṇas, and the words "speakers of impure language" to a difference in their dialect; and he is inclined to derive the patronymic of Rāma, Mārgavēya, from the impure caste of Mārgavas mentioned in Manu, x. 34; by which supposition, he thinks, a ground would be discovered for the reproaches which Viśvantara addresses to the Śyāparṇa family. In reference to the story of Janamejaya, alluded to in this passage, Weber remarks (Ind. Stud. i. 204): "The same work (the Aitareya Brahmana, vii., 27) makes mention of a dispute which this king had with the sacerdotal family of the Bhūtavīras, a branch of the Kaśyapas; and which was adjusted by the intervention of the Asitamṛigas, who belonged to the same race." A Śyāparṇa is alluded to in Ś. P. Br. x., 4, 1, 10 (quoted by Prof. Weber, Ind. St. i., 215): *Etad ha sma vai tad vidvān Śyāparṇaḥ Sāyakāyanaḥ āha "yad vai me idaṁ karma samāpsyata mama eva prajā Salvānaṁ rājño 'bhavishyan mama brāhmaṇāḥ mama vaiśyāḥ | yat tu me etāvat karmaṇaḥ samāpi tena me ubhayathā Salvān prajā 'tirekshyate" iti* | "Knowing this Sāyakāyana, the Śyāparṇa, said, 'If this my rite had been completed, my offspring would have become the kings of the Salvas, mine their Brāhmans, mine their Vaiśyas. But as (only) so much of the rite has been completed, my offspring shall, in both respects, excel the Salvas.'" See also Ind. St. x. 18.

[230] See Dr. Haug's note, p. 487, where he states why he cannot follow Sāyaṇa in rendering *abhyamaṁsta* by "killed." Prof. Weber (Ind. St. ix. 326) defends Sāyaṇa's interpretation.

also. (But Indra recovered a share in the soma-draught, having stolen Tvashṭṛi's soma.) Hence at present also the Kshattriyas are excluded from the soma-draught. Why do they remove from the sacrificial enclosure a man who knows that (other) draught which (properly belongs) to the Kshattriyas who are excluded from the soma-draught, and by which they are rendered prosperous?' 'Dost thou, o Brāhman, know that draught?' asked the king. 'I know it,' answered Rāma. 'Declare it then to us,' rejoined the prince. 'I declare it to thee, o king, said the other. 29. 'Of the three draughts they shall bring one, either soma, or curds, or water. If he (the priest, bring) the soma, that is the draught of the Brāhmans, and with it thou shalt satisfy the Brāhmans. One like a Brāhman shall be born in thy line, a receiver of gifts, a drinker (of soma), a seeker of food,[231] a rover at will.' Whenever the offence (of drinking the Brāhman's draught)[232] is chargeable to a Kshattriya, one like a Brāhman is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Brāhman, and likes to live as a Brāhman. Next, if (the priest bring) curds, that is the Vaiśya's draught; with it thou shalt satisfy the Vaiśyas. One like a Vaiśya shall be born in thy line, one who is tributary to another, who is to be used (*lit.* eaten) by another, and who may be oppressed at will. Whenever the offence (of consuming the Vaiśya's portion) is chargeable to a Kshattriya, one like a Vaiśya is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Vaiśya, and is desirous of living as a Vaiśya. Next, if (the priest bring) water, that is the Śūdra's draught; with it thou shalt satify the Śūdras. One like a Śūdra shall be born in thy line, the servant of another, who may be expelled and slain at pleasure. When the offence (of drinking the Śūdra's draught) is chargeable against a Kshattriya, one like a Śūdra is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Śūdra, and desires to live like a Śūdra. 30. 'These, o king, are the three draughts, which the Kshattriya when sacrificing should not desire. His own proper draught is as follows: Let him squeeze the descending branches

[231] Prof. Weber (Ind. Stud. ix. 326) would prefer to translate *āvasayī* (überall-) wohnend, "dwelling everywhere."

[232] Dr. Haug translates "when there is any fault on the Kshattriya (who, when sacrificing, eats the Brāhmana portion)," etc. See the beginning of par. 30 below.

of the nyagrodha (Indian fig) tree, with the fruits of the udumbara, the aśvattha, and the plaksha trees, and drink these juices. This is his own proper draught."

The continuation may be read in Dr. Haug's translation, pp. 486 ff. After the priest has given the king a deal of further information the result is told in par. 34, as follows:

Tam evam etam bhaksham provācha Rāmo Mārgaveyo Viśvantarāya Saushadmanāya | tasmin ha uvācha prokte "sahasram u ha brāhmaṇa tubhyaṁ dadmaḥ | saśyāparṇaḥ u me yajnaḥ" iti |

"This draught did Rāma Mārgaveya declare to Viśvantara the son of Sushadman. When it had been declared the king said, 'Brāhman, we give thee a thousand (cows): and my sacrifice (shall be performed) with (the aid of the) Śyāparṇas.'"

Sect. XVII.—*Story of Matanga who tried in vain to raise himself to the position of a Brāhman.*

The legend of Matanga, which is narrated in the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 1872 ff., is introduced by a question which Yudhishṭhira addresses to Bhīshma, verse 1867: *Kshattriyo yadi vā vaiśyaḥ śūdro vā rājasattama | brāhmaṇyam prāpnuyād yena tad me vyākhyātum arhasi | tapasā vā sumahatā karmaṇā vā śrutena vā | brāhmaṇyaṁ atha ched ichhet tad me brūhi samāsataḥ | Bhīshmaḥ uvācha* | 1870. *Brāhmaṇyaṁ tāta dushprāpyaṁ varṇaiḥ kshattrādibhis tribhiḥ | paraṁ hi sarva-bhūtānāṁ sthānam etad Yudhishṭhira | bahvīs tu saṁsaran yonīr jāyamānaḥ punaḥ punaḥ | paryāye tāta kasmiṁśchid brāhmaṇo nāma jāyate* | "Explain to me the means—whether it be intense austere-fervour, or ceremonies, or Vedic learning—whereby a Kshattriya, a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra, if he desire it, can attain to the state of a Brāhman. Bhīshma replies (1870), The state of a Brāhman is hard to be acquired by men of the other three classes, the Kshattriyas, etc.; for this Brāhmanhood is the highest rank among all living creatures. It is only after passing through numerous wombs, and being born again and again, that such a man, in some revolution of being, becomes a Brāhman." Bhīshma proceeds to illustrate this principle by the case of Matanga, who was apparently the son of a Brāhman, was distinguished for his good qualities, and was esteemed to be himself of the same class as his

father (verse 1873: *dvijāteḥ kasyachit tāta tulya-varṇaḥ sutas tv abhūt | Mataṅgo nāma nāmnā vai sarvaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ* |) He was, however, discovered to be of spurious birth in the following manner: He happened to be sent somewhere by his father to perform sacrifice, and was travelling in a car drawn by asses. On his way he repeatedly pierced on its nose with the goad the colt which was conveying him along with its mother. Feeling for the wound thus inflicted on her offspring, the she-ass said: "Be not distressed, my son, it is a Chaṇḍāla who is on the car. There is nothing dreadful in a Brāhman; he is declared to be kindly, a teacher who instructs all creatures: how then can he smite any one? This man of wicked disposition shows no pity to a tender colt, and thereby indicates his origin; for it is birth which determines the character" (verse 1876. *Uvācha mā śuchaḥ puttra chaṇḍālas tv adhitishṭhati | brāhmaṇe dārunaṁ nāsti maitro brāhmaṇa uchyate | āchāryaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ śāstā kim praharishyati | ayaṁ tu pāpa-prakṛitir bāle na kurute dayām | sva-yonim mānayaty esha bhāvo bhāvaṁ niyachhati* |). Overhearing this colloquy, Matanga instantly got down from the car and besought the she-ass, whom he honoured with the epithet of "most intelligent," to tell him how she knew him to be a Chaṇḍāla and how his mother had been corrupted. The she-ass informs him that his mother when intoxicated had received the embraces of a low-born barber, and that he was the offspring of this connection and consequently no Brāhman (verse 1882. *Brāhmaṇyāṁ vṛishalena tvam mattāyāṁ nāpitena ha | jātas tvam asi chaṇḍālo brāhmaṇyaṁ tena te 'naśat* |). On receiving this unwelcome revelation, Matanga returned home, and being questioned by his reputed father about the cause of his speedy reappearance, he told him what he had heard; and expressed his determination to enter on a course of austerities. He does so accordingly with such effect that he alarms the gods, and receives the offer of a boon from Indra. He asks for Brāhmanhood; but Indra tells him that he must perish if he continues to make that request, as the high position he seeks cannot be obtained by one born as a Chaṇḍāla (verse 1895). Matanga, however, continues his exercises for a hundred years, when Indra repeats his former determination, and supports it by reasons, explaining (1901 ff.) that a Chaṇḍāla can only become a Śūdra in a thousand births, a Śūdra a Vaiśya after a period thirty times as long, a Vaiśya a Rājanya after a period sixty times the length, a Rā-

janya a Brāhman after a period of sixty times the duration, and so on, a Brāhman only becoming a Kāṇḍaprishṭha, a Kāṇḍaprishṭha a Japa, a Japa a Śrotriya, after immense intervals. Indra therefore advises Matanga to choose some other boon. But the devotee is still dissatisfied with the god's decision, and renews his austerities for a thousand years. At the end of that period he receives still the same answer, and the same advice. But though distressed he did not yet despair; but proceeded to balance himself on his great toe; which, although reduced to skin and bone, he succeeded in doing for a hundred years without falling. At length, when he was on the point of tumbling, Indra ran up and supported him; but continued inexorably to refuse his request; and though further importuned, would only consent to give him the power of moving about like a bird, and changing his shape at will, and of being honoured and renowned (verses 1934 ff.).

The assertion here made of the impossibility of a Kshattriya becoming a Brāhman until he has passed through a long series of births is of course in flagrant contradiction with the stories of Viśvāmitra, Vītahavya, and others.

Matanga (or a Matanga) is mentioned in a passage already quoted in p. 411 as a rājarshi who supported Viśvāmitra's family and for whom that sage sacrificed. He is also named in the Sabhā-parvan, verse 340, as sitting in Yama's assembly along with Agastya, Kāla, and Mṛityu, etc., etc.; in the Vana-parvan, 8079, as a great rishi (*maharshi*); and in the Śānti-parvan, 10875, as one of certain sages who had acquired their position by austerities (see above, p. 132). His disciples, he himself, and his forest are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, iii. 73, 23, 29, 30.

Sect. XVIII.—*Legend of the Brāhman Paraśurāma, the exterminator of the Kshattriyas.*

As Paraśurāma belonged to the race of the Bhṛigus, it may be advisable to premise some particulars regarding that family.

In his Lexicon, *s.v.*, Professor Roth tells us that the Bhṛigus were a class of mythical beings, who, according to the Nirukta, xi. 19, belonged to the middle or aërial class of gods (*"mādhyamiko deva-gaṇaḥ" iti Nairuktāḥ*). They were the discoverers of fire and brought it to men

(R.V. x. 46, 2, etc.)[233] He adds, however, that this race has also a connection with history, as one of the chief Brahmanical families bears this name, and allusions are made to this fact even in the hymns of the Rig-veda (vii. 18, 6; viii. 3, 9, 16; viii. 6, 18; viii. 91, 4). Bhṛigu is also, as Prof. Roth observes, the name of a rishi representing a family, who is mentioned in Atharva-veda, v. 19, 1, as suffering injury at the hands of the Sṛinjayas (see above, p. 286). As regards his birth, it is said in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 34, that first the Sun, and then Bhṛigu arose out of the seed which had issued from Prajāpati,[234] that Bhṛigu was adopted by Varuṇa, and was consequently called Vāruṇi, etc. (*Tasya yad retasaḥ prathamam udadīpyata tad asāv ādityo 'bhavat | yad dvitīyam āsīt tad Bhṛigur abhavat | taṁ Varuṇo nyagṛihṇīta | tasmāt sa Bhṛigur Vāruṇiḥ*). He is accordingly called by this name in the Ś. P. Br. xi. 6, 1, 1, where he is said to have conceived himself to be superior in knowledge to his father Varuṇa (*Bhṛigur ha vai Vāruṇir Varuṇam pitaram vidyayā 'timene*); and also in the Taittirīya Upanishad (Bibl. Ind. p. 123: *Bhṛigur vai Vāruṇir Varuṇaṁ pitaram upasasāra*).[235] The preceding story of Bhṛigu's birth is developed and modified in the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, verse 4104 ff.: *Vaśishṭhaḥ uvācha | api chedam purā Rāma śrutam me Brahma-darśanam | Pitāmahasya yad vṛittam Brahmaṇaḥ paramātmanaḥ | devasya mahatas tāta Vāruṇīm bibhratas tanum | aiśvaryye vāruṇe Rāma Rudrasyeśasya vai prabhoḥ |* "Vaśishṭha said, 4104: I have also heard, o Rāma (*i.e.* Paraśurāma), of this vision of Brahmā, of that which occurred regarding Pitāmaha, Brahma, the supreme spirit, the great god (*i.e.* Mahādeva), Rudra, Īśa, the lord, assuming the body of Varuṇa, and invested with the dominion of Varuṇa." After this singular description of Mahādeva as identified with Brahmā, Brahma the supreme spirit, and Varuṇa, the speaker goes on to tell us that the munis, the gods headed by Agni, the embodied portions of the sacrifice, and the Vedas, etc., assembled on the occasion referred to, and then proceeds, verse 4112: *Esha Brahmā Śivo Rudro Varuṇo 'gniḥ Prajāpatiḥ | kīrttyate bhagavān devaḥ sarva-bhūta-patiḥ śivaḥ | tasya yajñaḥ*

[233] See my article on "Manu, the progenitor of the Āryyan Indians" in Journ. R. A. S. for 1863, p. 415 f.; and above, pp. 168 and 170.

[234] The commencement of the story, of which this is part of the sequel, is given above, p. 107 f.

[235] See Ind. Stud. ii. 231, and Journ. of the German Or. Soc. ix. 240.

Paśupates tapaḥ kratava eva cha | dīkshā dīpta-vratā devī diśaś cha sadigīśvarāḥ | deva-patnyaś cha kanyāś cha devānāṁ chaiva mātaraḥ | ājagmuḥ sahitās tattra tadā Bhṛigu-kulodvaha | 4115. Yajnam Paśupateḥ prītāḥ Varuṇasya mahātmanaḥ | Svayambhuvas tu tāḥ dṛishṭvā retaḥ samapatad bhuvi | tasya śukrasya visyandāt pāṁśūn sangṛihya bhūmitaḥ | prāsyat Pūshā karābhyāṁ vai tasminn eva hutāśane | tatas tasmin sampravṛitte sattre jvalita-pāvake | Brahmaṇo juhvatas tattra prādurbhāvo babhūva ha | skanna-mātraṁ cha tach chhukram śruveṇa parigṛihya saḥ | ājya-vad mantrataś chāpi so 'juhod Bhṛigu-nandana | tatas tu janayāmāsa bhūta-grāmaṁ cha vīryyavān | . . . . 4121. S'ukre hute 'gnau tasmiṁs tu prādurāsaṁs trayaḥ prabho | purushāḥ vapushā yuktāḥ svaiḥ svaiḥ prasava-jair-guṇaiḥ | "bhṛig" ity eva Bhṛiguḥ pūrvam angārebhyo 'ngirā 'bhavat | angāra-saṁśrayāch chaivo Kavir ity aparo 'bhavat | saha jvālābhir utpanno Bhṛigus tasmād Bhṛiguḥ smṛitaḥ | . . . . 4140. "Varuṇaś cheśvaro devo labhatāṁ kāmam īpsitam" | nisargād Brahmaṇaś chāpi Varuṇo yādasāmpatiḥ | jagrāha vai Bhṛigum pūrvam apatyaṁ sūrya-varchasam | Īśvaro 'ngirasaṁ chāgner apatyārtham akalpayat | Pitāmahas tv apatyaṁ vai Kaviṁ jagrāha tattva-vit | tadā sa Vāruṇaḥ khyāto Bhṛiguḥ prasava-karma-kṛit | Āgneyas tv Angirāḥ śrīmān Kavir Brāhmo mahāyaśāḥ | Bhārgavāngirasau loke loka-santāna-lakshaṇau | ete hi prasavāḥ sarve prajāṇām patayas trayaḥ | sarvam santānam eteshām idam ity upadhāraya | Bhṛigos tu puttrāḥ saptāsan sarve tulyāḥ Bhṛigor guṇaiḥ | Chyavano Vajraśīrshaś cha S'uchir Aurvas tathaiva cha | S'ukro Vareṇyaś cha Vibhuḥ Savanaś cheti sapta te | Bhārgavāḥ Vāruṇāḥ sarve yeshāṁ vaṁśo bhavān api |

"4112. This adorable and gracious god, lord of all creatures, is known as Brahmā, Śiva, Rudra, Varuṇa, Agni, Prajāpati. This Paśupati (had) a sacrifice.[236] Austere-fervour, Oblations, Consecration, (Dīkshā) that goddess with brilliant rites, the Points of the compass, their regents, the wives, daughters and mothers of the gods came all together with joy (4115) to this sacrifice of Paśupati the great Varuṇa. When Svayambhū (Brahmā) saw these goddesses his seed fell to the ground. Pūshan in consequence collected the particles of dust which were thus moistened, and threw them into the fire. When the sacrifice with its blazing fires had begun, there was seen an apparition of Brahmā offering an oblation. Collecting with the sacrificial ladle that which had fallen,

[236] Such seems to be the construction of this line.

he cast it, like butter, with sacred texts, into the fire. And thence the powerful god generated all beings. . . . . 4121. When the seed had been cast into the fire, there arose three men endowed with bodies, and with their own respective qualities derived from their generation. Bhṛigu sprang first from *bhṛik* (the blazing of the fire), Angiras from the cinders, and Kavi [237] from a heap of cinders. Bhṛigu was so named because he was produced together with flames." The god, called Mahādeva, Varuṇa, and Pavana, claimed these three men as his own, and the fruit of his sacrifice (verse 4133 f.). Agni and Brahmā also claimed them (4135 f.). The other gods, however, entreated Brahmā to accede to the wishes of Agni and Varuṇa: "4140. 'And let Varuṇa, the lord, the god, also receive the object of his desire.' By the gift of Brahmā, Varuṇa, lord of sea-monsters, first received for his offspring Bhṛigu brilliant as the sun. And Īśvara (Mahādeva) appointed Angiras to be Agni's son. And Pitāmaha, who knows the reality of things took Kavi as his offspring, Then Bhṛigu, the progenitor of creatures, was named the son of Varuṇa, Angiras the son of Agni, and the glorious Kavi the son of Brahmā. The Bhārgava and the Āngirasa are distinguished in the world as the propagators of mankind. For all these three lords of creatures were propagators. Know the whole of this world to be their offspring. Bhṛigu had seven sons, all equal to their father in good qualities, Chyavana, Vajraśīrsha, Śuchi, Aurva, Śukra, Vareṇya, Vibhu, and Savana. These were all Bhārgavas, and Vāruṇas, to whose race you (Paraśurāma) yourself also belong."

In another passage of the M. Bh. Ādip. 869, it is similarly said: *Bhṛigur maharshir bhagavān Brahmaṇā vai Svayambhuvā | Varuṇasya kratau jātaḥ pāvakād iti naḥ śrutam |* "We have heard that the great and venerable rishi Bhṛigu was produced by Brahmā from fire at the sacrifice of Varuṇa."

The Nirukta, iii. 17, has the following etymology of Bhṛigu: *Archishi Bhṛiguḥ sambabhūva | Bhṛigur bhṛijyamāno na dehe |* "Bhṛigu was produced in the flame; though roasted, he was not consumed."

The Taitt. Br. i. 8, 2, 5, has a different account: *Indrasya sushuvāṇasya tredhā indryaṁ vīryyam parāpatat | Bhṛigus tṛitīyam abhavat |*

[237] In the M. Bh. Ādip. v. 2606, Kavi is said to be Bhrigu's son (*Bhṛigoḥ puttrah Kavir vidvān Śukrah*). On the other hand he, or another person of the same name, is said in the Anuśasana-p. 4150, to be, along with Kavi, a son of Kavi.

"While Indra was continuing to pour out Soma, his manly vigour fell in three portions. The third became Bhṛigu."

Bhṛigu is declared in the Vishṇu P. (see above, p. 65) to have been one of the nine Brahmās, mental sons of Brahmā. The Bhāg. P. iii. 12, 23, says he sprang from the skin of the creator (*Bhṛigus tvachi*). The M. Bh. Ādip. 2605, on the contrary declares: *Brahmaṇo hṛidayam bhittvā nissṛito bhagavān Bhṛiguḥ* | "The venerable Bhṛigu, having split Brahmā's heart, issued forth" (Weber, Ind. St. ii. 231). So, too, the Vāyu P. i. 9, 100: *Bhṛigus tu hṛidayāj jajne ṛishiḥ Salilajanmanaḥ* | "Bhṛigu was produced from the heart of the Water-born (Brahmā);" and adds, verse 103: *Ity ete mānasāḥ puttrāḥ vijneyāḥ Brahmaṇaḥ sutāḥ* | *Bhṛigv-ādayas tu ye sṛishṭāḥ navaite brahma-vādinaḥ* | 104. *Gṛihamedhinaḥ purāṇas dharmas taiḥ prāk pravarttitaḥ* | "These were the mind-born sons of Brahmā. Bhṛigu, and the others, nine in all, who were created, were declarers of sacred knowledge and ancient householders; by them was duty of old established." Manu mentions Bhṛigu (i. 35, see above, p. 36) as one of his own ten sons. He also speaks of him (i. 59, 60, above, p. 38) as commissioned by himself (Mánu) to promulgate his code. In Manu, v. 1. however, the sage is said to have sprung from fire (*idam ūchur mahātmānam anala-prabhavam Bhṛigum*). As, however, he had been previously declared to be one of Manu's ten sons, and is so called also in the third verse of book v. and the second of book vii., where he is styled *Mānavo Bhṛiguḥ*, Kullūka thinks it necessary to explain this other alleged descent from fire by saying that that had been the sage's origin in a previous mundane era (*Kalpa*): *Yadyapi prathamādhyāye daśa-prajāpati-madhye "Bhṛiguṁ Nāradam eva cha" iti Bhṛigu-sṛishṭir api Manutaḥ eva uktā tathāpi kalpa-bhedena agni-prabhavatvam uchyate* | *tathā cha śrutiḥ "tasya yad retasaḥ prathamaṁ dedīpyate tad asāv ādityo 'bhavat* | *yad dvitīyam āsīd Bhṛigur" iti* | *ataḥ eva bhrashṭād retasaḥ utpannatvād Bhṛiguḥ* | "Though the creation of Bhṛigu, as one of the ten Prājāpátis, is declared, in the 35th verse of the first book, to have proceeded from Manu, still he is here said to have been produced from fire, from the difference in the manner of his birth in the different Kalpas. And so the Veda says (in the passage quoted above from the Ait. Br.). Hence he is called Bhṛigu, because he sprang from the seed which fell (*bhrashṭāt*).[238]

[238] See Prof. Wilson's note, Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i. p. 100 ff., in the course of

Professor Roth (Lit. and History of the Veda, p. 135) says: "The Bhṛigus are one of the most important Vedic families, to which Jamadagni, Chyavana, Aurva, Apnavāna, and other rishis are assigned. Many conjectures might be formed in connection with the part which these several Bhṛigus play in the later legends; but it seems to me unsafe to draw any conclusions till we are in possession of the intermediate links, and especially till we have learnt more precisely from the Vedic hymns themselves the relations of these families to each other. Nevertheless I will remark that Sunahśepha, the adopted son of Viśvāmitra, is, according to the Purānas, a Bhṛigu; and consequently the Bhṛigus appear in intimate connection with the enemy of Vasishṭha; and further, that Sagara, who was reared by the Bhṛigu Aurva, is restrained by Vasishṭha in his war of extermination against the Śakas and other barbarous tribes. His enemies, when hard pressed, had resorted to Vasishṭha as an intercessor." (See above, p. 337, and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. p. 291.)

The story of Paraśurāma and the Kshattriyas is briefly mentioned in the second section of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata (verses 272–280), where the events referred to are said to have occurred in the interval between the Tretā and Dvāpara ages (*Tretā-dvāparayoḥ sandhau Rāmaḥ śastra-bhritāṁ varaḥ | asakṛit pārthivaṁ kshattraṁ jaghānāmarsha-choditaḥ | sa sarvaṁ kshattram utsādya sva-vīryyeṇānala-dyutiḥ |*). The history is more fully told in other parts of the Mahābhārata. In the 178th–180th sections of the Ādiparvan there is a legend in which no mention is made of Paraśurāma, or the slaughter of the Kshattriyas; but in which we have the following particulars: Parāśara was son of Śaktri, and grandson of Vaśishṭha, as we have seen above, p. 417. When he heard of the way in which his father had met his death, he determined to execute a general slaughter of all creatures (v. 6800);[239] but his grandfather restrained him by narrating the history of the

which he says, "The Vāyu has also another account of their (the Prajāpatis) origin, and states them to have sprung from the fires of a sacrifice offered by Brahmā; an allegorical mode of expressing their probable original—considering them to be in some degree real persons—from the Brahmanical ritual, of which they were the first institutors and observers."

[239] Reference is made in the commencement of the Vishṇu Purāṇa to the same circumstance (Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i. pp. 7 ff.) Parāśara is the narrator of the Vishṇu Purāṇa (ibid. p. 11).

Bhṛigus and Kshattriyas, as follows: There was a king named Kṛitavīryya, by whose liberality the Bhṛigus, learned in the Vedas, who officiated as his priests, had been greatly enriched with corn and money (verse 6802. *Yājyo veda-vidāṁ loke Bhrigūṇām pārthivarshabhaḥ | sa tān agra-bhujas tāta dhānyena cha dhanena cha | somānte tarpayāmāsa vipulena viśāmpate* |). After he had gone to heaven, his descendants were in want of money, and came to beg for a supply from the Bhṛigus, of whose wealth they were aware. Some of the latter hid their money under ground, others bestowed it on Brāhmans, being afraid of the Kshattriyas, while others again gave these last what they wanted. It happened, however, that a Kshattriya, while digging the ground, discovered some money buried in the house of a Bhṛigu. The Kshattriyas then assembled and saw this treasure, and, being incensed, slew in consequence all the Bhṛigus, whom they regarded with contempt, down to the children in the womb (verse 6809. *Avamanya tataḥ krodhād Bhṛigūṁs tān śaraṇāgatān | nijaghnuḥ parameshvāsāḥ sarvāṁs tān niśitaiḥ śaraiḥ | ā-garbhād avakṛintantaś cheruḥ sarvāṁ vasundharām* |). The widows, however, fled to the Himālăya mountains. One of them concealed her unborn child in her thigh. The Kshattriyas, hearing of its existence from a Brāhmaṇī informant, sought to kill it; but it issued forth from its mother's thigh with lustre, and blinded the persecutors. After wandering about bewildered among the mountains for a time, they humbly supplicated the mother of the child for the restoration of their sight; but she referred them to her wonderful infant Aurva into whom the whole Veda, with its six Vedāngas, had entered (verse 6823. *Shaḍ-angaś chākhilo vedaḥ imaṁ garbhastham eva ha | viveśa Bhṛigu-vaṁśasya bhūyaḥ priya-chikīrshayā* |), as the person who (in retaliation of the slaughter of his relatives) had robbed them of their eyesight, and who alone could restore it. They accordingly had recourse to him, and their eyesight was restored. Aurva, however, meditated the destruction of all living creatures, in revenge for the slaughter of the Bhṛigus, and entered on a course of austerities which alarmed both gods, asuras, and men; but his progenitors (Pitṛis) themselves appeared, and sought to turn him from his purpose by saying that they had no desire to be revenged on the Kshattriyas: 6834. *Nānīśair hi tadā tāta Bhṛigubhir bhāvitātmabhiḥ | badho hy upekshitaḥ sarvaiḥ kshattriyāṇāṁ vihiṁsatām | āyushā viprakṛishṭena yadā naḥ*

kheda āviśat | tadā 'smābhir badhas tāta kshattriyair īpsitaḥ svayam | nikhātaṁ yach cha vai vittaṁ kenachid Bhṛigu-veśmani | vairāyaiva tadā nyastaṁ kshattriyān kopayishṇubhiḥ | kiṁ hi vittena naḥ kāryyaṁ svargepsūnāṁ dvijottama | . . . . 6841. *Mā badhīḥ kshattriyāṁs tāta na lokān sapta puttraka | dūshayantaṁ tapas-tejaḥ krodham utpatitaṁ jahi |* "6834. It was not from weakness that the devout Bhṛigus overlooked the massacre perpetrated by the murderous Kshattriyas. When we became distressed by old age, we ourselves desired to be slaughtered by them. The money which was buried by some one in a Bhṛigu's house was placed there for the purpose of exciting hatred, by those who wished to provoke the Kshattriyas. For what had we, who were desiring heaven, to do with money?" They add that they hit upon this device because they did not wish to be guilty of suicide, and concluded by calling upon Aurva to restrain his wrath; and abstain from the sin he was meditating, verse 6841: "Destroy not the Kshattriyas, o son, nor the seven worlds. Suppress thy kindled anger which nullifies the power of austere-fervour." Aurva, however, replies that he cannot allow his threat to remain unexecuted. His anger, unless wreaked upon some other object, will, he says, consume himself. And he argues on grounds of justice, expediency, and duty, against the clemency which his progenitors recommend. He is, however, persuaded by the Pitṛis to throw the fire of his anger into the sea, where they say it will find exercise in assailing the watery element, and in this way his threat will be fulfilled. "It accordingly became the great Hayaśiras, known to those who are acquainted with the Veda, which vomits forth that fire and drinks up the waters" (*Mahad Hayaśiro bhūtvā yat tad veda-vido viduḥ | tam agnim udgirad vaktrāt pibaty āpo mahodadhau*). It is worthy of remark that in a legend, one object of which, at least, would seem to be to hold up to abhorrence the impiety of the Kshattriyas in oppressing the Brāhmans, we should thus find a palliation of the conduct of the oppressors, coming from the other world. But here the principle of the nothingness of mundane existence asserts itself; and the final superiority of the Brāhmans is vindicated, while their magnanimity is exemplified.

The next version of this legend, which I shall quote, is that given in the 115th–117th sections of the Vanaparvan. Arjuna, son of Kṛiṭavīrya, and king of the Haihăyas, had, we are told, a thousand arms.

He obtained from Dattātreya an aërial car of gold, the march of which was irresistible. He thus trod down gods, Yākshas, rishis, and oppressed all creatures (10137. *Avyāhata-gatiś chaiva rathas tasya mahātmanaḥ | rathena tena tu tadā vara-dānena vīryyavān | mamardda devān yakshāṁś cha ṛishīṁś chaiva samantataḥ | bhūtāṁś chaiva sa sarvāṁs tu pīḍayāmāsa sarvataḥ |*). The gods and rishis applied to Vishṇu, and he along with Indra, who had been insulted by Arjuna, devised the means of destroying the latter. At this time, the story goes on, there lived a king of Kānyakubja, called Gādhi, who had a daughter named Satyavatī. The marriage of this princess to the rishi Ṛichīka, and the birth of Jamadagni, are then told in nearly the same way as above narrated in page 350. Jamadagni and Satyavatī had five sons, the youngest of whom was the redoubtable Paraśurāma. By his father's command he kills his mother (who, by the indulgence of impure desire, had fallen from her previous sanctity), after the four elder sons had refused this matricidal office, and had in consequence been deprived of reason by their father's curse. At Paraśurama's desire, however, his mother is restored by his father to life, and his brothers to reason; and he himself is absolved from all the guilt of murder; and obtains the boon of invincibility and long life from his father. His history now begins to be connected with that of king Arjuna (or Kārtavīrya). The latter had come to Jamadagni's hermitage, and had been respectfully received by his wife; but he had requited this honour by carrying away by force the calf of the sage's sacrificial cow, and breaking down his lofty trees. On being informed of this violence, Paraśurāma was filled with indignation, attacked Arjuna, cut off his thousand arms, and slew him. Arjuna's sons, in return, slew the peaceful sage Jamadagni, in the absence of Paraśurāma. The narrative thus proceeds:

10201. *Dadāha pitaraṁ chāgnau Rāmaḥ para-puranjayaḥ | pratijajne badhaṁ chāpi sarva-kshattrasya Bhārata | sa kruddho 'tibalaḥ sankhye śastraṁ ādāya vīryyavān | jaghnivān Kārttavīryyasya sutān eko 'ntakopamaḥ | Teshāṁ chānugatāḥ ye cha kshattriyāḥ kshattriyarshabha | tāṁś cha sarvān avāmṛidhnād Rāmaḥ praharatāṁ varaḥ | trissaptakṛitvaḥ pṛithivīṁ kṛitvā niḥkshattriyām prabhuḥ | samantapanchake pancha chakāra raudhirān hradān |* 10205. *Sa teshu tarpayāmāsa Bhṛigūn Bhṛigu-kulodvahaḥ | sākshād dadarśa charchīkaṁ sa cha Rāmaṁ*

nyavedayat | tato yajnena mahatā Jāmadagnyaḥ pratāpavān | tarpayāmāsa devendram ṛitvigbhyaḥ pradadau mahīm | vedīñ chāpy adadād haimīñ Kaśyapāya mahātmane | daśa-vyāmāyatāñ kṛitvā navotsedhāñ viśāmpate | tāñ Kaśyapasyānumater brāhmanāḥ khaṇḍaśas tadā | vyabhajañs te tadā rājan prakhyātāḥ Khāṇḍavāyanāḥ | sa pradāya mahīm tasmai Kaśyapāya mahātmane | asmin mahendre śailendre vasaty amitavikramaḥ | evañ vairam abhūt tasya kshattriyair loka-vāsibhiḥ | pṛithivī chāpi vijitā Rāmeṇāmita-tejasā |

"Rāma, after performing, on his return, his father's funeral obsequies, vowed to destroy the whole Kshattriya race; and executed his threat by killing first Arjuna's sons and their followers. Twenty-one times did he sweep away all the Kshattriyas from the earth, and formed five lakes of blood in Samantapanchaka; (10,205) in which he satiated the manes of the Bhṛigus, and beheld face to face (his grandfather) Ṛichīka, who addressed himself to Rāma. The latter gratified Indra by offering to him a grand sacrifice, and gave the earth to the officiating priests. He bestowed also a golden altar, ten fathoms long and nine high, on the mighty Kaśyapa. This, by his permission, the Brāhmans divided among themselves, deriving thence the name of Khāṇḍavāyanas. Having given away the earth to Kaśyapa, Paraśurāma himself dwells on the mountain Mahendra. Thus did enmity arise between him and the Kshattriyas, and thus was the earth conquered by Rāma of boundless might."

The means by which the Kshattriya race was restored are described in the following passage from the Ādiparvan, verses 2459 ff.:

Trissapta-kṛitvaḥ pṛithivīñ kṛitvā niḥkshattriyām purā | Jāmadagnyas tapas tepe Mahendre parvatottame | 2460. Tadā niḥkshattriye loke Bhārgaveṇa kṛite sati | brāhmaṇān kshattriyāḥ rājan sutārthinyo 'bhichakramuḥ | tābhiḥ saha samāpetur brāhmaṇāḥ śamsita-vratāḥ | ṛitāv ṛitau nara-vyāghra na kāmād nānṛitau tathā | tebhyaś cha lebhire garbhañ kshattriyās taḥ sahasraśaḥ | tataḥ sushuvire rājan kshattriyān vīryyavattarān | kumārañś cha kumārīś cha punaḥ kshattrābhivṛiddhyaye | evañ tad brāhmaṇaiḥ kshattram kshattriyāsu tapasvibhiḥ | jātañ vṛiddhañ cha dharmeṇa sudīrghenāyushānvitam | chatvāro 'pi tato varṇāḥ babhūvur brāhmaṇottarāḥ |

"2459. Having one and twenty times swept away all the Kshattriyas from the earth, the son of Jamadagni engaged in austerities on

Mahendra the most excellent of mountains. 2460. After he had cleared the world of Kshattriyas, their widows came to the Brāhmans, praying for offspring. The religious Brāhmans, free from any impulse of lust, cohabited at the proper seasons with these women, who in consequence became pregnant, and brought forth valiant Kshattriya boys and girls, to continue the Kshattriya stock. Thus was the Kshattriya race virtuously begotten by Brāhmans on Kshattriya women, and became multiplied and long-lived. Thence there arose four castes inferior to the Brāhmans."

This restoration of the Kshattriyas and their rule is said to have been followed by a state of great virtue, happiness, and prosperity. As one exemplification of the religious perfection which prevailed, it is said that "the Brāhmans did not sell their sacred lore, nor recite the Vedas in the vicinity of Śūdras" (verse 2474. *Na cha vikrīṇate brahma brāhmaṇāś cha tadā nṛipa | na cha śūdra-samābhyāse vedān uchchārayanty uta* |).

Another version of this legend is given in the Śāntiparvan, section 49. The birth of Jamadagni as the son of Ṛichīka and Satyavatī is related very much as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see above, p. 349 f.); but Ṛichīka tells his wife that the whole of her father's race shall become Brāhmanical (verse 1741. *Brahma-bhūtaṁ hi sakalam pitus tava kulam bhavet*); and of Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, we are told that he "had the character of a Brāhman, and was possessed of all Brahmanical qualities" (1745. *Viśvāmitraṁ cha dāyādaṁ Gādhiḥ Kuśika-nandanaḥ | yam prāpa brahma-samitaṁ viśvair brahma-guṇair yutam* |). Jamadagni was father of the dreadful Paraśurāma, "who became perfect in science, thoroughly versed in archery, and the slayer of the Kshattriyas, himself violent as flaming fire. By propitiating Mahādeva he obtained, among other weapons, the irresistible axe (*paraśu*)" (1747. *Sarva-vidyānta-gaṁ śreshṭhaṁ dhanur-vedasya pāragam | Rāmaṁ kshattriya-hantāram pradīptam iva pāvakam | toshayitvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamādane | astrāṇi varayāmāsa paraśum chātitejasam* |), from which his name is derived. Arjuna, son of Kṛitavīrya, king of the Haihayas, is here also represented as having a thousand arms, but in opposition to the previous account he is described as a "dutiful and religious monarch, who at an *aśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) bestowed on the Brāhmans the earth with its seven continents and mountains, which he had conquered by his

arms and weapons" (verse 1751. *Chakravarttī mahātejā viprāṇām āśvamedhike | dadau sa pṛithivīṁ sarvāṁ sapta-dvīpāṁ sa-parvatām | svabāhv-astra-balenājau jitvā parama-dharma-vit* |). He had, however, at the solicitation of Agni permitted that voracious deity to consume his towns, villages, forests, etc.; and as the hermitage of Āpava (Vaśishṭha) had been destroyed in the conflagration, Arjuna was doomed by the sage's curse to have his arms cut off by Paraśurāma. The story proceeds:

Verse 1769. *Arjunas tu mahātejā balī nityaṁ śamātmekaḥ | brahmaṇyaś cha śaraṇyaś dātā śūraś cha Bhārata* | 1760. *Nāchintayat tadā śāpaṁ tena dattam mahātmanā | tasya putrās tu balinaḥ śāpenāsur pitur badhe | nimittād avaliptāḥ vai nṛiśaṁsāś chaiva sarvadā | Jamadagni-dhenvās te vatsam āninyur Bharatarshabha | ajnātaṁ Kārttavīryeṇa Haihayendreṇa dhīmatā | tannimittam abhūd yuddhaṁ Jāmadagner mahātmanaḥ | tato 'rjunasya bāhuṁs tān chhittvā Rāmo rushā 'nvitaḥ* | . . . . 1766. *Tataḥ pitṛi-badhāmarshād Rāmaḥ parama-manyumān | niḥkshattriyām pratiśrutya mahīṁ śastram agṛihṇata | tataḥ sa Bhṛigu-śārdūlaḥ Kārttavīryasya vīryavān | vikramya vijaghānāśu puttrān pauttrāṁś cha sarvaśaḥ | sa Haihaya-sahasrāṇi hatvā parama-manyumān | chakāra Bhārgavo rājan mahīṁ śoṇita-kardamām | sa tathā "śu mahātejāḥ kṛitvā niḥkshattriyām mahīm* | 1770. *Kṛipayā parayā "vishṭo vanam eva jagāma ha | tato varsha-sahasreshu samatīteshu keshuchit | kshepam samprāptavāṁs tattra prakṛityā kopanaḥ prabhuḥ | Viśvāmitrasya pauttras tu Raibhya-puttro mahātapāḥ | Parāvasur mahārāja kshiptāha (kshiptvā "ha?) jana-saṁsadi | " ye te Yayāti-patane yajne santaḥ samāgatāḥ | Pratarddana-prabhṛitayo Rāma kiṁ kshattriyāḥ na te | mithyā-pratijno Rāma tvaṁ katthase jana-saṁsadi | bhayāt kshattriya-vīrāṇām parvataṁ samupāśritaḥ | sā punaḥ kshattriya-śataiḥ pṛithivī sarvatas tṛitā"* | 1775. *Parāvasor vachaḥ śrutvā śastraṁ jagrāha Bhārgavaḥ | tato ye Kshattriyāḥ rājan śataśas tena varjjitāḥ | te vivriddhāḥ mahāvīryyāḥ pṛithivīpatayo 'bhavan | sa punas tān jaghānāśu bālān api narādhipa | garbhasthais tu mahī vyāptā punar evābhavat tadā | jātaṁ jātaṁ sa garbhaṁ tu punar eva jaghāna ha | arakshaṁs tu sutān kāṁśchit tadā kshattriyayoshitaḥ | trissapta-kṛitvaḥ pṛithivīm kṛitvā niḥkshattriyām prabhuḥ | dakshiṇām aśvamedhānte Kaśyapāyādadāt tadā | sa kshattriyāṇāṁ śeshārthaṁ kareṇoddiśya Kaśyapaḥ* | 1780. *Sruk-pragrahavatā rājaṁs tato vākyam athābravīt | " gachha tīraṁ samudrasya dakshiṇasya mahāmune | na te mad-vishaye Rāma vastavyam iha karhichit" | tataḥ*

S'ūrpārakaṁ deśaṁ sāgaras tasya nirmame | sahasā Jāmadagnyasya so 'parānta-mahītalam | Kaśyapas tām mahārāja pratigṛihya vasundharām | kṛitvā brāhmaṇa-saṁsthāṁ vai pravishṭaḥ sumahāvanam | tataḥ śūdrāś cha vaiśyāś cha yathā-svaira-prachāriṇaḥ | avarttanta dvijāgryāṇāṁ dāreshu Bharatarshabha | arājake jīva-loke durbalāḥ balavattaraiḥ | 1785. *Pīḍyante na hi vitteshu prabhutvaṁ kasyachit tadā | tataḥ kālena pṛithivī pīḍyamānā durātmabhiḥ | viparyayeṇa tenāśu praviveśa rasātalam | arakshyamāṇā vidhivat kshattriyair dharma-rakshibhiḥ | tāṁ dṛishṭvā dravatīṁ tattra santrāsāt sa mahāmanāḥ | ūruṇā dhārayāmāsa Kaśyapaḥ pṛithivīṁ tataḥ | dhṛitā tenoruṇa yena tenorvīti mahī smṛitā | rakshaṇārthaṁ samuddiśya yayāche pṛithivī tadā | prasādya Kaśyapaṁ devī varayāmāsa bhūmipam | pṛithivy uvācha |* 1790. *"Santi brahman mayā guptāḥ strīshu kshattriya-pungavāḥ | Haihayānām kule jātās te saṁrakshantu mām mune | asti Paurava-dāyādo Vidūratha-sutaḥ prabho | ṛikshaiḥ saṁvardhito vipra ṛikshavaty atha parvate | tathā 'nukampamānena yajvanā 'py amitaujasā | Parāśareṇa dāyādaḥ Saudāsasyābhirakshitaḥ | sarva-karmāṇi kurute śūdra-vat tasya sa dvijaḥ | Sarvakarmety abhikhyātaḥ sa mām rakshatu pārthivaḥ |* . . . . 1799. *Ete kshattriya-dāyādās tattra tattra pariśritāḥ | dyokāra-hema-kārādi-jātiṁ nityaṁ samāśritāḥ |* 1800. *Yadi mām abhirakshanti tadā sthāsyāmi niśchalā | eteshām pitaraś chaiva tathaiva cha pitāmahāḥ | mad-arthaṁ nihatāḥ yuddhe Rāmeṇāklishṭa-karmaṇā | teshām apachitiś chaiva mayā kāryyā mahāmune | na hy ahaṁ kāmaye nityam atikrāntena rakshaṇam | varttamānena vartteyaṁ tat kshipraṁ saṁvidhīyatām" | tataḥ pṛithivyā nirdishṭāṁs tān samānīya Kaśyapaḥ | abhyashinchad mahīpālān kshattriyān vīrya-sammatān |*

"Being of a meek, pious, kind, and charitable turn of mind, the valiant Arjuna thought nothing of the curse; but his sons, who were of an arrogant and barbarous disposition, became the cause of its resulting in his death. Without their father's knowledge they took away Jamadagni's calf; and in consequence Paraśurāma attacked Arjuna and cut off his arms." His sons retaliated by killing Jamadagni. 1766. Paraśurāma incensed at the slaughter of his father, having vowed in consequence to sweep away all Kshattriyas from the earth, seized his weapons; and slaying all the sons and grandsons of Arjuna, with thousands of the Haihayas, he turned the earth into a mass of ensanguined mud. 1770. Having thus cleared the earth of

Kshattriyas, he became penetrated by deep compassion and retired to the forest. After some thousands of years had elapsed, the hero, naturally irascible, was taunted by Parāvasu, the son of Raibhya and grandson of Viśvāmitra, in a public assembly in these words: 'Are not these virtuous men, Pratardana and the others, who are assembled at the sacrifice in the city of Yayāti,—are they not Kshattriyas? Thou hast failed to excecute thy threat, and vainly boastest in the assembly. Thou hast withdrawn to the mountain from fear of those valiant Kshattriyas, while the earth has again become overrun by hundreds of their race.' Hearing these words, Rāma seized his weapons. The hundreds of Kshattriyas who had before been spared had now grown powerful kings. These, however, Paraśurāma now slew with their children, and all the numerous infants then unborn as they came into the world. Some, however, were preserved by their mothers. Having twenty-one times cleared the earth of Kshattriyas, Rāma gave her as a sacrificial fee to Kaśyapa at the conclusion of an aśvamedha. 1780. Making a signal with his hand, in which he held the sacrificial ladle, Kaśyapa, in order that the remaining Kshattriyas should be spared, said to Paraśurāma, 'Go, great muni, to the shore of the southern ocean. Thou must not dwell in my territory.' Sāgara (the ocean) created for him a country called Śūrpāraka on the remotest verge of the earth. Having received dominion over the earth, Kaśyapa made it an abode of Brāhmans, and himself withdrew to the forest. Śūdras and Vaiśyas then began to act lawlessly towards the wives of the Brāhmans; and, in consequence of there being no government, the weak (1785) were oppressed by the strong, and no one was master of any property. The Earth, being distressed by the wicked, in consequence of that disorder, and unprotected according to rule by the Kshattriyas, the guardians of justice, descended to the lower regions. Perceiving her moving from place to place in terror, Kaśyapa upheld her with his thigh (*ūru*). From this circumstance she derives her name of *urvī*.[240] The goddess Earth then propitiated Kaśyapa, and supplicated him for protection, and for a king. 'I have,' she said, 'preserved among females many Kshattriyas who have been born in the race of the Haihayas; let them be my protectors. There is the heir of the Pauravas, the son of Vidūratha, who has been brought up by bears

[240] *Urvī* really means "the broad," signifying the same as *pṛthivī*.

on the mountain Rikshavat: let him protect me. So, too, the heir of Saudāsa has been preserved by the tender-hearted and glorious priest, Parāśara, who has performed, though a Brāhman, all menial offices (*sarvakarmāṇi*) for him, like a Śūdra;—whence the prince's name Sarvakarman." After enumerating other kings who had been rescued, the Earth proceeds: "All these Kshattriyas' descendants have been preserved in different places, abiding continually among the classes of dyokāras and goldsmiths. If they protect me, I shall continue unshaken. Their fathers and grandfathers were slain on my account by Rāma, energetic in action. It is incumbent on me to avenge their cause. For I do not desire to be always protected by an extraordinary person [such as Kaśyapa]; but I will be content with an ordinary ruler. Let this be speedily fulfilled.' Kaśyapa then sent for these Kshattriyas who had been pointed out by the Earth, and installed them in the kingly office."

This reference to the bestowal of the Earth upon Kaśyapa is founded on an older story which occurs both in the Aitareya and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas. The passage in the first-named work is as follows, viii. 21. *Etena ha vai Aindreṇa mahābhishekeṇa Kaśyapo Viśvakarmāṇam Bhauvanam abhishishecha | tasmād u Viśvākarmā Bhauvanaḥ samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīṁ jayan parīyāya aśvena cha medhyena īje | bhūmir ha jagāv ity udāharanti "na mā marttyaḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana māṁ didāsitha | nimankshye 'haṁ salilasya madhye moghas te esha Kaśyapāyāsa sangaraḥ" iti |* "With this great inauguration like that of Indra did Kaśyapa consecrate Viśvakarman Bhauvana, who in consequence went round the Earth in all directions, conquering it; and offered an aśvamedha sacrifice. They relate that the Earth then recited this verse:

> "Me may no mortal give away; but thou, oh king, dost so essay;
> Deep will I plunge beneath the main; thy pledge to Kaśyapa is vain."

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1. 15, says: *Taṁ ha Kaśyapo yājayānchakāra | tad apī bhūmiḥ ślokaṁ jagau "na mā marttyaḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana mandaḥ āsitha | upamankshyati syā salilasya madhye mṛishaisha te sangaraḥ Kaśyapāya" iti |* "Kaśyapa officiated for him at this sacrifice. Wherefore also the Earth recited this verse: 'No mortal may give me away. Viśvakarman, son of

Bhauvana, thou wast foolish (in offering to do so). She will sink into the midst of the waters. Thy promise to Kaśyapa is vain.'"[241]

The story is also related in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in a similar way. I note the chief points and variations. When Gādhi's daughter was demanded in marriage by the rishi Ṛichīka, the king considered that the suitor was not a fit husband for a daughter of his noble race; and said, "Give me a thousand horses white as the moon, each with one black ear, as a marriage gift for the maiden; for we are Kuśikas" (ix. 15, 5. *Varaṁ visadṛiśam matvā Gādhir Bhārgavam abravīt* | 6. *Ekataḥ śyāma-karṇānāṁ hayānāṁ chandra-varchasām* | *sahasraṁ dīyatāṁ śulkaṁ kanyāyāḥ Kuśikāḥ vayam* |). The youngest offspring of their union was, we are told, "Paraśurāma, who is declared to have been a portion of Vāsudeva (Vishṇu in the form of Krishṇa),[242] and who exterminated the Haihaya race. Thrice seven times he swept away from this earth all the Kshattriyas, that depraved and impious race, full of passion and darkness, with which she was burthened. He destroyed them, though the offence which they had committed was but insignificant (v. 14. *Yam āhur Vāsudevāṁśaṁ Haihayānaṁ kulāntakam* | *trissaptakṛitvo yaḥ imāṁ chakre niḥkshattriyām mahīm* | *dushṭaṁ kshattram bhuvo bhāram abrahmaṇyam anīnaśat* | *rajas-tamo-vṛitam ahan phalguny, apī kṛite 'ṁhasi* |). King Arjuna, who had been endowed with miraculous powers, took Rāvana prisoner, then released him, and afterwards carried away by force Jamadagni's cow and calf. Paraśurāma, in revenge, after a terrible battle, and the defeat of the king's army, cut off Arjuna's arms and head, and recovered the cow and calf. When his father was informed of the king's death, he said to Paraśurāma: "Rāma, Rāma, thou hast committed sin, in that thou hast causelessly slain the lord of men, who is composed of all the deities.[243] It is by longsuffering that we, the Brāhmans, have acquired respect; the same means whereby the deity, the instructor of all worlds, attained the highest rank of godhead. By

[241] It will be observed that there are some varieties of reading in the verse, as given in the two Brāhmaṇas. *Manda āsītha* in the S'. P. Br. looks like a corruption of the *mām didāsītha* of the Aitareya. The story of Arjuna, Paras'urāma, and the Kshattriyas is briefly told again in the Āś'vamedhika-parvan, but without any new circumstances of particular interest.

[242] See above, p. 350, and note 146. None of the passages I have quoted from the Mahābhārata allude to Paras'urāma being an incarnation of Vishṇu.

[243] Compare the passages quoted above in p. 300 from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and from Manu.

patience the fortune of Brahmā shines like the splendour of the Sun. Hari, the lord, is speedily pleased with those who are patient. The murder of a king who has been formally inaugurated is worse than that of a Brāhman. Go and expiate thy sin by visiting holy places, with thy mind intent upon Achyuta (Vishṇu)" (ix. 15, 38. *Rāma Rāma mahābhāga bhavān pāpam akārashīt*[244] | *abadhīd nara-devaṁ yat sarva-devamayaṁ vṛithā* | *vayaṁ hi brāhmaṇās tāta kshamayā 'rhaṇatāṁ gatāḥ* | *yayā loka-gurur devaḥ pārameshṭhyam ayāt padam* | *kshamayā rochate lakshmīr Brāhmī saurī yathā prabhā* | *kshamiṇām āśu bhagavāṁs tushyate Harir īśvaraḥ* | *rājno mūrdhābhishiktasya badho brahma-badhād guruḥ* | *tīrtha-saṁsevayā chāṁho jahy angāchyuta-chetanaḥ* |). On his return from this pilgrimage Rāma was desired by his father to kill his mother (on grounds similar to those stated in the account quoted above, p. 450, from the Mahābhārata), as well as his brothers, and executed the order; but at his intercession they were all restored to life. During his absence in the forest, his father Jamadagni was slain, and his head cut off, notwithstanding the entreaties of his wife, by the sons of Arjuna, in revenge for the loss of their own father. Paraśurāma, hearing his mother's outcries, hastened back to the hermitage, and laying hold of his axe, proceeded to avenge this outrage: ix. 16, 17. *Gatvā Māhishmatīṁ Rāpo brahma-ghna-vihata-śriyam* | *teshāṁ sa śīrshabhiḥ rājan madhye chakre mahāgirim* | 18. *Tad-raktena nadīṁ ghorām abrahmaṇya-bhayāvahām* | *hetuṁ kṛitvā pitṛi-badhaṁ kshattre 'mangala-kāriṇi* | . . . . 20. *Pituḥ kāyena sandhāya śiraḥ ādāya barhishi* | *sarva-devamayaṁ devam ātmānam ayajad makhaiḥ* | 21. *Dadau prāchīṁ diśaṁ hotre brahmaṇe dakshiṇāṁ diśam* | *adhvaryave pratīchīṁ vai udgātre uttarāṁ diśam* | 22. *Anyebhyo 'vāntara-diśaḥ Kaśyapāya cha madhyataḥ* | *āryāvarttam upadrashṭre sadasyebhyas tataḥ param* | 23. *Tataś chāvabhṛitha-snāna-vidhūtāśesha-kilvishaḥ* | *Sarasvatyām brahma-nadyāṁ reje vyabhraḥ ivāṁśumān* | . . . . 26. *Āste 'dyāpi Mahendrādrau nyasta-daṇḍaḥ praśāntadhīḥ* | *upagīyamāna-charitaḥ siddha-gandharva-chāraṇaiḥ* | 27. *Evam Bhṛigushu viśvātmā bhagavān Harir īśvaraḥ* | *avatīrya param bhāram bhuvo 'han bahuśo nṛipān* | "17. He went to the city of Māhishmatī, which had been robbed of its glory by those Brāhman-slayers, and raised in the midst of it a great mountain composed of their heads. With their blood he formed a dreadful river, which struck

[244] So in the Bombay edition. Burnouf's text has the usual form *akārshīt*.

fear into the impious; justifying his action against the oppressive Kshattriyas by their murder of his father. . . . . 20. He then united his father's head to his body, laying it on the sacred grass; and offered a sacrifice to the divine Spirit, who is formed of all the deities. On this occasion he gave the eastern region of the earth to the hotṛi priest, the south to the brahman, the west to the adhvaryu, and the north to the udgātṛi. To others he gavè the intermediate regions (south-east, south-west, etc.), to Kaśyapa the central; on the upadrashṭṛi he bestowed Āryāvartta, and on the Sadasyas what was beyond. Having then cleansed all his impurity by the avabhṛitha ablution in the Sarasvatī, the river of Brahmā, he shone like the sun unobscured by clouds. . . . 26. Having laid aside his weapons, he sits to this day in tranquillity of mind on the mountain Mahendra, whilst his exploits are celebrated by the Siddhas, Gandharvas, and Chāranas. Thus did the universal Spirit, the divine lord, Hari, become incarnate in the Bhṛigus, and destroy numerous kings who were a burden to the earth." It is singular that sin requiring expiation should be, as it is in this narrative, imputed to Paraśurāma, while he is at the same time declared to have been a portion of Vishṇu, the supreme Spirit.

The story of Paraśurāma is also told in the Droṇaparvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 2427 ff., after those of many other kings and warriors, to illustrate the truth that death must sooner or later overtake even the most pious and distinguished personages. The earlier incidents are briefly narrated; but some of the details, as the slaughter of the Kshattriyas, are dwelt on at greater length than in the other accounts. Some of the victims of the hero's vengeance are described as "haters of Brāhmans" (*brahma-dvishām*, verse 2431). The Kshattriyas who were slain are described as of various provinces, viz. Kāśmīras, Daradas, Kuntis, Kshudrakas, Mālavas, Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Videhas, Tāmraliptakas, Rakshovāhas, Vītihotras, Trigarttas, Mārttikāvatas, Śivis, and other Rājanyas (*Śivīn anyāṁś cha rājanyān*, verse 2437). At verse 2443 the narrative proceeds: *Nirdasyum pṛithivīṁ kṛitvā śishṭeshṭa-jana-sankulām | Kaśyapāya dadau Rāmo haya-medhe mahāmakhe | trisapta-vārān pṛithivīm kṛitvā niḥkshatriyām prabhuḥ | ishṭvā kratu-śatair vīro brāhmaṇebhyo hy amanyata | sapta-dvīpāṁ vasumatīm Mārīcho 'gṛihṇata dvijaḥ | Rāmam provācha "nirgachha vasudhāto mamājnayā | sa Kaśyapasya*

vachanāt protsārya saritāmpatim | ishupātair yudhāṁ śreshṭhaḥ kurvan brāhmaṇa-sāsanam | adhyāvasad giri-śreshṭham Mahendram parvatottamam | "2443. Having freed the earth from Dasyus (or robbers), and filled her with respectable and desirable inhabitants, he gave her to Kaśyapa at an aśvamedha. Having twenty-one times cleared the earth of Kshattriyas, and offered hundreds of sacrifices, he destined the earth for the Brāhmans. The Brāhman, the son of Marīchi (*i.e.* Kaśyapa), received the earth, and then said to Rāma, 'Depart out of her by my command.' Having repelled the ocean by his arrows, and established the rule of the Brāhmans, Rāma dwelt on the mountain Mahendra."

The Anuśāsanaparvan of the same poem has another "ancient story" about Paraśurāma, which, like the preceding passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, adverts to the pollution incurred by that warrior from his numerous deeds of blood. It begins as follows: verse 3960. *Jāmadagnyena Rāmeṇa tīvra-roshānvitena vai | trissapta-kṛitvaḥ pṛithivī kṛitā nikshattriyā purā | tato jitvā mahīṁ kṛitsnāṁ Rāmo rājīva-lochanaḥ | ājahāra kratuṁ vīro brahma-kshattreṇa pūjitam | vāji-medham mahārāja sarva-kāma-samanvitam | pāvanaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ tejo-dyuti-vivarddhanam | vipāpmā sa cha tejasvī tena kratu-phalena cha | naivātmano 'tha laghutāṁ Jāmadagnyo 'dhyagachhata | sa tu kratu-vareṇeshṭvā mahātmā dakshiṇāvatā* | 3965. *Paprachhāgama-sampannān ṛishīn devāṁś cha Bhārgavaḥ | "pāvanaṁ yat param nṛīṇām ugre karmaṇi varttatām | tad uchyatām mahābhāgāḥ" iti jāta-ghṛiṇo 'bravīt | ity uktāḥ veda-śāstra-jñās tam ūchus te maharshayaḥ | "Rāma viprāḥ satkriyantāṁ veda-prāmāṇya-darśanāt | bhūyaścha viprarshi-gaṇāḥ prashṭavyāḥ pāvanam prati | te yad brūyur mahāprājñās tach chaiva samudāchara* | "3960. Rāma, son of Jamadagni, having thrice seven times cleared the world of Kshattriyas, and conquered the whole earth, performed the horse-sacrifice, venerated by Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, which confers all objects of desire, which cleanses all creatures, and augments power and lustre; and became thereby sinless and glorious. He did not, however, feel relieved in his mind, but after offering the most excellent of sacrifices, at which presents were bestowed, he (3965) enquired of the rishis skilled in the scriptures, and of the gods, what was that which most perfectly cleansed those men who had committed deeds of violence; for he felt compunction for what he had done. The rishis skilled in the Vedas and Śāstras replied, 'Let the Brāhmans be

the objects of your liberality, as the authority of the Vedas requires; let the Brāhman-rishis be further consulted in regard to the means of lustration; and do whatever these wise men may enjoin.'" Paraśurāma accordingly consulted Vaśishṭha, Agastya, and Kaśyapa. They replied that a sinner was cleansed by bestowing cows, land, and other property, and especially gold, the purifying power of which was very great. "Those who bestow it, bestow the gods," a proposition which is thus compendiously proved: "for Agni comprehends all the gods; and gold is of the essence of Agni" (verse 3987. *Devatās te prayachhanti ye suvarṇaṁ dadaty atha | Agnir hi devatāḥ sarvāḥ suvarṇaṁ cha tadātmakam*). In regard to the origin of this precious metal, Vasishṭha tells a very long story, which he had heard Prajāpati relate, how it was born by the goddess Gangā to Agni, by whom she had been impregnated, and was thus the son of that god. "Thus was gold born the offspring of Jātavedas (Agni). That which is produced in Jambūnada is the best, and a fit ornament even for the gods. It is called the chief of gems and of ornaments, the most pure of all pure things, the most auspicious of all auspicious objects; and one with the divine Agni, the lord Prajāpati" (verse 4099. *Evaṁ suvarṇam utpannam apatyaṁ Jātavedasaḥ | tatra Jāmbūnadaṁ śreshṭhaṁ devānām api bhūshaṇam* | 4001. *Ratnānām uttamaṁ ratnaṃ bhūshaṇānāṁ tathottamam | pavitraṁ cha pavitrāṇām mangalānāṁ cha mangalam | yat suvarṇaṁ sa bhagavān Agnir īśaḥ prajāpatiḥ* |). It must be highly consolatory for those who are disposed to be liberal to the Brāhman, to be assured that the gold which they bestow has such a high mystical, as well as current, exchangeable value. "Paraśurāma," the story concludes, "after being thus addressed by Vaśishṭha, gave gold to the Brāhmans, and was freed from sin" (verse 4183. *Ity uktaḥ sa Vaśishṭhena Jāmadagnyaḥ pratāpavān | dadau suvarṇaṁ viprebhyo vyamuchyata cha kilvishāt*).

It is interesting to remark how the different distinctive principles of Indian religion and sentiment severally assert themselves in turn, and thus, occasionally, come into conflict with each other, as in the story of Paraśurāma. The primary object of this legend is no doubt to illustrate the vengeance which inevitably overtakes all those who violate the sacredness of the Brāhmanical prerogative, and the meritorious character of those who act as its defenders. No sooner, however, is this end ac-

complished, and the impious foes of the priesthood swept away again and again from the face of the earth, than a revulsion of feeling takes place, and the higher principles of the sacredness of life, and of the blessedness of mercy, come forward to claim recognition; and a deep sense of the pollution of bloodshed calls aloud for atonement. In the Bhāgavata, as we have seen, Jamadagni imputes it as a crime to the avenger of the Brāhmans that he had slain a king; and even goes the length of declaring that in doing so he had incurred greater guilt than if he had murdered a Brāhman.

In the same book of the Mahābhārata, verses 7163 ff., an extravagant description is given of the prerogatives and powers of the Brāhmans; and Arjuna is again brought forward, in verses 7187 ff., as at first scouting their pretensions, but as ultimately conceding their unapproachable superiority: "The magnificent and mighty Kārttavīrya (Arjuna), possessing a thousand arms, was lord of this whole world, living in Māhishmatī. This Haihaya of unquestioned valour ruled over the whole sea-girt earth, with its oceans and continents" (verse 7187. *Sahasra-bhuja-bhṛit śrīmān Kārttavīryo 'bhavat prabhuḥ | asya lokasya sarvasya Māhishmatyām mahābalaḥ | sa tu ratnākaravatīṁ sadvīpāṁ sāgarāmbarām | śaśāsa pṛithivīṁ sarvāṁ Haihayaḥ satya-vikramaḥ*). He obtained boons from the muni Dattātreya, a thousand arms whenever he should go into battle, power to make the conquest of the whole earth, a disposition to rule it with justice, and the promise of instruction from the virtuous in the event of his going astray. 7196. *Tataḥ sa ratham āsthāya jvalanārka-samadyutim | abravīd vīryyasammohāt "ko nv asti sadṛiśo mama | dhairyye vīryye yaśaḥ-śauryye vikrameṇaujasā 'pi vā" | tad-vākyānte 'ntarīkshe vai vāg uvāchāśarīriṇī | "ná tvam mūḍha vijānīshe brāhmaṇaṁ kshattriyād varam | sahito brāhmaṇeneha kshattriyaḥ śāsti vai prajāḥ" | Arjuna uvācha | kuryām bhūtāni tushṭo 'haṁ kruddho nāśaṁ tathā naye | karmaṇā manasā vāchā na matto 'sti varo dvijaḥ |* 7200. *Pūrvo brahmottaro vādo dvitīyaḥ kshattriyottaraḥ | tvayoktau hetuyuktau tau viśeshas tattra dṛiśyate | brāhmaṇāḥ saṁśritāḥ kshattraṁ na kshattram brāhmaṇāśritam | śritāḥ brahmopadhāḥ viprāḥ khādanti kshattriyān bhuvi | kshattriyeshv āśrito dharmaḥ prajānām paripālanam | kshattrād vṛittir brāhmaṇānāṁ taiḥ katham brāhmaṇo varaḥ | sarva-bhūpradhānāṁs tān bhaiksha-vṛittīn ahaṁ sadā | ātma-sambhāvitān viprān*

sthāpayāmy ātmano vaśe | kathitaṁ hy anayā satyam gāyatryā kanyayā divi | vijeshyāmy avaśān sarvān brāhmaṇāṁś charma-vāsasaḥ | 7205. *Na cha māṁ chāvayed rāshṭrāt trishu lokeshu kaśchana | devo vā mānusho vā 'pi tasmāj jyeshṭho dvijād aham | atha brahmottaraṁ lokaṁ karishye kshattriyottaram | na hi me saṁyuge kaśchit soḍhum utsahate balam | Arjunasya vachaḥ śrutvā vitrastā 'bhūd niśācharī | athainam antarikshasthas tato Vāyur abhāshata | "tyajainaṁ kalusham bhāvam brāhmaṇebhyo namaskuru | eteshāṁ kurvataḥ pāpaṁ rāshṭra-kshobho bhavishyati | atha vā tvām mahīpāla śamayishyanti vai dvijāḥ | nirasishyanti te rāshṭrād hatotsāham mahābalāḥ"* | 7210. *Taṁ rājā "kas tvam" ity āha tatas tam prāha Mārutaḥ | "Vāyur vai deva-dūto 'smi hitaṁ tvām prabravīmy aham" | Arjunaḥ uvācha | "aho tvayā 'dya vipreshu bhaktirāgaḥ pradarśitaḥ | yādṛiśam pṛithivī-bhūtaṁ tādṛiśam brūhi vai dvijam | vāyor vā sadṛiśam kinchid brūhi tvam bvāhmaṇottamam | apāṁ vai sadṛiśo vahniḥ sūryyasya nabhaso 'pi vā* | "Then ascending his chariot glorious as the resplendent sun, he exclaimed in the intoxication of his prowess, 'Who is like me in fortitude, courage, fame, heroism, energy, and vigour?' At the end of this speech a bodiless voice in the sky addressed him: 'Thou knowest not, o fool, that a Brāhman is better than a Kshattriya. It is with the help of the Brāhman that the Kshattriya rules his subjects.' Arjuna answers: 'If I am pleased, I can create, or, if displeased, annihilate, living beings; and no Brāhman is superior to me in act, thought, or word. The first proposition is that the Brāhmans are superior; the second that the Kshattriyas are superior; both of these thou hast stated with their grounds, but there is a difference between them (in point of force). The Brāhmans are dependant on the Kshattriyas, and not the Kshattriyas on the Brāhmans; and the Kshattriyas are eaten up by the Brāhmans, who wait upon them, and only make the Vedas a pretence. Justice, the protection of the people, has its seat in the Kshattriyas. From them the Brāhmans derive their livelihood: how then can the latter be superior? I always keep in subjection to myself those Brāhmans, the chief of all beings, who subsist on alms, and who have a high opinion of themselves. For truth was spoken by that female the Gāyatrī in the sky. I shall subdue all those unruly Brāhmans clad in hides. 7200. No one in the three worlds, god or man, can hurl me from my royal authority; wherefore I am

superior to any Brāhman. Now shall I turn the world in which Brāhmans have the upper hand into a place where Kshattriyas shall have the upper hand: for no one dares to encounter my force in battle.' Hearing this speech of Arjuna, the female roving in the night became alarmed. Then Vāyu, hovering in the air, said to Arjuna: 'Abandon this sinful disposition, and do obeisance to the Brāhmans. If thou shalt do them wrong, thy kingdom shall be convulsed. They will subdue thee: those powerful men will humble thee, and expel thee from thy country.' The king asks him, 'Who art thou?' Vāyu replies, 'I am Vāyu, the messenger of the gods, and tell thee what is for thy benefit.' Arjuna rejoins, 'Oh, thou displayest to-day a great warmth of devotion to the Brāhmans. But say that a Brāhman is like (any other) earth-born creature. Or say that this most excellent Brāhman is something like the wind. But fire is like the waters, or the sun, or the sky.'"[245] Vāyu, however, goes on to answer this spirited banter by adducing various instances in which the superiority or terrible power of the Brāhmans had been manifested: 7124. *Tyaktvā mahītvam bhūmis tu sparddhayā 'nga-nṛipasya ha | nāśaṁ jagāma tāṁ vipro vyashṭambhayata Kāśyapaḥ |* "The earth, being offended with king Anga, had abandoned her form and become destroyed: but the Brāhman Kaśyapa supported her." This is afterwards told more at length, verse 7232: *Imām bhūmiṁ dvijātibhyo ditsur vai dakshiṇām purā | Ango nāma nṛipo rājaṁs tataś chintām mahī yayau | "dhāraṇīṁ sarva-bhūtānām ayam prāpya varo nṛipaḥ | katham ichhati māṁ dātuṁ dvijebhyo Brahmaṇaḥ sutām | sā 'haṁ tyaktvā gamishyāmi bhūmitvam Brahmaṇaḥ padam | ayaṁ sa-rāshṭro nṛipatir mā bhūd" iti tato 'gamat |* 7235. *Tatas tām Kaśyapo dṛishṭvā vrajantīm pṛithivīṁ tadā | praviveśa mahīṁ sadyo muktvā "tmāhaṁ samāhitaḥ | ṛiddhā sā sarvato jajne triṇaushadhi-samanvitā | . . . .* 7238. *Athāgamya mahārāja namaskṛitya cha Kaśyapam | pṛithivī Kāśyapī jajne sutā tasya mahātmanaḥ | esha rājann īdṛiśo vai brāhmaṇaḥ Kaśyapo 'bhavat | anyam prabrūhi vā tvaṁ cha Kaśyapāt kshattriyaṁ varam |* "King Anga wished to bestow this earth on the Brāhmans as a sacrificial fee. The earth then reflected, 'How does this excellent king, after having obtained me, the daughter of Brahmā, and the supporter of all creatures, desire to give

[245] The drift of the last line is not very clear, unless it be a reply by anticipation to line 225, which will be found a little further on.

me to the Brāhmans? I shall abandon my earthly form, and depart to the world of Brahmā. Let this king be without any realm.' Accordingly she departed. 7235. Beholding her going away, Kaśyapa, sunk in contemplation, entered into her, leaving his own body. She then became replenished, and covered with grass and plants, etc., etc. . . . . 7238. She afterwards came and did obeisance to Kaśyapa, and became his daughter. Such was the Brāhman Kaśyapa: Declare, on your part, any Kshattriya who has been superior to him."

Further illustrations of the tremendous power of the Brāhmans are the following:

7215. *Apibat tejasā hy āpaḥ svayam evāngirāḥ purā | sa tāḥ piban kshīram iva nātṛipyata mahāmanāḥ | apūrayad mahaughena mahīṁ sarvāṁ cha pārthiva | tasminn ahaṁ cha kruddhe vai jagat tyaktvā tato gataḥ | vyatishṭham agnihotre cha chiram Angiraso bhayāt | atha śaptaś cha bhagavān Gautamena Purandaraḥ | Ahalyāṁ kāmayāno vai dharmārthaṁ cha na hiṁsitaḥ | yathā samudro nṛipate pūrṇo mṛishṭaś cha vāriṇā | brāhmaṇair abhiśaptaḥ san babhūva lavaṇodakaḥ | . . . .* 7223. *Daṇḍakānām mahad rājyam brāhmaṇena vināśitam | Tālajangham mahākshattram Aurveṇaikena nāśitam | . . . .* 7225. *Agniṁ tvaṁ yajase nityaṁ kasmād brāhmaṇam Arjuna | sa hi sarvasya lokasya havya-vāṭ kiṁ na vetsi tam | . . . .* 7241. *Bhadrā Somasya duhitā rūpeṇa paramā matā | yasyās tulyam patiṁ Somaḥ Utathyaṁ samapaśyata | sā cha tīvraṁ tapas tepe mahābhāgā yaśasvinī | Utathyārthe tu chārvāngī paraṁ niyamam āsthitā | tataḥ āhūya ṣotathyaṁ dadāv Atrir yaśasvinīm | bhāryyārthe sa tu jagrāha vidhivad bhūri-dakshiṇaḥ | tāṁ tv akāmayata śrīmān Varuṇaḥ pūrvam eva ha | sa chāgamya vanaprasthaṁ Yamunāyāṁ jahāra tām |* 7245. *Jaleśvaras tu hṛitvā tām anayat svapuram prati | paramādbhuta-saṅkāśam shat-sahasra-śataṁ hradam | na hi ramyataraṁ kinchit tasmād anyat purottamam | prāsādair apsarobhiś cha divyaiḥ kāmaiś cha śobhitam | tatra devas tayā sārddhaṁ reme rājan jaleśvaraḥ | athākhyātam Utathyāya tataḥ patny-avamarddanam | tach chhrutvā Nāradāt sarvam Utathyo Nāradaṁ tadā | provācha "gachha brūhi tvaṁ Varuṇam parushaṁ vachaḥ | madvākyād muncha me bhāryyām kasmāt tāṁ hṛitavān asi | lokapālo 'si lokānāṁ na lokasya vilumpakaḥ | Somena dattā me bhāryyā tvayā chāpahṛitā 'dya vai" | . . . .* 7251. *Iti śrutvā vachas tasya tatas taṁ Varuṇo 'bravīt | "mamaishā supriyā bhīrur nainām utsrashṭum utsahe" | ity ukto Varuṇenātha Nā-*

radaḥ prāpya vai munim | Utathyam abravīd vākyaṁ nātihṛishta-manāḥ iva | "gale gṛihītvā kshipto 'smi Varuṇena mahāmune | na prayachhati te bhāryyāṁ yat te kāryyaṁ kurushva tat" | Nāradasya vachaḥ śrutvā kruddhaḥ prājvalad Angirāḥ | 7255. Apibat tejasā vāri vishtabhya sa mahātapāḥ | pīyamāne tu sarvasmiṁs toye vai salileśvaraḥ | suhṛidbhiḥ kshobhyamāṇo vai naivāmunchata tāṁ tadā | tataḥ kruddho 'bravīd bhūmim Utathyo brāhmaṇottamāḥ | darśayasva chhalam bhadre shaṭ-sahasra-śataṁ hradam | tatas tad īriṇaṁ jātaṁ samudraś chāvasarpitaḥ | tasmād deśān nadīṁ chaiva provāchāsau dvijottamaḥ | "adṛiśyā gachha bhīru tvaṁ Sarasvati marūn prati | apuṇyaḥ esha bhavatu deśas tyaktas tvayā śubhe" | tasmin saṁśoshite deśe Bhadrām ādāya vāripaḥ | 7260. Adadāt śaraṇaṁ gatvā bhāryyām Āngirasāya vai | pratigṛihya tu tām bhāryyām Utathyaḥ sumanā 'bhavat | mumocha cha jagad duḥkhād Varuṇaṁ chaiva Haihaya | . . . . 7262. Mamaishā tapasā prāptā krośatas te jalādhipa | 7263. . . . . esha rājann īdṛiśo vai Utathyo brāhmaṇottamaḥ | bravīmy aham brūhi vā tvam Utathyāt kshattriyam varam |

"Angiras, too, himself formerly drank up the waters by his own might. Drinking them up like milk he was not satisfied: and filled the whole earth with a great flood. When he was thus wroth, I abandoned the world and departed, and dwelt for a long time in the agnihotra. The divine Purandara (Indra), who had a passion for Ahalyā, was cursed by (her husband) Gautama; but, from motives of religion, he was not injured.[246] The sea, which is filled and purified by water, being cursed by the Brāhmans, became salt." 7223. The great king-

[246] See above pp. 121 and 310; and also pp. 107–113. In this same Anuśāsana Parva, verses 2262 ff., there is found another story (told to illustrate the frailty of the female sex) of Indra being enamoured of Ruchi, the wife of the rishi Devaśarman, and of the method which that sage's disciple, Vipula, (to whose care his preceptor's wife had been entrusted during her husband's absence,) devised to preserve his charge from being corrupted by the licentious immortal who was in the habit of assuming manifold Protean disguises in order to carry out his unworthy designs, and to save the female from being "licked up by the king of the gods, as a mischievous dog licks up the butter deposited at the sacrifice" (*Yathā Ruchiṁ nāvalihed devendro Bhṛigu-sattama | kratāv upahite nyastaṁ haviḥ śveva durātmavān*), a respectful comparison, truly, to be applied to the chief of the Indian pantheon! The plan which Vipula adopted to save the virtue of his master's wife against her will was to take possession of her body with his own spirit, and to restrain her movements by the force of Yoga, and compel her to say the contrary of what she desired. The story ends by his re-entering his own body, reproaching Indra with his disgraceful behaviour, and compelling him to retire abashed.

dom of the Daṇḍakas was overthrown by a Brāhman; and the great Kshattriya family of the Tālajanghas was destroyed by Aurva alone. 7225. And why dost thou, o Arjuna, worship Agni (who is) a Brāhman? for knowest thou not that he bears the oblations of the whole world?" The story of Utathya, of the race of Angiras, is afterwards told: "7241. Bhadrā was the daughter of Soma, and considered to be a a person of great beauty. Soma regarded Utathya as a fitting husband for her. She practised severe austerities in order to gain him. Atri (the father of Soma, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Wilson, 1st ed. p. 392) then sent for Utathya, and gave her to him, and he married her in due form, presenting large gifts. 7245. The god Varuṇa, however, who had formerly been enamoured of her, came and carried her off from the abode of the hermit, who was living on the banks of the Yamunā, and took her to his own city, to a very wonderful lake of six hundred thousand (yojanas). No city was more delightful than that, adorned as it was by palaces and apsarases, and rich in celestial objects of enjoyment. There the god enjoyed her society. His wife's dishonour being made known to Utathya by Nārada, he requested the latter to go and deliver a severe message to Varuṇa: 'I command thee to let my wife go, who was given to me by Soma; wherefore hast thou carried her away? Thou art a guardian of the world, not a robber.'. . . . 7251. Varuṇa answered, 'She is my beloved; I cannot bear to give her up.' Nārada, in no very gratified humour, reported this answer to Utathya, and said, 'Varuṇa took me by the throat, and cast me out. He will not give up thy wife. Take whatever measures thou esteemest proper.' Utathya was greatly incensed (7255), and stopped up and drank all the sea. Still Varuṇa, though urged by his friends, would not give up the female. Utathya then desired the earth to try some other stratagem; and the lake above described was turned into a salt wilderness, and the ocean swept away. The saint then addressed himself to the countries and to the river: 'Sarasvatī, disappear into the deserts; and let this land, deserted by thee, become impure.' After the country had become dried up, Varuṇa submitted himself to Utathya, and brought back Bhadrā. The sage was pleased to get his wife, and released both the world and Varuṇa from their sufferings. . . . . He said to the latter (7262) 'This, my wife, was gained by my austerities in spite of thy remonstrances.' 7263. . . . . 'Such, o king, I say, was

the Brāhman Utathya; tell me of any Kshattriya superior to him.'"

A story is next told (verses 7265 ff.) of the gods being conquered by the Asuras or Dānavas, deprived of all oblations, and stripped of their dignity, and of their coming to earth, where they saw the sage Agastya, and applied to him for protection. The succour they implored was granted to them by the sage, who scorched the Dānavas, expelled them from heaven and earth, and made them fly to the south. Thus were the gods reinstated in their dominion.

We have then, verses 7280–7290, the following legend of Vaśishṭha: The Ādityas were performing a sacrifice, bearing Vaśishṭha in their remembrance, when they were attacked by the Dānavas, called Khalins, who came in tens of thousands to slay them:

Verse 7284. *Tatas tair arddiṭāḥ devāḥ śaraṇaṁ Vāsavaṁ yayuḥ | sa cha tair vyathitaḥ Śakro Vaśishṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ yayau | tato 'bhayaṁ dadau tebhyo Vaśishṭho bhagavān ṛishiḥ | tadā tān duḥkhitān jñātvā ānṛiśaṁsya-paro muniḥ | ayatnenādahat sarvān Khalinaḥ svena tejasā | . . . .* 7289. *Evaṁ sendrāḥ Vaśishṭhena rakshitās tridivaukasaḥ | Brahma-datta-varāś chaiva hatāḥ daityāḥ mahātmanā | etat karma Vaśishṭhasya kathitaṁ hi mayā 'nagha | bravīmy aham brūhi vā tvam Vaśishṭhāt kshattriyaṁ varam |*

"The gods being distressed by them, resorted to Indra; and he too, being harassed by them, went to Vaśishṭha for help. This reverend and benevolent sage gave them all his protection; and being aware of their distress, without any exertion, burnt up all the Dānavas . . . . 7289. Thus were the gods, including Indra, preserved by Vaśishṭha, and the Daityas, even although they had obtained a boon from Brahmā, were slain. Such was the exploit of Vaśishṭha: can you tell me of any Kshattriya who was superior to him?"

A further tale is told of the prowess of the sage Atri, who interposed to deliver the gods and restore light to the celestial luminaries:

Verse 7292. *Ghore tamasy ayudhyanta sahitāḥ deva-dānavāḥ | avidhyata śarais tattra Svarbhānuḥ Soma-bhāskarau | atha te tamasā grastāḥ vihanyante sma dānavaiḥ | devāḥ nṛipati-śārdūla sahaiva Balibhis tadā | asurair badhyamānās te kshīṇa-prāṇāḥ divaukasaḥ | apaśyanta tapasyantam Atriṁ vipraṁ tapodhanam | . . . .* 7297. *Te 'bruvaṁś "chandramāḥ bhava | timira-ghnaś cha savitā dasyu-hantā cha no bhava" | evam uktas tadā 'trir vai tamo-nud abhavat śaśī | apaśyat saumya-bhāvāch cha soma-*

vat-priya-darśanaḥ | dṛishṭvā nātiprabhaṁ somaṁ tathā sūryaṁ cha pārthiva | prakāśam akarod Atris tapasā svena saṁyuge | 7300. Jagad vitimiraṁ chāpi prakāśam akarot tadā | vyajayat śatru-samghāṁś cha devānāṁ svena tejasā | . . . . 7303. Dvijenāgni-dvitīyena japatā charma-vāsasā | phala-bhakṣheṇa rājarshe paśya karmāttriṇā kṛitam | . . . . 7304. . . . . brūhi vā tvam Atritaḥ kshattriyaṁ varam |

"The gods and Dānavas fought together in dreadful darkness; when Svarbhānu pierced with his arrows the sun and moon. Enveloped in gloom the gods were slaughtered by the Dānavas, together with the Balis. Being thus slain and exhausted, the celestials beheld the Brāhman Atri employed in austerities;" and invoked his aid in their extremity. He asked what he should do. They reply, verse 2297: "'Become the moon, and the gloom-dispelling sun, the slayer of the Dasyus.' Atri then became the gloom-dispelling moon, and in his character as such looked beautiful as Soma. Perceiving the sun and moon to be shorn of their brightness, Atri threw light upon the conflict, (7300) freed the world from darkness, by the power of his austere-fervour, and vanquished the enemies of the gods. . . . . 7303. Behold the deed done by Atri, the Brāhman, attended by Agni, the mutterer of prayers, clad in a skin, and living upon fruits. . . . . 7304. 'Tell me of any Kshattriya superior to Atri.'"

This story is founded on some verses of the Rig-veda, v. 40, 5: *Yat tvā sūryya Svarbhānus tamasā 'vidhyad āsuraḥ | akshetra-vid yathā mudgho bhuvanāni adīdhayuḥ | 6. Svarbhānor adha yad Indra māyāḥ avo divo varttamānāḥ avāhan | gūḷhaṁ sūryyaṁ tamasā 'pavratena turīyeṇa brahmaṇā 'vindad Atriḥ | 8. Grāvṇo brahmā yujujānaḥ saparyyan kīriṇā devān namasopaśikshan | Atriḥ sūryasya divi chakshur ādhāt Svarbhānor apa māyāḥ aghukshat | 9. Yaṁ vai sūryyaṁ Svarbhānus tamasā 'vidhyad āsuraḥ | Atrayas tam anv avindan nahi anye aśaknuvan |*

"When Svarbhānu of the Asura race pierced thee, o Sun, with darkness, all worlds appeared like a man who is bewildered in a region which he does not know. 6. When, Indra, thou didst sweep away the magical arts of Svarbhānu, which were operating beneath the sky, Atri discovered by the fourth text the Sun, which had been hidden by the hostile darkness. 8. Applying the (soma-crushing) stones, performing worship, serving the gods with reverence and praise, the priest Atri placed the eye of the Sun in the sky, and dispelled the illusions of

Svarbhānu. 9. The Atris discovered the Sun which Svarbhānu had pierced with darkness. No others could."

We have next a curious legend about the sage Chyavana, of the race of Bhṛigu:

7306. *Aśvinoḥ pratisaṁśrutya Chyavanaḥ Pākaśāsanam | provācha sahito devaiḥ "somapāv Aśvinau kuru" | Indraḥ uvācha | "asmābhir ninditāv etau bhavetāṁ somapau katham | devair na sammitāv etau tasmād maivaṁ vadasva naḥ | Aśvibhyāṁ saha nechhāmaḥ somam pātum mahāvrata | yad anyad vakshyase vipra tat karishyāma te vachaḥ" | Chyavanaḥ uvācha | "pibetām Aśvinau somam bhavadbhiḥ sahitāv ubhau | ubhāv etāv api surau sūryya-puttrau sureśvara |* 7310. *Kriyatām mad-vacho devāḥ yathā vai samudāhṛitam | etad vaḥ kurvatāṁ śreyo bhaved naitad akurvatām" | Indraḥ uvācha | "Aśvibhyāṁ saha somaṁ vai na pāsyāmi dvijottama | pibantv anye yathākāmaṁ nāham pātum ihotsahe" | Chyavanaḥ uvācha | "na chet karishyasi vacho mayoktam bala-sūdana | mayā pramathitaḥ sadyaḥ somam pāsyasi vai makhe" | tataḥ karma samārabdhaṁ hitāya sahasā 'śvinoḥ | Chyavanena tato mantrair abhibhūtāḥ surā 'bhavan | tat tu karma samārabdhaṁ dṛishṭvendraḥ krodha-mūrchhitaḥ | udyamya vipulaṁ śailaṁ Chyavanaṁ samupādravat |* 7315. *Tathā vajreṇa bhagavān amarshākula-lochanaḥ | tam āpatantaṁ dṛishṭvaiva Chyavanas tapasā 'nvitaḥ | adbhiḥ siktvā 'stambhayat taṁ sa-vajraṁ saha-parvatam | athendrasya mahāghoraṁ so 'sṛijat śatrum eva hi | Mayaṁ nāmāhutimayaṁ vyāditāsyam mahāmuniḥ | . . . .* 7319. *Jihvā-mūlāsthitās tasya sarve devāḥ sa-vāsavāḥ | timer āsyam anupraptāḥ yathā matsyāḥ mahārṇave | te sammantrya tato deva Madasyāsya samīpagāḥ | abruvan sahitāḥ S'akram praṇamāsmai dvijātaye | Aśvibhyāṁ saha somaṁ cha pibāma 'vigata-jvarāḥ | tataḥ sa praṇataḥ S'akraś chakāra Chyavanasya tat | Chyavanaḥ kṛitavān etāv Aśvinau soma-pāyinau | tataḥ pratyāharat karma Madaṁ cha vyabhajad muniḥ |*

"Having given a promise to that effect, Chyavana applied, along with the other gods, to Indra, to allow the Aśvins to partake in the soma juice. Indra answered, 'How can they become drinkers of the soma, seeing they are reviled by us, and are not on an equality with the gods? We do not wish to drink soma in their company; but we shall accede to your wishes in any other respect.' Chyavana repeats his request, and urges that the Aśvins also are gods, and the offspring of the Sun. 7310. He adds that it will be well for the gods if they accede to this

demand, and ill if they do not. Indra rejoins that the other gods may drink with the Aśvins if they please, but he cannot bring himself to do it. Chyavana retorts that if he does not, he shall be chastised by the sage, and made to drink soma (with them) at the sacrifice. A ceremony was then instantly begun by Chyavana for the benefit of the Aśvins; and the gods were vanquished by sacred texts. Indra, seeing this rite commenced, became incensed, uplifted a vast mountain (7315), and rushed with his thunderbolt, and with angry eyes, on Chyavana. The sage, however, sprinkling him with water, arrested him with his mountain and thunderbolt. Chyavana then created a fearful open-mouthed monster, called Mada, formed of the substance of the oblation," who is further described as having teeth and grinders of portentous length, and jaws, one of which enclosed the earth and the other the sky: and the gods, including Indra, are said (7319), "to have been at the root of his tongue [ready to be devoured] like fishes in the mouth of a sea monster. Finding themselves int his predicament, the gods took counsel and said to Indra, 'Make salutation to Chyavana, and let us drink soma along with the Aśvins, and so escape from our sufferings.' Indra then, making obeisence, granted the demand of Chyavana, who was thus the cause of the Aśvins becoming drinkers of the soma. He then performed the ceremony, and clove Mada to pieces."

Does this legend mean that this rishi of the Bhṛigu family was the first to introduce the Aśvins within the circle of the Arian worship?

Compare the passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmana iv. 1, 5, 1 ff., and from the Vanaparvan of the M. Bh. verses 10316 ff. quoted in my "Contributions to a knowledge of the Vedic theogony and mythology," No. II., in the Journ. R. A. S., for 1866, pp 11 ff.; Ind. St. i. 188, and the Āśvamedhika-parvan of the M. Bh., verses 249 ff., there referred to. The Aśvins are, in different passages of the Rig-veda, as iii. 58, 7, 9; viii. 8, 5; viii. 35, 7–10, invited to drink the soma-juice.

Vāyu relates to Arjuna yet one more instance of the irresistible power of the Brāhmans:

7327. *Madasyāsyam anuprāptāḥ yadā sendrāḥ divaukasaḥ | tadaiva Chyavaneneha hṛitā teshāṁ vasundharā | ubhau lokau hṛitau matvā te devāḥ duḥkhitāḥ bhṛiśam | śokārttāś cha mahātmāno Brahmāṇaṁ śaraṇaṁ yayuḥ | devāḥ ūchuḥ | Madāsya-vyatisiktānām asmākaṁ loka-pūjita | Chyavanena hṛitā bhūmiḥ Kapaiś chaiva divam prabho | Brahmā uvācha |*

7330. *Gachhadhvaṁ śaraṇaṁ viprān āśu sendrāḥ divaukasaḥ | prasādya tān ubhau lokāv avāpsyatha yathā purā | te yayuḥ śaraṇaṁ viprān ūchus te "kān jayāmahe" | ity uktās te dvijān prāhur "jayateha Kapān" iti | "bhūgatān hi vijetāro vayam" ity abruvan "dvijāḥ" | tataḥ karma samārabdham brāhmaṇaiḥ Kapa-nāśanam | tat śrutvā preshito dūto brāhmaṇebhyo Dhanī Kapaiḥ | bhū-gatān brāhmaṇān āha Dhanī Kapa-vacho yathā | "bhavadbhiḥ sadṛiśāḥ sarve Kapāḥ kim iha varttate | sarve vedavidaḥ prājnāḥ sarve cha kratu-yājinaḥ | 7335. Sarve satyavratāś chaiva sarve tulyāḥ maharshibhiḥ | śrīś chaiva ramataiteshu dhārayanti śriyaṁ cha te | . . . . 7339. Etaiś chānyaiś cha bahubhir guṇair yuktān kathaṁ Kapān | 7340. Vijeshyatha nivarttadhvaṁ nivṛittānāṁ śubhaṁ hi vaḥ" | Brāhmaṇāḥ ūchuḥ | Kapān vayaṁ vijeshyāmo ye devās te vayaṁ smṛitāḥ | tasmād badhyāḥ Kapā 'smākam Dhanin yāhi yathāgatam | Dhanī gatvā Kapān āha "na no viprāḥ priyaṅkarāḥ | gṛihītvā 'straṇy atho viprān Kapāḥ sarve samādravan | samudagra-dhvajān dṛishṭvā Kapān sarve dvijātayaḥ | vyasṛijan jvalitān agnīn Kapānām prāṇa-nāśanān | brahmasṛishṭāḥ havyabhujaḥ Kapān hatvā sanātanāḥ | nabhasīva yathā 'bhrāṇi vyarājanta narādhipa | Hatvā vai dānavān devāḥ sarve sambhūya saṁyuge | tenābhyajānan hi tadā brāhmaṇair nihatān Kapān | athāgamya mahātejāḥ Nārado 'kathayad vibho | yathā hatāḥ mahābhāgais tejasā brāhmaṇaiḥ Kapāḥ | Nāradasya vachaḥ śrutvā prītāḥ sarve divaukasaḥ | praśaśaṁsuḥ dvijāṁś chāpi brāhmaṇāṁś cha yaśasvinaḥ |*

"When the gods, including Indra, were enclosed within the mouth of Mada, the earth was taken from them by Chyavana. The gods then considering that they had lost both worlds, in their distress resorted to Brahmā, and said, 'Since we have been swallowed up in the mouth of Mada, the earth has been taken from us by Chyavana, and the heaven by the Kapas.' Brahmā answered, 'Go speedily, ye gods, with Indra, to the Brāhmans for help. After propitiating them ye shall regain both worlds.' They did so, and the Brāhmans, after ascertaining that the gods would themselves deal with those of their enemies who were on earth, began a ceremony for the destruction of the Kapas. The Kapas upon this sent a messenger to the Brāhmans, to say that they themselves were all, like them, skilled in the Vedas, learned, and offerers of sacrifice, all pure in their observances, and all resembling great rishis, etc., etc. How then should the Brāhmans be able to conquer them? It would be more for their interest to desist from the attempt. The Brāhmans,

however, would not be persuaded; and when, in consequence, the Kapas assailed them, they hurled forth fires by which the Kapas were destroyed. The gods themselves conquered the Dānavas, and learning from Nārada what the illustrious Brāhmans had effected, they sang their praises."[247]

Hearing of all these testimonies to the terrible might of the Brāhmans, Arjuna at length gives in, saying:

7350. *Jīvāmy aham brāhmaṇārthaṁ sarvathā satatam prabho | brahmaṇyo brāhmaṇebhyaś cha praṇamāmi cha nityaśaḥ | Dattātttreya-prasādāch cha mayā prāptam idam balam | loke cha paramā kīrttir dharmaś cha charito mahān | aho brāhmaṇa-karmāṇi mayā Māruta tattvataḥ | tvayā proktāni kārtsnyena śrutāni prayatena cha | Vāyur uvācha | brāhmaṇān kshāttra-dharmeṇa pālayasvendriyāṇi cha | Bhṛigubhyas te bhayaṁ ghoraṁ tat tu kālād bhavishyati |*

"I live altogether and always for the sake of the Brāhmans. I am devoted to the Brāhmans, and do obeisance to them continually. And it is through the favour of Dattāttreya (a Brāhman) that I have obtained all this power and high renown, and that I have practised righteousness. Thou hast declared to me truly all the acts of the Brāhmans, and I have listened intently." Vāyu then says to him: "Protect the Brāhmans, fulfilling a Kshattriya's function; and restrain your senses. A dreadful cause of apprehension impends over you from the Bhṛigus, but it will only take effect after some time." This last remark may have been introduced to bring this story into harmony with the other legend about the destruction of Arjuna and the Kshattriyas.

The narrative, which has just been quoted, is, as I have already stated, preceded by a panegyric of some length pronounced by Bhīshma on the Brāhmans (verses 7163–7184), of which the following are specimens:

7163. *Brāhmaṇānām paribhavaḥ sādayed api devatāḥ* | 7164. *Te hi lokān imān sarvān dhārayanti manīshiṇaḥ* | 7175. *Chandane mala-panke cha bhojane 'bhojane samāḥ | vāso yeshāṁ dukūlaṁ cha śāna-kshaumājināni cha* | 7177. *Adaivaṁ daivataṁ kuryur daivataṁ vā 'py adaivatam | lokān anyān sṛijeyus te lokapālāṁś cha kopitāḥ* | 7179. *Devānām api ye devāḥ kāraṇaṁ kāraṇasya cha* | 7181. *Avidvān brāhmaṇo devaḥ . . . . | vidvān bhūyas tato devaḥ pūrṇa-sāgara-sannibhaḥ |*

"The prowess of the Brāhmans can destroy even the gods. 7164.

[247] This translation is a good deal condensed.

Those wise beings uphold all these worlds. 7175. To them it is indifferent whether they are perfumed with sandal wood or deformed with mire, whether they eat or fast, whether they are clad in silk, or in sackcloth or skins. 7177. They can turn what is not divine into what is divine, and the converse; and can in their anger create other worlds with their guardians. 7179. They are the gods of the gods; and the cause of the cause. 7181. An ignorant Brāhman is a god, whilst a learned Brāhman is yet more a god, like the full ocean." (Compare the similar eulogies in p. 130, above.)

In the Anuśāsanaparvan, sections 52 ff., we have the story of Paraśurāma, in connection with that of Viśvāmitra, yet once more handled. Yudhishṭhira says he is very curious to know something more about these two personages:

2718. *Katham esha samutpanno Rāmaḥ satya-parākramaḥ | katham brahmarshi-vaṁśo 'yaṁ kshattra-dharmā vyajāyata | tad asya sambhavaṁ rājan nikhilenānukīrttaya | Kauśikāch cha kathaṁ vaṁśāt kshattrād vai brāhmaṇo 'bhavat | aho prabhāvaḥ sumahān āsīd vai sumahātmanaḥ | Rāmasya cha nara-vyāghra Viśvāmitrasya chaiva hi | katham putrān atikramya teshāṁ naptṛishv athābhavat | esha doshaḥ sutān hitvā tat tvaṁ vyākhyātum arhasi |*

"How was this valiant Rāma, descended from the family of a Brāhman-rishi, born with the qualities of a Kshattriya? Tell me the whole story: and how did a Brāhman spring from the Kshattriya race of Kuśika? Great was the might of Rāma, and of Viśvāmitra. How did it happen that, passing over the sons [of Ṛichīka and Kuśika], this defect showed itself in their grandsons?"

Then there follows a long dialogue related by Bhīshma as having taken place between king Kuśika and the sage Chyavana. The latter, it seems, "foreseeing that this disgrace was about to befall his race [from connection with the Kuśikas], and entertaining, in consequence, after he had weighed all the good and evil, and the strength and weakness (on either side), the desire of burning up that whole family" (verse 2723. *Etaṁ dosham purā dṛishṭvā Bhārgavaś Chyavanas tadā | āgāminam mahābuddhiḥ sva-vaṁśe muni-sattamaḥ | niśchitya manasā sarvaṁ guṇa-dosham balābalam | dagdhu-kāmaḥ kulaṁ sarvaṁ Kuśikānāṁ tapodhanaḥ |*), came to Kuśika. Chyavana is welcomed and treated with great attention, and receives from Kuśika the offer of all his king-

dom, etc. The saint, however, does not requite this honour with corresponding kindness, but makes the king and his wife perform many menial offices, rub his feet, attend while he sleeps, bring him food, and draw him in a chariot, while he lacerates their backs with a goad. All this is submitted to so patiently, that the sage is propitiated, addresses them in kindly tones, and touches their wounded bodies with his godlike hands. After creating a magical golden palace, with all the accompaniments of pleasure (2826 ff.), in order to give them a conception of heaven, (2892 ff.) the sage offers to bestow any boon the king may choose; and to solve any of his doubts. Kuśika asks the reason of the sage's unaccountable procedure. Chyavana answers that he had heard from Brahmā that there would be "a confusion of families in consequence of the hostility of Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, and that a grandson of great glory and heroism would be born to Kuśika" (verse 2878. *Brahma-kshattra-virodhena bhavitā kula-sankaraḥ | pautras te bhavitā rājaṁs tejo-vīryya-samanvitaḥ |*); that he had intended in consequence to burn up the race of the Kuśikas, but that the king had come so well out of the severe ordeal to which he had been subjected, that the sage had become thoroughly pacified, and would grant the boon which Kuśika desired:

2897. *Bhavishyaty esha te kāmas Kauśikāt Ḳauśiko dvijaḥ | tṛitīyam purushaṁ tubhyam brāhmaṇatvaṁ gamishyati | vaṁśas te pārthiva-śreshṭha Bhṛigūṇām eva tejasā | pautras te bhavitā vipras tapasvī pāvana-dyutiḥ | yaḥ sa-deva-manushyāṇām bhayam utpādayishyati |*

"This thy desire shall be fulfilled; from a Kauśika a Kauśika Brāhman shall arise: in the third generation thy race shall attain to Brāhmanhood by the might of the Bhṛigus. Thy son's son shall become a Brāhman, a devotee, splendid as fire, who shall alarm both gods and men." Kuśika being anxious to know how all this was to be brought to pass, Chyavana informs him:

2995. *Bhṛigūṇāṁ kshattriyāḥ yājyāḥ nityam etaj janādhipa | te cha bhedaṁ gamishyanti daiva-yuktena hetunā | kshattriyāś cha Bhṛigūn sarvān badhishyanti narādhipa | āgarbhād anukṛintanto daiva-daṇḍa nipīḍitāḥ | tataḥ utpatsyate 'smākaṁ kula-gotra-vivardhanaḥ | Ūrvo nāma mahātejā jvalanārka-sama-dyutiḥ | sa trailokya-vināśāya kopāgniṁ janayishyati | mahīṁ sa-parvata-vanāṁ yaḥ karishyati bhasmasāt | kanchit kālaṁ tu vahniṁ cha sa eva śamayishyati | samudre vaḍavā-vaktre prak-*

shipya muni-sattamaḥ | 2910. *Puttraṁ tasya mahārāja Ṛichīkam Bhṛigu-nandanam* | *sākshāt kṛitsno dhanur-vedaḥ samupasthāsyate 'nagha* | *kshattriyāṇām abhāvāya daiva-yuktena hetunā* | *sa tu tam pratigṛihyaiva puttraṁ sankrāmayishyati* | *Jamadagnau mahābhāge tapasā bhāvitātmani* | *sa chāpi Bhṛigu-śārdūlas taṁ vedaṁ dhārayishyati* | *kulāt tu tava dharmātman kanyāṁ so 'dhigamishyati* | *udbhāvanārtham bhavato vaṁśasya Bharatarshabha* | *Gādher duhitaram prāpya pauttrīṁ tava mahātapāḥ* | *brāhmaṇaṁ kshattra-dharmāṇam puttram utpādayishyati* | 2915. *Kshattriyaṁ vipra-karmāṇam Vṛihaspatim ivaujasā* | *Viśvāmitraṁ tava kule Gādheḥ puttraṁ sudhārmikam* | *tapasā mahatā yuktam pradāsyati mahādyute* | *striyau tu kāraṇaṁ tattra parivartte bhavishyataḥ* | *Pitāmaha-niyogād vai nānyathaitad bhavishyati* | *tṛitīye purushe tubhyam brāhmaṇatvam upaishyati* | *bhavitā tvaṁ cha sambandhī Bhṛigūṇām bhāvitātmanām* | . . . . 2923. *Etat te kathitaṁ sarvam aśeshena mayā nṛipa* | *Bhṛigūṇaṁ Kuśikānāṁ cha abhisambandha-kāraṇam* | *yathoktam ṛishiṇā chāpi tadā tad abhavad nṛipa* | *janma Rāmasya cha muner Viśvāmitrasya chaiva hi* |

"The Bhṛigus have always been the priests of the Kshattriyas; but these will become hostile to each other for a fated reason. The Kshattriyas shall slay all the Bhṛigus, even to children in the womb, being oppressed by a divine nemesis. Then shall arise the glorious Ūrva,[248] like the sun in splendour, who shall augment the glory of our race. He shall create a fire of wrath for the destruction of the three worlds, which shall reduce the earth with its mountains and forests to ashes. After a time he will extinguish the fire, throwing it into the ocean into the mouth of Vaḍavā (the submarine fire). Into his son Ṛichīka shall

[248] Ūrva is here said (verse 2907) to belong to the race of Chyavana, but whether as a near or remote descendant is not stated. In verse 2910 Ṛichīka is said to be the son of Ūrva. In the Ādiparvan, verses 2610 ff., the matter is somewhat differently stated: *Ārushī tu Manoḥ kanyā tasya patnī yaśasvinī* | *Aurvas tasyāṁ samabhavad ūrum bhittvā mahāyaśāḥ* | *mahātejāḥ mahāvīryyo bālaḥ eva guṇair yutaḥ* | *Ṛichīkas tasya puttras tu Jamadagnis tato 'bhavat* | "Ārushī, the daughter of Manu, was the wife of the sage (Chyavana); of her was the illustrious Aurva born, having split his mother's thigh. He was great in glory and might, and from his childhood endowed with eminent qualities. Ṛichīka was his son, and Ṛichīka's was Jamadagni." Here Aurva is said to derive his name from having divided his mother's thigh (*ūru*); and no allusion is made to Ūrva, though the same person appears to be meant. In the passage of the Anuśāsana-parvan, however, we have an Ūrva, the father of Ṛichīka, whose patronymic will thus be Aurva; as it is, in fact, in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, as quoted above in p. 352.

enter the entire embodied Dhanur-veda (science of archery), for the destined destruction of the Kshattriyas. This science he shall transmit to his great son Jamadagni, whose mind shall be spiritualized by devotion, and who shall possess that Veda. He (Ṛichīka) shall obtain [for his wife] a maiden of thy family, to prolong thy race. This great devotee, wedding thy grand-daughter, the daughter of Gādhi, shall beget a Brāhman (*i.e.* Paraśurāma), fulfilling the functions of a Kshattriya; (2915) and shall bestow on thy family a Kshattriya who shall perform the functions of a Brāhman, Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, an austere devotee, and glorious as Vṛihaspati. The two wives shall be the cause of this interchange of characters. According to the decree of Brahmā all this shall so happen. Brāhmanhood shall come to thee in the third generation, and thou shalt become connected with the spiritual-minded Bhṛigus." 2923. "Thus (concludes Bhīshma) have I told thee at length the cause of the connection between the Bhṛigus and the Kuśikas. All this was accordingly fulfilled in the births of Paraśurāma and Viśvāmitra."

Is this legend intended to account for a real fact? Was Paraśurāma of a sacerdotal tribe, and yet by profession a warrior, just as Viśvāmitra was conversely of royal extraction, and yet a priest by profession?

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 11, 3 (Wilson, 4to. ed. pp. 416, 417), Arjuna was of the race of Yadu, and the ninth in descent from Haihaya, the great-grandson of that prince. It is there said of him:

Kṛitavīryyād Arjunaḥ sapta-dvīpapatir bāhu-sahasrī jajne yo 'sau bhagavad-aṁśam Atri-kula-prasūtaṁ Dattāttreyākhyam ārādhya bāhu-sahasram adharma-sevā-nivāraṇaṁ dharmeṇa pṛithivījayaṁ dharmataś chānupālanam arātibhyo 'parājayam akhila-jagat-prakhyāta-purushāch cha mṛityum ity etān varān abhilashitavān lebhe cha | tena iyam aśesha-dvīpavatī pṛithvī samyak paripālitā | daśa-yajna-sahasrāṇy asāv ayajat | tasya cha śloko 'dyāpi gīyate "na nūnaṁ kārttavīryyasya gatiṁ yāsyanti pārthivāḥ | yajnair dānair tapobhir vā praśrayeṇa damena cha" | anashṭa-dravyatā tasya rājye 'bhavat | 4. Evam panchāśīti-sahasrāṇy abdān avyāhatārogya-śrī-bala-parākramo rājyam akarot | Māhishmatyām dig-vijayābhyāgato Narmadā-jalāvagāhana-krīḍā-nipāna-madākulena ayatnenaiva tena aśesha-deva-daitya-gandharveśa-jayodbhūta-madāvalepo 'pi Rāvaṇaḥ paśur iva baddhaḥ svanagaraikānte sthāpitaḥ | 5. Yaḥ panchāśīti-varsha-sahasropalakshaṇa-kālāvasāne bhagavan-nārāyaṇāṁśena Paraśurāmeṇa upasaṁhṛitaḥ |

"From Kṛitavīrya sprang Arjuna, who was lord of the seven dvīpas [circular and concentric continents of which the earth is composed], and had a thousand arms. Having worshipped a portion of the divine Being, called Dattāttreya, sprung from the race of Atri, he sought and obtained these boons, viz. a thousand arms, the power of restraining wrong by justice, the conquest of the earth, and the disposition to rule it righteously, invincibility by enemies, and death at the hands of a man renowned over the whole world. By him this earth, with all its dvīpas, was perfectly governed. He offered ten thousand sacrifices. To this day this verse is repeated respecting him: 'No other king shall ever equal Kārtavīrya in regard to sacrifices, liberality, austerities, courtesy, and self-restraint.' In his reign no property was ever lost. 4. Thus he ruled for eighty-five thousand years with unbroken health, prosperity, strength, and valour. When he was excited by sporting in the Narmadā and by drinking wine, he had no difficulty in binding like a beast Rāvaṇa, who had arrived in Māhishmatī in his career of conquest, and who was filled with arrogance, arising from the pride of victory over all the gods, daityas, and gandharva chiefs, and imprisoning him in a secret place in his capital. At the end of his reign of eighty-five thousand years Arjuṇa was destroyed by Paraśurāma, who was a portion of the divine Nārāyana."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 23, 20–27, assigns to him the same descent, and relates of him nearly the same particulars. Verse 23 says: *Arjunaḥ Kṛitavīryyasya sapta-dvīpeśvaro 'bhavat | Dattāttreyād Harer aṁśāt prāpta-yoga-mahāguṇaḥ* | "Arjuna was the son of Kṛitavīrya, and ruler of the seven dvīpas. He obtained the great attribute of *Yoga* (supernatural powers arising from devotion) from Dattāttreya, who was a portion of Hari," etc.

The legend of Paraśurāma, as related, is of course fabulous. Not to speak of the miraculous powers which are ascribed to this hero, and the incredible number of the exterminations which he is said to have executed, we cannot even suppose it probable that the Brāhmans should in general have been sufficiently powerful and warlike to overcome the Kshattriyas by force of arms. But the legend may have had some small foundation in fact. Before the provinces of the sacerdotal and military classes were accurately defined, there may have been cases in which ambitious men of the former successfully

aspired to kingly dominion, just as scions of royal races became distinguished as priests and sages. But even without this assumption, the existence of such legends is sufficiently explained by the position which the Brāhmans eventually occupied. With the view of maintaining their own ascendancy over the minds of the chiefs on whose good will they were dependent, and of securing for themselves honour and profit, they would have an interest in working upon the superstitious feelings of their contemporaries by fabricating stories of supernatural punishments inflicted by their own forefathers on their royal oppressors, as well as by painting in lively colours the prosperity of those princes who were submissive to the spiritual order.

CHAPTER V.

RELATION OF THE BRAHMANICAL INDIANS TO THE NEIGHBOURING TRIBES, ACCORDING TO MANU AND THE PURANAS.

I now propose to enquire what account the Indian writers give of the origin of those tribes which were not comprehended in their own polity, but with which, as dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan, their countrymen were, in ancient times, brought into continual and familiar contact.

It appears to have been the opinion of Manu, the great authority in all matters regarding the Hindu religion and institutions in their full development, that there was no original race of men except the four castes of Brāhmans, Kṣhattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras; and that all other nations were derived from these. His own words (x. 4) are these: *Brāhmaṇaḥ kshattriyo vaiśyas trayo varṇāḥ dvijātayaḥ | chaturthaḥ ekajātis tu śūdro nāsti tu panchamaḥ |* "Three castes, the Brāhman, the Kshattriya, and the Vaiśya, are twice-born; the fourth, the Sūdra, is once-born; and there is no fifth." On the last clause of this verse Kullūka Bhaṭṭa annotates thus: *Panchamaḥ punar varṇo nāsti sankīrṇa-jātīnāṁ tv aśvatarā-vad mātā-pitṛi-jāti-vyatirikta-jāty-antaratvād na varṇatvam | ayaṁ cha jāty-antaropadeśaḥ śāstre saṁvyavaharaṇārthaḥ |* "There is no fifth caste; for caste cannot be predicated of the mixed tribes, from the fact that, like mules, they belong to another species, distinct from that of their father and mother. And this reference, which is made in the Sāstras to castes other than the four, is merely for the sake of convenience and conformity to common usage."

Accordingly, in the following description which Manu gives in the same chapter of the rise of the inferior castes, they are all, even the

very lowest, such as Nishādas and Chaṇḍālas, derived from the mixture the four so-called original castes. Thus, in verse 8: *Brāhmaṇād vaiśya-kanyāyām ambashṭho nāma jāyate | nishādaḥ śūdra-kanyāyāṁ yaḥ parāśava uchyate* | "From a Brāhman father and a Vaiśya mother springs an Ambashṭha: from a Brāhman father and a Śūdra mother is born a Nishāda, called also Parāśava."[1] Again, in verse 12. *Śūdrād āyogavaḥ kshattā chāṇḍālaś chādhamo nṛiṇām | vaiśya-rājanya-viprāsu jāyante varṇa-sankarāḥ* | "From a Śūdra, by women of the Vaiśya, Kshattriya, and Brāhman castes are born those mixed classes, the Āyogava, the Kshattṛi, and the Chaṇḍāla, lowest of men." Again, in verse 20: *Dvijātayaḥ savarṇāsu janayanty avratāṁs tu yān | tān sāvitrī-paribhrashṭān vrātyāḥ iti vinirdiśet* | "Persons whom the twice-born beget on women of their own classes, but who omit the prescribed rites, and have abandoned the gāyatrī, are to be designated as Vrātyas."[2] In the next three verses the inferior tribes, which spring from the Brāhman Vrātya, the Kshattriya Vrātya, and the Vaiśya Vrātya respectively, are enumerated.

In verses 43 and 44 it is stated: *Śanakais tu kriyā-lopād imāḥ*

[1] It does not appear how the account of the origin of the Nishāda race from king Vena, given above in pp. 301 and 303, can be reconciled with this theory of Manu; unless recourse be had to the explanation that that story relates to the Svāyambhuva Manvantara. But Manu's narrative seems to refer to the same period. See above, p. 39. If the Vedic expressions *panchajanāḥ* and the other corresponding phrases signifying "the five tribes" be rightly interpreted of the "four castes, and the Nishādas," we might understand this as intimating that the Nishādas had at one time been regarded as a distinct race. But the phrase is variously understood by the old Vedic commentators; as has been shewn above, p. 177.

[2] Manu says, ii. 38 f.: *Ā-shoḍasād brāhmaṇasya sāvitrī nātivarttate | ā-dvāviṁśāt kshattrabhandhor ā-chaturviṁśater viśaḥ | ataḥ ūrddhaṁ trayo'py ete yathā-kālam asaṁskṛitāḥ | sāvitrī-patitāḥ vrātyāḥ bhavanty āryya-nigarhitāḥ* | "The gāyatrī should not, in the case of a Brāhman, be deferred beyond the sixteenth year; nor in the case of a Kshattriya beyond the twenty-second; nor in that of a Vaiśya beyond the twenty-fourth. After these periods youths of the three classes, who have not been invested, become fallen from the gāyatrī, Vrātyas, contemned by respectable men (Āryyas)." In the following verse of the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, line 2621, a different origin is ascribed to the Vrātyas: *Chāṇḍālo vrātya-vaidyau cha brāhmaṇyāṁ kshattriyāsu cha | vaiśyāyāṁ chaiva śūdrasya lakshyante'pasadās trayaḥ* | "The three outcaste classes are the Chāṇḍāla, the Vrātya, and the Vaidya, begotten by a Śūdra on females of the Brāhman, Kshattriya, and Vaiśya castes respectively." A Vrātya, therefore, according to this account, is the son of a Śūdra man and a Kshattriya woman. On the Vrātyas, see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 33, 52, 138, 139, 445, 446, etc.

kshattriya-jātayaḥ | vṛishalatvaṁ gatāḥ loke brāhmaṇādarśanena cha | Pauṇḍrakāś chodra-draviḍāḥ Kāmbojāḥ Yavanāḥ Śakāḥ | Pāradāḥ Pahlavāś Chīnāḥ Kirātāḥ Daradāḥ Khaśāḥ | "The following tribes of Kshattriyas have gradually sunk into the state of Vṛishalas (outcasts), from the extinction of sacred rites, and from having no communication with Brāhmans; viz. Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas, and Khaśas."

The same thing is affirmed in the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, verses 2103 f.: *Śakāḥ Yavana-kāmbojās tās tāḥ kshattriya-jātayaḥ | vṛishalatvam parigatāḥ brāhmaṇānām adarśanāt | Drāviḍāś cha Kalindāś cha Pulindāś chāpy Uśīnarāḥ | Kolisarpāḥ Māhishakās tās tāḥ kshattriya-jātayaḥ ityādi |* "These tribes of Kshattriyas, viz. Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Drāviḍas, Kalindas, Pulindas, Uśīnaras, Kolisarpas, and Māhishakas, have become Vṛishalas from seeing no Brāhmans." This is repeated in verses 2158–9, where the following additional tribes are named: Mekálas, Lāṭas, Konvaśiras, Śauṇḍīkas, Darvas, Chauras, Śavaras, Barbaras, and Kirātas, and the cause of degradation is, as in verse 2103, restricted to the absence of Brāhmans. (Then follow the lines (2160 ff.) in glorification of the Brāhmans, already quoted in p. 130.)

The Yavanas are said in the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, section 85, verse 3533, "to be descended from Turvasu, the Vaibhojas from Druhyu, and the Mlechha tribes from Anu" (*Yados tu Yādavāḥ jātās Turvasor Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ | Druhyoḥ sutās tu Vaibhojāḥ Anos tu mlechha-jātayaḥ |*). Is it meant by this that the Yavanas are not to be reckoned among the Mlechhas? Their descent from Turvasu is not however, necessarily in conflict with the assertion of the authorities above quoted, that they are degraded Kshattriyas.

I shall not attempt to determine who the Yavanas, and other tribes mentioned in the text, were.

The verse which succeeds that last quoted from Manu is the following: 45. *Mukha-bāhūru-paj-jānām yāḥ loke jātayo vahiḥ | mlechhavāchaś chāryya-vāchaḥ sarve te dasyavaḥ smṛitaḥ |* "Those tribes which are outside of the classes produced from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet, [of Brahmā, *i.e.* Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras,] whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas or of the Āryas, are called Dasyus." The interpretation to be given to this verse turns

upon the sense which we assign to "outside" (*vāhiḥ*). Does it mean that the Dasyus were of a stock originally distinct from that of the four primeval castes, and therefore altogether separate from those tribes which sprang from the intermixture of those four castes, or which, by the neglect of sacred rites, apostatized from their communion? Or does it merely mean that the Dasyus became eventually excluded from the fellowship of the four castes? If the latter sense be adopted, then Dasyu will be little else than a general term embracing all the tribes enumerated in verses 43 and 44. The commentator Kullūka understands the word in the latter sense. His words are: *Brāhmaṇa-kshattriya-vaiśya-śūdrāṇāṁ kriyā-lopādinā yāḥ jātayo vāhyāḥ jātāḥ mlechha-bhāshā-yuktāḥ āryya-bhāshopetāḥ vā te dasyavaḥ sarve smṛitāḥ* | "All the tribes, which by loss of sacred rites, and so forth, have become outcasts from the pale of the four castes, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras; whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas or of the Āryas, are called Dasyus." His view is confirmed by a short passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, quoted above (p. 358), where Viśvāmitra, speaking to his sons, says: "Let your descendants possess the furthest ends (of the country)," and the author of the Brāhmaṇa adds: "These are the numerous border-tribes, the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, Mūtibas. Most of the Dasyus are sprung from Viśvāmitra." Here the writer of this ancient Brāhmaṇa connects together certain tribes named either in Manu, or in the Mahābhārata, as degraded Kshattriyas, with the appellation Dāsyu, thus intimating that the latter was a general name embracing all the former. This view is further confirmed by the following lines of the Mahābhārata, book ii. verses 1031–2: *Daradān saha Kāmbojair ajayat Pākaśāsaniḥ* | *prāgut-tarāṁ diśaṁ ye cha vasanty āśritya Dasyavaḥ* | "The son of Indra conquered the Daradas with the Kāmbojas, and the Dasyus who dwell in the north-east region;" and still more by the annexed verses from the Droṇaparvan, of the same epic poem, 4747: *Kāmbojānāṁ sahasraiścha Śakānāṁ cha viśāmpate* | *Śavarāṇāṁ Kirātānāṁ Varvaraṇāṁ tathaiva cha* | *agamya-rūpām pṛithivīm māṁsa-śoṇita-karddamām* | *kṛitavāṁs tattra Śaineyaḥ kshapayaṁs tāvakam balam* | *Dasyūnāṁ sa-śirastrāṇaiḥ śrobhir lūna-mūrddhajaiḥ* | *dīrgha-kūrchair mahī kīrṇā vivarhair aṇḍa-jair iva* | "Śaineya, destroying thy host, converted the beautiful earth into a mass of mud with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kāmbojas,

Śakas, Śabaras, Kirātas, and Varvaras. The ground was covered with the shorn and hairless but long-bearded heads of the Dasyus, and their helmets, as if with birds bereft of their plumes." Here the word Dasyu is evidently a general term for the tribes named just before. Some of these same tribes had previously been called Mlechhas in verses 4716, 4723, and 4745. See also Sabhāp. 1198 f.

There is a passage in the Śāntiparvan, section 65, lines 2429 ff., which is worth quoting, as it shows that the Brāhmans of that age regarded the Dasyus as owing allegiance to Brahmanical institutions. King Māṉdhātṛi had performed a sacrifice in the hope of obtaining a vision of Vishṉu; who accordingly appeared to him in the form of Indra (verse 2399). The following is a part of their conversation. Māndhātṛi asks:

2429. *Yavanāḥ Kirātāḥ Gāndhārāś Chīnāḥ Śavara-varvarāḥ | Śakās Tushārāḥ Kankāś cha Pahlavāś chāndhra-madrakāḥ* | 2430. *Pauṉḍrāḥ Pulindāḥ Ramaṭhāḥ Kāmbojāś chaiva sarvaśaḥ | brahma-kshattra-prasūtāś cha vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś cha mānavāḥ | kathaṁ dharmāṁś charishyanti sarve vishaya-vāsinaḥ | mad-vidhaiś cha kathaṁ sthāpyāḥ sarve vai dasyu-jīvinaḥ | etad ichhāmy ahaṁ śrotum bhagavaṁs tad bravīhi me | tvam bandhu-bhūto hy asmākaṁ kshattriyāṉāṁ sureśvara | Indraḥ uvācha | mātā-pitror hi śuśrūshā karttavyā sarva-dasyubhiḥ | āchāryya-guru-śuśrūshā tathaivāśrama-vāsināṁ | bhūmipānāṁ cha śuśrūshā karttavyā sarva-dasyubhiḥ | veda-dharma-kriyāś chaiva teshāṁ dharmo vidhīyate* | 2435. *Pitṛi-yajñāś tathā kūpāḥ prapāś cha śayanāni cha | dānāni cha yathā-kālaṁ dvijebhyo visṛijet sadā | ahiṁsā satyam akrodho vṛitti-dāyānupālanam | bharaṉam puttra-dārāṉāṁ śaucham adroha eva cha | dakshiṉā sarva-yajñānāṁ dātavyā bhūtim ichhatā | pākayajñāḥ mahārhāś cha dātavyāḥ sarva-dasyubhiḥ | etāny evamprakārāṉi vihitāni purā 'nagha | sarva-lokasya karmāṉi karttavyāṉīha pārthiva | Mandhātā uvācha | dṛiśyante mānushe loke sarva-varṉeshu Dasyavaḥ | lingāntare varttamānāḥ āśrameshu chaturshv api | Indraḥ uvācha* | 2440. *Vinashṭāyāṁ daṇḍa-nītyāṁ rāja-dharme nirākṛite | sampramuhyanti bhūtāni rāja-daurātmyato 'nagha | asankhyātāḥ bhavishyanti bhikshavo linginas tathā | aśramāṉāṁ vikalpāś cha nivṛitte'smin kṛite yuge | aśriṇvantaḥ purāṉānāṁ dharmā-ṉām paramāḥ gatīḥ | utpatham pratipatsyante kāma-manyu-samīritāḥ |*

"'The Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Chīnas, Śavaras, Varvaras, Śakas, Tushāras, Kaṉkas, Pahlavas, Andhras, Madras, Pauṉḍras, Pu-

lindas, Ramaṭhas, Kāmbojas, men sprung from Brāhmans, and from Kshattriyas, persons of the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes—how shall all these people of different countries practise duty, and what rules shall kings like me prescribe for those who are living as Dasyus? Instruct me on these points; for thou art the friend of our Kshattriya race.' Indra answers: 'All the Dasyus should obey their parents, their spiritual directors, persons practising the rules of the four orders, and kings. It is also their duty to perform the ceremonies ordained in the Vedas. They should sacrifice to the Pitṛis, construct wells, buildings for the distribution of water, and resting places for travellers, and should on proper occasions bestow gifts on the Brāhmans. They should practise innocence, veracity, meekness, purity, and inoffensiveness; should maintain their wives and families; and make a just division of their property. Gifts should be distributed at all sacrifices by those who desire to prosper. All the Dasyus should offer costly pāka oblations. Such duties as these, which have been ordained of old, ought to be observed by all people.' Māndhātṛi observes: 'In this world of men, Dasyus are to be seen in all castes, living, under other garbs, even among men of the four orders (*āśramas*).' Indra replies: 'When criminal justice has perished, and the duties of government are disregarded, mankind become bewildered through the wickedness of their kings. When this Kṛita age has come to a close, innumerable mendicants and hypocrites shall arise, and the four orders become disorganized. Disregarding the excellent paths of ancient duty, and impelled by passion and by anger, men shall fall into wickedness,'" etc. In these last lines it is implied that the Brahmanical polity of castes and orders was fully developed in the Kṛita [or golden] age. This idea, however, is opposed to the representations which we find in some though not in all other passages. See above, the various texts adduced in the first chapter.

In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Bhāratavarsha (India) is said to "have its eastern border occupied by the Kirātas; and the western by the Yavanas; while the middle is inhabited by Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, engaged in their several fixed occupations of sacrifice, war, trade, etc." (Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 3, 7. *Pūrve Kirātāḥ yasyānte paśchime Yavanāḥ sthitāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ madhye śūdrāś cha bhāgaśaḥ | ijyā-yuddha-vaṇijyādyair varttayanto vyavasthithāḥ |*).

Manu's account of the origin of the Yavanas, Sakas, Kāmbojas, etc., corresponds with the tenor of the following story, which we find in the fourth book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, sect. 3. Bāhu, the seventh king in descent from Hariśchandra (see above, p. 379) was overcome by the Haihăyas and Tālajanghas,[3] and compelled to fly with his queens to the forests, where he died. After his death one of his wives gave birth to a son, who received the name of Sagara. When he had grown up, the youth learnt from his mother all that had befallen his father.

Para. 18. *Tataḥ pitṛi-rājya-haraṇāmarshito Haihaya-Tālajanghādi-badhāya pratijnām akarot prāyaśaścha Haihayān jaghāna | Śaka-Yavana-Kāmboja-Pārada-Pahlavāḥ hanyamānās tat-kula-guruṁ Vaśishṭham śaraṇaṁ yayuḥ |* 19. *Atha etān Vaśishtho jīvan-mṛitakān kṛitvā Sagaram āha "vatsa vatsa alam ebhir ati-jīvan-mṛitakair anusṛitaiḥ |* 20. *Ete cha mayā eva tvat-pratijnā-paripālanāya nija-dharma-dvija-sanga-parityāgaṁ kāritāḥ" |* 21. *Sa "tathā" iti tad guru-vachanam abhinandya teshāṁ veshānyatvam akārayat | Yavanān apamuṇḍita-śiraśo 'rddha-muṇḍān Śakān pralamba-keśān Pāradān Pahlavāṁs cha śmaśru-dharān niḥ-svādhyāya-vāshaṭkārān etān anyāṁś cha kshattriyān chakāra | te cha nija-dharma-parityāgād brāhmaṇaiś parityaktāḥ mlechhatāṁ yayuḥ |*

"Being vexed at the loss of his paternal kingdom, he vowed to exterminate the Haihăyas and other enemies who had conquered it. Accordingly he destroyed nearly all the Haihăyas. When the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas were about to undergo a similar fate, they had recourse to Vaśishṭha, the king's family-priest, who interposed in their behalf in these words addressed to Sagara, representing them as virtually dead: 'You have done enough, my son, in the way of pursuing these men, who are as good as dead. In order that your vow might be fulfilled, I have compelled them to abandon the duties of their caste, and all association with the twice-born.' Agreeing to his spiritual guide's proposal, Sagara compelled these tribes to alter their costume. He made the Yavanas shave their heads, the Śakas shave half their heads, the Pāradas wear long hair, and the Pahlavas beards. These and other Kshatriyas he deprived of the

[3] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, 4to. edit., p. 416 and 418 note. In the note to p. 418 the Āvantyas are mentioned, on the authority of the Vāyu Purāṇa, as being a branch of the Haihăyas. In Manu, x. 21, the Āvantyas are said to be descended from Brāhman Vrātyas.

study of the Vedas, and the vashaṭkāra. In consequence of their abandonment of their proper duties, and of thei rdesertion by the Brāhmans, they became Mlechhas."

This story is also related in the Harivaṁśa, from which I extract the concluding part of the narrative:

773. *Aurvas tu jātakarmādi tasya kṛitvā mahātmanaḥ | adhyāpya vedān akhilān tato 'stram pratyapādayat | āgneyaṁ tu mahābāhur amarair api dussaham | sa tenāstra-balenājau balena cha samanvitaḥ | Haihayān nijaghānāśu kruddho Rudraḥ paśūn iva | ājahāra cha lokeshu kīrttiṁ kīrttimatāṁ varaḥ | tataḥ Sakān sa-yavanān Kāmbojān Pāradāṁs tathā | Pahlavāṁś chaiva niśśeshān karttuṁ vyavasitaḥ kila | te badhyamānāḥ vīreṇa Sagareṇa mahātmanā | Vaśishṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā praṇipetur manīshiṇam | Vaśishṭhas tv atha tān dṛishṭvā samayena mahādyutiḥ | Sagaraṁ vārayāmāsa teshāṁ dattvā 'bhyaṁ taḍā | Sagaraḥ svām pratijñāṁ cha guror vākyaṁ niśamya cha | dharmaṁ jaghāna teshāṁ vai veśānyatvaṁ chakāra ha | arddhaṁ Sakānāṁ śiraso muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat | Yavanānāṁ śiraḥ sarvaṁ Kāmbojānāṁ tathaiva cha | Pāradāḥ mukta-keśāścha Pahlavāḥ śmaśru-dhāriṇaḥ | nissvādhyāya-vashaṭkārāḥ kṛitās tena mahātmanā | Sakāḥ Yavana-kāmbojāḥ Pāradāḥ Pahlavās tathā | Kolisarpāḥ sa-Mahishāḥ Dārvas Cholāḥ sa-Keralāḥ | sarve te kshattriyās tāta teshāṁ dharmo nirākṛitaḥ | Vaśishṭha-vachanāḍ rājan Sagareṇa mahātmanā |*

"Aurva having performed Sagara's natal and other rites, and taught him all the Vedas, then provided him with a fiery missile, such as even the gods could not withstand. By the power of this weapon, and accompanied by an army, Sagara, incensed, speedily slew the Haihayas, as Rudra slaughters beasts; and acquired great renown throughout the world. He then set himself to exterminate the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas. But they, when on the point of being slaughtered by Sagara, had recourse to the sage Vasiśhṭha, and fell down before him. Vasiśhṭha beholding them, by a sign restrained Sagara, giving them assurance of protection. Sagara, after considering his own vow, and listening to what his teacher had to say, destroyed their caste (*dharma*), and made them change their costumes. He released the Sakas, after causing the half of their heads to be shaven;—and the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, after having had their heads entirely shaved. The Pāradas were made to wear

long hair, and the Pahlavas to wear beards. They were all excluded from the study of the Vedas, and from the vashaṭkāra. The Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Kolisarpas, Mahishas, Dārvas, Cholas, and Keralas had all been Kshattriyas; but were deprived of their social and religious position by the great Sagara, according to the advice of Vaśishṭha." Other tribes are mentioned in the following line who seem to have undergone the same treatment.

It would appear from this legend, as well as from the quotations which preceded it, that the Epic and Puranic writers believed all the surrounding tribes to belong to the same original stock with themselves; though they, at the same time, erroneously imagined that these tribes had fallen away from the Brahmanical institutions; thus assigning to their own polity an antiquity to which it could in reality lay no claim. Any further explanations on these points, however, must be sought in the second volume of this work.

In the passages quoted above, pp. 391, 393, and 398 from the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, it is stated that Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, etc., were created by Vaśishṭha's wonder-working cow, in order to repel the aggression of Viśvāmitra. It does not, however, appear that it is the object of that legend to represent this miraculous creation as the origin of those tribes. The narrators, if they had any distinct meaning, may not have intended anything more than that the cow called into existence large armies, of the same stock with particular tribes previously existing.

It is not very easy to say whether it is only the inhabitants of Bhāratavarsha (viz. that portion of Jambudvīpa which answers to India) whom the Puranic writers intend to represent as deriving their origin from the four primeval Indian castes. Perhaps the writers themselves had no very clear ideas. At all events the conditions of life are different in the two cases. The accounts which these writers give us of the other divisions of Jambudvīpa, and of the other Dvīpas, or continents, of which they imagined the earth to be composed, and their respective inhabitants, will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

PURANIC ACCOUNTS OF THE PARTS OF THE EARTH EXTERIOR TO BHĀRATAVARSHA, OR INDIA.

It will clearly appear from the contents of the present chapter that the authors or compilers of the Purāṇas in reality knew nothing of any part of the world except that immediately around them. Whenever they wander away beyond their own neighbourhood, they at once lose themselves in a misty region of fiction, and give the most unbridled scope to their fantastic imaginations.

The following is the account given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa regarding the divisions of the earth, and their inhabitants. Priyavrata, son of Svāyambhuva, or the first Manu (see above, pp. 65 and 72) who is separated from the present time by an enormous interval (see pp. 43 ff. and 298, above), "distributed the seven dvīpas,[1] of which the earth is composed, among seven of his sons" (ii. 1, 7. *Priyavrato dadau teshāṁ saptānām muni-sattama | vibhajya sapta dvīpāni Maitreya sumahātmanām*).

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives us the following account, v. 1. 30. *Tad anabhinandan sama-javena rathena jyotirmayena rajanīm api dinaṁ karishyāmi iti saptakṛitvas taraṇim anuparyyakrāmad dvitīyaḥ iva patangaḥ | [evaṁ kurvāṇam Priyavratam āgatya Chaturānanas "tavādhikāro 'yaṁ na bhavati" iti nivārayāmāsa]* (The words in brackets are not in the Bombay edition, but are taken from Burnouf's.) 31. *Ye vai u ha tad-ratha-charaṇa-nemi-kṛita-parikhātās te sapta sindhavaḥ āsan yataḥ eva kṛitāḥ sapta bhuvo dvīpāḥ |*[2] "Priyavrata, being dissatisfied that only

[1] The original division of the earth into seven continents is assigned to Nārāyaṇa in the form of Brahmā; see above, pp. 51 and 76.

[2] In this passage we find the particles *vai*, *u*, *ha*, occurring all together as they do in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas. This circumstance might seem to suggest the

half the earth was illuminated at one time by the solar rays, "followed the sun seven times round the earth in his own flaming car of equal velocity, like another celestial orb, resolved to turn night into day. [Brahmā, however, came and stopped him, saying this was not his province.] The ruts which were formed by the motion of his chariot wheels were the seven oceans. In this way the seven continents of the earth were made."

The same circumstance is alluded to at the commencement of the 16th section of the same book, where the king says to the rishi: verse 2. *Tattrāpi Priyavrata-ratha-charaṇa-parikhātaiḥ saptabhiḥ sapta sindhavaḥ upaklṛiptāḥ | yataḥ etasyāḥ sapta-dvīpa-viśesha-vikalpas tvayā bhagavan khalu sūchitaḥ |* "The seven oceans were formed by the seven ruts of the wheels of Priyavrata's chariot; hence, as you have indicated, the earth has become divided into seven different continents."

It is clear that this account given by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa of the manner in which the seven oceans and continents were formed does not agree with the description in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, as quoted above in p. 51.

These seven continents are called "Jambu dvīpa, Plaksha dvīpa, Śāl-

possibility of the passage, or its substance, being derived from some of the Brāhmaṇas (to which, as we have seen, p. 155 note, the compiler of this Purāṇa was in the habit of resorting for his materials); but the style has otherwise nothing of an archaic caste, and I am not aware that the dvīpas are mentioned in any of the Brāhmaṇas. It is also remarkable that the words sapta sindhavaḥ are here used for "seven oceans." This phrase occurs several times in the Vedas. For instance, it is to be found in the Vājasanēyi Sanhitā (of the Yajur-veda), 38, 26, *yāvatī dyāvā-prithivī yāvach cha sapta sindhavo vitasthire |* "As wide as are the earth and sky, and as far as the seven oceans extend." The commentator Mahīdhara understands the latter in the Puranic sense, as the oceans of milk, etc. (*sapta sindhavaḥ sapta samudrāḥ kshīrādyāḥ*). The hemistich I have quoted from the Vāj. Sanhitā occurs somewhat modified, and in a different connexion, in the Atharva-veda, iv. 6, 2. The same phrase, sapta sindhavaḥ, is to be found also in several places in the first Book of the Rig-veda. (See Benfey's Glossary to Sāma-veda, sub voce *saptan.*) In Rig-veda i. 32, 12, it is said to Indra *avāsṛijaḥ sarttave sapta sindhūn |* "Thou hast let loose the seven rivers to flow." Sāyaṇa understands this of the Ganges and other rivers, seven in number, mentioned in the Rig Veda, x. 75, 5: *imam me Gange Yamune Sarasvati Śutudri stomaṁ sachatā Parushṇya |* "Receive this my hymn with favour, o Gāngā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Śutudrī, with the Parushṇī, etc.;" but in this distich ten rivers in all are mentioned. (See Wilson's note to Rig-veda, i. 32, 12, vol. i. p. 88, of his translation). See also hymns 34, 8; 35, 8; 71, 7; and 102, 2, of the first, and 58, 12, and 85, 1, of the eighth Books of the Rig-veda. The "seven rivers" of the Veda are, according to Professor Müller (Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i. p. 63), "the Indus, the five rivers of the Penjāb and the Sarasvatī."

mali dvīpa, Kuśa dvīpa, Krauncha dvīpa, Śāka dvīpa, and Pushkara dvīpa. They are surrounded severally by seven great seas, of salt water, sugar-cane juice, wine, clarified butter, curds, milk, and fresh water" (V.P. ii. 2, 4. *Jambū-plakshāhvayau dvīpau Śālmaliś chāparo dvija | Kuśaḥ Krauncha tathā Śākaḥ Pushkaraś chaiva saptamaḥ |* 5. *Ete dvīpāḥ samudrais tu sapta saptabhir āvṛitāḥ | lavaṇekshu-surā-sarpir-dadhi-dugdha-jalaiḥ samam |*). Jambu dvīpa is in the centre of all these continents (Wilson, vol. ii. p. 110). It fell to the lot of Agnīdhra, son of Priyavrata, who again divided it among his nine sons (Wilson, ii. 101). In the centre of Jambu dvīpa is the golden mountain Meru, 84,000 yojanas high, and crowned by the great city of Brahmā (ibid. p. 118). There are in this continent six cross-ranges of boundary-mountains, those of Himavat (= Himādri, or Himālaya), Hemakūṭa, and Nishadha lying south of Meru; and those of Nīla, Śveta, and Śṛingin, situated to the northward. Of these, Nishadha and Nīla are the nearest to Meru, while Himavat and Śṛingin are at the south and north extremities. The nine Varshas or divisions of Jambu dvīpa, separated by these and other ranges, are Bhārata (India), south of the Himavat mountains, and the southernmost of all; then (2) Kimpurusha, (3) Harivarsha, (4) Ilāvṛita, (5) Ramyaka, (6) Hiraṇmaya, and (7) Uttara Kuru, each to the north of the last; while (8) Bhadrāsva and (9) Ketumāla lie respectively to the east and west of Ilāvṛita, the central region. Bhārata Varsha, and Uttara Kuru, as well as Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla,[3] are situated on the exterior of the mountain ranges. (Wilson, ii. pp. 114–116, and 123.) The eight Varshas to the north of Bhārata Varsha (or India) are thus described:

V.P. ii. 1, 11. *Yāni Kimpurushādīni varshāṇy ashtau mahāmune | teshāṁ svābhāvikī siddhiḥ sukha-prāyā hy ayatnataḥ |* 12. *Viparyyayo*

[3] The Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīshmaparvan, verses 227-8, in regard to the Varsha of Ketumāla: *āyur daśa sahasrāṇi varshāṇāṁ tattra Bhārata | suvarṇa-varṇāś cha narāḥ striyaś chāpsarasopamāḥ | anāmayāḥ vīta-śokāḥ nityam mudita-mānasāḥ | jāyante mānavās tattra nishṭapta-kanaka-prabhāḥ |* "The people there live ten thousand years. The men are of the colour of gold, and the women fair as celestial nymphs. Men are born there of the colour of burnished gold, live free from sickness and sorrow, and enjoy perpetual happiness." The men by the side of the mountain Gandhamādana, west of Meru, are said (v. 231) "to be black, of great strength and vigour, while the women are of the colour of blue lotuses, and very beautiful" (*tattra kṛishṇāḥ narāḥ rājaṁs tejo-yuktāḥ mahābalāḥ | striyaś chotpala-varṇābhāḥ sarvāḥ supriya-darśanāḥ*).

na tattrāsti jarā-mṛityu-bhayaṁ na cha | dharmādharmau na teshv āstāṁ nottamādhama-madhyamāḥ | na teshv asti yugāvasthā kshettreshv ashṭasu sarvadā |

"In the eight Varshas, called Kimpurusha and the rest (*i.e.* in all except Bhārata Varsha) the inhabitants enjoy a natural perfection attended with complete happiness obtained without exertion. There is there no vicissitude, nor decrepitude, nor death, nor fear; no distinction of virtue and vice, none of the inequalities denoted by the words best, worst, and intermediate, nor any change resulting from the succession of the four yugas." And again:

ii. 2, 35. *Yāni Kiṁpurushādyāni varshāṇy ashṭau mahāmune | na teshu śoko nāyāso nodvega-kshud-bhayādikam | susthāḥ prajāḥ nirātaṅkāḥ sarva-duḥkha-vivarjjitāḥ |* 36. *Daśa-dvādaśa-varshāṇāṁ sahasrāṇi sthirāyushaḥ | na teshu varshate devo bhaumyāny ambhāṁsi teshu vai |* 37. *Kṛita-tretādikā naiva teshu sthāneshu kalpanā |*

"In those eight Varshas there is neither grief, nor weariness, nor anxiety, nor hunger, nor fear. The people live in perfect health, free from every suffering, for ten or twelve thousand years. Indra does not rain on those Varshas, for they have abundance of springs. There is there no division of time into the Kṛita, Tretā, and other ages."

The Uttara Kurus, it should be remarked, may have been a real people, as they are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii. 14:[4]

Atha enam udīchyāṁ diśi viśve devāḥ shaḍbhiś chaiva panchaviṁśair ahobhir abhyashinchann etena cha tṛichena etena cha yajushā etābhiś cha vyāhṛitibhir vairājyāya | tasmād etasyām udīchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha pareṇa Himavantaṁ janapadāḥ "Uttara-Kuravaḥ Uttara-Madrāḥ" iti vairājyāya eva te 'bhishichyante |

"Then in the northern region during six days on which the Panchaviṁśa stoma was recited, the Viśve-devas inaugurated him (Indra) for glorious dominion with these three ṛik-verses, this yajush-verse, and these mystic monosyllables. Wherefore the several nations who dwell in this northern quarter, beyond the Himavat, the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, are consecrated to glorious dominion (*vairājya*), and people term them the glorious (*virāj*)." See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. 38–43; Dr. Haug's translation of the Ait. Brāhmaṇa; and Prof. Weber's review of this translation in Ind. Studien, ix. pp. 341 f.

[4] Quoted by Weber in Ind. St. i. 218.

In another passage of the same work,[5] however, the Uttara Kurus are treated as belonging to the domain of mythology:

Ait. Br. viii. 23. *Etaṁ ha vai aindram mahābhishekam Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātahavyo 'tyarātaye Jānantapaye provācha | tasmād u Atyarātir Jānantapir arājā san vidyayā samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīṁ jayan parīyāya | sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyaḥ "ajaishīr vai samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīm mahad mā gamaya" iti | sa ha uvācha Atyarātir Jānantapir "yadā brāhmaṇa uttara-kurūn jayeyaṁ tvam u ha eva pṛithivyai rājā syāḥ senāpatir eva te 'haṁ syām" iti | sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyo "deva-kshettraṁ vai tad na vai tud marttyo jetum arhaty adruksho me ā 'taḥ idaṁ dade" iti | tato ha Atyarātim Jānantapim ātta-vīryyam niśśukram amitra-tapanaḥ Śushmiṇaḥ Śaivyo rājā jaghāna | tasmād evaṁ-vidushe brāhmaṇāya evaṁ-chakrushe kshattriyo na druhyed na id rāshṭrād avapadyeyad* (?) *na id vāma-prāṇo jahad iti |*

"Sātyahavya of the family of Vasishṭha declared this great inauguration similar to Indra's to Atyarāti, son of Janantapa; and in consequence Atyarāti, though not a king, by his knowledge, went round the earth on every side to its ends, reducing it to subjection. Sātyahavya then said to him, 'Thou hast subdued the earth in all directions to its limits; exalt me now to greatness.' Atyarāti replied, 'When, o Brāhman, I conquer the Uttara Kurus, thou shalt be king of the earth, and I will be only thy general.' Sātyahavya rejoined, 'That is the realm of the gods; no mortal may make the conquest of it: Thou hast wronged me; therefore I take all this away from thee.' In consequence Śushmina, king of the Śivis, vexer of his foes, slew Atyarāti son of Janantapa who had been bereft of his valour and energy. Wherefore let no Kshattriya wrong a Brāhman who possesses such knowledge and has so acted, lest he should be expelled from his kingdom, be short-lived, and perish."

The Uttara Kurus are also mentioned in the description of the northern region in the Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, 43, 38, *'Uttarāḥ Kuravas tatra krita-puṇya-pratiśrāyaḥ |* "There are the Uttara Kurus, the abodes of those who have performed works of merit." In v. 57 it is said: *na kathanchana gantavyaṁ kurūṇām uttareṇa vaḥ | anyeshām api bhūtānām nānukrāmati vai gatiḥ |* "You must not go to the north of the Kurus: other beings also may not proceed further."

[5] See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 43; Dr. Haug's translation; and Ind. Stud. ix. 346.

In the same way when Arjuna, in his career of conquest, arrives at the country of the Uttara Kurus in Harivarsha, he is thus addressed by the guards at the gate of the city, M. Bh. Sabhāparvan, 1045 :

Pārtha nedaṁ tvayā śakyam puraṁ jetuṁ kathanchana | upāvarttasva kalyāṇa paryāptam idam Achyuta | idam puraṁ yaḥ praviśed dhruvaṁ na sa bhaved naraḥ | . . . . na chāttra kinchij jetavyam Arjunāttra pradṛiśyate | Uttarāḥ Kuravo hy ete nāttra yuddham pravarttate | pravishṭo 'pi hi Kaunteya neha drakshyasi kinchana | na hi mānusha-dehena śakyam attrābhivīkshitum |

"Thou canst not, son of Pṛithā, subdue this city. Refrain, fortunate man, for it is completely secure. He who shall enter this city must be certainly more than man. . . . . Nor is there anything to be seen here which thou canst conquer. Here are the Uttara Kurus, whom no one attempts to assail. And even if thou shouldst enter, thou couldst behold nothing. For no one can perceive anything here with human senses."[6]

In the Anuśāsanaparvan, line 2841, Kuśika says, on seeing a magic palace formed by Chyavana (see above, p. 475):

Aho saha śarīreṇa prāpto 'smi paramāṁ gatim | Uttarān vā Kurūn puṇyān athavā 'py Amarāvatīm |

"I have attained, even in my embodied condition, to the heavenly state; or to the holy Northern Kurus, or to Amarāvatī [the city of Indra]!"

"The country to the north of the ocean, and to the south of the Himādri (or snowy range), is Bhārata Varsha, where the descendants of Bharata dwell" (V.P. ii. 3, 1. *Uttaraṁ yad samudrasya Himādreś chaiva dakshiṇam | varshaṁ tad Bhāratam nāma Bhāratī yattra santatiḥ*). It is divided into nine parts (*bhedāḥ*), Indradvīpa, Kaśerumat, Tāmravarṇa, Gābhastimāt, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva, Vāruṇa; and "this ninth dvīpa," which is not named, is said to be "surrounded by the ocean" *ayaṁ tu navamas teshāṁ dvīpaḥ sāgara-saṁvṛitaḥ*), and to be a thousand yojanas long from north to south. "On the east side of it are the Kirātas, on the west the Yavanas, and in the centre are the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, following their respective occupations of sacrifice, arms, trade, etc." (The text of this passage, V.P. ii. 3, 7, has been already quoted in p. 485).

[6] See the second vol. of this work, pp. 332-337, and vol. iv., p. 375.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa contains a very short list of the tribes inhabiting Bhārata Varsha. (See Wilson, vol. ii. pp. 132 f.) It specifies, as the principal, only the Kurus, Pānchālas, the people of Kāmarūpa, the Puṇḍras, Kalingas, Magadhas, Saurāshṭras, Śūras, Bhīras, Arbudas, Kārūshas, Mālavas, Sauvīras, Saindhavas, Hūṇas, Śālvas, Śākalas, Madras, Rāmas, Ambashṭhas, and Pāraśikas.[7] These tribes seem to be all confined to India and its vicinity.

The praises of Bhārata Varsha are celebrated as follows:

V.P. ii. 3, 11. *Chatvāri Bhārate varshe yugāny attra mahāmune | kṛitaṁ tretā dvāparaś cha kaliś chānyatra na kvachit |* 12. *Tapas tapyanti yatayo juhvate chāttra yajvinaḥ | dānāni chāttra dīyante paralokārtham ādarāt | purushair yajña-purusho Jambu-dvīpe sadejyate | yajñair yajña-mayo Vishṇur anya-dvīpeshu chānyathā |* 13. *Attrāpi Bhārataṁ śreshṭhaṁ Jambu-dvīpe mahāmune | yato hi karma-bhūr eshā ato 'nyāḥ bhoga-bhūmayaḥ | attra janma-sahasrāṇāṁ sahasrair api sattamam | kadachil labhate jantur mānushyam puṇya-sanchayam | gāyanti devāḥ kila gītakāni "dhanyās tu ye Bhārata-bhūmi-bhāge | svargāpavargasya dahe tu bhūte bhavanti bhūyaḥ purushāḥ suratvāt |* 14. *Karmāṇy asankalpita-tat-phalāni sannyasya Vishṇau paramātma-rūpe | avāpya tāṁ karma-mahīm anante tasmin layaṁ ye tv amalāḥ prayānti |* 15. *Jānīma naitat kva vayaṁ vilīne svarga-prade karmaṇi deha-bandham | pṛāpsyāma dhanyāḥ khalu te manushyāḥ ye Bhārate nendriya-viprahīṇāḥ" |*

"In Bhārata Varsha, and nowhere else, do the four Yugas, Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali exist. 12. Here devotees perform austerities, and priests sacrifice; here gifts are bestowed, to testify honour, for the sake of the future world. In Jambudvīpa Vishṇu, the sacrificial Man, whose essence is sacrifice, is continually worshipped by men with sacrifices; and in other ways in the other dvīpas.[8] 13. In this respect Bhārata is the most excellent division of Jambudvīpa; for this is the land of works, while the others are places of enjoyment. Perhaps in a thousand thousand births, a living being obtains here that most excellent condition, humanity, the receptacle of virtue. The gods sing, 'Happy are those beings, who, when the rewards of their merits have

[7] The list in the Mahābhārata (Bhīshmaparvan, 346 ff.), is much longer. See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii. pp. 132 f., and 156 ff.

[8] "'In other ways,' *i.e.* in the form of Soma, Vāyu, Sūryya, etc." (*Anyathā Soma-vāyu-sūryyādi-rūpaḥ |*). Commentator.

been exhausted in heaven, are, after being gods, again born as men in Bhārata Varsha; (14) who, when born in that land of works, resign to the supreme and eternal Vishṇu their works, without regard to their fruits, and attain by purity to absorption in him. 15. We know not where we shall next attain a corporeal condition, when the merit of our works shall have become exhausted; but happy are those men who exist in Bhārata Varsha with perfect senses.' "

To the same effect the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, v. 17, 11:

Tattrāpi Bhāratam eva varshaṁ karma-kshettram anyāny aṣṭa-varshāṇi svargiṇām puṇya-śeshopabhoga-sthānāni bhaumāni svarga-padāni vyapadiśanti | 12. *Eshu purushāṇām ayuta-purushāyur-varshāṇaṁ deva-kalpānāṁ nāgāyuta-prāṇānāṁ vajra-saṁhanana-vayo-moda-pramudita-mahāsaurata-mithuna-vyavāyāpavarga-varsha-dhṛitaika-garbha-kalatrāṇāṁ tretā-yuga-samaḥ kālo varttate* |

"Of these, Bhāratavarsha alone is the land of works: the other eight Varshas are places where the celestials enjoy the remaining rewards of their works; they are called terrestrial paradises. 12. In them men pass an existence equal to that of the Tretā age, living for the space of ten thousand ordinary lives, on an equality with gods, having the vitality of ten thousand elephants, and possessed of wives who bear one child after a year's conception following upon sexual intercourse attended by all the gratification arising from adamantine bodies and from vigorous youth."

The commentator remarks on verse 11: *Divya-bhauma-bila-bhedāt trividhaḥ svargaḥ* | *tattra bhauma-svargasya padāni sthānāni vyapadiśanti* | "Heaven is of three kinds, in the sky, on earth, and in the abyss. Here the other Varshas are called terrestrial heavens."

It is curious to remark that in the panegyric on Bhārata Varsha it is mentioned as one of the distinguishing advantages of that division of Jambudvīpa that sacrifice is performed there, though, a little further on, it is said to be practised in Śālmali dvīpa also.

It would at first sight appear from the preceding passage (ii. 3, 11) of the Vishṇu Purāṇa (as well as from others which we shall encounter below), to be the intention of the writer to represent the inhabitants of Bhārata Varsha as a different race, or, at least as living under quite different conditions, from the inhabitants of the other dvīpas, and even of the other divisions (*varshas*) of Jambu dvīpa itself. From the use

of the word *mānushya* (humanity) here applied to the inhabitants of Bhārata Varsha, viewed in reference to the context, it would seem to be a natural inference that all the people exterior to it were beings of a different race. Yet in the descriptions of Kuśa dvīpa and Pushkara dvīpa (see below) the words *manujāḥ* and *mānavāḥ* "descendants of Manu," or "men," are applied to the dwellers in those continents. In the passage of the Jātimālā, moreover, translated by Mr. Colebrooke (Misc. Essays, ii. 179), we are told that "a chief of the twice-born tribe was brought by Vishṇu's eagle from Śāka dvīpa; thus have Śāka dvīpa Brāhmans become known in Jambu dvīpa." According to this verse, too, there should be an affinity of race between the people of these two dvīpas. It is also to be noted that the descendants of Priyavrata became kings of all the dvīpas, as well as of all the varshas of Jambu dvīpa (see above, pp. 489, 491). And in the passage quoted above, p. 478, from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 11, 3, it is said of Arjuna, son of Kṛitavīrya, that he was "lord of the seven dvīpas," "that he ruled over the earth with all its dvīpas."[9] If, however, the kings were of the human race, it is natural to infer the same of the people.

But, in a subject of this sort, where the writers were following the suggestions of imagination only, it is to be expected that we should find inconsistencies.

Jambu dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of salt water (Wilson, V.P. ii. 109); and that sea again is bounded on its outer side by the dvīpa or continent of Plaksha running all round it. (V.P. ii. 4, 1. *Kshārodena yathā dvīpo Jambu-sanjno 'bhiveshṭitaḥ | saṁveshṭya kshāram udadhim Plaksha-dvīpas tathā sthitaḥ*). According to this scheme the several continents and seas form concentric circles, Jambu dvipa being a circular island occupying the centre of the system.

Plaksha dvīpa is of twice the extent of Jambu dvīpa. The character and condition of its inhabitants are described as follows:

V. P. ii. 4, 5. *Na chaivāsti yugāvasthā teshu sthāneshu saptasu | 6. Tretā-yuga-samaḥ kālaḥ sarvadaiva mahāmate | Plaksha-dvīpādishu brahman Śākadvīpāntākeshu vai | 7. Pancha-varsha-sahasrāṇi janāḥ jīvanty anāmayāḥ | dharmāḥ panchasv athaiteshu varṇāśrama-vibhāga-jāḥ |*

[9] Purūravas is said to have possessed *thirteen* islands (dvīpas) of the ocean (above p. 307).

varṇās tattrāpi chatvāras tān nibodha gadāmi te | Aryyakāḥ Kuravaś chaiva Vivāśāh Bhāvinaś cha ye | vipra-kshattriya-vaiśyās te śūdrāś cha muni-sattama |

"In those seven provinces [which compose Plaksha dvīpa] the division of time into Yugas does not exist: but the character of existence is always that of the Tretā age. In the [five] dvīpas, beginning with Plaksha and ending with Śāka, the people live 5000 years, free from sickness. In those five dvīpas duties arise from the divisions of castes and orders. There are there also four castes, Āryyakas, Kurus, Vivāśas, and Bhāvins, who are the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras," and whose worship is thus described:

9. *Ijyate tattra bhagavāns tair varṇair Aryyakādibhiḥ | soma-rūpī jagat-srashṭā sarvaḥ sarveśvaro Hariḥ |* "Hari who is All, and the lord of all, and the creator of the world, is adored in the form of Soma by these classes, the Āryyakas, etc."

The inhabitants of this dvīpa receive different names in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, being there called (v. 20, 4) "Hansas, Patangas, Ūrdhvāyanas, and Satyāngas, four castes, who, purified from passion and darkness by the touch of the waters of these rivers, live a thousand years, resemble the gods in their appearance and in their manner of procreation, and worship with the triple Veda the divine Soul, the Sun, who is the gate of heaven, and who is co-essential with the Vedas" (*Yāsāṁ jalopasparśana-vidhūta-rajas-tamaso Haṁsa-patangorddhvāyana-satyānga-sanjñāś chatvāro varṇāḥ sahasrāyusho vibudhopama-sandarśana-prajananāḥ svarga-dvāraṁ trayyā vidyayā bhagavantaṁ trayīmayaṁ sūryam ātmānaṁ yajante*).

In regard to Plaksha and the other four following dvīpas, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, ibid. para. 6, that "their men are all alike in respect of natural perfection as shewn in length of life, senses, vigour, force, strength, intelligence, and courage" (*Plakshādishu panchasu purushāṇām āyur intriyam ojaḥ saho balaṁ buddhir vikramaḥ iti cha sarveshām autpattikī siddhir aviśeshena varttate |*).

Plaksha dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of sugar-cane juice of the same compass as itself. ii. 4, 9, *Plaksha-dvīpa-pramāṇena Plaksha-dvīpaḥ samāvṛitaḥ | tathaivekshu-rasodena pariveśānukāriṇā |* Round the outer margin of this sea, and twice as extensive, runs Śālmala dvīpa (verse 11. *Śālmalena samudro 'sau dvīpenekshu-rasodakaḥ | vistara-*

dviguṇenātha sarvataḥ. saṁvṛitaḥ sthitaḥ |). It is divided into seven Varshas, or divisions. Of their inhabitants it is said:

V. P. ii. 4, 12. *Saptaitāni tu varshāṇi chāturvarṇya-yutāni cha* | *S'ālmale ye tu varṇāś cha vasanti te mahāmune* | *kapilāś chāruṇāḥ pītāḥ kṛishṇāś chaiva pṛithak pṛithak* | *brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś chaiva yajanti te* | *bhagavantaṁ samastasya Vishṇum ātmānam avyayam* | *Vāyubhūtam makha-śreshṭhair yajvino yajna-saṁsthitam* | 13. *Devānām attra sānnidhyam atīva sumanoharam* |

"These seven Varshas have a system of four castes. The castes which dwell there are severally the Kapilas, Aruṇas, Pītas, and Kṛishṇas (or the Tawny, the Purple, the Yellow, and the Black). These, the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras, worship with excellent sacrifices Vishṇu, the divine and imperishable Soul of all things, in the form of Vāyu, and abiding in sacrifice. Here the vicinity of the gods is very delightful to the soul."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa says of this dvīpa, v. 20, 11.: *Tad-varsha-purushāḥ S'rutadhara-vīryyadhara-vasundhareshundhara-sanjnāḥ bhagavantaṁ vedamayaṁ somam ātmānaṁ vedena yajante* | "The men of the different divisions of this dvīpa, called S'rutadharas, Vīryadharas, Vasundharas, and Ishundharas, worship with the Veda the divine Soul Soma, who is co-essential with the Veda."

This dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of wine of the same compass as itself (v. 13. *Esha dvīpaḥ samudreṇa surodena samāvṛitaḥ* | *vistārāch chhālmalasyaiva samena tu samantataḥ*). The exterior shore of this sea is encompassed by Kuśa dvīpa, which is twice as extensive as S'ālmala dvīpa (v. 13. *Surodakaḥ parivṛitaḥ Kuśadvīpena sarvataḥ* | *S'ālmalasya tu vistārād dviguṇena samantataḥ*). The inhabitants of Kuśa dvīpa are thus described, V.P. ii 4, 14:

Tasyāṁ vasanti manujāḥ saha Daiteya-dānavaiḥ | *tathaiva deva-gandharva-yaksha-kimpurushādayaḥ* | *varṇās tattrāpi chatvāro nijānushṭhāna-tatparāḥ* | *Damināḥ S'ushmiṇaḥ Snehāḥ Mandehāś cha mahāmune* | *brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś chānukramoditāḥ* | 15. *Yathoktakarma-karttṛitvāt svādhikāra-kshayāya te* | *tattra te tu Kuśa-dvīpe Brahma-rūpaṁ Janārddanam* | *yajantaḥ kshapayanty ugram adhikāram phalapradam* |

"In this set of Varshas (of Kuśa dvipa) dwell men with Daityas, Dānavas, Devas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Kimpurushas, and other beings.

There, too, there are four castes, pursuing their proper observances, Damins, S'ushmins, Snehas, and Mandehas, who in the order specified are Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras. In order to destroy their right [to reward] derived from the performance of these works, they worship Janārdana in the form of Brahma, and so neutralize this direful merit which brings rewards."

Of Kuśa dvīpa the Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīshmaparvan, verses 455–7: *Eteshu deva-gandharvāḥ prajāścha jagatīśvara | viharante ramante cha na teshu mriyate janaḥ | na teshu dasyavaḥ santi mlechha-jātyo 'pi vā nṛipa | gaura-prāyo janaḥ sarvaḥ sukumāras cha pārthiva |* "In these (Varshas of Kuśa dvīpa), gods, Gandharvas, and living creatures, amuse and enjoy themselves. No one dies there. There are no Dasyus or Mlechhas there. The people are fair, and of very delicate forms." The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, v. 20, 16, says, "The people of this dvīpa are called Kuśalas, Kovidas, Abhiyuktas, and Kulakas" (*Kuśa-dvīpaukasaḥ Kuśala-kovidābhiyukta-kulaka-sanjnāḥ* |).

Kuśa dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of clarified butter, of the same circumference as itself.

Around this sea runs Krauncha dvīpa which is twice as large as Kuśa dvīpa. The V. P. says, ii. 4, 19: *Sarveshv eteshu ramyeshu varsha-śaila-vareshu cha | nivasanti nirātankāḥ saha deva-gaṇaiḥ prajāḥ | Pushkarāḥ Pushkalāḥ Dhanyās Tishmāś chāttra mahāmune | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś chānukramoditāḥ |* "In all these pleasant division-mountains of this dvīpa the people dwell, free from fear, in the society of the gods. [These people are] the Pushkaras, Pushkalas, Dhanyas, and Tishmas, who, as enumerated in order, are the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras." The inhabitants of this dvīpa are called in the Bhāgavata Purāna, v. 20, 22, " . . . . Purushas, Ṛishabhas, Draviṇas, and Devakas" (*Purusharshabha-draviṇa-devaka-sanjnāḥ*). This dvīpa is encompassed by the sea of curds, which is of the same circumference as itself. The sea again, on its exterior edge, is surrounded by S'āka dvīpa,[10] a continent twice the size of Krauncha dvīpa.

Of S'āka dvīpa it is said in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 4, 23 ff.:

Tattra puṇyāḥ janapadāś chāturvarnya-samanvitāḥ | nadyaś chāttra mahāpuṇyāḥ sarva-pāpa-bhayāpahāḥ | . . . . tāḥ pibanti mudā yuktāḥ Jaladādishu ye sthitāḥ | varsheshu te janapadāḥ svargād abhyetya me-

[10] In the M. Bh. (Bhīshmap. v. 408 ff.) S'ākadvīpa comes next after Jambudvīpa.

dinīm | 24. *Dharma-hānir na teshv asti na sangharshaḥ parasparam* | *maryādā-vyutkramo nāpi teshu deśeshu saptasu* | 25. *Magāś cha Māgadhāś chaiva Mānasāḥ Mandagāś tathā* | *Magāḥ brāhmaṇa-bhūyishṭhāḥ Māgadhāḥ kshattriyās tu te* | *Vaiśyās tu Mānasāḥ jneyāḥ śūdrās teshāṁ tu Mandagāḥ* | 26. *S'ākadvīpe tu tair Vishṇuḥ sūrya-rūpa-dharo mune* | *yathoktair ijyate samyak karmabhir niyatātmabhiḥ* |

"There there are holy countries, peopled by persons belonging to the four castes; and holy rivers which remove all sin and fear. . . . The people who dwell in these divisions, Jalada, etc. [of S'āka dvīpa], drink these rivers with pleasure, even when they have come to earth from Svarga. There is among them no defect of virtue; nor any mutual rivalry; nor any transgression of rectitude in those seven countries. [There dwell] Magas, Māgadhas, Mānasas, and Mandagas, of whom the first are principally Brāhmans; the second are Kshattriyas; the third are Vaiśyas, and the fourth are S'ūdras. By them Vishṇu, in the form of the Sun, is worshipped with the prescribed ceremonies, and with intent minds."

Of this dvīpa the Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīshmaparvan, verse 410, that the "people there are holy, and no one dies" (*tattra puṇyāḥ janapadāḥ na tattra mriyate naraḥ*). One of the mountains there is called S'yāma (black), "whence men have got this black colour" (verse 420. *Tataḥ śyāmatvam āpannāḥ janāḥ janapadeśvara*). Dhṛitarāshṭra then says to his informant Sanjaya that he has great doubts as to "how living creatures have become black." Sanjaya promises in the following lines, the sense of which is not very clear, to explain the mystery: 422. *Sarveshv eva mahārāja dvīpeshu Kuru-nandana* | *gauraḥ kṛishṇaś cha pātango yato varṇāntare dvijāḥ* | *śyāmo yasmāt pravṛitto vai tat te vakshyāmi Bhārata* | But as he proceeds no further, we lose the benefit of his solution of this interesting physiological problem. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, v. 20, 28, gives the four classes of men in this dvīpa the names of Ṛitavratas, Satyavratas, Dānavratas, and Anuvratas (*tadvarsha-purushāḥ Ṛitavrata-Satyavrata-Dānavratānuvrata-nāmānaḥ*).

This S'āka dvīpa is surrounded by the ocean of milk as by an armlet. This ocean again is encompassed on its outer side by Pushkara dvīpa, which is twice as extensive as S'āka dvīpa.

Of Pushkara dvīpa it is said, Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 4, 28 ff.:

Daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi tattra jīvanti mānavāḥ | *nirāmayāḥ viśokāścha*

rāga-dvesha-vivarijjitāḥ | adhamottamau na teshv āstāṁ na badhya-badhakau dvija | nershyā 'sūyā bhayaṁ rosho dosho lobhādiko na cha | . . . . 29. *Satyānṛite na tattrāstāṁ dvīpe Pushkara-sanjnite | . . . .* 30. *Tulya-veśāś tu manujāḥ devais tattraika-rūpiṇaḥ |* 31. *Varṇāśramāchārahīnam dharmācharaṇa-varjjitam | trayī-vārttā-daṇḍanīti-śuśrūshārahitaṁ cha yat |* 32. *Varsha-dvayaṁ tu maittreya bhauma-svargo 'yam uttamaḥ | sarvasya sukha-daḥ kālo jarā-rogādi-varjjitaḥ |*

"In this dvīpa men live ten thousand years, free from sickness and sorrow, from affection and hatred. There is no distinction among them of highest and lowest, of killer and slain; there is no envy, nor ill-will, nor fear, nor anger, nor defect, nor covetousness, nor other fault; there is there neither truth nor falsehood. Men there are all of the same appearance, of one form with the gods. The two divisions of this dvīpa have no rules of caste or orders, nor any observances of duty; the three Vedas, the Purāṇas (or, trade), the rules of criminal law and service do not exist. This [dvīpa] is a most excellent terrestrial heaven; where time brings happiness to all, and is exempt from decay, sickness, and all other evils." [11]

Of all the dvīpas together, the Mahābhārata says, Bhīshmaparvan, verses 468 ff.:

Evaṁ dvīpeshu sarveshu prajānāṁ Kuru-nandana | brahmacharyyeṇa satyena prajānāṁ hi dameṇa cha | ārogyāyuḥpramāṇābhyāṁ dviguṇaṁ dviguṇaṁ tataḥ | eko janapado rājan dvīpeshv eteshu Bhārata | uktāḥ

[11] In the same way as Pushkara, the remotest dvīpa, is here described to be the scene of the greatest perfection, we find Homer placing the Elysian plains on the furthest verge of the earth:

ἀλλά σ' ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθυς,
τῇπερ ῥηΐστη βιοτὴ πέλει ἀνθρώποισίν.
οὐ νιφετὸς, οὔτ' ἄρ χειμὼν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείοντας ἀήτας
Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους. Odyssey Δ. 563-568.

"Thee, favoured man, to earth's remotest end,
The Elysian plain, the immortal gods shall send,—
That realm which fair-haired Rhadamanthys sways,
Where, free from toil, men pass their tranquil days.
No tempests vex that land, no rain, nor snow;
But ceaseless Zephyrs from the ocean blow,
Which sweetly breathe and gently stir the air,
And to the dwellers grateful coolness bear."

janapadāḥ yeshu karma chaikam pradṛiśyate | īśvaro daṇḍam udyamya svayam eva Prajāpatiḥ | dvīpānāṁ tu mahārāja rakshaṁs tishṭhati nityadā | sa rājā sa śivo rājan sa pitā prapitāmahaiḥ | gopāyati nara-śreshṭha prajāḥ sa-jaḍa-paṇḍitāḥ | bhojanaṁ chāttra Kauravya prajāḥ svayam upasthitam | siddham eva mahābāho tad hi bhunjanti nityadā |

"Thus in all these dvīpas each country doubly exceeds the former one in the abstinence, veracity, and self-restraint, in the health and the length of life of its inhabitants. In these dvīpas the people is one, and one sort of action is perceivable. Prajāpati, the lord, wielding his sceptre, himself governs these dvīpas. He, the king, the auspicious one (*śiva*), the father, along with the patriarchs, protects all creatures, ignorant as well as learned." (So there are differences of intellectual condition in these dvīpas after all!) "All these people eat prepared food, which comes to them of itself."

Pushkara is surrounded by a sea of fresh water equal to itself in compass. What is beyond is afterwards described:

V.P. ii. 4, 37. *Svādūdakasya parato dṛiśyate loka-saṁsthitiḥ | dviguṇā kāñchanī bhūmiḥ sarva-jantu-vivarjjitā |* 38. *Lokālokas tataḥ śailo yojanāyuta-vistṛitaḥ | uchchhrāyeṇāpi tāvanti sahasrāṇy achalo hi saḥ | tatas tamaḥ samāvṛitya taṁ śailaṁ sarvataḥ sthitam | tamaś chāṇḍa-kaṭāhena samantāt parisveshṭitam |*

"On the other side of the sea is beheld a golden land of twice its extent, but without inhabitants. Beyond that is the Lokāloka mountain, which is ten thousand yojanas in breadth, and as many thousands in height. It is on all sides invested with darkness. This darkness is encompassed by the shell of the mundane egg." [12]

In a following chapter, however, (the seventh) of this same book, the

[12] See Manu, i. verses 9 and 12, quoted above, p. 35. The thirteenth verse is as follows: *Tābhyāṁ sa śakalābhyāṁ cha divam bhūmiṁ cha nirmame | madhye vyoma diśaś chāshṭāv apāṁ sthānaṁ cha śāśvatam |* "From these two halves of the shell he fashioned the heaven and the earth, and in the middle (he formed) the sky, and the eight quarters, and the eternal abode of the waters." In regard to the darkness (*tamas*) with which the mountain Lokāloka is said to be enveloped, compare Manu iv. 242, where the spirits of the departed are said to pass by their righteousness through the darkness which is hard to be traversed (*dharmeṇa hi sahāyena tamas tarati dustaram*); and Atharva-veda, ix. 5, 1, "Crossing the darkness, in many directions immense, let the unborn ascend to the third heaven" (*tīrtvā tamāṁsi bahudhā mahānti ajo nākam ā kramatāṁ tṛitīyam*). See Journal Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 298, note 2, and p. 304.

shell of the mundane egg is said to be outside of the seven spheres of which this system is composed:

V.P. ii. 7, 19. *Ete sapta mayā lokāḥ Maitreya kathitās tava | pātālāni cha saptaiva brahmāṇḍasyaisha vistaraḥ | etad aṇḍa-kaṭāhena tiryak chorddhvam adhas tathā | kapitthasya yathā vījaṁ sarvato vai samāvṛitam |*

"These seven spheres have been described by me; and there are also seven Pātālas: this is the extent of Brahmā's egg. The whole is surrounded by the shell of the egg at the sides, above, and below, just as the seed of the wood-apple (is covered by the rind)."

This system, however, it appears, is but a very small part of the whole of the universe:

Ibid. verse 24. *Aṇḍānāṁ tu sahasrāṇāṁ sahasrāṇy ayutāni cha | īdṛiśānāṁ tathā tattra koṭi-koṭi-śatāni cha |*

"There are thousands and ten thousands of thousands of such mundane eggs; nay hundreds of millions of millions."

Indian mythology, when striving after sublimity, and seeking to excite astonishment, often displays an extravagant and puerile facility in the fabrication of large numbers. But, in the sentence last quoted, its conjectures are substantially in unison with the discoveries of modern astronomy; or rather, they are inadequate representations of the simple truth, as no figures can express the contents of infinite space.

APPENDIX.

Page 6, *line* 24.

Professor Wilson's analyses of the Agni, Brahma-vaivartta, Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas, were originally published, not in the "Gleanings in Science," but in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. i.; and are reprinted in the 3rd vol. of Wilson's Collected Works, edited by Dr. R. Rost.

Page 37, *line* 1.

"Abodes of gods." Böhtlingk and Roth in their Sanskrit Lexicon, *s.v. nikāya*, shew that in other passages, if not here also, the compound word *deva-nikāya* should be rendered "classes, or assemblages, of gods."

Page 50, *line* 25.

Compare the passage, quoted below, in the note on p. 115, from the Śāntiparvan of the M. Bh., verses 6130 ff.

Pages 90 ff.

The representations of the Kṛita yuga are not always consistent. In the Droṇaparvan, verses 2023 ff. a story is told of King Akampana, who lived in that age, and who was yet so far from enjoying the tranquillity generally predicated of that happy time that he was overcome by his enemies in a battle, in which he lost his son, and suffered in consequence severe affliction.

Page 97, *note* 190.

It is similarly said in the Droṇaparvan, verse 2395: *Kshatād nas trāyate sarvān ity evaṁ kshattriyo 'bhavat* | "He (Pṛithu) became a Kshattriya by delivering us all from injuries." See also Śāntiparvan, verse 1031.

Page 115, *line* 13.

The S'āntiparvan of the M. Bh., verses 6130 ff., gives a similar description of the original state of all things, and of the birth of Brahmā. Bhīshma is the speaker: *Salilaikārṇavaṁ tāta purā sarvam abhūd idam | nishprakampam anākāśam anirdeśya-mahītalam | tamasā vṛitam asparśam api gambhīra-darśanam | niśśabdaṁ vā 'prameyaṁ cha tattra jajne Pitāmahaḥ | so 'sṛijad vātam agniṁ cha bhāskaraṁ chāpi vīryyavān | ākāśam asṛijach chorddhvam adho bhūmiṁ cha nairṛitīm | nabhaḥ sa-chandra-tāraṁ cha nakshattrāṇi grahāṁs tathā | saṁvatsarān ṛitūn māsān pakshān atha lavān kshaṇan | tataḥ śarīraṁ loka-sthaṁ sthāpayitvā Pitāmahaḥ | janayāmāsa bhagavān puttrān uttama-tejasaḥ |* 6135. *Marīchim ṛishim Attriṁ cha Pulastyam Pulahaṁ Kratum | Vaśishṭhāngirasau chobhau Rudraṁ cha prabhum īśvaram | Prachetasas tathā Dakshaḥ kanyāḥ shashṭim ajījanat | tāḥ vai brahmarshayaḥ sarvāḥ prajārtham pratipedire | tābhyo viśvāni bhūtāni devāḥ pitṛi-gaṇās tatha | gandharvāpsarasaś chaiva rakshāṁsi vividhāni cha | . . . .* 6149. *Jajne tāta jagat sarvaṁ tathā sthāvara-jangamam |* 6150. *Bhūta-sargam imaṁ kṛitvā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | śāśvataṁ veda-paṭhitaṁ dharmam prayuyuje tataḥ | tasmin dharme sthitāḥ devāḥ sahāchāryya-purohitāḥ | ādityāḥ vasavo rudrāḥ sa-sādhyāḥ marud-aśvinaḥ |* "This entire universe was formerly one expanse of water, motionless, without æther, without any distinguishable earth, enveloped in darkness, imperceptible to touch, with an appearance of (vast) depth, silent, and measureless. There Pitāmaha (Brahmā) was born. That mighty god created wind, fire, and the sun, the æther[1] above, and under it the earth belonging to Nirṛiti, the sky, with the moon, stars, constellations, and planets, the years, seasons, months, half-months, and the minute sub-divisions of time. Having established the frame of the universe, the divine Pitāmaha begot sons of eminent splendour, (6135) Marīchi, the rishi Attri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vaśishṭha, Angiras, and the mighty lord Rudra. Daksha, the son of Prachetas, also begot sixty daughters, all of whom were taken by the Brahmarshis[2] for the purpose of propagating offspring. From these females, all beings, gods, pitṛis, gandharvas, apsarases, and various kinds of rākshases, ... (6149) this

[1] And yet it is elsewhere said (Anuśāsanap. 2161, quoted above in p. 130) that the æther (*ākāśa*) cannot be created.

[2] Here this word must mean "rishis, sons of Brahmā."

entire world, moving and stationary, was produced. 6150. Having formed this creation of living beings, the parent of all worlds established the eternal rule of duty as read in the Veda. To this rule of duty the gods, with their teachers and domestic priests, the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, Sādhyas, Maruts, and Aśvins conformed."

Another account of the creation is given in the same book of the M. Bh., verses 7518 ff., where it is ascribed to Vishṇu in the form of Govinda, or Keśava (Kṛishṇa), who is identified with the supreme and universal Purusha. Resting on the waters (7527) he created by his thought Sankarshaṇa, the first-born of all beings. Then (7529) a lotus sprang from his (either Sankarshaṇa's or Vishṇu's) navel, from which again (7530) Brahmā was produced. Brahmā afterwards created his seven mind-born sons, Marīchi, Attri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Daksha (7534).

Compare Bhīshmaparvan, verses 3017 ff.

Page 122, *note* 223.

Compare the passage quoted in the last note from the Śāntiparvan, verse 6135.

Page 128, *line* 20.

The Śāntiparvan, verses 7548 ff. ascribes the creation of the four castes to Kṛishṇa: *Tataḥ Kṛishṇo mahābhāgaḥ punar eva Yudhishṭhira | brāhmaṇānāṁ śataṁ śreshṭham mukhād evāsṛijat prabhuḥ | bāhubhyāṁ kshattriya-śataṁ vaiśyānām ūrutaḥ śataṁ | padbhyāṁ śūdra-śataṁ chaiva Keśavo Bharatarshabha |* "Then again the great Kṛishṇa created a hundred Brāhmans, the most excellent (class), from his mouth, a hundred Kshattriyas from his arms, a hundred Vaiśyas from his thighs, and a hundred Śūdras from his feet."

Compare Bhīshmaparvan, verse 3029.

Page 128, *note* 238.

In another place also, verses 6208 f., the Anuśāsanaparvan ranks purohitas with Śūdras: *Śūdra-karma tu yaḥ kuryād avahāya sva-karma cha | sa vijneyo yathā śūdro na cha bhojyaḥ kathanchana | chikitsakaḥ kāṇḍaprishṭhaḥ purādhyakshaḥ purohitaḥ | sāṁvatsaro vṛithādhyāyī sarve te śūdra-sammitāḥ |* "He, who, abandoning his own work, does the work of a Śūdra, is to be regarded as a Śūdra, and not to be invided to a feast. A physician, a kāṇḍaprishṭha (see above, p. 442), a

city governor, a purohita, an astrologer, one who studies to no purpose, —all these are on a level with Śūdras."

Pages 144 ff.

See above, note on pp. 90 ff.

Page 150, *line* 4.

Compare Droṇaparvan, verse 2397.

Page 220, *line* 14.

I am indebted to Professor Max Müller for pointing out to me two passages in Indian commentators in which Manu is spoken of as a Kshattriya. The first is from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā, iv. 1. The words of the text are these: *Śrī-Bhagavān uvācha | imaṁ Vivasvate yogaṁ proktavān aham avyayam | Vivasvān Manave prāha Manur Ikshvākave 'bravīt | evam paramparā-prāptam imaṁ rājarshayo viduḥ | sa kāleneha mahatā yogo nashṭaḥ parantapa | sa evāyam mayā te 'dya yogaḥ proktaḥ purātanaḥ | bhakto 'si me sakhā cheti rahasyam etad uttamam* | "The divine Being (Kṛishṇa) said: I declared to Vivasvat (the Sun) this imperishable Yoga-doctrine. Vivasvat told it to (his son) Manu; and Manu to (his son) Ikshvāku. Thus do royal rishis know it as handed down by tradition. Through lapse of time however it was lost. I have to day therefore revealed to thee (anew) this ancient system, this most excellent mystery; for thou art devoted to me and my friend."

On this Madhusūdana remarks: "*Vivasvate*" *sarva-kshattriya-vaṁśa-vīja-bhūtāya Ādityāya proktavān* | "'I declared it to Vivasvat' *i.e.* to Āditya (the Sun) who was the source of the whole Kshattriya race."

The second passage is from Someśvara's ṭīkā on Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's Mīmānsa-vārttika. I must, however, first adduce a portion of the text of the latter work which forms the subject of Someśvara's annotation. For a copy of this passage, which is otherwise of interest, I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker, who has been kind enough to copy it for me.[2] The first extract refers to Jaimini's Sūtra, i. 3, 3; where the question under discussion is, in what circumstances authority can be assigned to

[2] See Professor Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 79 f. where this passage is partly extracted and translated. See also the same author's Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. pp. 338 ff.

the Smṛiti when the Śruti, or Veda, is silent. After some other remarks Kumārila proceeds: *Śākyādi-vachanāni tu katipaya-dama-dānādi vachana-varjjaṁ sarvāṇy eva samasta-chaturdaśa-vidyā-sthāna-viruddhāni trayī-mārga-vyutthita-viruddhācharaṇaiś cha Buddhādidhiḥ praṇītāni trāyī-bāhyebhyaś chaturtha-varṇa-niravasita-prāyebhyo vyāmūḍhebhyaḥ samarthitāni iti na veda-mūlatvena sambhāvyante | svadharmātikrameṇa cha yena kshattriyeṇa satā pravaktṛitva-pratigrahau pratipannau sa dharmaṁ aviplutam upadekshyati iti kaḥ samāśvāsaḥ | uktaṁ cha "paraloka-viruddhāni kurvāṇaṁ dūratas tyajet | ātmānaṁ yo visaṁdhatte so 'nyasmai syāt kathaṁ hitaḥ" iti | Buddhādeḥ punar ayam evātikramo 'lankāra-buddhau sthito yena evam āha "kali-kalusha-kṛitāni yāni loke mayi nipatantu | vimuchyatāṁ tu lokaḥ" iti | sa kila loka-hitārtha-kshattriya-dharmam atikramya brāhmaṇa-vṛittiṁ pravaktṛitvam pratipadya pratishedhātikramāsamarthair brāhmaṇair ananuśishṭaṁ dharmam bāhyajanān anuśāsad dharma-pīḍām apy ātmano 'ngīkṛitya parānugrahaṁ kṛitavān ity evaṁvidhair eva guṇaiḥ stūyate | tad-anuśishṭānusāriṇaś cha sarve eva śruti-smṛiti-vihita-dharmātikrameṇa vyavaharanto viruddhāchāratvena jnāyante | tena pratyakshayā śrūtyā virodhe grantha-kāriṇāṁ grahītrācharitṛīṇāṁ grantha-prāmāṇya-bādhanam | na hy eshām pūrvoktena nyāyena śruti-pratibaddhānāṁ sva-mūla-śruty-anumāna-sāmarthyam asti* | "But the precepts of Śakya and others, with the exception of a few enjoining dispassion, liberality, etc., are all contrary to the fourteen classes of scientific treatises, and composed by Buddha and others whose practice was opposed to the law of the three Vedas, as well as calculated for men belonging mostly to the fourth caste who are excluded from the Vedas, debarred from pure observances, and deluded:—consequently they cannot be presumed to be founded on the Veda. And what confidence can we have that one (*i.e.* Buddha) who being a Kshattriya,[3] transgressed the obligations of his own order, and assumed the function of teachingand the right to receive presents, would inculcate a pure system of duty? For it has been said: 'Let everyone avoid a man who practises acts destructive to future happiness. How can he who ruins himself be of any benefit to others?' And yet this very transgression of Buddha and his followers is conceived as being a feather in his cap; since he spoke thus, 'Let all the evils resulting from the sin of the Kali age fall upon me; and let the world be redeemed.' Thus, abandoning the

[3] Compare Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. 312.

duties of a Kshattriya, which are beneficial to the world, assuming the function of a teacher which belongs only to the Brāhmans, and instructing men who were out of the pale in duty which was not taught by the Brāhmans who could not transgress the prohibition (to give such instruction), he sought to do a kindness to others, while consenting to violate his own obligations; and for such merits as these he is praised! And all who follow his instructions, acting in contravention of the prescriptions of the Śruti and Smṛiti, are notorious for their erroneous practices. Hence from the opposition in which the authors of these books, as well as those who receive and act according to them, stand to manifest injunctions of the Veda, the authority of these works is destroyed.[4] For since they are by the above reasoning opposed by the Veda, the inference that they rest upon independent Vedic authority of their own possesses no force."

The next passage is from Kumārila's Vārttika on Jaimini's Sūtra, i. 3, 7: *Vedenaivābhyānujnātā yeshām eva pravaktṛitā | nityānām abhidheyānām manvantara-yugādishu | teshāṁ viparivartteshu kurvatāṁ dharma-saṁhitāḥ | vachanāni pramāṇāni nānyeshām iti niśchayaḥ | tathā cha Manor ṛichaḥ sāmidhenyo bhavanti ity asya vidher vākya-śeshe śrūyate "Manur vai yat kinchid avadat tad bheshajam bheshajatāyai"*[5] *iti prāyaśchittādy-upadeśa-vachanam pāpa-vyādher bheshajam* | "It is certain that the precepts of those persons only whose right to expound the eternal meanings of scripture in the different manvantaras and yugas has been recognized by the Veda, are to be regarded as authoritative, when in the revolutions (of those great mundane periods) they compose codes of law. Accordingly by way of complement to the Vedic passage containing the precept (*vidhi*) beginning 'there are these *sāmidheni* verses of Manu' it is declared, 'whatever Manu said is a healing remedy;' *i.e.* his prescriptions in regard to expiatory rites, etc., are remedies for the malady of sin."

[4] The Nyāya-mālā-vistara, i. 3, 4, quotes Kumārila as raising the question whether the practice of innocence, which S'ākya (Buddha) inculcated, was, or was not, a duty from its conformity to the Veda, and as solving it in the negative, since cow's milk put into a dogskin cannot be pure (*S'ākyoktāhiṁsanaṁ dharmo na vā dharmaḥ śrutatvataḥ | na dharmo na hi pūtaṁ syād go-kshīraṁ śva-dṛitau dhṛitam*).

[5] These words are quoted by Böthlingk and Roth, *s.v. bheshajatā*, as taken from the Panchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, 23, 16, 7. A similar passage occurs in the Taitt. Sanh. ii. 2, 10, 2.

From Someśvara's elaborate comment on the former of these two passages I need only extract the following sentences: *Etad abhiyuktavachanena dṛaḍhayati "uktaṁ cha" | Manos tu kshattriyasyāpi pravakṛitvam "yad vai kinchid Manur avadat tad bheshajam" iti vedānujnātatvād aviruddham ity āśayaḥ |* "This he confirms by the words of a learned man which he introduces by the phrase 'for it has been said.' But although Manu was a Kshattriya, his assumption of the office of teacher was not opposed to the Veda, because it is sanctioned by the Vedic text 'whatever Manu said was a remedy:' Such is the purport."

Page 254, *line* 12.

Yas tityāja sachi-vidam, etc. This verse is quoted in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (pp. 159 f. of Cal. edit.), which, however, reads *sakhi-vidam* instead of *sachi-vidam*. An explanation of the passage is there given by the Commentator.

Page 264, *line* 14.

Professor Weber considers (Indische Studien, i. 52) that "the yaudhāḥ and the arhantah were the forerunners of the Rājanyas and the Brāhmans." See the whole passage below in the note on p. 366.

Page 268, *note* 51.

Compare Āśvalāyana's Śrauta-Sūtras, i. 3, 3 and 4, and commentary (p. 22 of Cal. edit.). Pṛithī Vainya is, as I find from Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*, referred to also in the Atharva-veda, viii. 10, 24. The words are these: *Sā udakrāmat sā manushyān āgachhat | tām manushyāḥ upāhvayanta "irāvaty ehi" iti | tasyāḥ Manur Vaivasvato vatsaḥ āśīt pṛithivī pātram | tām Pṛithī Vainyo 'dhok tāṁ kṛishiṁ cha sasyaṁ cha adhok | te kṛishiṁ cha sasyaṁ cha manushyāḥ upajīvanti ityādi |* "She (*i.e.* Virāj) ascended: she came to men. Men called her to them, saying, 'Come, Irāvatī.' Manu Vaivasvata was her calf, and the earth her vessel. Pṛithī Vainya milked her; he milked from her agriculture and grain. Men subsist on agriculture and grain."

See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i. pp. 183 ff., where Pṛithu's (this is the Puranic form of the word) reign is described. It is there stated that this king, "taking the lord Manu Svāyambhuva for his calf, milked from the earth into his own hand all kinds of grain from a desire to benefit his subjects" (V.P. i. 13, 54. *Sa kalpayitvā vatsaṁ tu*

Manuṁ Svāyambhuvam prabhum | sve pānau pṛithivī-nātho dudoha pṛithivīm Pṛithuḥ | 55. Sasya-jātāni sarvāṇi prajānāṁ hita-kāmyayā). See also the passage quoted from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa by the editor Dr. Hall in pp. 189 ff. The original germ of these accounts is evidently to be found in the passage of the Atharva-veda, from which the short text I have cited is taken.

Pṛithu's reign is also described in the Droṇaparvan, 2394 ff., and Śāntiparvan, 1030 ff.

Page 286, *line* 8 *from the foot.*

The Sṛinjayas are mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. 9, 3, 1 ff. and 13 (see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 207), as opposing without effect the celebration of a sacrifice which was proposed to be offered for the restoration of Dushṭarītu Paunsāyana to his ancestral kingdom.

Page 345, *line* 24.

Professor Aufrecht has pointed out to me a short passage in the Taittirīya Sanhitā, iii. 1, 7, 2, in which Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni are mentioned together as contending with Vasishṭha: *Viśvāmitra-Jamadagnī Vasishṭhena asparddhetām | sa etaj Jamadagnir vihavyam apaśyat | tena vai sa Vasishṭhasya indriyaṁ vīryyam avṛinkta | yad vihavyaṁ śasyate indriyam eva tad vīryyaṁ yajamāno bhrātṛivyasya vṛinkte | yasya bhūyāṁso yajna-kratavaḥ ity āhuḥ sa devatāḥ vṛinkte |* "Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni were contending with Vasishṭha. Jamadagni beheld this vihavya text, and with it he destroyed the vigour and energy of Vasishṭha. When the vihavya is recited, then the sacrificer destroys the vigour and energy of his enemy. He whose oblations and all attendant ceremonies are superior destroys the gods (of his opponent)."

Page 366, *note* 164.

In a notice of Lāṭyāyana's Sūtras, in Indische Studien, i. 50, Professor Weber observes: "At the same time I remark here that the presence of Śūdras at the ceremonies, although on the outside of the sacrificial ground, was permitted—a point which results from the fact that during the dīkshā they were not to be addressed (iii. 3). Here and there a Śūdra appears as acting, although in a degraded position. Compare iv. 3, 5: *āryo* (i.e. *vaiśyaḥ*, according to the commentator Agnisvāmin) *antarvedi . . . . bahirvedi śūdraḥ | āryābhāve yaḥ kaś*

cha āryyo varṇaḥ (*brāhmaṇo vā kshattriyo vā*, Agnisvāmin). Thus their position, like that of the Nishādas, was not so wretched as it became afterwards. Toleration was still necessary; indeed the strict Brahmanical principle was not yet generally recognized among the nearest Arian races. This is shown by the following fact. Before entering on the Vrātya-stomas, Lāṭyāyana treats, viii. 5, of an imprecatory rite called Śyena (the falcon), which is not taught in the Panchaviṁśa, but in the Shaḍviṁśa (iv. 2). The tribes mentioned by Pāṇini, v. 3, 112 ff., are there described: *Vrātīnānāṁ*[6] *yaudhānām puttrān anūchānān ṛitvijo vṛiṇīta śyenasya | "arhatām eva" iti Śāṇḍilyaḥ*[7] | ("Let the learned sons of warriors, who live by the profession of Vrātas, be chosen as priests for the Śyena. 'The sons of arhats only' [should be chosen] says Śāṇḍilya"). "Whilst," proceeds Prof. W., "in the beginning of the Sūtra nine things are required for a ṛitvij (priest), viz. that he should be (1) ārsheyaḥ (*ā dasamāt purushād avyavachhinnam ārsham yasya*, 'able to trace his unbroken descent for ten generations in the family of a rishi'); (2) anūchānaḥ (*śishyebhyo vidyā-sampradānaṁ yaḥ kṛitavān*, "one who has imparted knowledge to pupils'); (3) sādhucharaṇaḥ (*shaṭsu brāhmaṇa-karmasv avasthitaḥ praśasta-karmā*, 'one who has practised the six duties of a Brāhman, a man of approved conduct'); (4) vāgmī (eloquent); (5) anyūnāṅgaḥ (without deficiency in his members); (6) anatiriktāṅgaḥ (without superfluous members); (7) dvesataḥ (equal in length above and below the navel); (8) anatikṛishṇaḥ; (9) anatiśvetaḥ (*na atibālo na ativṛiddhaḥ*, 'neither too young nor too old'),—Lāṭyāyana here contents himself with putting forward one only of these requirements, the second (*i.e.* that the priest should be 'learned'), as essential. The title Arhat for teacher, which was at a later period used exclusively by the Buddhists, is found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, (iii. 4, 3, 6) and the Taittirīya Araṇyaka,[8] and

[6] *Nānā-jātīyāḥ aniyata-vṛittayaḥ utsedha-jīvinaḥ sanghāḥ vrātāḥ* | (Patānjali, quoted by Weber) "Vrātas are the various classes of people who have no fixed profession, and live by violence." *Vrātena śarīrāyāsena jīvati vrātīnaḥ* (Comm. on Pāṇini, v. 2, 21) "He who lives by bodily labour is a *vrātīna*." The word means "he who lives by the labour usual among Vrātas," according to another comment cited by Weber.

[7] *Arhatām eva varaṇam karttavyam iti Śāṇḍilyaḥ* | "Arhats only are to be chosen, says Śāṇḍilya" (Agnisvāmin, quoted by Weber).

[8] It also occurs in Ait. Br. i. 15 (see Böthlingk and Roth, *s.v.*). To his translation of this passage Dr. Haug appends the following note: "The term is *arhat*, a word

is known in the Gaṇa Brāhmaṇa (Pāṇini, v. 1, 124). The Yaudhāḥ and Arhantaḥ are the forerunners of the Rājanyas and the Brāhmans.' According to Professor Weber, Ind. St. i. 207, note, a Sthapati "means, according to Kātyāyana's Śrauta Sūtras, xxii. 11, 11, a Vaiśya, or any other person (according to Kātyāyana, i. 1, 12, he may even be a Nishāda) who has celebrated the Gosava sacrifice, after being chosen by his subjects to be their ruler."

Page 378, *lines* 1–3.

Compare Droṇaparvan, verse 2149 : *nanv eshāṁ niśchitā nishṭhā nishṭhā saptapadī smṛitā* |

Page 400, *line* 9 *from bottom.*

If further proof of this sense of *brahmarshi* be wanted, it may be found in the words *viprarshi* and *dvijarshi*, which must be regarded as its synonymes, and which can only mean "Brāhman-rishi."

Page 423, *line* 12, *and foot-note.*

The same verse with some variations is repeated in the Anuśāsanaparvan, verse 6262: *Rājā Mitrasahaś chaiva Vaśishṭhāya mahātmane* | *Madayantīm priyām bhāryyāṁ datvā cha tridivaṁ gataḥ* | "And king Mitrasaha, having bestowed his dear wife Madayantī on the great Vaśishṭha, went to heaven." Here, it will be observed, the name Madayantī is correctly given.

Page 423, *line* 17.

This stanza is repeated in Anuśāsanaparvan, verse 6250, with the following variation in the second line: *arghyam pradāya vidhival lebhe lokān anuttamān* |

Page 436, *line* 5 *from the foot.*

I find that two other instances of Brāhmans receiving instruction from Rājanyas are alluded to by Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. x. 117.

well known, chiefly to the students of Buddhism. Sāyaṇa explains it by "a great Brāhman, or a Brāhman (in general)." In reference to another part of the sentence in which this word occurs, Dr. Haug adds: "That cows were killed at the time of receiving a most distinguished guest is stated in the Smṛitis. But as Sāyaṇa observes (which entirely agrees with opinions held now-a-days), this custom belongs to former yugas (periods of the world). Thence the word *goghna*, *i.e.* 'cowkiller.' means in the more ancient Sanskrit books 'a guest' (see the commentators on Paṇini, 3, 4, 73) for the reception of a high guest was the death of the cow of the house."

The first is recorded in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 6, 1, 2 ff.; where it is stated that six Brāhmans, who were at issue with one another regarding Vaiśvānara (Agni), and were aware that king Aśvapati the Kaikeya was well informed on the subject, repaired to him for instruction and requested that he would treat them as his pupils. He first asked them 'if they were not themselves learned in the Veda as well as the sons of learned men, and how they could in that case come to consult him' (*"Yan nu bhagavanto 'nūchānāḥ anūchāna-putrāḥ | kim idam" iti*). They, however, persisted in their request, when he asked them severally what they considered Vaiśvānara to be, expressed his concurrence in their replies, though all different, as partial solutions of the question, and ended by giving them some further insight into the subject of their enquiry. The second instance is taken from the Chhāndogya Upanishad, v. 8, 1, which commences thus: *Trayo ha udgīthe kuśalāh babhūvaḥ Śilakaḥ Śālāvatyaś Chaikitāyano Dālbhyaḥ Pravāhaṇo Jaivalir iti | te ha ūchur "udgīthe kathāṁ vadāma" iti | 2. "Tathā" iti ha samupaviviśuḥ | sa ha Pravāhaṇo Jaivalir uvācha "bhagavantāv agre vadatām | brāhmaṇayor vadator vāchaṁ śroshyāmi" iti* | "Three men were skilled in the Udgītha, Śilaka Śālāvatya, Chaikitāyana Dālbhya, and Pravāhaṇa Jaivali. They said, 'We are skilled in the Udgītha; come let us discuss it.' (Saying) 'so be it,' they sat down. Pravāhaṇa Jaivali said, 'Let your reverences speak first; I will listen to the discourse of Brāhmans discussing the question.'" Śilaka Śālāvatya then asked Chaikitāyana Dālbhya a series of questions; but was dissatisfied with his final reply. Being interrogated in his turn by Chaikitāyana, Śilaka answered; but his answer was disapproved by Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, who finally proceeded to supply the proper solution.

In two other passages the same Upanishad, as quoted above in p. 195, and explained by the commentator, recognizes the fact of sacred science being possessed, and handed down, by Kshattriyas. See also the note on p. 220, above, p. 508. The doctrines held by Rājanyas are not, however, always treated with such respect. In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, viii. 1, 4, 10, an opinion in regard to breath (*prāṇa*) is attributed to Svarijit Nāgnajita, or Nagnajit the Gāndhāra, of which the writer contemptuously remarks that "he said this like a Rājanya" (*Yat sa tad uvācha rājanyabandhur iva tv eva tad uvācha*); and he then proceeds to refute it (see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 218). It appears that the Smṛiti

recognizes the possibility of a Brāhman becoming in certain circumstances the pupil of a Rājanya or a Vaiśya. Thus Manu says, ii. 241: *Abrāhmaṇād adhyayanam āpat-kāle vidhīyate | anuvrajyā cha śuśrūshā yāvad adhyayanaṁ guroḥ |* 242. *Nābrāhmaṇe gurau śishyo vāsam ātyantikaṁ vaset | brāhmaṇe chānanūchāne kānkshan gatim anuttamām |* 241. "In a time of calamity it is permitted to receive instruction from one who is not a Brāhman; and to wait upon and obey such a teacher during the period of study. 242. But let not a pupil, who aims at the highest future destiny, reside for an excessive period with such a teacher who is not a Brāhman, or with a Brāhman who is not learned in the Veda." Kullūka explains this to mean that when a Brāhman instructor cannot be had a Kshattriya may be resorted to, and in the absence of a Kshattriya, a Vaiśya.

Page 457, *note* 241.

When I wrote this note, I did not advert to the difficulty presented by the word *didāsithă*, which has at once the form of a desiderative verb, and of the second person of the perfect tense. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. dā*, on a comparison of the two parallel passages, suppose that the present reading of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is corrupt as regards this word, which, as they quote it, is *didāsithā*. May not the correct reading be *dădāsithă* from the root *dās?*

Page 461, *line* 14.

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 4 f., says of Prajāpati: *So 'surān asṛijata | tad asya apriyam āsīt |* 5. *Tad durvarṇaṁ hiraṇyam abhavat | tad durvarṇasya hiraṇyasya janma | . . . . sa devān asṛijata tad asya priyam āsīt | tat suvarṇasya hiraṇyasya janma |* "He created Asuras. That was displeasing to him. 5. That became the precious metal with the bad colour (silver). This was the origin of silver. . . . . He created gods. That was pleasing to him. That became the precious metal with the good colour (gold). That was the origin of gold."

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL NAMES AND MATTERS.

A

Abhimāna, 201
Abhishnātas, 353
Abhiyuktas, 500
Achala, 400
Achhāvāka, 155
Adhipurusha, 111
Adharma, 124
Adhvaryu, 41, 155, 251, 263, 294, 459
Aditi, 18, 26, 72, 116, 122, 221
Ādityas, 19 f., 26, 52, 117, 126, 157, 270
Adriśyantī, 417
Agastya, or Agasti, 309 ff., 321, 330, 442, 461
Aghamarshana, 279
Aghamarshanas, 353
Agni, 10, 16, 20 f., 33, 52, 71, 75, 165, 177 f., 180, 270
—— one of the triad of deities, 75
Agnidh, 251
Agnīdhra, 155
Agnīdhra (king), 491
Agnihotra, 21, 428
Agni Purāna, 210
Agnisvāmin, 512
Agniveśya, 223
Agniveśyāyana, 223
Ahalyā, 235, 310, 466
—— the first woman, 121
Ahankāra, 201
Ahavanīya fire, 428
Ahi, 250, 340
Ahura Mazda, 293
Aindra-bārhaspatya oblation, 22
Aitareya Brāhmana, 5 quoted—
ii. 33,—180
— 34,—166
iii. 31,—177
— 34,—443
v. 14,—191
vii. 15,— 48
— 17,—355
— 19,—367 f.
— 27,—436
viii. 14,—492
— 21,—325, 456
— 23,—369, 493
— 24, 27,—367
— 33,—107
Ājagava, 301
Ajaka, 349
Ajamīḍha, 234, 267, 279, 360, 413
Ajātaśatru, 431
Ajīgartta, 355 ff., 360
Ajita, 279
Akampana, 505
Ākāśa, 115, 130, 506
Akriya, 232
Akshamālā, 336
Akuli, 139
Akūti, 65, 73
Alarka, 232
Amarāvatī, 494
Amāvasu, 349
Ambarīsha, 224, 266, 279, 362, 405
Ambashṭha, 481, 495
Ambhāmsi, 23, 58, 79, 80
Amśa, 27
Anagha, 335
Analā, 116
Ananta, 207
Anantā, 114
Anavadyā, 116
Andhras, 358, 483 f.
Anenas, 226
Anga, 232, 298, 464
Angas, 459
Angiras, 36, 65, 116, 122 f., 151, 168, 172, 184, 224 f., 226, 279, 286, 330, 341, 445, 466
Angirases, 192, 194, 224
Anila, 234
Anu, 232, 482
Anus, 179
Anugraha-sarga, 58
Anukramanikā, 228, 266, 328, 348
Anūpā, 116
Anushtubh, 16
Anuvratas, 500
Apasya, 279
Āpastamba, 2
Āpava, 453
Āpayā, 345
Apnavāna, 447
Apratiratha, 234
Apsarases, 33, 37, 177, 320, 419, etc.
Āranyakas, 2, 5, 32
Arhat, 511, 513
Arishṭanemi, 116, 125
Arjuna, 449 ff., 497
Arjuna (the Pāṇḍu), 494
Arka, 241
Arrian, quoted, 370
Arshṭishena, 272, 279
Ārtavas, 18
Aruṇas, 32, 449
Arundhatī, 336, 389
Arurmaghas, 438
Arushī, 124, 476
Arvāksrotas, 57, 61, 65, 157

Ārya, 18
Aryaman, 27, 158
Āryyas, 174 ff., 396, 481
—— their language, 141, 482
Āryakas, 498
Asat, 46
Asitamṛigas, 438
Ashṭaka, 279, 352, 357
Aśmasārin, 275
Āśramas, 98
Asurā, 116
Asuras, 23, 24, 29, 33, 37, 58, 79, 130, 139, 177, 187, 228, 469, etc., etc.
—— their priests, 189 f.
Āsuri, 430
Āśvalāyanas's Śrauta Sūtras, 137, 511
Aśvamedha (proper name), 267
Aśvatara, 336
Aśvins, 166, 470, etc.
Atharvan (the sage), 162, 169
—— his cow, 395
Atharvas, 293
Atharva-veda, 2
quoted—
iii. 19, 1,—283
— 24, 2,—179
iv. 6, 1,—21
— 6, 2,—490
— 14, 4,—179
— 29, 3, 5,—330
v. 8, 5,—289
— 11, 1-11,—395
— 17, 1-18,—280
— 18, 1-15,—284
— 19, 1-15,—286
vi. 120, 3,—385
— 123, 3 f.—137
vii. 104,—395
viii. 2, 21,—46
— 10, 24,—217, 511
— 108, 1-5,—254
ix. 5, 1,—503
— 5, 27,—282, 385
x. 8, 7,—9
xi. 10, 2,—32
xii. 1, 15,—163
— 3, 17,—385
— 5, 4-15,—287
xiii. 3, 14,—171
— 4, 29,—9
xv. 8, 1,—22
— 9, 1,—22
Atharva-veda *continued*—
xviii. 3, 15,—330
— 3, 23,—385
— 3, 34,—179
xix. 6, 1 ff.,—8, 9
— 6, 6,— 10
— 9, 12,—288
— 22, 21,—288
— 23, 30,—288
— 43, 8,—289
— 62, 1,—282
Atibalā, 116
Ātmavat, 279
Atri, 36, 61, 116, 122 f., 171 f., 178, 225, 242, 248, 267, 303, 330, 468
Atyarāti, 493
Audumbaras, 353
Aufrecht, Professor, his Catalogue of Bodleian Sanskrit MSS. referred to, 203
—— information or suggestions from him, 14, 19, 20, 29, 93, 137, 163 f., 210, 247 f., 254 ff., 319, 325 f., 340, 346, 389, 395, 512
Augha, 217
Aupamanyava, 177
Aurva, 279, 445, 447, 448 f., 476
Āvantyas, 486
Avyakta, 41
Ayāsya, 355
Ayodhyā, 115
Āyu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180
Āyus, 170
Āyus (king), 226, 308, 353

B

Bābhravas, 353
Babhrus, 353
Badarī, 199
Bāhu, 486
Bahuputra, 116
Bahvaśva, 235
Bala, 279
Balā, 116
Balāhaka, 207
Balākāśva, 353
Bālakhilyas, 32, 305, 400
Bāleya, 232
Bali, 232
Balis, 469
Banerjea, Rev. Prof., his Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy referred to, 120
—— his edition of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa referred to, 223
Banga, 232
Barbaras, 482
Baresma, 293
Bauddhas, 305
Benfey, Prof., his translation of the Sāma-veda quoted, 164
—— his glossary to ditto, 490
—— his translation of the Rig-veda quoted or referred to, 167, 180, 247, 331, 348
Bhagavadgītā quoted, 508
Bhadrā, 389, 467
Bhadraśva (a division of Jambudvīpa), 491
Bhaga, 27
Bhāgavata Purāṇa—
i. 3, 15,—213
— 3, 20,—350
ii. 1, 37,—156
— 5, 34,—155
iii. 6, 29,—156
—12, 20,—108
—20, 25,—157
—22, 2,—156
iv. 1, 40,—335
v. 1, 30,—489
—16, 2,— 490
—17, 11,—496
—20, 4, 6,—498
—20, 11,—499
—20, 16, 22,—500
—20, 28,—501
vi. 6, 40,—158
vii. 11, 24,—366
viii. 5, 41,—157
— 24, 7,—208
ix. 2, 16,—222
— 2, 17,—223
— 2, 21,—223
— 2, 23 ff.,—222
— 6, 2,—224
— 7,—358
— 7, 6,—386
— 13, 3,—316
— 14, 48,—158
— 15, 5,—457
— 16, 17,—458
— 16, 30,—358

Bhāgavata Purāṇa *continued*—
ix. 17, 2,—227
— 17, 10,—232
— 20, 1,—234
— 21, 19,—237
— 21, 21,—235
— 21, 33,—235
— 22, 14,—275
x. 33, 27,—113
Bhalandana, and Bhalanda a Vaiśya mantra-kṛit, 279
Bhayamāna, 266
Bharadvāja, 141, 279, 330
Bharata, 168, 234, 242, 354, 360, 413
Bhārata, 187, 348
Bharatas, 320, 338, 340, 354
Bhāratas, 344
Bhāratavarsha, 491, 494 ff.
Bhāratī, 112
Bharga, or Bhārga, 231
Bhārgabhūmi, 231
Bhārgava, 228
Bharmyaśva, 235
Bhāsī, 116
Bhāvins, 498
Bheda, 319, 323
Bhīma, 133, 142, 308, 349
Bhīmanāda, 207
Bhīmasena, 273
Bhīras, 495
Bhīshma, 127
Bhṛigu, 36, 65, 67, 122, 139, 151, 168, 228 f., 279, 286, 314, 443 ff.
Bhṛigu Vāruṇi, 443
Bhṛigubhūmi, 231
Bhṛigus, 169 f., 228, 442 ff.
Bhṛitakīla, 279
Bhumanyu, 360
Bhūrloka, 51, 209, 211
Bhūtakṛitas, 37, 42, 255
Bhūtānāmpati, 16
Bhūtapati, 108
Bhūtas, 59
Bhūtavīras, 438
Boar incarnation, 51 ff., 54, 76
Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon referred to, 47, 108, 144, 178, 180, 184, 253, 340, 348, 395, 400, 442, 505, 511
Brahma Svovasyava, 30
Brahmachārin, 289
Brāhmăn (*masculine*, a priest), 155, 242 ff., 459
Brāhmăn (*masculine*, the god), 35, 36, 75, etc.
—— his passion for his daughter, 107
Brāhmăn (*neuter*, prayer, 241
Brahman (*neuter*, the universal soul), 20
Brāhmaṇa, son of a Brāhmăn, 252, 264
Brāhmaṇāchhaṁsin, 155
Brāhmaṇas (the theological works), 2, 4 f.
Brahmaṇaspati, 16
Brāhmāṇī, 110
Brāhmans, 7, and *passim*
—— origin of the word, 252, 259, 264
—— their intermarriage with women of other castes, 282, 481
—— their prerogatives and powers, 128, 130, etc.
Brahmanya, 155
Brahmaputra, 252, 259, 264
Brahmarshi, or Brāhman rishi, 400, 407, 410
Brahmās, the nine, 65, 445
Brahmāśva, 279
Brahmaudana, 26, 27
Brahma-yuga, 152
Bréal, M. Michel, his Hercule et Cacus, 246
Bride's seven steps, 378, 514
Bṛihaddevatā, 321, 326, 344
Bṛihadishu, 234
Bṛihaduktha, 279
Bṛihaspati, 16, 22, 163, 167, 226, 270, 438
Bṛihat, 160
Bṛihat-sāman, 286
Buddha, 509
Buddhists, 513
Budha, 221, 226, 307, 336
Bunsen, Baron, his Philosophy of Universal History referred to, 8
Burnouf, M. Eugène, his Bhāgavata Purāṇa referred to, 8, 155, 211, 489, etc.
—— his views about the Deluge, 215

C

Chākshusha, 298
Chākshusha Manvantara, 207, 213
Chaṇḍa, 207
Chaṇḍāla, 402, 481
Caste, mythical accounts of its origin, 7 ff.
—— Variety and inconsistency of these accounts, 34, 66, 102, 159
Castes, their future abodes, 63, 98
—— their respective colours, 140, 151, 153
—— no natural distinction between, 140
—— manner of their rise according to Prof. Roth, 289
—— time of their rise according to Dr. Haug, 292
Chāturvarṇya, 135
Charshaṇis, 158
Chauras, 482
Chārvākas, 305
Chhandas, 4
Chhandogas, 334
Chhāndogya Brāhmaṇa, 5
—— Upanishad, iii. 11, 4,—195, 514
—— iv. 1, 4,—49
—— v. 3, 1,—435
—— viii. 15, 1,—195
Chīnas, 482, 484
Chīrinī, a river, 199
Cholas, 488
Chunchulus, 353
Chyavana, 124, 273, 283, 445, 470, 474
Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays quoted or referred to, 8, 13 f., 25, 52, 325, 378, 385, 492, 497
Cowell's, Professor E. B., translation of Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa Upanishad, 10, 432
—— Preface to, quoted, 32
Creation of man, mythical accounts of, 7 ff.
—— their mutual inconsistency, 34, 65, 102
—— how explained by Indian commentators, 66
Creations, similarity of successive, 60, 89

D

Dadhīcha, 279
Dadhyanch, 162, 169, 172
Daityas, 41, 139, 499
Daivavāta, 348
Daivodāsa, 348
Daksha, 9, 65, 72, 116, 122, 124 ff., 153, 221, 335
Dākshāyaṇī, Aditi, 126
Dama, 222
Damayantī, 389
Damayantī, see Madayantī
Damins, 500
Dānavas, 139, 144, 209, 468 f., 499
Dānavratas, 501
Danāyū, 123
Daṇḍakas, 467
Danu, 116, 123
Daradas, 459, 482
Darvas, or Dārvas, 482, 488
Dāsa, 174, 323, 396
Dasahotṛi, 29
Daśaratha, 362
Daśārṇa, 222
Dasyus, 174 ff., 358, 460, 469, 482, 500
Dattātreya, 450, 473, 478
Day of Brahmā, 43, 48, 213
—— gods, 43
Deities, triad of, produced from the three Guṇas, 75
Deluge, legend of, 183, 199, 203, 209, 211
—— was the tradition of it indigenous or not, 215
—— comparison of different Indian accounts of, 216
Devaḍeva, 351
Devakas, 500
Devala, 352
Devalas, 353
Devāpi, 269
Devarāja, 279
Devarāta, 279, 351 f., 356, 413
Devarātas, 353
Devarshi, 400
Devas, 79, 499
Devaśarman, 466
Devaśravas, 344, 352 f.
Devavat, 322
Devavāta, 344
Dhānajapyas, 353
Dhananjaya, 279
Dhanur-veda, 477
Dhanvantari, 226
Dhanyas, 500
Dharma, 20, 122, 124, 385, 400, 412
Dhārshṭakas, 223
Dhātṛi, 18, 27, 124
Dhī, 241
Dhṛishṇu, 126
Dhṛishṭa, 221, 223
Dhṛitarāshṭrī, 117
Dhruva, 234, 298
Dīrghatamas, 226, 232, 247, 268, 279
Dīrghatapas, 233
Dīrghasattra, 300
Dishṭa, 222
Diti, 116, 123
Divodāsa, 229 f., 235, 268, 279, 322, 348
Dogs, whether they fast from religious motives, 365
Draupadī, 381, 389
Draviḍa, 209
Draviḍas, or Drāviḍas, 482
Draviṇas, 500
Dṛiḍhanetra, 400
Driptabālāki Gārgya, 432
Dṛishadvatī, 344
Dropa, 207
Druhyu, 232, 482
Druhyus, 179
Duḥsīma, 305
Durga, commentator on the Nirukta, quoted, 344, 417
Durgaha, 267
Duritakshaya, 237
Durvāsas, 387, 389
Dushyanta, 234, 360
Dvāpara, 39, 43 ff., 119, 146, 149 f., 447
Dvīpas, 51, 489 ff.
Dwarf incarnation, 52, 54, 233
Dyaus (the sky), *feminine*, 108
—— *masculine*, 163, 396, 434

E

Earth, the goddess, 51, 163
Earth fashioned, 51 ff., 76
—— milked, 96
Egg, the mundane, 35, 74, 156, 503
Ekadāśinī, 69
Ekaviṁśa, 16
Elysian fields, 502
Emūsha, 53

F

Families, hope of their reunion in a future life, 385
Fathers, see Piṭris
Fish incarnation, 50, 54, 111, 183, 199, 205, 209, 211
Flood, see Deluge

G

Gabhastimat, 494
Gabhīra, 232
Gādhi, 343, 349, and *passim*
Gālava, 232, 352, 411
Gālavas, 353
Gandhamādana, 491
Gāndhāras, 484
Gāndharva, 494
Gandharvas, 33, 37, 59, 139, 144, 177, 250, 257, 499
—— their heaven, 63, 98, 307
Gangā, 130, 199, 206, 461, 490
Garga, 227, 236, 279, 305
Gārgya Bālāki, 431
Gārgyas, 236
Gārhapatya-fire, 186
Gāthin, 348, 358
Gāthins, 358, 363
Gātra, 335
Gautama, 121, 235, 316, 434, 466
Gavishṭhira, 330
Gaya, 227
Gāyatrī, 16, 110, 114, 137
Genesis, i. 2,—52
Gifts to priests, 259
Gir, 241
Gods, intercourse of men with, in early ages, 147
—— whether they can practise Vedic rites, 365
Goldstücker, Professor, aid received from, 508

Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, 5
Gorresio, his edition of the Rāmāyaṇa referred to, 397, 399, etc.
Gotama, 330
Grāvan, 155
Griffith, Principal, MS. obtained through him, 279
Gṛihya Sūtras, 5
Gṛitsa, 279
Gṛitsamada, 226
Gṛitsamati, 227
Gubernatis, Signor A. de, quoted, xii.
Guṇas, 66, 75, 145
Gurudhīra, 279

H

Haihaya, 477
Haihayas, 449, 486
Haimavatī, 336
Hala, 121
Hall's, Dr. Fitzedward, edition of Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, 24, 268, 512 and *passim*
—— information given by, 155
—— Preface to his edition of the Sānkhya-pravachana-bhāshya referred to, 430
Hansa, 158
Hansas, 498
Hanūmat, 143
Hari, 51, 62
Harita, 224
Hārita, 352
Hāritas, 225
Hārītaka, 351
Hariśchandra, 355, 379 ff., 413, 486
Harivaṁśa quoted—
292,—302
652,—223
659,—221
718,—376
773,—487
789,—230
1425,—351
1456,—351
1520,—227
1596,—231
1682,—233
1732,—227
1752,—231
1766,—352
Harivaṁśa *continued*—
1781,—236
1819,—273
8811,—307
11355,—154
11802,—153
11808,—152
Harivarsha, 491, 494
Harsha, 124
Haryaśva, 279
Haug's, Dr. Martin, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa quoted or referred to, 4, 5, 48, 107, 127, 177, 180, 192, 246, 250, 256, 263, 355, 369, 438 f., 492 f., 513
—— Origin of Brāhmanism quoted, 11, 14, 292
Haughton, Sir G. C., his note on Manu, vii. 41,—296
Hayagrīva, 207, 212
Havishyanda, 400
Hayaśiras, 449
Hema, 232
Hemakūṭa, 491
Himavat, or Himālaya, 130, 183, 200, 229, 311, 491
Hiraṇmaya, 491
Hiraṇyagarbha, 195, 220
Hiraṇyāksha, 352
Hiraṇyākshas, 353
Homer's Odyssey quoted, 502
Hostility to Vedic worship, 259
Hotṛi, 155, 251, 263, 271, 294, 459
Houses, origin of, 93
Hṛishīkeśa, 206
Huhu, 336
Human sacrifices, 11 f.
Hūṇas, 495
Hymns of the Rig-veda, 4, 318
—— whether they allude to castes as already existing, 161 ff.

I

Iḍa, 268, 279, 306
Iḍā, daughter of Manu, 184 ff., see Ilā
Ikshvāku, 115, 126, 177, 195, 221, 224, 268, 337, 355, 362, 401, 405, 508
Ikshvākus, 401, 418
Ilā, 126, 221, 306, see Iḍā
Ilāvṛita, 491
Indra, 3, 10, 18, 20, 33, 44, 163, 168, 171, 191, 438
Indra's heaven, 63, 98
—— wife, 341
—— his adulteries, 121, 310, 466
Indra-dvīpa, 494
Indrāṇī, 310, 389
Indu (Soma), 124
Instrumental cause, 51
Isaiah vi. 9, 10,—255
Īśāna, 20
Ishīratha, 348
Ishundharas, 499
Īśvara, 75, 221
Itihāsas, 3, 5, 215

J

Jābāli, 115
Jahnu, 273, 349, 353, 360, 413
Jahnus, 358
Jaimini's Sūtras, 508
Jainas, 305
Jamadagni, 279, 330, 345, 350, 355, 413, 422, 447, 450 ff.
Jamadagnis, 342
Jambudvīpa, 488, 490 ff.
Jambūnada, 461
Janaka, 130, 334, 426 ff.
Janaloka, 44, 51, 88, 95, 99
Janamejaya, 152, 438
Janantapa, 493
Janārdana, 206
Japa, 442
Jaṭāyus, 116
Jātimālā, 497
Jātukarṇya, 223
Jaya, 352
Jayakṛita, 351
Jayāpīḍa, 424
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society quoted, 3, 6, and *passim*
Jyotsnā, 59

K

Ka, 125
Kachhapa, 351 f.

Kadrū, 123
Kakshīvat, 268, 279
Kāla, 62
Kālā, 123
Kālakā, 116
Kalāpa, 277
Kali, 39, 43 ff., 120, 146, 150, 495
Kalindas, 482
Kalinga, 232
Kalingas, 459, 495
Kalmāshapāda, 414, 423
Kalpas, 43 ff.
Kāma, 112, 124
Kāmarūpa, 495
Kāmbojas, 482 f., 485 ff.
Kānchana, 349
Kānchis, 391
Kāṇḍaprishṭha, 442, 507
Kandarpa, 408
Kāṇḍarshi, 400
Kānīna, 223
Kankas, 484
Kānyakubja, 390
Kaṇva, 166, 170, 172, 234, 279
Kāṇvāyana, 234
Kapas, 472
Kapi, 237
Kapila, 227, 414
Kapilā, 123
Kapilas, 499
Kāpileyas, 356
Kapishṭhala, 344
Kardama, 116, 123, 400
Kārīshis, 353
Karmadevas, 46
Kārtavīrya, 450, 478
Kārūsha, 221 f.
Kārūsha, 126
Kārūshas, 495
Kāśa, or Kāśaka, 226 f.
Kaśerumat, 494
Kāśirāja, 226
Kāśis, 431
Kāśmīras, 459
Kāśya, 227, 279
Kaśyapa, 37, 54, 115 f., 123 f., 126, 195, 330, 400, 451, 455 f., 459
Kaśyapas, 438
Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa quoted, 140, 186, 189, 332 f., 358
Kati, 352
Kātyāyanas, 352
Kātyāyana's Śrauta Sūtras, 19, 136, 365 ff., 369, 514
Kaumāra-sarga, 58
Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa quoted, 328
—— Upanishad, 10, 431
Kauśika, 342, 349
Kauśika (epithet of Indra), 347
Kauśikas, 353, etc.
Kauśikī, 350, 411
Kavi, 243, 279, 445
Keralas, 488
Kesaraprābandhā, 285
Ketumāla, 491
Ketus, 32
Khalins, 468
Khaṇḍapāni, 235
Khāṇḍavāyanas, 451
Khaśas, 482
Khyāti, 67
Kīkatas, 342
Kilāta, 189
Kimpurusha, 461 f.
Kimpurushas, 499
Kināśa, 97
Kinnaras, 37
Kiṃśuka, 229
Kirātas, 391, 482, 484 f.
Kolisarpas, 482, 488
Konvaśiras, 482
Kovidas, 500
Kratu, 36, 65, 116, 122 f., 400
Kraufcha-dvīpa, 491, 500
Kraunchī, 117
Kṛipa, 279
Kṛishṇa, 113
Kṛishṇas, 499
Kṛishṭi, 178
Kṛita, 39, 43 ff., 88, 90 ff., 119, 144, 148 f., 158, 492, 495, 505
Kṛitamālā, 209, 212
Kṛitavīrya, 449 ff., 478
Krodha, 123
Krodhavaśā, 116
Kshattravṛiddha, 226
Kshattṛi, 481
Kshattriyas, 7, and *passim*
—— etymology of the word, 97, 504
—— how their race was restored, 452
Kshemaka, 235
Kshudrakas, 459
Kuhn, Dr. A., quoted, 179
Kulakas, 500
Kullūka quoted, 36, 47, 129, 279, 480, 483
Kumārila Bhaṭṭa referred to or quoted, 122, 509
Kuntis, 459
Kūrma avatāra, see Tortoise incarnation
Kurus, 5, 269, 431, 495
Kurus, 498
Kuśa, 227, 349, 351, 397
Kuśa-dvīpa, 491, 497, 499
Kuśalas, 500
Kuśāmba, 349, 351
Kuśanābha, 351, 397
Kuśika, 338, 340, 346, 400, 474
Kuśikas, 342 f., 346, 355, etc.
Kusumāyudha (a name of Kāma), 112
Kutsa, 330 f.
Kuvera, 140, 279, 400

L

Lakshmī, 124
Lalita-vistara, 32
Langlois, M., translator of the Harivaṁśa, 151
—— of the Rig-veda, 273, 321
Lassen's Indian Antiquities quoted, 394, 425
Lātas, 482
Lātyāyana's Sūtras, 512
Lecky, Mr., his History of Rationalism, 407
Leśa, 226
Life of Brahmā, 49
Linga Purāṇa quoted, 225
Lohita, 279
Lohitas, 353
Loiseleur Deslongchamps, M., his note on Manu, vii. 41,—296
Lokāloka mountain, 503
Lunar race, 220, 225

M

Mada, 471 f.
Madayantī, 419, 514
Madhuchhandas, or Madhusyanda, 279, 347, 351 f., 357, 400, 406
Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, his Commentary on the Bhagavad Gītā quoted, 508

Madras, 484, 495
Magadhas, 495
Māgadhas, 501
Magas, 501
Mahābhārata, 5 f.
quoted—
Ādi-parvan—
272,—447
869,—445
2253,—116
2459,—451
2517,—122
2550, 2574,—123
2606,—445
2610,—476
2620–2635,—117
2914,—410
3128,—124
3143,—306
3151,—308
3533,—482
3727,—360
3750,—273
4719,—418
6638,—388
6695,—342
6699,—415
6802,—448
7351,—389
8455,—389
Sabhā-parvan—
489,—379
1031,—483
1045,—494
Vana-parvan—
10137, 10201—450
11234,—143
11248,— 40
12460,—308
12469,—133
12619,—147
12747,—196
12826,— 48
12952,— 35
12962,— 10
12981,—145
13090,— 40
13436,—129
14160,—178
Udyoga-parvan—
373,—310
3721,—412
3970,—336
5054,—276
Bhīshma-parvan—
227,—491
346,—495
389,—148
Mahābhārata *continued*—
Bhīshma-parvan—
410,—501
455,—500
468,—502
Droṇa-parvan—
2149,—414
2395,—505
2443,—459
4747,—483
S'alya-parvan—
2295,—392
2281,—272
2360,—419
S'ānti-parvan—
774,— 32
1741, 1792,—423, 452
2221,—304
2247,— 97
2280,—370
2304,—366
2429,—484
2674,—49, 149
2682 ff.,—49
2749,—127
2819,—140
3404, 3406,—150
3408,— 49
4499,—388
4507,—209
5330,—376
6130,—506
6640,—429
6930,—138
7523,—125
7548,—507
7569,—122
7573,—125
7882,—430
8550,— 60
8591, 8604,—423
10058,—151
10699,—430
10118,—423
10861,—130
11221,—334
11545, 11854,—430
12658,—215
12685,—122
13088,—145
13090,— 40
Anus'āsana-parvan—
183,—412
186,—352
201,—354
1867,—440
1944,—229
2103,—482
Mahābhārata *continued*—
Anus'āsana-parvan—
2158,—482
2160,—130
2262,—466
2718,—474
2841,—494
3732,—374
3960,—460
4104,—443
4527,—128
4579,—128
4745,—314
6208,—507
6262,—514
6250,—514
6570,—132
7187,—462
As'vamedikha-parvan—
1038,—57
Mahābhaya, 124
Mahādeva, 75, 207
—— taught by Angiras, 226
Mahākalpa, 213
Maharloka, 156
Maharshi, 400
Mahat, 41, 75, 114
Mahāvīrya, 237
Mahendra, 451
Mahes'vara, 74
Mahīdhara, 490
Mashishas, or Māhishakas, 482, 488
Māhishmatī, 462, 478
Mahodaya, 402
Mahoragas, 139
Maitrāvaruṇa, 155, 244
Maitrāvaruṇī, 186
Maitrāyaṇa, 230
Maitreya, 56, 58
Maitreyas, 230
Mālavas, 459, 495
Malaya, 205
Mallināṭha quoted, 395
Mamatā, 247
Māna (Agastya?), 321
Mānava-dharma-s'āstra (or Institutes of Manu)—
Quotations from—
i. 8 ff.—35
— 22, 25,—38
— 30,—60
— 31 ff.,—35, 446
— 58 ff.,—38, 446
— 66 f.,—43
— 69 ff.,—47
— 79 f., 86,—39

Mānava-dharma-s'āstra *continued*—
i. 87, 93, 97,—40
— 88 ff.,—364
— 100,—129
ii. 29,—137
— 38 f.,—481
— 170,—138
— 225,—138
— 241,—515
iii. 171,—275
iv. 239 ff.,—380
v. 1, 3,—446
vii. 2,—446
— 3 ff.,—300
— 38 ff.,—296
viii. 17,—380
— 110,—329
ix. 22,—336
— 66 f.—297
— 149 ff.—282
— 301 f.—49
— 303,—300
x. 4,—480
— 7 ff.,—282
— 8,—481
— 12,—481
— 20,—481
— 43 f.,—481
— 45,—482
— 105,—358
— 108,—377
xi. 234 ff.,—393
— 32,—398
xii. 39 ff.,—40
Mānāvī, 186
Mānavī, 189
Mānasas, 501
Mandagas, 501
Mandapāla, 336
Mandehas, 500
Māndhātṛi, 225, 268, 279, 484
Mantra, 2, 4 f.
Manu, progenitor of the Āryan Indians, 161 ff., 183 ff.
—— his bull, 188 ff.
Manu, 119, 122, 297
—— Auttami, 38, 111
—— Chākshusha, 38, 298
—— Raivata, 38
—— Saṁvaraṇi, 217
—— Sāvarṇi, 217
—— Svārochisha, 38, 111
—— Svāyambhuva, 25, 38 f., 44, 65, 72, 106, 111, 114, 298, 489, 511
Manu Tāmasa, 38
—— Vaivasvata, 37 ff., 44, 111, 115, 126, 196, 213, 217, 221, 279, 298, 306, 508, 510
—— Vivasvat, 217
Manu (a female), 116
Manu (=mind), 23
Manu's Descent, 183, 217
Manush (=Manu), 165 ff.
Manvantaras, 43 ff.
Mārgaṇapriyā, 116
Marīchi, 36 f., 65, 114 ff., 122 f., 126
Mārkaṇḍeya, 48, 199, 207
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa quoted, 75, 81 ff., 221 ff., 379
Mārttaṇḍa, 126
Mārttikāvatas, 459
Maru, 277
Maruts, 20, 71
—— their heaven, 63, 98
Marutta, 222
Matanga, 411, 440
Mātariśvan, 128, 170, 256
Mati, 241
Mātṛikā, 158
Matsya-avatāra, see Fish-incarnation
Matsyas, 431
Matsya Purāṇa, 1, 12—203 49, 39,—277 132, 98,—278 3, 32 ff.,—108
Matthew, Gospel of St. xiii. 14 f.,—255
Maudgalya, 235
Medhātithi on Manu, 47
Medhātithi, 234
Medhyātithi, 170
Mekalas, 482
Men, Five races of, 163, 176
—— their original condition, 62, 117, 145, 147
Menakā, 407, 410
Meru, 417, 491
Metempsychosis, 385
Mīmāusa-vārttika quoted, 508
Mithilā, 279, 430
Mitra, 27, 184, 186, 221, etc.
Mitrasaha, 337, 414, 423, 514
Mitrayu, 230, 322
Mlechhas, 41 f., 141, 482, 484
Mṛikshiṇī, 271
Mṛityu, 20, 124, 299, 303
Muchukunda, 140
Mudgala, 235, 279, 352
Mukhya-sarga, 57
Müller's, Professor Max, Ancient Sanskrit Literature quoted or referred to, 2, 4, 5, 8, 13, 48, 122, 181, 192, 253, 263, 326, 355, 358, 366, 426, 508
—— Art. in Journ. Germ. Or. Soc., 365
—— Art. in Journ. Roy. As. Soc., 115, 177
—— Art. in Oxford Essays, now reprinted in "Chips from a German Workshop," 226, 231
—— Chips from a German Workshop, 429, 431, 490
—— Preface to Rig-veda, 348, 417
—— Results of Turanian Researches, 327
Muṇḍaka Upanishad, i. 2, 1, quoted, 3, 39
Muni (a female), 123
Munis, 153
Mūtibas, 358, 483

N

Nābhāga, 224, 268
Nābhāga, 126, 224
Nābhāgārishṭa, 126, 223
Nābhānedishṭha, 221
Nābhāganedishṭha, 192 ff., 221
Nāgas, 37, 140
Nagnajit Gāndhāra, 515
Nahush, 165, 179, 307
Nahusha, 133, 226, 232, 297, 307 ff., 393, 410
Naigeya sākhā of Sāma-Sanhitā, 14
Naimittika-laya, 45, 209, 219
Naubandhana, 200
Nairṛitas, 124
Namuchi, 175
Nara, 35, 76, 353, 400
Nārada, 36, 119, 126, 400
Nārāyaṇa, 35, 50, 54, 76, 154, 400
—— assumes different colours in different yugas, 145

Nārāyaṇi, 353
Narishyanta, 126, 221, 223
Narmadā, 207, 478
Neshṭṛi, 155, 251
Nève, M., Mythe des Ribhavas referred to, 161
Nīchaśākha, 342
Nidāna-Sūtras, 136
Niggards, 259
Night of Brahmā, 43, 209
Nīla, a mountain, 491
Nīla, 235
Nīlakantha on M.Bh., 201
Nimi, 297, 316, 337
Niramitra, 235
Nirṛiti, 124
Nirukta, 5
—— quoted or referred to, 3
i. 8.—256
— 20,—147
ii. 10,—269
— 24,—338
— 25,—340
iii. 4,— 26
— 7,—165
— 8,—177
— 17,—445
iv. 19,—154
v. 11,—253
— 13,—321
vi. 30,—322
— 32,—342
ix. 6,—253
— 26,—417
x. 44,—154
xi. 19,—442
— 23,— 9
xii. 10 f.,
— 34,—162
xiii. 9,—252
Nishādas, 177, 481, 153 f.
Nishāda, birth of, 301, 303, 403, 481
Nishāda-sthapati, 366
Nishadha, 491
Nītha, 241
Nivid, 241
Nodhas, 330
Nṛiga, 221
Nyāya-mālā-vistara quoted, 510

O

Oḍras, 482
Oha-brahman, 255

P

Pādma-kalpa, 44, 50
Padma Purāṇa, 379
Pahlavas, 351, 391, 398, 482, 484, 486
Paijavana, 366
Pāka-yajna, 187
Pakshyā, 342
Panchachūḍā, 413
Panchadaśa, 16
Panchajanāḥ and other parallel terms, 176
Panchālas or Pānchālas, 431, 434, 495
Panchaśikā, 430
Panchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, 5
—— quoted, 417
Panchaviṁśa stoma, 492
Pāṇḍus, 5, 127, 381
Pāṇini, 3
—— referred to, 513
Pāṇins, 353
Pannagas, 144
Para, 44
Pāradas, 482, 486
Paramarshi, 400
Parameshṭhin, 123
Parārdha, 44
Parāśara, 56, 58, 130, 322, 417, 430, 447
Parāśava, 481
Pāraśikas, 495
Paraśurāma, 350, 422, 442, 447 ff., 474
Parāvasu, 455
Parikshit, 438
Parivettṛi, 275
Parivitti, 275
Parjanya, 20, 270
Parsīs, 293
Pārthivas, 353
Paruchhepa, 172
Parushṇi, 490
Parvaṇa, 400
Pāśadyumna, 319
Passion, 51, see Rājās
Paśupati, 108, 444
Pātālas, 504
Patangas, 498
Pātnīvata (Agni), 191
Paundras, or Paundrakas, 391, 482, 484
Paurava, 353
Paurukutsī, 351
Phena, 233
Pijavana, 268, 297, 322, 338
Piśāchas, 33, 37, 140
Pītas, 499
Pitṛis, 23, 37, 46, 58, 79, 88, 434
Plaksha-dvīpa, 490, 497
Plants, origin of, 59, 90, 95
Plato quoted, 147
Potṛi, 155, 251, 263
Prachetas, 36, 116, 125, 279
Prāchetasa, 125
Prachetases, 72
Pradhā, 123
Pradhāna, 51, 74
Pradyumna, 279
Prajāpati, 16 ff., 23 f., 29 ff., 52 ff., 68 ff., 180, 184, 444, and *passim*
—— born on a lotus-leaf, 32
—— his exhaustion, 68
—— his heaven, 63, 98
Prajāpati Parameshṭhin, 19
Prakāśa, 58
Prākṛita-sarga, 58
Prakṛiti, 74 f.
Pralaya, 214, 217
Pramaganda, 342
Prāmśu, 221
Praṇava, 158
Praśāstri, 251, 263
Praskaṇva, 330
Praskaṇvas, 234
Prastotṛi, 41, 155
Prasūti, 65
Pratardana, 229, 268, 455
Pratihartṛi, 41, 155
Pratīpa, 273
Pratiprasthātṛi, 136
Pratisanchara, 44
Pratisarga, 49
Pratishṭhātri, 155
Pratyūsha, 400
Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, 433, 515
Prāyaśchitti, 294
Pretas, 141
Pṛishadaśva, 224, 279
Pṛishadhra, 126, 221
Pṛithā, 494
Pṛithavāna, 305
Pṛithī, or Pṛithu, 263, 279, 301, 304, 511
Pṛithivī, 434
Pṛithūdaka, 272
Priyamedha, 172, 235, 268
Priyavrata, 65, 72, 106, 114, 489, 491, 497

Pulaha, 36, 65, 116, 122 f., 400
Pulastya, 36, 65, 116, 122 f., 400
Pulindas, 358, 482 ff.
Puṇḍra, 232
Puṇḍras, 358, 483, 495
Purāṇas, 3, 5 f.
Purāṇas'va, 279
Purohitas, 41, 128, 507
Pūru, 232, 277, 331, 360
Pūrus, 179
Purukutsa, 266, 279, 331
Purukutsānī, 267
Purumīḷha, 267
Purūravas, 126, 128, 158, 172, 221, 226, 279, 306, 349, 497
Purusha, 9 ff., 25, 32, 34 ff., 75 f., 106, 155
Purusha-sūkta, translated and discussed, 7 ff., 34, 155 f., 159, 161
Purushas, 500
Purushottama, 51
Pūshan, 19 f., 33, 71, 270
Pushkalas, 500
Pushkara, 405
Pushkara-dvīpa, 491, 501
Pushkaras, 500
Pushkarin, 237
Pushpaka (Rama's car), 120

R

Rabhasa, 232
Raibhya, 455
Rājanya, 10, 258, 264, etc.
Rājarshi, 266, 400
Rajas (the Guṇa) 41, 58, 62, 66, 75, 79, 89, 92, 141, 154
Rajas (*masculine*) 335
Rājasūya sacrifice, 20, 225
Rājataraṅginī quoted, 424
Raji, 226
Rākshasas, 59, 140, 144, etc.
Rākshases, 33, 37, 59, 136, 177
Rakshovāhas, 459
Rāma, 5, 112, 115, 120, 305, 337
Rāma Margaveya, 438
Rāmas, 495
Ramaṭhas, 485
Rāmāyaṇa, 5 f.
—— quoted—
i. 37, 4,—405
— 51–65,—397
— 55, 5,—329
— 70,—337
— 70, 41,—362
ii. 110, 1-7,—115
— 110, 2,—36
— 110, 3,—54
— 110, 6,—337, 400
— 111, 1,—337
iii. 14, 5–15, 29–31, —115
iv. 43, 38,—493
v. 82, 13,—59
vii. (or Uttara-kāṇḍa) 30, 19 ff.,—120
74, 8 ff.,—117
Rambhā, 226, 232
Rambhā, 336, 408, 413
Ramyaka, 491
Rantibhāra and Rantināra, 234
Rantideva, 423
Rasollāsa, 62
Raspi, 292
Rathachitra, 336
Rathakara, 336
Rathaesthas, 293
Rathaṁtara, 16
Rathavīti, 283
Rathītara, 224
Rathwī, 292
Rati, 106, 114
Rauhiṇāyana, 72
Rāvaṇa, 21, 478
Re-marriage of Indian women in early times, 282
Reṇu, 346, 350, 357
Reṇukā, 350
Reṇumat, 352
Ribhukshans, 165
Ribhus, 255
Richīka, 349, 405, 413, 450, 453, 476
Rig-veda, 2
Texts of, translated[1]—
First Mandala—
10, 1,—246
10, 11,—347
13, 4,—167
Rig-veda *continued*—
First Mandala—
14, 11,—167
15, 5,—253
31, 4,—172
32, 12,—490
33, 9,—246
36, 10,—167, 170
— 19,—166, 167
44, 11,—168
45, 3,—341
47, 6,—330
58, 6,—170
63, 7,—330
65, 1,—170
68, 4,—164
76, 5,—166
80, 1,—244
— 16,—162
83, 5,—169
84, 7,—259
92, 11,—45
94, 6,—263
96, 5,—243
101, 4,—260
—— 5,—246
102, 2,—322
106. 5,—167
108, 7,—246
—— 8,—179
112, 16,—171
—— 19,—331
114, 2,—163
117, 3,—178
—— 21,—171, 174
122, 9,—260
124, 2,—45
125, 7,—260
130, 5,—173
—— 8,—174
139, 9,—172
144. 4,—45
158, 6,—46, 247
162, 5–7, 11, 15, 16, 163, 3,—12 [—12
164, 15,—362
—— 34, 35,—244
—— 45,—252
—— 50,—11
167, 7,—173
175, 3,—174
177, 5,—183
182, 3,—260
185, 9,—331

[1] A large number of texts are referred to in pp. 45, 163, 170, 171, 241, 243, 245, 259, 329, etc., but as they have not been translated they are not included in this list.

Rig-veda *continued*—
Second Mandala—
1, 2, 3,—251
— 4 ff.—270
2, 10,—178
4, 2,—170
7, 1, 5,—348
12, 6,—244
19, 8,—243
20, 4,—243
— 6,—174
23, 1, 2,—242
—— 4,—260
27, 1,—72
33, 1,—184
— 13,—163
36, 5,—253
39, 1,—247
43, 2,—252
Third Mandala—
1, 21,—345
3, 6,—165
5, 10,—170
18, 4,—346
23, 2-4,—345, 348
26, 1,—346
29, 15,—347, 362
30, 20,—347
32, 10,—244
33, 1-12,—339
34, 9,—176, 258
42, 9,—347
43, 4, 5,—344
— 5,—247
49, 1,—176
53, 6-16, 21, 24,—340, 354, 372
— 9,—362
— 12,—242
55, 19,—181
Fourth Mandala—
6, 11,—173
9, 3, 4,—252
16, 9,—242
25, 4,—348
— 6, 7,—260
26, 7,—175
37, 1,—165
42, 8, 9.—266
44. 6.—268
50, 7-9—247
58, 2,—248
Fifth Mandala—
2, 12,—173
21, 1,—168
29, 3,—248
31, 4,—248
32, 11,—178
Rig-veda *continued*—
Fifth Mandala—
— 12,—248
37, 4,—247
40, 5 ff., 6,—242, 469
— 8,—248
45, 6,—166
53, 2,—331
54, 7, 14,—247
Sixth Mandala—
11, 4,—177
14, 2,—165
— 3,—174
16, 1,—167
— 9,—167
— 13, 14,—169
— 19,—349
21, 8,—243
— 11,—175
44, 11,—261
45, 7,—244
46, 7,—179
48, 8,—165
49, 13,—172
51, 5,—163
61, 12,—176, 178
70, 2,—167
75, 10,—252, 253
— 19,—242
Seventh Mandala—
2, 3,—168
— 5,—339
7, 5,—249
8, 4,—349
15, 2,—178
18, 4, 5, 21-24,—321
19, 3,—331
20, 2,—331
22, 9,—243
25, 3,—331
26, 1, 2,—241
28, 2,—243
32, 10,—332
— 26,—329
33, 1-13,—318
— 3,—242
— 11,—244
35, 7,—242
42, 1,—249
53, 3,—332
60, 8,—332
64, 3,—332
69, 2,—176
70, 2,—173
— 3,—184
— 5,—213
72, 2,—329
83, 1-8,—323
Rig-veda *continued*—
Seventh Mandala—
87, 4,—325
88, 3-6,—325
91, 1,—172
97, 1,—176
— 3,—242
100, 4,—172
103, 1, 7, 8,—253
104, 13,—258
—— 12-16,—326
Eighth Mandala—
2, 21,—46
4, 20,—262
7, 20,—249
9, 10,—268
10, 2,—166
15, 5,—171
16, 7,—245
17, 2,—249
18, 22,—173
19, 21,—167
23, 13,—165
27, 7,—168
30, 3,—164
31, 1,—249
32, 16,—249
33, 19,—249
34, 8,—168
36, 7,—263
37, 7,—263
43, 13, 27,—168
45, 39,—249
50, 9,—264
52, 1,—163
— 7,—176, 178
53, 1,—261
— 7,—250
64, 6,—341
66, 5,—250
— 8,—253
81, 30,—250
85, 5,—250
— 6,—181
87, 5,—175
— 9,—250
91, 1,—172
92, 2,—348
Ninth Mandala—
65, 22, 23—177
66, 20,—178
86, 28,—181
92, 5,—175
96, 6,—250
— 11,—166
112, 1, 3,—250
113, 6,—251

Rig-veda *continued*—
Tenth Maṇḍala—
14, 1,—217
16, 6,—253
17, 1, 2,—217
21, 5,—169
26, 5,—167
28, 11,—251
33, 4,—262
45, 6,—178
46, 2, 9,—170
49, 7,—175
52, 2,—252
53, 4,—177
54, 3,—181
60, 4,—177
61, 7,—242
62, 5,—341
— 7,—193
63, 7,—166
68, 3, 4, 5,—72
— 8, 11,—217
69, 3,—166
71 and 72,—13
71, 1–11,—254
— 11,—245
72, 2,—46
— 4, 5,—72
— 5,—9
73, 7,—175
75, 5,—490
77, 1,—245
80, 6,—165
81 and 82,—13
81, 2, 3,—181
82, 3,—163, 181
85, 3, 16, 34,—245
— 29,—251
— 39, 40,—257
88, 19,—256
89, 16,—243
— 17,—346
90, 1,—32
— 1–16,—9
91, 9,—173
92, 10,—169
95, 7,—306
97, 1,—46
97, 17, 19, 22,—256
98, 1–12,—270
99, 7,—173
100, 5,—164
105, 8,—241, 242
107, 6,—245
109, 1–7,—256
— 4,—244
117, 7,—246
121,—13

Rig-veda *continued*—
Tenth Maṇḍala—
125, 5,—246
129,—13
— 4,—32
141, 3,—251
148, 5,—268
161, 4,—13
167, 4,—345
Rijrās'va, 266
Rikṣha, 235, 274, 360
Rikshavat, 456
Ripu, 298
Rishabha, 279, 357
Rishabhas, 500
Rishi, 243
Rishis, 36, 44, 88, etc.
Rishṭishena, 269
Ritabādha, 279
Ritayu, 234
Ritavratas, 501
Rituparṇa, 322
Roer, Dr. E., his translations of the Upanishads referred to, 25
Rohidas'va, 268
Rohiṇī, 389
Rohita, 355
Rohitās'va, 382
Roth, Dr. R., his Literature and History of the Veda referred to, 289, 318, 324, 331, 339, 342, 360, 364, 372
—— articles in Journ. of Germ. Or. Society, 8, 192, 194, 217, 248, 289
—— article in Indische Studien, 48, 355, 376
—— Dissertation on the Atharva-veda, 395
—— Illustrations of Nirukta, 177, 253, 256, 321, 339
Rosen, Dr. F., remarks on the story of S'unass'epa, 359
Ruchi (*masc.*), 65
Ruchi (*fem.*), 466
Rudra, 3, 20, 65, 163, 194, 225
Rudras, 19 f., 52, 117
Rūpin, 360

S

S'abaras, or S'avaras, 391, 393, 483 f.

Sacrifices of no avail to the depraved, 98
Sadasyas, 459
Sādhyas, 10 f., 26 f., 38, 41
Sagara, 337, 486
Sahadeva, 266
Sahajanyā, 336
Saindhavas, 495
Saindhavāyanas, 353
S'aineyā, 483
S'ainyas, 236
S'aivyā, wife of Hariśchandra, 380 f.
S'ākadvīpa, 491, 500
S'ākalas, 495
S'ākhā, 401
S'akas, 391, 398, 482, 484, 486
S'akti, or S'aktri, 315, 322, 328, 342
S'akuntalā, 410
S'akvarīs, 255, 320
S'ākya (Buddha) 509
Sālankāyana, 279
Sālankāyanas, 353
S'ālāvatī, 352
S'ālāvatyas, 353
S'ālmali-dvīpa, 490, 498
Salvas, 438
S'ālvas, 495
S'ama, 124
Samantapanchaka, 451
Sāma-veda, 2
—— quoted—
i. 262,—180
— 355,—163
Samprakshālana-kāla, 217
Saṁśraya, 116
Saṁvaraṇa, 360
Saṁvartta, 207
Sanaka, 51
Sanandana, 51, 65
Sanatkumāra, 114, 307
S'āṇḍilya, 513
Sanhitā, 2, 4
Sanjaya, 148
S'ankara on the Brahma-Sūtras, 147
—— Chhāndogya Upanishad, 195
Sankarshaṇa, 207, 507
S'ānkhāyana Brāhmaṇ 91,
Sānkhya, 126, 210, 3[illegible], 430
—— Kārikā, 158
—— Pravachana, 158
Sankīrtti, a Vais'ya author of Vedic hymns, 279

Sankṛiti, 237
Sānkṛiti, 352
Sānkṛityas, 353
S'antanu, 269
S'apharī (fish), 205, 209
Saptadas'a, 16
Sapta sindhavaḥ, 489 ff.
S'arabhas, 391
S'aradvat, 279
S'āradvata, 279
S'ārangī, 336
Sarasvatī, 71, 110, 141, 178, 315, 344, 421, 490
Sārasvatyas, 305
Sarga, 49
Sarvakāma, 322
Sarvakarman, 422, 456
Sarvasāra Upanishad, 361
S'aryāta, 221
S'aryāti, 126, 221
Sasarparī, 343
Sāt, 46
S'atadru, 417
Satānanda, 235
S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, *5*
—— Kāṇva S'ākhā, i. 6, —167, 382
—— Mādhyandina S ākhā, Texts from, translated or referred to—
i. 1, 4, 12,—366
— 1, 4, 14,—188
— 3, 2, 21,—136
— 4, 2, 2,—348
— 4, 2, 5,—166
— 5, 1, 7,—168
— 5, 2, 16,—137
— 5, 3, 2,—163
— 7, 4, 1,—35, 107
— 8, 1, 1,—181
ii. 1, 4, 11,—17
— 2, 2, 6,—262
— 3, 4, 4,—147
— 4, 2, 1,—96
— 4, 4, 1,—125
— 5, 1, 1,—69
— 5, 2, 20,—136
iii. 2, 1, 39,—369
— 2, 1, 40,—136
— 3, 6,—513
— 6, 2, 26,—147
— 9, 1, 1,—68
iv. 1, 5, 1,—221
— 3, 4, 4,—262
— 5, 4, 1,—9
v. 3, 5, 4,—268
— 5, 4, 9,—367
vi. 1, 2, 11,—30
S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa *continued*—
Mādhyandina S'ākhā—
vi. 6, 1, 19,—188
— 8, 1, 14,—349
vii. 4, 1, 19,—125
— 5, 1, 5,—54
— 5, 2, 6,—24
viii. 1, 4, 10,—515
— 4, 2, 11,—19
— 4, 3, 1,—19
x. 4, 1, 10,—438
— 4, 2, 2,—69
— 4, 4, 1,—69
xi. 1, 3, 1,—31
— 1, 6, 1,—35
— 1, 6, 7,—30
— 1, 6, 8,—29
— 5, 1, 1,—226
— 6, 1, 1,—443
— 6, 2, 1,—426
xii. 1, 6, 38,—333
xiii. 4, 1, 3,—369
— 4, 3, 3,—217
— 5, 4, 14,—168
— 6, 1, 1,—9
— 7, 1, 15,—456
xiv. 1, 2, 11,—53
— 4, 2, 1,—24, 36
— 4, 2, 23,—19
— 5, 1, 1,—432
— 7, 1, 33,—46
— 9, 1, 1,—433
S'atarūpā, 25, 65, 72, 103, 110, 114
S'atayātu, 322
S'atendriyā, 114
Sattva, 41, 62, 66, 75 f., 79, 89, 92
Sāttvika, 42
Sāttyahavya, 493
Satyaketu, 231
Satyāngas, 498
Satyavatī, 349, 405, 450, 453
Satyavrata, 207, 375
Satyavratas, 501
S'ātyāyana Brāhmaṇa quoted, 320, 328
Saudāsa, 343, 414
Saudāsas, 328, 337
Saumya, 494
S'aunaka, 226, 279
S'aunḍīkas, 482
Saurāshṭras, 495
Sauvīras, 495
Sausrutas, 353
Savana, 335, 445
Sāvarṇya and Sāvarṇi, 217
Savitṛi, 71, 181
Sāvitrī, 110
Sāyakāyana, 438
Sāyaṇa quoted, 2, 164 and *passim*
S'ayu, 171
Schlegel, A. W. von, his edition of the Rāmāyaṇa referred to, 397, 399, etc.
Semitic source, was the Indian legend of the deluge derived from a, 216
S'esha, 44, 116
Seven rishis, 200, 400, 404
Seven seas surrounding the continents of the earth, 491
Sexes, their primitive relations, 418
Shadgurus'ishya quoted, 343
Shadviṁs'a Brāhmaṇa quoted or referred to, 334, 513
Siṁhikā, 123
Sindhudvīpa, 268, 272, 353
Sindhukshit, 268
Sinhalas, 391
S'ini, 326
S'iva, 389
S'ivis, 459, 493
S'ishṭi, 298
Smṛiti, *5*, 139
Snehas, 500
Solar race, 220
Soma, 10, 19 f., 30, 71 f., 124, 153, 166, 175, 181, 221, 225, 467, 469
Soma Maitrāyaṇa, 230
Somas'ushma Sātyayajni, 428
Someśvara quoted, 511
Sons, may be begotten by third parties, 418
S'oṇāmbu, 207
S'rāddhādeva, 207
S'rāddhādeva, 207, 335
S'rauta-sūtras, *5*
S'ravaṇasya, 279
S'rī, 67
S'rīdhara, Commentator or Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quoted, 210 f., 317
S'ringin, 491
S'rinjayas, 283, 512

S'rotriya, 442
S'rutadharas, 499
S'rutarshis, 279, 400
Sthāṇu, 116, 122
Sthāṇutīrtha, 420
Sthapati, 514
Stoma, 241
Streiter, Dr., his Dissertatio de Sunaḥsepho, 48, 355
Subhagā, 116
S'uchi, 445
Sudās, 242, 268, 297, 319, 321 ff., 338, 366, 371 ff.
Sudāsa,
Sudeshṇā, 233,
S'ūdras, 7 and *passim*
—— etymology of the word, 97
Sudyumna, 221
Suhma, 232
Suhotra, 227, 267, 349, 353, 360
Suhotṛi, 227
Sukanyā, 283
S'ukī, 117
S'ukra, 305, 335, 445
Sūkta, 241
Sukumāra, 231
Sulabhā, 430
Sumantu, 349
Sumati, 234
Sumeru, 96
Sumitra, 167
Sumukha, 297
Sunahotra, or S'unahotra, 226, 228
S'unas'śepa, 350, 353 355 ff., 376, 405, 413
Sunīthā, 299, 303
S'unahpuchha, 352
Suṛādhas, 266
S'ūras, 495
S'ūrṛīraka, 455
Sūrya, 245, 251
Sūryavarchas, 336
S'ushmins, 500
S'ushmiṇa, 493
Sūta, 207
Sutapas, 232, 235
Sūtras, 5
S'utudrī, 338, 490
Sushadman, 438
Suvarchas, 279
Suvitta, 279
Suyavasa, 355
Svāhā, 389
Svarbhānu, 249, 469
Svarjit Nāgnajita, 515
Svayambhū, 33
Svayambhū, 96, 111, 122
S'veta, 491
S'vetaketu Aruṇeya, 428, 434
S'yāparnas, 438
S'yāvās'va, 283
S'yena, 513
S'yūmaras'mi, 171

T

Taittirīya-āraṇyaka quoted, 31
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 5
—— quoted—
i. 1, 2, 6,—68
— 1, 3, 5,—53
— 1, 4, 4,—186
— 1, 9, 10,—26
— 1, 10, 1,—68
— 2, 6, 1,—68
— 2, 6, 7,—21
— 6, 2, 1,—70
— 6, 4, 1,—71
— 8, 8, 1,—26
— 8, 2, 5,—445
ii. 2, 1, 1,—72
— 2, 4, 4,—515
— 2, 9, 1,—27
— 3, 6, 1,—68
— 3, 8, 1,—23
— 7, 9, 1,—71
iii. 2, 3, 9,—21
— 2, 5, 9,—189
— 3, 3, 1,—25
— 3, 3, 5,—25
— 3, 10, 4,—26
— 4, 1, 16,—49
— 8, 18, 1,—24
— 9, 22, 1,—43, 46,
— 10, 9, 1,—71 [163
— 12, 9, 2, 6-41
Taittirīya Sanhitā, 2
—— quoted—
i. 5, 4, 1,--29
— 7, 1, 8,—187
— 7, 3, 1,—262
— 8, 16, 1,—20
— 16, 11, 1,—137
ii. 2, 10, 2,—188, 510
— 3, 5, 1,—124,
— 4, 13, 1,—21
— 5, 9, 1,—187
— 6, 7, 1,—186
iii. 1, 7, 2,—512
Taittirīya Sanhitā *continued*—
iii. 1, 9, 4,—193
— 5, 2, 2,—332
iv. 3, 10, 1,—16
v. 1, 5, 6,—184
— 6, 8, 3,—136
vi. 2, 5, 2,—187
— 3, 10, 4,—32
— 5, 6, 1,—26
— 6, 6, 1,—191
— 6, 8, 2,—26
— 6, 10, 3,—26
vii. 1, 1, 4,—15
— 1, 5, 1,—52
— 5, 15, 3,—187
— p. 47 of MS., 328
—— Commentator on, quoted, 3
Taittirīya Upanishad quoted, 443
Taittirīya Yajurveda, 12
Takshapa, 279
Tālajanghas, 467, 486
Tamas, 41, 57, 58, 62, 66, 75, 80, 89, 92, 141
Tāmasa, 42
Tāmrā, 116
Tāmraliptakas, 459
Tāmravarṇa, 494
Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, 5, 329
Tansu, 234
Tapas, 119, 141
—— its great power, 394, 410
Tapoloka, 88
Tārā, 225
Tārakāyaṇas, 353
Tiryak-srotas, 57
Tishmas, 500
Tishya (=Kali) age, 148
Tortoise incarnation, 51, 54
Trasadasyu, 263, 266, 331
Trayyaruṇa, 237, 267
Tretā, 39, 43 ff., 92 ff., 119, 145, 149 f., 158, 447, 495 f.
Triad of deities, see Deities
Trigarttas, 459
Tris'anku, 362, 375, 412, 413
Tṛishṭha, 190
Tṛishṭubh, 16
Tris'iras, 268
Trivṛishṇa, 267
Trivṛit, 16
Tṛitsus, 320, 324

Troyer, Captain, his edition of the Rājatarangiṇī, 424
Tukhāras, 303
Tumburas, 303
Turvaśas, 179
Turvasu, 232, 482
Tushāras, 484
Tvāshṭra, 438
Tvashṭṛi, 181

U

Uddālaka Āruṇi, 195
—— Śvetaketu, 419
Udgātṛi, 41, 155, 251, 294
Unnetṛi, 155
Upadrashṭṛi, 4, 459
Upanishads, 2, 5
Upaśruti (a goddess), 311
Upastuta, 170
Uru, 298
Ūrddhvabāhu, 335
Ūrddhvasrotas, 57
Ūrjja, 335
Ūrjjā, 335
Urukshaya, 237
Urunjirā, 417
Ūrva, 351, 476
Urvaśī, 226, 244, 306, 316, 320, 337
Uśanas, 226
Ushas, 108
Uśīnara, 268
Uśīnaras, 431, 482
Utathya, 279, 467
Uttānapad, 72
Uttānapāda, 65, 72, 106, 114, 298
Uttara Kurus, 491 ff.
Uttara Madras, 492

V

Vāch, 241, 246, 325
Vachas, 241
Vāhlīka, 273
Vaibhojas, 482
Vaidya, 481
Vaikhānasas, 32
Vaikṛita-sarga, 58
Vaina, Vainya, 268, 279
Vairāja, 16, 111
Vairūpa, 16
Vaiśampāyana, 122, 153 f.
Vaiśanta, 319
Vaiśasa, 97
Vaiśyas, 7, and *passim*
—— etymology of the word, 97
Vaivasvata Manvantara, 112, 214
Vājas, 165
Vājasaneyi Sanhitā quoted or referred to—
xi. 32,—169
xii. 34,—349
xiv. 28,—16
xxx. 18,—49
xxxi. 1,—9
— 1–16,—8
— 13,—10
xxxviii. 26,—490
Vājaśravas,
Vajrasīrsha, 445
Valākāśva, 349
Vālakhilya, iii. 1,—217
———— iv. 1,—217
Valmīki, 5
Vāmadeva, 114, 279, 330
Vāmana-avatāra, see Dwarf incarnation
Vandya, a Vaiśya composer of Vedic hymns, 279
Vanga, 233, see Banga
Vangas, 459
Vansā, 116
Vapushmat, 222
Varāha-avatāra, 53, see Boar incarnation
Vārāha-kalpa, 44, 50, 67
Varenya, 445
Varṇa (colour or caste), 140, 153, 176
Vārshagiras, 266
Varuṇa, 18, 20, 27, 71, 136, 168, etc.
—— his adultery, 467
Vāruṇa, 494
Varuṇa-praghāsa, 136
Varūtrī, 190
Varvaras, 484
Vaśas, 391
Vashaṭkāra, 487
Vāshkalas, 353
Vasishtha, or Vaśishṭha, 36, 65, 110, 115, 122, 211, 244, 316 ff., 468, 486
—— begets a son to king Kalmashapāda, 418
Vasishṭhas, 242, 319 ff., 402
Vaśtrya fshuyans 293
Vāsudeva, 206
Vasumanas, 268
Vasundharas, 499
Vasus, 19 f., 52, 117, 124, 184, 186, 221, 444
Vātaraśanas, 32
Vatsa, 231
Vatsabhūmi, 231
Vayata, 319
Vāyu, 10, 19, 33, 76, 128, 172, 464
Vāyu Purāṇa quoted, 225, 227, 232
i. 5, 11 ff.,—74
— 6, 1 ff.,—75
— 7, 22 ff.,—81
— 9, 1 ff.,—77
— 9, 100,—446
Vedāngas, 5, 126
Vedānta. 223
Vedas, 63
—— antiquity of, 2
—— undivided in the Kṛita age, 144
Vedaśravas, 279
Vedhas, 65
Vedhas, a sage, 243
Vedhasa, 279
Vena, 126
Vena, 297 ff., 481
Venuhotra, 231
Venya, 268
Vibhu, 445
Videha, 426
Videhas, 431, 459
Vidhātṛi, 124
Vidūratha, 455
Vidyutpatāka, 207
Vijnāna Bhikshu, 158
Vikṛita, 123
Vinatā, 123
Vipāś, or Vipāśā, 338, 417
Vipra, 243
Vipula, 466
Virāj (masc.), 9, 36 f., 106, 111, 195
—— (fem.), 217, 333, 511
Viranchi, 112
Viriṇī, 125
Virochana, 233
Virūpa, 224
Virūpas, 341
Vīryadharas, 499
Vis, 157
Vishṇu, 3, 10, 51, 54, 62, 67, 75, 153, 172, 211, 495, etc.
—— assumes different colours in different yugas, 145

Vishṇu Purāṇa quoted—
Book i.—
3, 10 ff., and 14 f.,—43
3, 16 ff.,—44
5, 1 ff.,—55
6, 1 ff.,—60
7, 1 ff.,—64
8, 12,—66
9, 15,—389
10, 19,—335
13, 7,—298
13, 54,—511
15, 52,—72
Book ii.—
4, 1, and 5 ff.,—497
4, 9,—498
4, 12 ff.,—499
4, 19 ff.,—500
4, 23 ff.,—500
4, 28 ff.,—501
4, 37 f.,—503
7, 19, 24,—504
10, 8,—336
Book iii.—
1, 3,—44
1, 6, and 9,—335
1, 14,—335
3, 9,—336
6, 21,—400
Book iv.—
1, 4,—220
1, 5,—72
1, 12,—221
1, 13, 14,—222
2, 2,—223
3, 5,—224
3, 13,—375
3, 18,—337
4, 25,—337
6, 2,—225
6, 19,—226
7, 1,—226
7, 4, and 14 ff.,—349
8, 6,—232
10, 12,—232
18, 1,—232
19, 9,—236
19, 10,—234
19, 16,—235
21, 4,—236
24, 44,—277
Book vi.—
1, 4,—43
Viśiśipra, 166
Viśvajit, 352
Viśvakarman, 52, 76, 173, 181
—— Bhauvana, 456
Viśvakṛit, 352
Viśvāmitra, 128, 232, 242, 247, 265, 272, 279, 329 ff., 337 ff., 474, 483
Viśvāmitras, 342, 345 f.
Viśvantara, 433
Viśvaratha, 352
Viśvasṛijaḥ, 37
Viśvedevas, 16, 20, 71, 380
Vitahavya, 228, 268, 279, 286, 297
Vitatha, 227
Vītihotras, 459
Vivāsas, 498
Vivasvat, 26 f., 37, 115 f., 122, 126, 169, 195, 199, 201
Vrajana, 360
Vrātya, 22, 481
Vrātya-stomas, 513
Vṛihaspati, 310, see Bṛihaspati
Vṛishāgir, 266
Vṛishala, 482
Vṛishan, 170
Vṛittra, 174, 310
Vyāsa, 6
Vyaśva, 268

W

Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte referred to, 2, 5
—— Indische Studien quoted or referred to, 8, 9, 14, 32, 39, 48, 49, 108, 136, 141, 147, 155, 181, 186, 189, 216, 252, 272 f., 332 ff., 357, 367, 369, 373, 395, 438 f., 443, 446, 492 f., 511 f.
—— articles in Journal Germ. Or. Soc., 189, 366, 385, 443
—— his opinion on the origin of the Indian tradition of the Deluge, 216
—— Vajra-sūchī, 140
Williams's, Prof. Monier, Indian Epic poetry referred to, 6, 34
Wilson's, Prof. H. H., Analyses of the Vishnu, Vāyu, and other Purāṇas, 6, 505
—— translation of the Rig-veda referred to, 360, 372, 490
Wilson's Sānkhya-Kārikā referred to, 430
—— Vishṇu Purāṇa referred to, 6, 49, 353, 446, and *passim*
—— article on Human Sacrifices in India in Journ. R. As. Soc., 355
Women, estimation in which the ancient Indians held them, 26, 136

Y

Yādavas, 112
Yadu, 232, 477
Yadus, 179
Yajna-paribhāshā-sūtras, 2, 365, 367
Yajnāpeta, 336
Yājnavalkya, 25, 136, 428
Yājnavalkyas, 353
Yajur-veda, 2
Yakshas, 37, 139, 144, 499
Yama, 20, 122, 126, 129, 171, 217, 320
Yāmadūtas, 353
Yamunā, 467
Yāska, 3, 5, see Nirukta
Yātudhānas, 326 f.
Yaudhāḥ (warriors), 511, 514
Yavanas, 391, 398, 482, 485 ff.
Yayāti, 232, 455
Year of Brahmā, 44
Year of gods, 43
Yoga 210, 334, 466, 478
—— philosophy, 430, 508
Yogin, 153
Yudhājit, 279
Yudhishṭhira, 127, 133, 309
Yudhyāmadhi, 322
Yugas, 39, 43 ff.
—— system of, not mentioned in the hymns of the Rig-veda, 45
—— their several characteristics, 39, 90 ff., 144
Yuga of the Kshattriyas, 152
Yuvanāśva, 225, 268, 279

Z

Zendavesta, 293
Zota, 294

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ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,

BY

J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.,

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VOLUME SECOND.

INQUIRY WHETHER THE HINDUS ARE OF TRANS-HIMALAYAN ORIGIN, AND AKIN TO THE WESTERN BRANCHES OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN RACE.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED

LONDON:
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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.[1]

My primary object in this volume, as in its predecessor, has been to produce a work which may assist the researches of those Hindus who desire to investigate critically the origin and history of their nation, and of their national literature, religion, and institutions; and may facilitate the operations of those European teachers whose business it is to communicate to the Hindus the results of modern inquiry on the various subjects here examined.[2] The book (as will at once be apparent to the Oriental scholar) is, for the most part, either a compilation, or, at the least, founded on the labours of others; but while my principal aim has been to furnish the reader with a summary of the results of preceding inquiries, my plan has, at the same time, rendered it necessary for me occasionally to institute fresh researches in different directions for the further elucidation of particular points which were touched upon in the course

[1] [This Preface is now reprinted with hardly any alteration, excepting such as has been rendered necessary by the difference in the numbers of the pages in which the several topics are treated, and by some additions and omissions.]

[2] This peculiarity in the object of the treatise will account to the European scholar for the introduction of many details which would otherwise have been quite superfluous.

of my argument. In this way I may have succeeded in contributing a small proportion of original matter to the discussion of some of the interesting topics which have come under review.

The obligations under which I lie to the different authors, whose labours have furnished the chief materials of the volume, have been, in most instances, so fully acknowledged in detail in the following pages, that it is not necessary for me to allude to them here more particularly. I must, however, refer to the assistance which I have derived from the French version of the Rigveda by M. Langlois, which, with his index, has directed my attention to various important passages in the later books, which I was then enabled to study in the original.

Though a small portion only of the present volume consists of "Sanskrit texts," which in some parts are altogether wanting, and in others but thinly scattered, (*apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*) I have not considered it necessary to abandon the old title, but it has been slightly modified.

Although some idea of the object and contents of the volume may be gained from a perusal of the introductory statement of its plan (in pp. 1—3), and from the table at the close of this Preface, it may conduce to the convenience of those readers who, before entering on a perusal of the work, desire to obtain a more precise conception of the course of the discussion, and of the process by which I have sought to establish my conclusions, if I subjoin here a brief concatenated summary of the principal topics in order.

The general object of the present Part is to prove

that the Hindus were not indigenous in India, but have immigrated into that country from Central Asia, where their ancestors at one time formed one community with the progenitors of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, etc.[3] In order to establish this result, I have sought to show that Sanskrit, the original language of the Hindus, exhibits undeniable marks of close affinity to the ancient languages of the other races just mentioned; and that the earliest religion, and mythology also, of India are connected with those of Persia by various points of contact and resemblance. Having adduced evidence on both these heads, and argued that these facts imply a common origin of the nations in question, and their subsequent dispersion from one common centre towards the different regions in which they ultimately settled; I endeavour to fortify the conclusions to which we are thus conducted by demonstrating that, in the earliest ages of their history, the ancestors of the Hindus appear to have occupied only the north-western corner of Hindustan; and that, while they were connected on the one hand by affinities of language and religion with the nations of the west, they were on the other hand distinguished, both by language and by institutions, from certain other tribes with whom they came into collision as they advanced across the north of India, and afterwards diffused themselves to the south of the peninsula: for if we find that the Hindus originally possessed only the Panjāb, the presumption (derived from

[3] [This proposition has been so far modified in the second edition that I now only insist on at least one of the elements in the ancestry of the Hindus having belonged to the Indo-European stock.]

other considerations) that they immigrated from the north-west, becomes strengthened; and if, again, on their advance to the south-east, they encountered tribes with a different language and religion, already in occupation of those tracts, the probability that they did not grow up in India, alongside of these alien tribes, acquires additional force.

In order to obtain a basis for carrying out the philological portion of this argument, viz., for comparing the original language of the Hindus with those of the Persians, Greeks, and Latins, it became necessary for me to prove that the Sanskrit, which is now a learned language only, was at one time spoken by the ancestors of the Hindus. This I have attempted to do in the First Chapter (pp. 4—214), by showing in detail that the original Sanskrit idiom has undergone a long series of gradual mutations, of which we now see the ultimate result in the modern vernacular dialects of the north of India. The method which I have adopted to exhibit this has been to begin (Section i., pp. 4—11) with the existing spoken dialects, Urdu, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc., and to show what the elements are of which they are composed, viz., (1) pure Sanskrit, (2) modified Sanskrit, (3) Deśya or aboriginal non-Sanskrit words, and (4) words derived from Arabic and Persian. The fourth element is the latest which they have acquired, and dates only from the Mahomedan invasion; while the second and third (in a more or less different form) are common to them with the Prākrits, or older vernacular dialects, out of which they grew.

In the succeeding sections (ii.—vii., pp. 11—128) an

account is given of these earlier vernaculars, viz. (1) the Prākṛits, of which specimens are to be found in the different Hindu dramas, and which seem to have existed as spoken dialects, at least from the commencement of the Christian era, until they became merged in the modern vernaculars; (2) the Pāli, or sacred language of the Buddhist books of Ceylon and Burmah, which appears to represent one of the provincial dialects of northern India existing at the time when Buddhism began to be propagated in the sixth century B.C., and exhibits to us the popular speech of that region at a somewhat earlier stage than the dramatic Prākṛits; (3) the dialects (nearly contemporaneous with the Pāli) which are employed in the rock and pillar inscriptions of Aśoka; and (4) the singular dialect or jargon employed in the Gāthās or metrical portions of the Buddhist chronicles of northern India. In this portion of the work some comparative tables are introduced, which exhibit (*a*) the relations (*i.e.* the points of resemblance and of difference) between the modern vernaculars, Hindī, and Mahrattī, and the dramatic Prākṛits, and show how the two former have been formed by a modification of all the various elements of the latter, just as they (the older Prākṛits) in their turn have sprung up (if we except a small non-Sanskritic residuum) from the gradual decomposition of the Sanskrit; (*b*) the forms which are common to the dramatic Prākṛits, and the Pāli, as well as those points in which they vary, and which demonstrate that the Pāli diverges considerably less from the Sanskrit than the Prākṛits do, and must consequently be more ancient than they; and (*c*) the

were composed can have been no other than the vernacular speech which was employed by the rishis and their contemporaries, as it is quite inconceivable that in that early age, when the refinements of grammar were unknown, there could have existed any learned language distinct from the ordinary dialect of the people.

Having thus shown cause for believing that Sanskrit, the original speech of the early Hindus (or Indo-Arians), was at one time a spoken language, and consequently liable, like all other spoken languages, to continual mutations in its earliest ages, and having by this means paved the way for proving that it is descended from one common mother with the ancient languages of the other Indo-European races, to which it exhibits the most striking family resemblance;—I proceed, in the Second Chapter (pp. 215—357), to produce the evidence which comparative philology furnishes of this resemblance, and to argue from the affinity of languages a community of origin between the different nations by which they were spoken. I then go on to bring forward the further grounds, supplied by comparative mythology and by other considerations, for supposing that the ancestors of the Hindus[4] belonged to the same great family as the Persians, Greeks, Romans, etc., which had its original seats in Central Asia, and that, on the dispersion, in various directions, of the different branches of that ancient family, the Indo-Arians immigrated into Hindustan from the north-west. The following are some of the details of this process of proof: In Section i. (pp. 217—228), a few simple remarks on comparative philo-

[4] [See note 3, p. ix.]

logy are premised, in which it is shown how, by a comparison of their roots and structure, languages can be distributed into different families, of which the several members have a more or less close affinity to each other, while they have little or no resemblance to the members of any other family. This is illustrated by a comparative table, in which it is shown that while Sanskrit has in many of its words a strong similarity to Persian, it has scarcely any to Arabic; and by some other particulars. Section ii. (pp. 228—267) supplies detailed evidence of the affinities of Sanskrit with the Zend, Greek, and Latin, consisting, first, of comparative lists of words belonging to those languages which correspond with each other both in sound and sense; and secondly, of illustrations of the resemblances between those languages in their modes of inflection, as well as in the formation of words. As, however, the mutual differences which these languages also exhibit, might be urged as disproving the inference of their derivation from a common source, it is shown how, in the course of time, different branches of the same original tongue have an inevitable tendency to diverge more and more from the primitive type, both by modifying their old elements, and by assimilating new: and it is further pointed out that it is precisely those parts of a language which are the most primitive and essential in which the different Indo-European tongues coincide, while those in which they differ are such as would grow up after the nations which spoke them had been separated, and had become exposed to the action of diverse influences, physical, intellectual, and moral. But as, admitting the

resemblances between these languages, a Hindu might feel disposed to draw the conclusion that Sanskrit is the source of all the other kindred tongues, instead of being derived together with them from an older language, the common parent of them all,—to obviate this erroneous inference, it is next shown that the whole grammatical character of Greek and Latin is that of independent languages; that in this respect they differ entirely from the Indian Prākrits (which have evidently resulted from the decomposition of Sanskrit), and that they even contain various forms which are older than those of the Sanskrit; while the greater part of their vocabulary is different. The same considerations apply, though not so strongly, to Zend. In Section iii. (pp. 267—278) the inference is drawn that affinity in language implies affinity in race;[5] and that, therefore, the ancestors of the Hindus must at one time have lived in the same country, as a part of one and the same community, with the forefathers of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans. In such a case as is here supposed, those branches of the original nation which separated earliest from the others, would in after-times exhibit the fewest points of resemblance in language and institutions to the rest, while those which remained longest together would show in all respects the closest mutual affinities. In Section iv. (pp. 279—286) it is argued that there is no objection[6] arising from physiological considerations, *i.e.* from colour or

[5] [In this second edition, this proposition is modified. I only affirm now that affinity in language affords some presumption of affinity in race.]

[6] [This assertion is in the 2nd edition changed into an inquiry whether there is any objection.]

bodily structure, to classing the Hindus among the Indo-European races. Section v. (pp. 287—300) exhibits the grounds which exist for supposing that the ancestors of the Indians and Iranians (or Persians) continued to form one community after the other kindred tribes had separated from them, and departed to distant regions. These grounds are, first, the closer affinity which subsists between Zend, the language of the ancient Persians, and Sanskrit (of which some illustrations are furnished); secondly, the fact that both nations in former times applied to themselves the appellation of Ārya; and, thirdly, the nearer and more numerous coincidences which are discoverable between the early mythologies of the two peoples, of which some details are adduced. From this more intimate affinity between the Indians and Persians, independent as both are of each other in their origin and development (see also pp. 312—317), a strong confirmation is derived to the general conclusion (deduced mainly from language) of the common origin of all the nations called Indo-European. In Section vi. (pp. 301—306) the theory of Mr. Curzon, that India was the original country of the Indo-European races, from which they issued to conquer, occupy, and civilize the countries lying to the north-west, is stated, together with some of the arguments by which he supports it. The remarks of Mr. Elphinstone, who leaves it undecided whether the Hindus were autochthonous or immigrant, are also quoted. In Section vii. (pp. 306—322) I cite the opinions of Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Weber,

Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet, who concur in the conclusion that the cradle of the Indo-European race must be sought, not in India, but, as Schlegel, Lassen, and Pictet argue, in some central tract, from which the different branches of this great family could most easily have diffused themselves towards the widely-separated countries which they eventually occupied; a condition which would not be fulfilled by supposing a remote and southerly region, such as Hindustan, to be the point of departure. Some of these writers draw the same inference from the relation in which the Indo-Arians stood to the aboriginal tribes whom they encountered in India. In opposition to Mr. Curzon, who represents the language and religion of India as the sources from which those of all the other kindred races issued, Professor Spiegel maintains that the Iranian language and mythology, though owning a common origin with, are in their development perfectly independent of those of the Indians. In the same section it is further urged that as neither the languages nor the mythology of the Greeks and Romans are derived from those of the Indo-Arians, there is no ground for supposing that the former nations emigrated from India at any period whatever. Section viii. (pp. 322—329) contains the few passages I have been able to discover in the Indian authors which may be supposed to embody any reference (in no case, it must be confessed, other than a very obscure one) to the trans-Himalayan origin of their ancestors. The chief of these are the interesting paragraph of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, which contains the legend of the

Deluge in the oldest form in which it occurs in any Sanskrit work,[7] and some texts relating to the northerly region of Uttara Kuru, the Ottorocorras of Ptolemy. In Section ix. (pp. 329—334) I have quoted, according to the versions of Spiegel and Haug, the first chapter of the Vendidad, which contains the oldest tradition of the Persians relative to Airyana-vaejo, the supposed primeval abode of their forefathers. Section x. (pp. 335-341) discusses the route by which the Āryas immigrated into India.[8] Schlegel and Lassen are of opinion that they must have penetrated into India from the west by the route of Kabul and across the Indus. Roth and Weber also regard the Panjāb as the earliest seat of the Indo-Arians in Hindustan. In Section xi. (pp. 341—357) I have endeavoured to show by quotations from the Vedas, that at the period when the hymns were composed, the Indians, though not unacquainted with the central provinces of northern India, were most familiar with the countries bordering on, or beyond, the Indus, and the north-western parts of Hindustan generally. From this fact, and from the testimony of later writers to their intercourse with tribes, apparently Arian in descent and language, residing in the Panjāb and on the other side of the Indus, I derive a confirmation of the view that the Hindus entered India from the north-west.

In the Third Chapter, (pp. 358—444) I have sought

[7] [This passage has been omitted in the present edition for the reasons stated in note 96, p. 323.]

[8] [A sentence referring to an opinion of Professor Benfey subsequently altered, is here omitted.]

to adduce further arguments in support of the same conclusion, (1) from the distinction drawn by the authors of the Vedic hymns between their own kinsmen, the Āryas, and the tribes differing from them in complexion, customs, and religion, whom they designate as Dasyus; (2) from the accounts occurring in the Brāhmaṇas and post-Vedic writings, of the gradual advance of the Āryas from the north-west of India to the east and south; and (3) from the well-established fact that the south-Indian languages are fundamentally different from the Sanskrit, and imply a non-Arian origin in the people by whom they were originally spoken. Section i. (pp. 359—369) contains a selection of passages from the Rigveda, in which the Āryas and the Dasyus are distinguished from one another, and reference is made to the enmity existing between the two. In most (or at least some) of these passages, it appears, human enemies and not demons must be intended under the appellation of Dasyus, as I infer both from the tenor of the texts themselves, and because in later writings, the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, the Institutes of Manu, etc., this word is always applied to barbarous tribes. Section ii. (pp. 369—396) supplies a further collection of Vedic texts bearing upon the relations of the Āryas and Dasyus, and the characteristics of the latter as degraded, dark-complexioned, irreligious, neglecters of sacrifice, etc. There are, indeed, other texts, in which these Dasyus are regarded as demons, and this creates a difficulty. An attempt is made at the close of the section to explain, (1) from the original position of the Āryas, as an

invading tribe in a country covered by forests, and from the savage character of the aborigines, as well as (2) from the lengthened period during which the hymns continued to be composed,—how the same appellations and epithets might come to be applied to different classes of beings, human, ethereal, and demoniacal, indiscriminately. In Section iii. (pp. 397—405) I quote the well-known passage from Manu's Institutes, which adverts to the superior sanctity of the country on the banks of the Sarasvatī (which is in consequence presumed to have been for some time the seat of the most distinguished Indian sages, and the locality where the Hindu institutions were chiefly developed), and defines the limits of the several provinces of Brahmanical India, as then recognized. I next adduce a highly interesting legend from the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, which narrates how the sacred fire (typifying, of course, the sacrificial rites of the Brāhmans) travelled from the neighbourhood of the Sarasvatī eastward, across the river Sadānīrā into Videha, or north-Behar. Section iv. (pp. 405—421) presents a selection of passages from the great epic poem, the Rāmāyaṇa, descriptive of the Rākshasas or gigantic demons by whom the Brāhman settlers in southern India were oppressed and their rites obstructed, and whose monarch Rāvaṇa was vanquished and slain by the Indian hero Rāma, with the aid of an army of monkeys. In these poetic and hyperbolical descriptions, it is supposed (by some that) we can discern the indistinct outlines of a great movement of the Āryas from the Doab southward across the Vindhya

range, and their conflicts with the aboriginal tribes of the Dekhan, the enemies of the Brāhmans and their institutions. The epithets applied to the Rākshasas in the Rāmāyaṇa correspond in many respects, it is observed, with those employed in the Rigveda to characterize the Dasyus, Rākshasas, and Yātudhānas. Section v. (pp. 422—423) contains some Hindu traditions regarding the tribes in the south of the peninsula, which, however, are not considered to throw any light on their real origin. Section vi. (pp. 423—438) supplies a variety of details, derived from Mr. A. D. Campbell's Telugu Grammar (including the important note by Mr. F. W. Ellis), and Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages, by which it is clearly shown that the Tamil, Telugu, Malayālim, and Canarese tongues (which are spoken by thirty-one millions of people), though, at different periods since the occupation of southern India by the Brāhmans, they have received a large infusion of Sanskrit words, are, nevertheless, originally and fundamentally quite distinct from, and independent of, that language, and that Tamil composition in particular is regarded by the native authors as pure and classical in proportion to its freedom from Sanskrit words. In the viith, and concluding Section (pp. 438—444), the results of the preceding sections are summed up. From the fact (established both by philological considerations, and by the testimony of the south-Indian grammarians) that the Dravidian languages are essentially distinct from Sanskrit, it is argued that the people by whom the former class of languages were

spoken originally (*i.e.* before the Brahmanical invasion of the Dekhan) must have belonged to a race which had no affinity to the Sanskrit-speaking Āryas; and could not, therefore, as Manu asserts, have been degraded Kshatriyas. I then endeavour to show how the results obtained in this Chapter, viz., (1) that the Āryas, when living in the Panjāb, came into conflict with an alien race called Dasyus; (2) that the Āryas can be shown from their own books to have at first occupied only the north-west of India and then to have advanced gradually to the east and south, and last of all to have crossed the Vindhya range into the Dekhan; and (3) that the original languages of the south of the peninsula are distinct from Sanskrit,—how, I say, these results harmonize with, or corroborate, the theory that the Hindus, or Indo-Arians, are not autochthonous, but immigrated into Hindustan from the north-west.[9]

The Appendix[10] (pp. 445—488), and the "Additions and Corrections" contain some further illustrations of the subjects discussed in the body of the work, and in a few cases supply some modifications of the text which closer research has rendered necessary.

In the notes towards the close of the Volume, and in the Appendices, the Sanskrit passages have been printed in the Italic character.[11] The system I have followed is nearly that of Sir W. Jones. The distinctions between some similar letters have not always been very

[9] [See note 3, p. ix.]

[10] [Portions of the Appendix and additions have now been incorporated in the earlier part of the volume.]

[11] [In the first edition the Sanskrit was printed in the Nāgarī character throughout the greater part of the volume.]

carefully indicated; but the Sanskrit scholar will have no difficulty in determining the words which are intended.

Nearly all the Sanskrit texts in this Volume have been taken from printed editions. The quotations from those parts of the Rigveda which have not yet appeared in Professor Müller's edition, have been copied from the MS. copy in my possession, alluded to in the Preface to the First Volume. The quotations from Durgāchārya, in pp. 166 f. and 173, have been derived from a MS. belonging to the East India House. That in p. 204 was, I believe, extracted from a MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. The two passages from Bhāskara Acharya, pp. 161 and 178, were obtained from Pandit Bapu Deva of the Benares College.

I owe it to the kindness of Professor Goldstücker that I am able to adduce the extracts from the Nyāya mālā vistara, in pp. 53 and 179.

The work of M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, entitled: "Etude sur la Géographie et les Populations Primitives du Nordouest de l'Inde d'après les Hymnes Védiques" (which discusses many of the subjects handled in the present volume), has only now come into my hands, as the last sheet, containing part of the Appendix and the "Additions and Corrections," is passing through the press.

The results at which this author has arrived in his valuable and ingenious dissertation, in regard to the origin of the Āryas, their immigration into India, and the direction of their movements within that country,

correspond precisely with those which I myself had reached. His views on some points of detail on which I had adopted a different opinion, tell even more strongly than my own in favour of the general conclusions in which we both coincide.[12]

[12] I allude to his conclusion that the Sarayu referred to in the Veda was a river in the Pañjāb (in support of which he refers to Burnouf's Bhāg. Pur. folio ed. p. ii. 455); and that the country of the Kīkaṭas must, most probably, have been in Kos'ala or Audh, and not in Magadha, or South Behar.

I am happy to learn from M. de Saint-Martin's work that he intends to prosecute further his researches into the ethnography of India.

[EDINBURGH, 1860.]

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In preparing this edition for the press, I am reminded how much this volume is indebted to the labours of the different authors whose works are quoted in it, viz., Burnouf, Lassen, Cowell, Campbell, Ellis, Caldwell, Clough, Turnour, Fausböll, Rajendralal Mitra, H. H. Wilson, Weber, Müller, Goldstücker, Roth, Benfey, Bopp, Kuhn, A. W. Schlegel, Pictet, Spiegel, Haug, Whitney, Windischmann, Langlois, Renan, Curzon, and Elphinstone.

To these names I have now to add those of Messrs. Beames, Childers, D'Alwis, Aufrecht, Curtius, Vullers, Schleicher, Fick, Crawfurd, Huxley, and G. Rawlinson, from whose writings or communications I have derived valuable assistance in augmenting my materials, or revising different portions of the work. My obligations to these scholars are acknowledged in the text.

The improvements which have been introduced in this edition are principally the following: the Comparative Tables of Words in pp. 15, ff.; 76, ff.; 221, ff.; 230, ff.; and 287, ff.; as well as the statements of Gāthā and Vedic forms in pp. 117, ff., and 205, ff.; have been greatly enlarged.

My conclusions regarding the value of affinity in language as a proof of affinity in race, and the effects of climate upon colour, have been so far modified that I no longer venture to pronounce positively that the Brahmanical Indians are of pure Indo-European descent; but leave it an open question whether the blood of their Arian ancestors may not on their immigration into India have been commingled with that of darker tribes previously in occupation of the country.

In the Appendix, Note B, pp. 446, ff., reference is made to a recent paper by Prof. Kern, in which he alleges the insufficiency of the proofs heretofore adduced of the posteriority of the Atharvaveda to the Rigveda; and more detailed grounds in support of that opinion are adduced. Some remarks are also made in pp. 454, ff. on the views recently expressed by the same writer, and by Prof. Haug, on the antiquity of the caste-system.

The Appendix and the Additional Notes contain further illustrations, or corrections, of various statements in the text.

The volume has, further, been revised throughout; but, with the exception of the alterations which have been just specified, it remains essentially the same as before.

J. M.

Edinburgh, 1871.

CONTENTS.

PAGES.	
vii—xxv.	PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.
xxvii.—xxviii.	PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.
xxix—xxxii.	CONTENTS.
xxxii.	ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.
1—3.	PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.
4—214.	CHAPTER I. THE LANGUAGES OF NORTHERN INDIA: THEIR HISTORY AND RELATIONS.
4— 11.	Sect. I. The North-Indian dialects, ancient and modern.
11— 33.	Sect. II. The Prākṛit dialects employed in the dramas.
34— 43.	Sect. III. On the origin and vernacular use of the scenic dialects.
43— 53.	Sect. IV. Views of the Indian grammarians on the relation of the Prākṛits to Sanskrit, and on the other elements in their composition.
53—103.	Sect. V. The Pāli, and its relations to Sanskṛit and Prākṛit.
104—114.	Sect. VI. The dialects of the rock and pillar inscriptions of Aśoka.
115—128.	Sect. VII. The dialect of the Buddhist Gāthās, and its relation to the Pāli: Summary of the results of this and the preceding section.
128—144.	Sect. VIII. On the original use of Sanskrit as a vernacular tongue; on the manner in which the Prākṛits arose out of it, and on the period of their formation: views of Professors Weber, Aufrecht, Lassen, and Benfey.
144—160.	Sect. IX. Reasons for supposing that the Sanskrit was originally a spoken language.

161—214. Sect. X. Various stages of Sanskrit literature, and the different forms in which they exhibit the Sanskrit language: the later Vedic commentators: earlier expounders: the Nirukta: the Brāhmaṇas: the Vedic hymns: imperfect comprehension of them in later times from changes in the language: the hymns composed in the vernacular idiom of their age.

215—357. CHAPTER II. Affinities of the Indians with the Persians, Greeks and Romans, and Derivation of all these nations from Central Asia.

217—228. Sect. I. Introductory remarks on comparative philology: affinities of the Sanskrit and Persian with each other.

228—267. Sect. II. Detailed illustrations of the affinities of Sanskrit with the Zend, Greek, and Latin languages: the last three languages not derived from Sanskrit.

267—278. Sect. III. That affinity in language affords some presumption of affinity in race: modes in which a greater or less diversity of language and institutions would arise in different branches of the same stock: Central Asia the birth-place of the Āryas.

279—286. Sect. IV. Whether there is any objection, arising from physiological considerations, to classing the Indians among the Indo-European races.

287—300. Sect. V. Reasons for supposing the Indians and Persians in particular to have had a common origin.

301—306. Sect. VI. Was India the primitive country of the Āryas and Indo-European races?

306—322. Sect. VII. Central Asia the cradle of the Arians: opinions of Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet.

322—329. Sect. VIII. On the national traditions of the Indians regarding their own original country.

329—334. Sect. IX. Whether any tradition regarding the earliest abodes of the Arian race is contained in the First Fargard of the Vendidad.

335—341. Sect. X. What was the route by which the Āryas penetrated into India?

341—357. Sect. XI. The immigration of the Indo-Arians from the north-west rendered probable by the tenor of the Vedic hymns.

358—444. CHAPTER III. The Arians in India: their Advance to the East and South.

359—369. Sect. I. Distinction drawn between the Āryas and Dasyus in the Rigveda.

369—396. Sect. II. Additional Vedic texts bearing on the relations of the Āryas and Dasyus.

397—405. Sect. III. The Arians on the Sarasvatī, and their diffusion eastward and southward from that point.

405—421. Sect. IV. Advance of the Arians from the Doab across the Vindhya mountains; and their conflicts with the aboriginal tribes of the Dekhan.

422—423. Sect. V. Indian traditions regarding the tribes in the south of the peninsula.

423—438. Sect. VI. Languages of the south of India, and their fundamental difference from Sanskrit.

438—444. Sect. VII. Results deducible from the preceding sections.

445—488. APPENDIX.

445 Note A. On the phrase "Trayī Vidyā."

446—466. Note B. Further grounds in support of the position that the Atharvaveda is more recent than the Rigveda; with some considerations in answer to the theory of Professors Kern and Haug, that the caste-system is more ancient than the Rigveda.

466—467. Note C. Quotation from Schlegel's Essai de l'origine des Hindous.

467—468. Note D. Quotation from the Rev. G. C. Geldart's paper "Language no Test of Race."

468—469. Note D*. Spiegel on the old Iranian Dialects.

469 Note E. Quotation from Rigveda, ix. 113.

469—476. Note F. Quotation from Windischmann's Essay, Ueber den Somacultus der Arier.
476—477. Note G. Prof. Cowell's note in his edition of Elphinstone's History of India on that author's views regarding the origin of the Hindus.
477—478. Note H. Quotation from Spiegel on the question of the separation of the Iranians and Indians.
478—479. Note I. Quotation from Spiegel on the grounds of the separation.
479 Note J. Quotation from Ptolemy.
480—481. Note K. On the earliest abodes of the Arians.
482—484. Note L. Quotations from the Mahābhārata and Rājataranginī regarding the tribes of the Panjāb.
484 Note M. Quotations from Lassen and Wilson.
485 Note N. Quotation from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 8, 1, 5.
485—488. Note O. Stevenson and Caldwell on the different elements of the Indian population.
489—493. Additional Notes.
494—499. Metrical Translations.
501—512. Index.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 17, line 15, for "*daliddāe*" read "*daliddadāe*."
„ 76, line 12, for "*Saptaśalaka*" read "*Saptaśataka*."
„ 94, line 17, for "*baliddo*" read "*baladdo*."
„ 192, 4 lines from the bottom, *for* "Panigins" *read* "Paingins."
„ 259, last line, *for* "Mahābbāshya" *read* "Mahābhāshya."
„ 332, note 109, line 2, *for* "Hyrcania" *read* "Hyrcania."
„ 360, note 3, line 5, *for* "viii. 226," *read* "viii. 22, 6."
„ 361, 7 lines from foot, *for* "Vṛihad" *read* "Bṛihad."
„ 368, line 29, *for* "xviii. 8, 22," *read* "xviii. 2, 28."
„ 370, note 30, line 3, *for* "Vālākhilya" *read* "Vālakhilya."
„ 385, line 17, and note 63, line 1, *for* "Arjuni" *read* "Arjuna."
„ „ note 3, line 5, *for* "i. 103, 3," *read* "i. 104, 3."

Note.—Page 89, note, line 3, Prof. Weber suggests that "*kadraṇo*" in the works quoted is no doubt a misprint for "*kaiṇo*."

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

VOLUME SECOND.

PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

In the first volume of this work I have sought to collect, translate, and illustrate (1) the mythical accounts of the creation of man and of the origin of castes which are to be found in the Vedic hymns, in the Brāhmaṇas and their appendages, in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas; (2) the texts of the Veda, and Brāhmaṇas, which speak of Manu as the progenitor of the Āryan Indians; (3) the passages of the Rig and Atharva Vedas which throw light upon the mutual relations of the several classes of Indian society at the time when those works were composed; (4) the portions of the Brāhmaṇas, or of later books which relate the struggles for pre-eminence which appear to have occurred between the Brāhmans and Kshattriyas in the early ages of Indian history; (5) the opinions of Manu and the authors of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas regarding the origin of the alien tribes dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan; and (6) the Purānic descriptions of the parts of the earth exterior to Bhāratavarsha or India: and as a result of the whole inquiry I found that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent account of the origin of castes; and that in consequence of this discrepancy the theory commonly received by that people of the original distinctness of the four classes, in virtue of their derivation from different portions of the Creator's body, is not established as the doctrine of Hinduism, even by a literal interpretation of its more popular writings.

It will now be my endeavour to show by a series of proofs of a different description, derived from comparative philology, and from an examination of the earliest Hindu writings, the Vedas, that the people of India who belong to the principal pure and mixed classes were not originally divided into castes, or indigenous in India, but may, with

the greatest probability, be regarded as forming a branch (not, however, perhaps, free from the intermixture of foreign elements,) of the great Indo-European family, of which the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Germanic tribes were, or are, also members; and that while other branches of this great family (which seems to have had its primeval abode in some distant country to the north-west of India) separated themselves from the main stock and migrated to the westward, the progenitors of the Hindus travelled towards Hindustan, where they perhaps intermarried with some of the tribes which were previously in occupation of the country, and where their original religious ideas were gradually modified, and the system of castes and other institutions and tenets of Brahmanism were slowly developed.

The process of reasoning by which I hope to establish these conclusions is the following. First, I propose to show, by an examination of the languages and literature of India, that the Sanskrit is not (as the Hindus appear to conceive) an immutable form of speech of divine origin, but is different now from what it was when their ancestors first came into India. This will be made apparent by a comparison of the archaic diction of the Vedic hymns with the more modern language of the Itihāsas and Purāṇas; and that this difference is the result of gradual development will be proved by a reference to the natural laws of speech, and to the analogous process which the tongues of other nations have undergone; by arguments drawn from the composition of such books as the Nighaṇṭu, and Nirukta, explanatory of obsolete words and phrases in the hymns, and from the existence of such liturgical commentaries as the Brāhmaṇas, and such speculative treatises as the Upanishads, which presuppose as already antiquated, or at least antecedent, the hymns which they quote, and the sense of which they explain and develope. The difference in age between the various Indian Sāstras will be further briefly adverted to, and established by pointing out the great discrepancy between the religious ideas, forms of worship,[1] and state of manners which they severally represent; the Vedic hymns being shown by all these various lines of proof to be the earliest of all the Indian books, and the others to follow from them by a natural course of growth and expansion. While the

[1] The detailed treatment of this portion of the subject is deferred to a later volume of this work, the Fourth.

mutability and the actual mutations of the Sanskrit language are demonstrated by this historical outline of Sanskrit literature, I shall show in some introductory sections, how, through the action of the same phonetic changes as are found to have transformed most of the ancient languages of Europe into their several modern representatives, the older Sanskrit became gradually modified[2] into the Pāli and Prākṛits, of byegone centuries, till, in combination with other elements,—not traceable in its classical literature, but forming, either an original part of the spoken dialect of the Āryan Indians, or a portion of it borrowed from alien sources,—it was ultimately broken down into the modern vernacular dialects of Northern India.

Having thus shown the mutations which the Sanskrit has undergone since its introduction into India, I propose, secondly, to prove, by a comparison of that venerable language with the Zend, Persian, Greek, Latin, and other western tongues, that these forms of speech are all closely related to each other, both in respect of roots and forms of inflection; and this in such a manner as to show them to be sister-dialects, derived, by gradual modification, from some more ancient, and now extinct, parent-language. From these facts, and others derived from Zend and Greek mythology and literature, I shall procced to argue the probability of a common origin of the different nations,—generally called the Āryan, Indo-Germanic, or Indo-European nations,—by which the above-mentioned languages have been spoken; as well as to evince the strong probability that the progenitors of the Hindus immigrated from the north or north-west into India.

I shall then endeavour to fortify the latter of these conclusions by referring to the indications which are discoverable of a collision between the Indo-Āryans, after their arrival in India, and certain barbarous tribes, speaking a different language, and belonging to a different race, who occupied that country before their immigration, and by sketching a history of their advance to the south and east. These subjects will be illustrated from the data to be found in the Vedic hymns, the most ancient monuments of Indian antiquity, as well as in the other Śāstras of later date.

[2] The objections which have been raised to this statement of the origin of the Pāli, etc., will be considered further on.

CHAPTER I.

THE LANGUAGES OF NORTHERN INDIA: THEIR HISTORY AND RELATIONS.

SECT. I.—*The North-Indian Dialects, Ancient and Modern.*

A SURVEY of the languages of Northern India reveals to us the following facts. We find, first, a polished and complicated language, the Sanskrit, popularly regarded as sacred, and in reality of very high antiquity; which is now, however, understood only by a few learned men, and spoken in their schools as the vehicle of discussions on grammar, theology, and philosophy, while it is totally unintelligible to the mass of the people. We find, secondly, a variety of provincial dialects which are employed both by the learned and the unlearned, viz., Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, Guzaratī, etc., all bearing a close resemblance to each other, and all composed, in a great measure, of the same roots.

The words of which these vernacular dialects are formed may be divided into four classes. First, such as are pure Sanskrit, as for example *īśvara* (god), *devatā* (deity), *svarga* (heaven), *strī* (woman), *purusha* (man), *jana* (person); secondly, words which, though modified from their original form, are easily recognizable as Sanskrit, such as *log* from *loka* (people), *istrī* from *strī* (woman), *muṇh* from *mukha* (mouth), *bhāī* from *bhrātṛi* (brother), *bhatījā* from *bhrātṛija* (brother's son), *bāhin* from *bhāgĭnī* (sister), *biyāh* from *vivāha* (marriage), *bhūiṉ* from *bhūmi* (earth), and innumerable others in Hindī; thirdly, words which have no resemblance to any vocables discoverable in Sanskrit books, and which we must therefore either suppose to have an origin independent of that language, or to have formed part of the colloquial,

though not of the written, Āryan speech,[1] such as in Hindī, *bāp* (father), *bēṭā* (son), *pēṛ* (a tree), *chaukī* (a chair), *chūk* (a blunder), *khiṛkī* (a window), *jhāgṛā* (a dispute), *bakheṛā* (the same), *āṭā* (flour), *chaṭāī* (a mat), and a multitude of other instances. Fourthly, words derived from Arabic, Persian, or some other foreign language, as *ādmī* (a man), *'aurat* (a woman), *hākim* (a ruler), *hākīm* (a physician), *durust* (right), *roz* (day), *dariyā* (a river), *roshanī* (light), etc., etc.

Let us now see what is the history of these vernacular dialects. It is clear, for various reasons, that they cannot have existed for ever in their present form. When therefore, and how have they been created? What do history and the books of Indian grammarians tell us on the subject?

If we begin with the Arabic and Persian words which the North-Indian dialects, such as Bengalī and Hindī, contain, we shall find it to be universally admitted that words of this kind have only been introduced into those languages since the time when the Musulmans began to invade India. Now it is well known that Mahmūd of Ghazni made his first inroad into Hindustan between eight and nine hundred years ago. Before that time, and in fact till long afterwards, when the Mahomedans had penetrated from the north-west far into India, and taken possession of that country, there could have been scarcely any intermixture of Arabic or Persian words in the Indian dialects.[2]

[1] This latter alternative supposition was suggested to me by Prof. Aufrecht. The same remark had been previously made by Mr. J. Beames, as will appear from a quotation which I shall make further on from his "Notes on the Bhojpurī dialect of Hindī," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1868, p. 499.

[2] We learn, indeed, from the works of the ancient astronomer, Varāha Mihira, that a few astronomical and astrological terms of Greek or Arabic origin had been borrowed from the Arabian astronomers, and introduced into Sanskrit books. I allude to such words as *hōrā*, *ḍṛikāṇa*, *liptā*, *anaphā*, *sunaphā*, *āpoklima*, *riṣpha*, which are of Greek origin, and *mukāriṇā*, *mukāvilā*, *tasdī*, *taslī*, etc., which are derived from the Arabic. (Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, II., 525 ff., and Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 227, and Indische Studien, II., pp. 254 and 263.) The following verse of Varāha Mihira proves clearly how much the Indian astronomers were indebted to the Greeks:—

mlechhāḥ hi yavanās teshu samyak śāstram idaṁ sthitam |
ṛishi-vat te 'pi pūjyante kim punar daivavid dvijaḥ |

"For the Yavanas are Mlechhas; yet among them this science is thoroughly cultivated;

In the preface to the popular Urdu book, the Bāgh o Bahār, we have the following account by the author, Mīr Amman, of Dehli (who states that his forefathers had served all the kings of Hindustan, from Humayūn downwards), of the origin of the Urdu language, which I copy in the Roman character:—

"*Ḥaqīqat Urdu kī zabān kī buzurgoṉ ke muṉh se yūṉ sunī hai kih Dillī shahr Hinduoṉ ke nazdīk chaujugī haị. Uṉheṉ ke rājā parjā qadīm se rahte the, aur apnī bhākhā bolte thé. Hazār baras se Musulmānoṉ kā 'amal hūā. Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznavī āyā. Phir Ghorī aur Lodī bādshāh hūe. Is āmad o raft ke bā'iṣ kuchh zabānoṉ ne Hindū Musulmān kī āmezish pāī. Ākhir Amīr Taimur ne. . . . Hindūstān ko liyā. Unke āne aur rahne se lashkar kā bāzār shahr meṉ dākhil hūā. Is wāste shahr kā bāzār Urdū kahlāyā. . . . Jab Akbar bādshāh takht par baiṭhe, tab chāron ṭaraf ke mulkoṉ se sab qaum qadrdānī aur faiẓrasānī us khāndān lāṣānī kī sunkar ḥuzūr meṉ ākar jama'a hūe. Lekin har ek kī gōyāī aur bolī judī judī thī. Ikaṭṭhe hone se āpas meṉ len den saudā, sulf suwāl jawāb karte ek zabān Urdū kī muqarrar hūī. . . . Nidāṉ zabān Urdū kī manjte manjte aisī manjī kih kisū shahr kī bolī us se ṭakkar nahīṉ khātī.*"

"I have heard from the lips of my ancestors the following account of the Urdu language:—The City of Delhi in the opinion of the Hindus has existed during the four Yugas. It was inhabited of old by their kings with their subjects, who spoke their own *bhākhā* (dialect). A thousand years ago the rule of the Musulmans began. Sultān Mahmūd, of Ghaznī, came. Then the Ghorī and Lodī dynasties held sway. In consequence of this intercourse, a certain mixture of the languages of the Hindus and Musulmans took place. At length Amīr Taimūr . . . conquered Hindustān. In consequence of his arrival and residence, the bāzār of the army was introduced into the city, and the bāzār of the city came in consequence to be called Urdū. . . . When king Akbar ascended the throne, all races, learning the liberality of that unequalled family and its patronage of merit,

and even they are revered like Ṛishis: how much more a Brāhman skilled in astrology!" (Colebrooke's Essays, II., 410.) This trifling exception, however, does not invalidate the assertion made in the text, that it was only after the settlement of the Musulmans in India that Arabic and Persian words came to be used in the dialects of India.

gathered round his court from all the surrounding countries; but the language of all these people was different. From their being collected, however, trafficking together, and talking with each other, a camp (Urdū) language became established. . . . At length, the Urdū language, being gradually polished, attained such a degree of refinement that the speech of no city can vie with it."

But it is only in the Urdu dialect, which is used by the Mahomedans and by those Hindus in the north-western provinces of India who have learnt the Persian language, that Persian and Arabic words are extensively employed. The words derived from those sources which exist in the Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, Guzaratī, and other North-Indian dialects, in the form in which they are generally spoken by the Hindus, are considerably fewer in number. By far the larger portion of words in those tongues are (as has been already said) either (1) pure Sanskrit, or (2) corrupt Sanskrit, or (3) words which can neither be traced in Sanskrit books nor yet are derived from Persian or Arabic, and which may therefore be regarded either as indigenous (*i.e.* derived from non-Āryan tribes), or colloquial vocables of Āryan origin.

Several interesting questions arise here; as First, how far back can we trace the existing vernacular dialects, Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, Guzaratī, etc., in the form in which they are now spoken? Secondly, what has been the process of their formation? and, Thirdly, from what source have they derived those words which are not discoverable in Sanskrit, as it has been preserved to us in written records?

The question regarding the antiquity of the existing vernaculars is one which I am not prepared to answer with any precision. Professor Lassen (Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ, pp. 59 f.) thinks they have existed since, at least, 1000 A.D. I translate his remarks on the two classes of dialects derived from Sanskrit: "To close this disquisition, I therefore remark that there are two families of corrupted Sanskrit, one more ancient, and not completely broken down, to which belong the Pali and the dramatic dialects; and a second, of more recent origin, and diffused in our own day over the provinces of India, which differs more widely from its parent. The former set are genuine daughters of the Sanskrit; the latter grand-daughters, al-

though it is to some extent doubtful whether these are the daughters of the former, or of their sister dialects. As regards antiquity, the former family are proved by the history of Buddhism, and of the Indian drama, to have come into existence prior to our era; and it may be shown by probable proofs that the latter arose before 1000 A.D. The discussion of the latter question is, however, foreign to our purpose."

Mr. Beames claims for the modern vernacular dialects a high antiquity, and regards them as springing from an ancient Āryan language, which included elements not discoverable in the classical Sanskrit. His observations are as follows:

"I would here further observe that the written Sanskrit has unfortunately attracted the attention of scholars too exclusively. No one who lives long in India can escape having the conviction forced on him that the written language is quite inadequate to account for many forms and facts observable in the modern dialects. These dialects assert for themselves a high antiquity, and are derived, one cannot doubt, from an ancient Aryan speech, which is as imperfectly represented in Sanskrit as the speech of the Italian peasantry of their day was represented by Cicero or Virgil. The process of selection which led the polished Roman to use only stately and euphonious words—a process which is abundantly exemplified in the pages of modern English writers—was doubtless at work among the ancient Brahmins; and the fact that the cognate Indo-Germanic languages preserve words not found in Sanskrit, but which can be matched from the stores of humble and obscure Hindī or Bengalī dialects, is another proof of this fact. The line taken by Professor Lassen, in his valuable Prakrit Grammar, of treating all Prakrit words as necessarily modifications of Sanskrit words, is one which he has borrowed whole from Vararuchi and Hemachandra, and, however excusable in those ancient commentators, seems unworthy of an age of critical research."

It is not, however, necessary for my purpose that I should decide, even approximately, the question of the antiquity of the modern vernaculars. It will be sufficient if I can show that they have been derived by a gradual process of change from other provincial dialects which preceded them; and which, in their turn, have sprung from the Sanskrit, at some stage of its development.

There is no difficulty in conceiving that the Indian vernacular dialects should have undergone great modifications in a long course of ages. The mere fact above adverted to, which every one recognizes, of their having at a particular assignable date admitted into their vocabulary a large influx of Persian and Arabic words, is sufficient to render it probable that they may have formerly experienced other mutations of various kinds.

The circumstance, too, that the people who inhabit the different provinces of northern India make use of different, but kindred, provincial dialects, Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc., which must, for the most part, at a period more or less remote, have sprung from some common source,[3] is a proof of the tendency to change which is inherent in all spoken language. For as the inhabitants of all these provinces profess, with some modifications, the same creed, receive the same religious books, and are divided into the same or similar castes, and for these and other reasons appear to be descended, though perhaps not exclusively, from one common stock, it is highly probable that their common ancestors must, at one time, have employed one and the same language: and that that language has in process of time undergone various provincial modifications, out of which the several modern vernaculars have been gradually formed.

We shall also see, a little further on, that the differences between the North-Indian dialects (the old Mahārāshṭrī, Saurasenī, etc.) which preceded the modern vernacular tongues, were few and unimportant; whereas the modern vernacular tongues, Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, and Guzaratī, differ widely from each other in their forms of inflection and conjugation. This greater divergence between the modern than we find to have existed between the earlier dialects, evinces clearly the tendency to continual alteration, which I have remarked as a characteristic of language in general.

[3] Mr. Beames says (Jour. Roy. As. Soc. for 1868, p. 498): "It is, however, clear that each dialect of Hindī has had an independent existence for centuries, and I think an independent origin." This, however, can of course apply only to forms, not to the words which the dialects, whether Hindī or other, have in common; and which in many cases are diversely modified from the Sanskrit original. And although some of the grammatical forms may be original or invented, and not modified from those of any pre-existing Āryan language, there must be other forms which are merely modifications or developments.

I shall first of all state briefly the facts by which it is proved that the modern vernaculars are not, comparatively speaking, of any high antiquity, but have arisen out of earlier provincial dialects: and then proceed to establish these facts more in detail.

First. In extant Buddhist histories, such as the Lalita Vistara composed in Sanskrit, numerous verses, styled Gāthās, are interspersed, the language of which differs from pure Sanskrit, by the forms of inflection being varied or mutilated. This popularized Sanskrit, or something akin to it, appears to have been at one time the spoken language of India; or, at least, this Gāthā dialect exhibits some specimens of that ancient spoken language, and exemplifies the process by which the ancient Sanskrit, itself at one time a spoken language, became gradually corrupted.

Second. It has been discovered that many inscriptions are extant, engraven on rocks in different parts of India, bearing date apparently between two and three hundred years anterior to the Christian era, in which a language differing both from Sanskrit and the modern vernaculars is used.

Third. There are extant in other countries, such as Ceylon and Burmah, very ancient Buddhist books written in a language called Pālī or Māgadhī, which also is different from the modern vernaculars, as well as from Sanskrit, while it closely resembles the language of the rock inscriptions just alluded to.

Fourth. In ancient Indian dramas such as the Mṛichhakaṭī, Śakuntalā, etc., while kings and Brāhmans are made to speak Sanskrit, various forms of speech called Prākṛit and Apabhraṅśa are employed for the inferior castes and for women, which in like manner, differ both from Sanskrit and from the existing vernacular tongues.

The four foregoing classes of language have a more or less close affinity to each other; and from the use made of the last three in particular, viz., that used in the rock inscriptions, that found in the Pālī Buddhistical writings, and those employed in the dramas, it is impossible to doubt that either they, or forms of speech closely connected with them, were formerly current, during a long course of centuries, as the actual vernaculars of the periods when they were employed for literary, political, and religious purposes.

But while we thus discover that Pālī and different forms of Prākṛit, such as have been described, were employed in former times, we can find no traces of the modern vernacular dialects, Hindī, Bengālī, or Mahrattī, etc., in their present shape, in the ancient records of that same period; and we must therefore of necessity conclude that these modern vernaculars did not at that time exist, but have been subsequently developed out of the above-mentioned Prākṛit languages or other pre-existent forms of speech; in other words, that the former vernaculars (or Prākṛits) have been gradually altered until they have assumed the form of the modern Hindī, Bengālī, Mahrattī, etc.

As regards the second question started in p. 7, the process by which the modern vernaculars arose out of the earlier modifications of Sanskṛit, viz., the manner in which the grammatical forms of the latter, *i.e.* the Prākṛits, were broken down into those of the former, it is not necessary that I should enter into any detailed investigation, although some insight into the process will be afforded by the Comparative Tables which will be given further on. It is sufficient to know that by a particular operation of the general laws of linguistic change, the more recent forms of speech have naturally grown out of the older.

I shall now proceed to supply a more detailed account of those forms of vernacular speech already alluded to, which appear to have preceded the existing varieties, and which are now obsolete. In carrying out this design, it will be advisable to begin with those dialects which seem to be the most recently formed and employed of the four Indian classes of speech which have been before alluded to, viz., first, that found in the Buddhist Gāthās; secondly, that used in the rock inscriptions; thirdly, the Pālī; and fourthly, the dramatic Prākṛits. The last-named class appearing to be the most recent, I shall first subject it to examination, and then proceed to the others.

Sect. II.—*The Prākṛit Dialects employed in the Dramas.*

With the view of ascertaining the relation in which the Prākṛit languages stand to the modern vernaculars of northern India, I have gone cursorily over several of the dramas in which they are employed, such as the Mṛichhakaṭī, attributed to King Śūdraka, and the Vikra-

morvasī attributed to Kālidāsa, (both of which, though their precise age be disputed, appear to have been respectively composed, at the latest, about sixteen and fourteen hundred years ago,[4]) together with several others. I have also referred to the examples given in the Prākṛit Grammar of Vararuchi, which is considered by Lassen to have been composed about eighteen hundred years ago,[5] or rather in its commentary. An examination of the Prākṛits which are found in these several works shows that the languages of India were then in a state of transition, and formed an intermediate link between the Sanskṛit and the modern vernacular dialects. For whatever opinion we may entertain on the question whether the dramatic Prākṛits were identical with any contemporaneous or earlier vernacular dialects,[6] it is difficult to imagine that they had not a considerable resemblance to some of these. Even if some of the forms of the dramatic Prākṛits were purely literary and unknown in any of the spoken languages, they could scarcely have failed to bear some analogy to those of the latter; as, first, the inventors of those forms could hardly have had the ingenuity to devise entirely novel modifications of speech, or secondly, if they had, their compositions would have been thereby rendered unintelligible. The Prākṛit forms of inflection and declension approach more to the Sanskṛit than to the modern vernaculars; but yet exhibit a great

[4] Professor Wilson, reasoning from a variety of considerations, considers the Mṛichhakaṭī to have been probably composed in the interval between 100 B C. and the end of the second century A.D. (Introduction to the play, pp. 5–9.) The same writer thinks that the Vikramorvasī, which is regarded as the work of Kālidāsa, is more recent than the Mṛichhakaṭī, but does not assign any probable date (Introd. to drama, pp. 185, 186). Lassen holds that the Mṛichhakaṭī was composed towards the end of the first century A.D., while the Vikramorvasī and the S'akuntalā (which last is also assigned to Kālidāsa) were composed in the second half of the second century A.D. (Ind. Alt. ii. p. 1160). Weber, on the other hand, in his latest notice of the subject in the Introduction to his Mālavikā and Agnimitra, pp. xxxiii, x], places the age of Kālidāsa, the author of Vikramorvasī and S'akuntalā, at the close of the third century A.D. The Mṛichhakaṭī is held by the same author to be not earlier than the second century A.D. (Ind. Stud. ii. 148).

[5] Ind. Alterth., vol. ii. p. 1160.

[6] It is quite conceivable that the Prākṛits employed in the earlier dramas may have continued to be the conventional forms in use in later works of the same kind, even after the provincial vernaculars to which they were most akin had been modified or superseded,—just as Latin, Sanskrit and Pālī continued to be used for literary purposes after they had ceased to be spoken tongues.

breaking down and modification of the former. I will give some instances of this which will make my meaning clearer than any general statements. I do not think it necessary to distinguish here the different kinds of Prākṛit, which will be specified further on.

Sanskrit.	Prākṛit.	Hindī.	English.
Bhavāmi	Homi	Hūṇ	I am.
Bhavasi	Hosi	Hai	Thou art.
Bhavati	Hodi	Hai	He is.
Bhavanti	Hohti	Haiṇ	They are.
Uttishṭha	Uṭṭhahi	Uṭh	Rise.
Prāpnomi	Pāvimi	Pātā-hūṇ	I obtain.
S'ṛiṇomi	S'uṇāmi	Suntā-hūṇ	I hear.
S'ṛiṇu	Suṇu, *or* Suṇāhi	Sun	Hear (imper.).
Kathaya	Kahēhi	Kah	Tell.
Dadāmi	Dēmi	Detā-huṇ	I give.
Dadāti	Dēdi	Detā-hai	He gives.
Dattam	Diṇṇam	Diyā, Dīn	Given.
Nṛityati	Năchchai	Nāchtā	He dances.
Rakshāmi	Rakkhāmi	Rakhtā-hūṇ	I keep.
Dhāva	Dhovehi	Dhǫ	Wash.
Brūmaḥ	Bollāmo	Bolte	We speak.
Patāmi	Paṛemi	Paṛtā	I fall.
Nishkāśaya	Nikkālēhi	Nikāl	Expel.
Ghṛitam	Ghiā	Ghī	Ghee.
Mukha	Muha	Muṇh	Mouth.
Kāryyam	Kajjam	Kāj	Work.
Karma	Kamma	Kām	Work.
Karṇa	Kaṇṇa	Kān	Ear.
Twam	Tumam	Tum	Thou or you.
Tubhyam	Tujh	Tujh	To thee.
Yushmākam	Tumhāṇam	Tumhārā	Of you.
Asti	Atthi, *or* Achchhi	Āchchhe (Beng.)	He is.
Santi	Achchhanti	Āchchhen (ditto.)	They are.

It is manifest that in these instances we see the intermediate forms which the words took in Prākṛit before they assumed the shapes in which we now find them in Hindī or Bengalī, *e.g.*, *karma* and *kāryya* became in Prākṛit respectively *kamma* and *kajja*, and finally in Hindī *kām* and *kāj*. The Sanskrit form *rakshāmi* (I keep) re-appears

in the Prākṛit *rakkhāmi*, with the compound consonant *ksh* changed into *kkh*, but with *āmi* the final affix of the first person singular unchanged. In the modern vernacular the former change remains, but the word has undergone a farther modification, the peculiar affix of the first person singular *āmi* having disappeared in the Hindī *rakhtā*, which does not differ from the second and third persons. A fuller exemplification of the points in which the Prākṛits coincide with and diverge from the Sanskrit, on the one hand, and approximate to the modern vernaculars on the other, will be found in the tabular statement subjoined.

The books to which reference has been made in this statement are the following:—Mr. Cowell's Prākṛita Prakāśa of Vararuchi; Lassen's Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ; Delius's Radices Pracriticæ; the Mṛichhakaṭī, Stenzler's edition; the Śakuntalā, Böhtlingk's edition; the Prabodha Chandrodaya, Brockhaus's edition; Mālavikā Agnimitra, Tullberg's edition; and the Vikramorvaśī, Calcutta edition.[7]

[7] Since the first edition of this work appeared, two dramas, the Prasannarāghava of Jayadeva, and the Bālarāmāyaṇa of Rājaśekhara, have been printed by Pandit Govinda Deva S'āstrī, in the Journal called "The Pandit," published at Benares, and separate copies of each have been struck off, bearing the dates of 1868 and 1869. Professor Weber has also published, in 1866, a Dissertation on the language of the Jaina work called "Bhagavatī," which is a species of Prākṛit; and in 1870 the text, with a German translation, of the "Saptaśataka of Hâla," as a "contribution to the knowledge of Prâkṛit."

TABLE No. I.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE SANSKRIT, PRĀKṚIT, AND MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES.[8]

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 3. 126	*ghṛitam*	*ghiam*	*ghī*	*ghī*	ghee.
Mṛichh. 3 Var. v. 25	*dadhi*	*dahīm, dahiṁ*	*dahī*	*dahīm*	curds.
Var. ii. 27 . .	*mukha*	*muhaṁ*	*muṅh*	*mukh*	mouth.
Var. ii. 27 . .	*badhira*	*vahira*	*bahirā*	*bahirā*	deaf.
Var. ii. 27 . .	*megha*	*meho*	*meṅh*	*megh, dhag*	cloud.
Var. v. 19 . .	*vadhū*	*vahū*	*bahū*	*bāyako, baīl*	wife.
Mṛichh. 164. 168. . .	*sādhu*	*sāhū, śāhū*	*sāhū*	*sāhū, sāvakār*	good: banker.
Var. iii. 3. 17.	*kārya, karma*	*kajja, kammo*	*kāj, kām*	*kāj, kām*	work.
Var. iii. 17. Var. ix. 17.	*ārye*	*ajje*	. . .	. . .	respectable.
Var. ii. 10. .	*garbhiṇī*	*gabbhiṇ*	*gabbhin*	*gābhaṇ*	pregnant.
Var. iii. 2. 50.	*yogyam*	*joggam*	*jog*	*jogā*	proper.
Var. iii. 2. . .	*rājya*	*rajja*	*rāj*	. . .	kingdom.
Var. iii. 27. Mṛichh. 31.	*adya*	*ajja*	*āj*	*āj*	to-day.
Vikr. 78. 79.	*vādyamānaih*	*vajjantehiṁ*	*bajānā*	*bajāwiṇeṁ*	to sound.
Var. iii. 3. . .	*ardham*	*addhaṁ*	*ādhā*	*ādhā*	half.
Var. iii. 3. 50.	*karṇaḥ*	*kaṇṇo*	*kāṇ*	*kān*	ear.
Śak. 25. . . .	*kharjūraiḥ*	*khajjūrehiṁ*	*khajūr*	*khajūr*	date tree.
Mṛichh. 104.	*charmmakāraḥ*	*chaṇmārao*	*chamār*	*chamhār*	Chumar.
Var. iv. 1. . .	*kumbhakāraḥ*	*kumbhāro*	*kuṃhār*	*kumbhār*	potter.
Var. iii. 3. . .	*sarvam*	*sabbam, śabbam*	*sab*	. . .	all.
Mṛichh. 124.	*suvarṇa*	*śovaṇa*	*sonā*	*soneṁ*	gold.
Var. iii. 27. .	*satyam*	*sachcham*	*sach*	*sāch*	true.
Var. iii. 4. Mṛichh. 44.	*chandraḥ*	*chando*	*chānd*	*chānd*	moon.
Vikr. 23. . . .	*chandreṇa*	*chāndaeṇa*	. . .	. . .	by the moon.
Var. iii. 28. .	*madhyaḥ*	*majjho*	*manjhalā, majholā*	*māj*	middle.
Var. iii. 12. .	*hastaḥ*	*hattho*	*hāth*	*hāt*	hand.
Mṛichh. 7. 120	*vṛiddha*	*vuḍḍha*	*buḍhā*	. . .	old.
Vikr. 107. . .	*vṛiddhām*	*vuḍḍiṁ*	*buḍhiyā*	. . .	old woman.
Vikr. 121. . .	*jyeshṭha*	*jeṭṭha*	*jeṭhā*	. . .	eldest.
Var. iii. 1. 50	*mushṭi*	*muṭṭhi*	*muṭṭhi*	*mūṭh*	fist: handful.
Var. iii. 1. 51 Mṛich. 28. 142	*śreshṭhi*	*seṭṭhi*	*seṭh*	*seṭ*	superior, banker.
Mṛichh. 18. 30	*kāshṭhena*	*kaṭṭheṇa*	*kāṭh*	*kāṭhī*	wood, a pole
Mṛichh. 18. 21	*śushka*	*sukkha, śukkha*	*sūkhā*	*sukhā, sukā*	dry.
Mṛichh. 53. .	*sākshin*	*sakkhi*	*sākhī*	. . .	witness.

[8] This table (except as regards the transliteration of the Indian words), is reprinted nearly as it stands in the first edition, and without a renewed verification of the references in col. 1, the labour of which, I thought, would hardly have been repaid by correction of a few possible inaccuracies.

REFERENCES.	SANSKṚIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. i. 20. and iii. 12. . . .	*pustakam*	*pothao*	*pothī*	*pothī*	book.
Var. iii. 29. Mṛichh. 54.	*pushkaraḥ*	*pokkharo*	*pokharā*	*pokhar*	pond.
Mṛichh. 99. Var. iii. 29.	*dakshiṇe*	*dakkhiṇe*	*dakhin*	. . .	south.[9]
Lassen, 363. Mṛichh. 97. 117. . . .	*dakshiṇam*	*dāhiṇam*	*dāhinā*	. . .	on the right hand.[9]
Var. iii. 40. Mṛichh. 99.	*paśchimaḥ*	*pachchhimo*	*pachchhim*	. . .	west.
Var. iii. 1. . .	*bhaktam*	*bhattaṁ*	*bhāt*	*bhāt*	boiled rice, rice in husk.
Mṛichh. 104.	*granthi*	*ganṭhi*	*gāṇṭh*	*gāṇṭh*	joint.
Var. i. 12. . .	*pishṭam*	*piṭṭham*	*pīṭnā*	*piṭaṇeṁ*	to pound.
Mṛichh. 105.	*pṛishṭhataḥ*	*piṭṭhido*	*pīṭh*	. . .	at the back.
Var. i. 36. . .	*chaitraḥ*	*cha'itto*	*chait*	. . .	name of a month.
Mṛichh. 120 Var. iii. 29.	*kshetra*	*khetta*	*khet*	*śet*	field.
Mṛichh. 94. 95	*mṛittikā*	*maṭṭiā*	*maṭṭī*	*mātī*	earth.
Var. iii. 40. Mṛich. 71. 150	*paśchāt*	*pachhādo, pachhā*	*pāchhe*	. . .	after.
Var. iii. 2. . .	*nagnaḥ*	*naggo*	*nangā*	*nangā*	naked.
Var. iii. 40. .	*vatsa*	*vachha*[10]	*bachā*	*bachā*	child, etc.
Var. iv. 9. 26 Vikr. 36. .	*vidyut*	*vijjū, vijjulī*	*bijlī*	*wīj*	lightning.
Var. i. 32. iii. 31	*vṛikshaḥ*	*vuchho*[11]	*brichh*	*vṛiksha*	tree.
Mṛichh. 73. 79	*rūkshaḥ*[12]	*rukkha, lukkha*	*rūkh*	. . .	tree.
Var. i. 30. iii. 30	*ṛikshaḥ*	*richchho*	*rīchh*	. . .	a bear.
Mṛichh. 72. Var. v. 35.	*bhrātā*	*bhādā, bhāā*	*bhāī*	*bhāū*	brother.
Mṛichh. 72. .	*ashṭamam*	*aṭṭhamam*	*āṭhwāñ*	*āṭhwā*	eighth.
Mṛichh. 71. .	*saptamam*	*sattamam*	*sātwāñ*	*sātwā*	seventh.
Var. iii. 35. Mṛichh. 93.	*pushpam*	*puppham*	*puhap*	. . .	flower.
Var. i. 8. . .	*mayūra*	*moro*	*mor*	*mor*	peacock.
Var. i. 7. . .	*lavaṇam*	*loṇam*	*lon*	*loṇ*	salt.
Mṛichh. 11. 94. and 113. 138	*bhaginīm*	*bahiṇim*	*bahīn*	*bahīṇ*	sister.
Mṛichh. 117.	*śūkaraḥ*	*śuale*[13]	*sūar*	. . .	hog.
Var. i. 28. xi. 17 Mṛichh. 11.	*śṛigālī*	*śiālī, sialī*	*siyāl*	. . .	she jackall.
Mṛichh. 120.	*vīja*	*vīa*	*bīā*	*bīj, bī*	seed.
Mṛichh. 77.	*vaṇik*	*bāṇio*[14]	*baniyā*	*wāṇī*	merchant.

[9] Here it deserves to be specially noted that the Sanskrit word undergoes the same changes in Prākṛit and Hindī according to its two different meanings.

[10] The Persian has the same form, with a *b* instead of the *v*.

[11] Vararuchi gives the form *vachchho*, not *vuchchha*, which I find in the Mṛichh., p. 73.

[12] *Rūksha* is given in Wilson's dictionary as one of the Sanskrit words for a tree; but it may have crept in from Prākṛit. Compare Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*

[13] This word is from the Śakārikā, one of the Apabhraṁśa dialects. In ordinary Prākṛit it would perhaps be *sūaro* or *śūaro*.

[14] *Vāṇio* Mṛichh., 28 and 50.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 78.	*kāyasthaḥ*	*kāatthao*	*kāyath*	*kāyat*	Kāyasth.
Lass. p 172. 218. Mṛich. 29. 30. 151. Var. iv. 2.	*devālayaḥ devakulam*	*deulu, devalam*	*dewal*	*dewaḷ, deūḷ*	temple.
Var. iv. 1.	*rājakulam*	*rāa'ulam, rāulam*	*rāwal* (a priest.)	*rāūḷ* (a palace.)	royal family.
Mṛichh. 30. 38. 39.	*dyūtakaraḥ*	*jūdiaro, jūdiaru, jūdialo*	*juārī*	*jugārī*	gambler.
Var. viii. 25.	*sthāna*	*ṭhāṉa*	*thāñw*	*thāṉ*	place.
Var. iii. 33.	*snāna*	*ṉhāṉa*	*nahān*	*nahāṉ, nhāṉ*	bathing.
Var. iii. 33. 61.	*kṛishṉaḥ*	*kaṉho*	*kanhaiyā, kānh*[15]	*kanhaiyā, kānhobā*	Kṛishṉa.
Var. iii. 3. Mṛichh. 13.	*grāma*	*gāma*	*gāñw*	*gāñw*	village.
Mṛichh. 97. Var. iv. 25.	*grāmyāḥ*	*gāmeluā*[16]	*gāñwālā*	. . .	villager.
Mṛichh. 69. 96 Lass. 172. 425	*balīvardāḥ*	*ba'illā*	*bail*	*bail*	oxen.
Mṛichh. 6.	*daridratayā*	*daliddāe*	*dalidratā*	. . .	poverty.
Mṛich. 12. 44. 164. Var. xii. 22. Vikr. 30.	*striyam, striyā*	*iśthiyam,*[17] *itthiāe*	*istrī*	. . .	woman.
Mṛichh. 18. 23. 58.	*śyāla*	*sālaa, sālo*	*sālā*	*sālā*	brother-in-law.
Var. iii. 14. 50. & Mṛichh. 40	*stambhaḥ*	*khambho*	*khambhā*	*khāmb*	pillar.
Var. iii. 29.	*skandhaḥ*	*khandho*	*kandhā*	. . .	shoulder.
Mṛichh. 43. Mṛichh. 50.	*vahis, vāhya*	*vāhila, vāhira*	*bāhir*	*bāher*	outside.
Mṛichh. 126.	*vṛiddhe, vṛihati*	*vaḍḍhake, vaḍḍhakāhim̃*	*baḍā*	. . .	great.
Mṛichh. 131. Var. iii. 39.	*kārshāpaṉam*	*kahābaṉam, kahāvaṉo*	*kahāwan, kāhan*	. . .	16 paṉas of cowries.
Var. iii. 58. Mṛich. 73. 134	*dīrghikā*	*digghiā, dīhiā*	*dighī*	. . .	oblong pond.
Var. v. 24.	*haridrā*	*haladdā, haladdī*	*haldī*	. . .	turmeric.
Var. ii. 31.	*yaśas*	*jaso*	*jas*	*jas*	glory.
Var. iii. 29. Mṛichh. 150.	*kshemam*	*kkhemam*	*khem*	*khem*	welfare.
Mṛichh. 175. Var. iii. 26.	*gardabhaḥ*	*gaddaho, gaḍḍaho*	*gaḍahā*	*gāḍhawa*	ass.
Var. iii. 28, 56	*sandhyā*	*sanjhā*[18]	*sānjh*	*sānjh*	evening.
Var. iv. 25.	*etāvat*	*ettiam*	*itnā*	. . .	so much.
Mṛichh. 44.	*andhakārasya*	*andhaārassa*	*andhiyārā*	*andhār*	darkness.

[15] Kānhpur (city of Kānh, or Kṛishṉa) is the proper name of Cawnpore. When *Kṛishṉa* means *black*, it becomes *Kasaṉo* in Prākṛit, according to Var. iii. 61. The Bālarāmāyaṉa has *kisaṉa*, p. 141, and *kaṉṉa* in p. 244, in the same sense.

[16] See Lassen, p. 425, who says *gāmeluā* = quasi *grāmālayukāḥ*.

[17] This word is in the S'akārikā dialect.

[18] In this and other instances, the rules and examples given would, of course, account, by analogy, for the existence of many other modern vernacular words, of which the earlier

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Vikr. 49. and Lass. 249.[19]	*upādhyā-yasya*	*uajjhāassa, ojhāo*	*ojhā*[20]	. . .	religious teacher.
Var. iii. 18. & Vikr. 9.	*āścharyam*	*achcheram, achcharīam*	*acharaj*	. . .	wonderful.
Var. xii. 6. Vikr. 103.	*gṛidhreṇa*	*giddheṇa*	*gidh*	*gīdh*	vulture.
Vikr. 112. . .	*mātaram*	*mādaram,*[21] *mām*	*mā*	*āī, māī*[22]	mother.
Var. v. 32. . .	*mātā*	*māā*			
Vikr. 112. Vikr. 116.	*pitaram* *pituḥ*	*pidaram,*[23] *piaram, piduṇo*	*pitā, bāp*	*pitā, bāp*	father.
Mṛichh. 14. 95.116.141 Var. iv. 32.	*gṛiham*	*ghalam, gharam, giham, haraam*	*ghar*	*ghar*	house.
Var. ii. 2. . .	*jīvam*	*jīam*	*jī*	. . .	life.
Var. ii. 2. . .	*sūchī*	*sūī*	*sūī*	*suī*	needle.
Var. ii. 2. iii. 50	*mārgaḥ*	*maggo*	. . .	. . .	path.
Var. iii. 48. .	*ātmanaḥ*	*āpaṇo,*[24] *appaṇo*	*apṇā*	. . .	self; own.
Mṛichh. 12. 78. 103. 104 S'ak. 105. .	*ātmā* *ātmānam*	*āpā, appā* *appāṇam, āpāṇam*	*āp* . . .	*āpan* . . .	self; great-souled.
Prabodhach 12. 28. 37. 46. 63. 68.	*mahātmā-nam*	*mahāppā-ṇāṇam, mahāppā-ṇam*	. . .	. . .	
Prab. 63. . . Var. iii. 1. .	*sthale*	*thale*	*thal*	. . .	dry land.
Var. iv. 15. S'ak. 21. . .	*aśru*	*aṁsū, assu*	*āñsū*	*asūṁ, āsu*	tear.
Var. iii. 2. v. 14. vi. 60. .	*agnim*	*aggim*	*āg*	*āg*	fire.
Var. iii. 60. Lassen, 284.	*kriyā*	*kiriā*	*kiṙiyā*	. . .	ceremony.
Var. iii. 8. . .	*brāhmaṇo*	*vamhaṇo*	*bāmhan*	*bāmaṇ*	Brahman.
Var. iii. 25. .	*garttaḥ*	*gaḍḍo*	*gaḍhā*	. . .	cavity.
Var. i. 18. ii. 27	*gabhīram*	*gahiram*	*gahirā*	*gahirā*	deep.

Prākṛit form may not now be discoverable in any extant work. Thus the Hindī and Mahrattī word *bānjh*, a barren woman, is formed from the Sanskrit *bandhyā*, in the same way as *sānjh* comes from *sandhyā*; and as in the latter case we find the earlier Prākṛit form to have been *sanjhā*, so we may suppose the older Prākṛit form of *bānjh* to have been *banjhā*, or *vanjhā*. And the same must have been the case in numerous other instances. [In fact, since the above was written, I have actually found the word *vanjhā*, a barren woman, in Clough's Pali Grammar, p. 37. See also *vanjhjhībhūdā*, Bālarām., p. 225.]

[19] Campbell's Telugu Grammar, note to Introduction, p. 13.

[20] Ōjhā is the designation of a particular tribe of Brahmans. In the Bālarāmāyaṇa, 85 ff., the word has the form *uvajjhāa*.

[21] In Persian *mādar*. [22] Mahrattī of Nagpur. [23] In Persian *padar*.

[24] See Lassen, Inst. Pracr., p. 315. Burnouf (Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 660) observes that the form *āptano* or *ātpano*, which occurs in the rock inscription of Girnar, is the intermediate step by which *ātman* was transformed into *appā*, *appano*, etc.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. iv. 31.	*malinam*	*ma,ilam*	*mailā*	. . .	dirty.
Var. i. 9.	*chaturthī,*	*cha,utthī, chotthī*	*chauthī*	*chauthā*	fourth.
	chaturdaśī	*cha'uddahī, choddahī*	*chaudahwīñ*	*chaudā*	fourteenth, fourteen.
Var. iii. 44.	*panchadaśaḥ*	*pannāraho*	*pandarahwāñ*	*pandharā*	fifteenth, fifteen.
Var. ii. 41. Mṛichh. 70.	*shashṭhī*	*chhaṭṭhī*	*chhaṭhī*	. . .	sixth.
Var. ii. 14. 44.	*ekādaśa,*	*eāraha,*	*igārah,*	. . .	eleven,
	dvādaśa,	*vāraha,*	*bārah,*		twelve,
	trayodaśa	*teraha*[25]	*terah*		thirteen.
Lass. 271. 318 Var. vi. 59.	*dvayoḥ*	*donham, donnam*	*donoñ*	. . .	of two.
Lassen, 318 Mṛichh. 101 Var. vi. 54.	*dvau, dvābhyām, dvayoḥ*	*due, do, dohiñ, dosu*	*do*	*don*	two.
Lassen, 319. Var. vi. 56.	*trīṇi*	*tiṇṇi*	*tīn*	*tīn*	three.
Lassen, 319.	*shaṭ*	*chha*	*chha*	. . .	six.
Lassen, 320.	*viñśati*	*vīsa,i*	*bīs*	*wīs*	twenty.
Lassen, 320.	*triñśat*	*tīsaa*	*tīs*	*tīs*	thirty.
Var. iii. 30. 31.	*kshaṇam*	*chhaṇam*	*chhan*	. . .	moment.
	kshamā	*chhamā*	*chhamā*	. . .	patience.
	makshikā	*machhiā*	*makkhī*	. . .	a fly.
Var. iii. 52. iv. 1	*srotas*	*sotto*	*sotā*	. . .	stream.
Var. i. 12.	*nidrā*	*niddā*	*nīnd*	*nīd*	sleep.
Lassen, 246. Var. iii. 53.	*tāmram*	*tamvaṇ*	*tāmbā*	*tāmb* (iron rust.)	copper.
Var. iv. 33. Lass. 172. n.	*duhitā, dhīdā*	*dhīā*	*dhiyā, dhī*	. . .	maiden, daughter.
Var. iv. 25.	*dhanavān*	*dhaṇālo*	*dhanwālā*	. . .	rich.
Var. i. 10. iii. 12, Mṛich. 71	*prastāraḥ, prastaraḥ*	*pattharo, patthāro*	*patthar* (a stone.)	*patthar*	a bed : a stone.
Var. i. 20. iii. 1	*muktā*	*mottā*	*motī*	*motīñ*	pearl.
Var. iii. 3. 58 Mṛichh. 93.	*rātri*	*rattī*	*rāt*	*rāt*	night.
Var. ii. 32.	*yashṭi*	*laṭṭhī*	*lāṭhī*	*laṭṭh*	staff, club.
Var. i. 15. 28. iii. 41. Mṛichh. ?	*vṛiśchikaḥ*	*vichchuo, vinchhuo*	*bichū, bichī*	*vinchū*	scorpion.
Var. iii. 17. 19	*sūryaḥ*	*sujjo, sūro*	*sūraj*	. . .	the sun.
Var. i. 29. Lass. 293. Vikr. 45.	*prāvṛish*	*pāus*	. . .	*pāus*	the rainy season.
Var. iii. 35. 38. Lass. 209	*vāshpaḥ*	*vāppho, vappho*	*bhāph*	. . .	vapour.
Var. iii. 22.	*nartakaḥ*	*naṭṭao*	*naṭ*	*naṭ*	a dancer.
Var. iii. 24.	*vārtā*	*vattā*	*bāt*	. . .	word.
Lassen, 250. Var. iii. 21.	*paryanka*	*pallanka*	*palang*[26]	*palang*	bed.
Bāl. 132.	*palyankaḥ*	*pallanko*	. . .	. . .	do.
Lassen, 264. Var. iii. 1. 12	*ekastha*	*ekattha*	*ikaṭṭhā*	. . .	collected.

[25] See Prof. Cowell's note on Var. ii. 44.

[26] This word *palang* means in Persian also, a *bed*, as well as a *tiger*.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. iii. 12.	*mastaka*	*matthaka*	*māthā*	*māthā*	head.
Mṛichh. 18.	. . .	*matthaam*			
Lassen, 272.	*mavisya*[27]	*machchha*	*machchh,*	. . .	fish.
Var. iii. 40.			*machchhlī*		
Var. x. 10.	*kanyā*	*kaṇṇā, haṇjā*	. . .	. . .	girl.
Lassen, 379.					
App. 53.					
	aham	*aham, ham,*	*maiñ, ham*	*mīm̃*	I.
		hagge, haṅi			
	vayam	*amhe, vaam*	*ham*	*amhī*	we.
	mama	*maha, majjha*	*mujh*	*mājhā*	mine.
Vikr. 81. 82	*asmākam*	*amhāṇam*	*hamārā*	*amhālā*	of us, [us, by
Var. vi. 25–				*amhāna*	us, Mahr.]
53.	*tvam, tvām*	*tumam,*	*tum*	*tūm̃*	thou.
Cowell, Int.		*tumam*			
p. xxviii.[28]	*tubhyam*	*tujjha*	*tujh*	*tuj*	to thee.
	tava	*tuha, tujjha*	*tujh*	*tujhā*	thine.
		tujjhaha			
	yūyam	*tumhe, tujjhe*	*tum*	*tumhī*	you.
	yushmākam	*tumhāṇa*	*tumhāra*	*tumhāla,*	of you, [you,
				tumhāna	by you, Mah.]
Mṛichh. 38.	*kasya*	*kāha*	*kāhe*	. . .	whose?
Var. vi. 6.	*kasyāḥ*	*kissā*	*kis*	. . .	of what woman?
Cowell, Int. xxvii.	*yaḥ*	*jo*	*jo*	*jo*	who.
Var. iv. 16.	*tasmin*	*tahiñ*	. . .	. . .	in this.
Mṛichh. 93. 96.	*yatra, tatra*	*jahiñ, tahiñ*	*jahāṇ, tahāṇ, tahīṇ*	*jetheṁ, tetheṁ*	where, there.
Var. iv. 25.	*kiyat, yāvat*	*kettia, jettia*	*kitnā, jitnā*	*kitīm̃*	how much, as much.
Mṛichh. 74.	*kutra*	*kahiñ*	*kahāṇ*	*koṭheṁ*	where?
Mṛichh. 4. 51.	*uttishṭha*	*uṭṭhehi*	*uṭhnā*	*uṭhneṁ*	rise, to rise.
		utthehi			
Var. viii. 15. 61	*gṛihṇāti*	*geṇha, i*	*gahnā*	*gheneṁ*	to take.
Mṛichh. 4.	*pṛichchha*	*puchchha*	. . .	. . .	to ask.
27. & *pas.* Cf.	*pṛishṭā*	*puchchhidā*	*pūchhnā*	*pusaneṁ*	
Delius, p. 41	*pṛishṭvā*	*puchchhia*	. . .	. . .	
Kram., in	*prakshyāmi*	*puchchhissam*	. . .	. . .	
ditto, p. 10.	*pṛichhati*	*puchchhadi*	. . .	. . .	
Var. viii. 12.	*mriyate*	*mara, i*	*marnā*	*maraneṁ*	to die.
Var. viii. 18.	*smarāmi*	*sumarāmi*	*sumaranā*	. . .	to remember.
xii. 17. Mṛic.	*smarasi*	*sumaresi*			
66. 103. 134.	*smṛitvā*	*sumaria*			
pas. Vikr. 14					
Mṛichh. 21. 24	*samarpayasi*	*sanappesi*	*sompnā*	*sompaneṁ*	to entrust.
Mṛichh. 14.	*prāpitā*	*pābidā*	*pāyā*	*pāvaneṁ*	to obtain.
131, Vikr.	*prāptaḥ*	*pābide, patto*			
57. 97. 101		*pāviya*			
Del. p. 62 .	*prāpnomi*	*pāvimi*	*pāwtā*		
	prāpsyasi	*pāvihi*	*pāwahi*		
Var. iii 3. . .	*prabhavati*	*pabhava'i*	. . .	. . .	he prevails.

[27] *Machcha* also is, however, given in Wilson's dictionary as a Sanskrit form.

[28] [See also Mṛichhakaṭi and Vikramorvasī, etc., *passim.*]

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. vii. 20. 21. viii. 1. Mṛich. 105. .38. 39. 72. 163. . .	*bhavāmi*	*homi*[29]	*hūñ*	. . . .	I become, or am.
	bhavasi	*hosi*	*hai*	. . .	thou becomest, etc.
	bhavati	*bhodi, hodi*[30] *hojja, hojja'i*	*hai*	. . .	he becomes, etc.
	bhavanti	*honti*	*haiñ*		they become, etc.
Prab. p. 44.	*anubhavanti*	*aṇuhavanti*	. . .	. . .	they feel.
Mṛichh. 141.	*anubhavitum*	*aṇubhavidum*	. . .	. . .	to feel.
Mṛichh. 21. 24	*bhavishyati*	*huvissadi, huvissadi*	*hōihi*[31]	. . .	he will be.
Var. vii. 12. 13. 14. 15. Lassen, 268.	*bhavishyāmi*	*hossāmi,*[32] *hossam, hohāmi, hohimi*	*hūñgā*	*hoīn*	I will be.
	bhavishyāmaḥ	*hossāmo, hohāmo, hohimo, hohissā, hohitthā*	*hoñge*	. . .	we will be.
Var. vii. 20. 21. . .	*bhavishyati*	*hojja, hojjā hojjahii, hojjāhi*	*hogā*	*hōīl*	he will be.
	bhavatu	*hojja, u, hojjāu*	*hūylye, hūjiyo*	. . .	let him be; be (imper.).
Var. vii. 23. 24. . .	*abhavat, abhūt*	*huvīa, hohīā*	*bhayā, huā, hatā, thā*	*hotā*	he was.
Var. viii. 2. .	*bhūtam*	*huam (hūam ?)*	*hūā*	. . .	been.
Mṛichh. 25. .	*jvālaya*	*jālehi*	*jalānā*	. . .	to burn.
Var. viii. 13 Vikr. 112. Mṛich. 16. 31	*karomi*	*karomi, kalemi, karemi*	*kartā*	*karitoñ*	I do.
Mṛichh. 132.	*kṛitam*	*kaḍe*	*karā, kiyā*	*kela, kelā*	done.
Mṛichh. 31. Vikr. 18. .	*kṛitaḥ*	*kulu, kao*[33]			
Delius, pp. 27–29. . .	*kurvan*	*karanto, kalento, karento, kubbāṇo*	*kartā*	*karit*	doing.
Delius, pp. 27–29. . .	*nirākṛitya*	*ṇirākariya*	*kŏriyā* (Bengalī.)	. . .	having undone [done].
Delius, p. 17 Mṛichh. 105	*dadāmi*	*demi*	*detā*	. . .	I give.
Mṛichh. 66.	*dadāti*	*dedi*		. . .	he gives.
Var. viii. 62. Mṛich. 95. 37.	*dattam*	*diṇṇam*	*diyā, dīn*	. . .	given.
Mṛichh. 127.	*dadatī*	*dentī*	*detī*	. . .	giving (fem.).
Mṛichh. 32. 163. . . .	*mārgayati*	*maggadi*[34] *maggedi*	*māngnā*	*māganeñ*	to ask.

[29] From *havāmi*, etc.; see Lassen, p. 176.
[30] *Hoi*, Mṛichh. 38. 102.
[31] *Hōihi*, provincial for *hogā*.
[32] Burnouf, Lotus, 687.
[33] Delius seems to think *kulu* may be the Prākṛit imperative.
[34] Comp. *maggo* from *mārgaḥ*, antè, p. 18, Var. ii. 2. iii. 50.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 79. 82. 88. . .	*mārgayitum*	*maggidum*	. . .	. . .	to ask.
Mṛichh. 136	*margamā-ṉena*	*maggamā-ṉena*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 95. .	*mārgayataḥ*	*maggantassa*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 12. .	*kalpayata*	*kappedha*	. . .	*kāpaṉem̃*	to cut.
Mṛichh. 51. .	*kalpayitvā*	*kappia*			
Var. viii. 23. Mṛichh. 36. Del. 15. 16.	*jnātvā*	*jāṉia*	*jāniyā* (Bengalī.)	. . .	having known
Var. viii. 56. Delius, p. 24.	*śṛiṉomi*	*śuṉāmi*	*sunnā* (Hindī)	. . .	to hear.
Mṛichh. 37. .	*śrutvā*	*śuṉia*	*śuniyā* (Bengalī.)		
Mṛi. 104. 105.	*śṛiṉu*	*suṉu, suṉāhi*	*sun*	. . .	hear.
Mṛich. 45. 70	*dhāv, dhāvati*	*dhovehi, dhoadi*	*dhonā*	*dhuṉem̃*	to wash.
Mṛichh. 46. .	*svapimaḥ*	*subemha*	*sonā*	. . .	to sleep.
Prasan. 65. .	*supta*	*sutta*	*soā*	. . .	asleep.
Bāl. 178. . .	*svapsyāmi*	*suvissam*	*so, ūnga*	. . .	I shall sleep.
Mṛich. 59. 122 Var. viii. 25	*sthāpay-itvā*	*ṭhābia, thābia*	*thāmnā*	*thāmbaṉem̃*	to hold, stop.
Mṛichh. 97. Delius, 19. .	*sthāpay-āmi*	*thābemi*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 57. .	*rakshāmi*	*rakkhāmi*	*rakhnā*	*rākhaṉem̃*	to keep.
Var. viii. 47. Mṛichh. 70. 71. Del. 50.	*nṛityati, nṛityate, nṛityan*	*ṉachhai, ṉachchīadi, ṉachhanto*	*nāchnā*	*nāchanem̃*	to dance.
Mṛichh. 71. .	*śikshayantaḥ*	*sikkhantā*	*sikhānā*	. . .	to teach.
Mṛichh. 72. .	*upavishṭaḥ*	*ubaviṭṭhā*	*baiṭhā* (?)	. . .	seated.
Cowell, App. A. p. 99. .	*kathayati*	*kahai*	*kahnā*	*kathaṉem̃*	to tell.
S'ak. 45. 34. Mṛich. 4. 80.	*kathaya*	*kahehi, kadhehi*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 80.	*kathayish-yāmi*	*kahissam*	. . .	. . .	
Mṛichh. 36. .	*kathayitum*	*kahidā*	*kahā*	. . .	
Mṛichh. 103.	*kathyate*	*kahijjadi*	. . .	. . .	
Delius, 86. . Vikr. 2. . .	*asti*	*atti, achchi*[35]	*āchhe* (Bengalī.)	*āhe*	he is.
Mṛichh. 99. .	*stha*	*achchhadha*	*āchho* (Beng.)		ye are.
Lassen, 346. Cowell, 184.	*santi*	*achchanti*	*āchhen* (Beng)		they are.
Sūtra 24. in App. A. . Cowell, 99.	*vadati*	*vollaï volaï*	*bolnā*	*bolaṉem̃*	to speak.
Mṛichh. 105.	*brūmaḥ*	*bollāmo*[36]			
Delius, 67. . Mṛichh. 169.	*labhante*	*lahanti*	*lahate, lete*	. . .	they receive.

[35] Mr. Childers thinks the forms *achchi*, etc., cannot be referred to the Sanskrit root *as*. *Asti*, he says, became *atthi* in Pāli, but the Pāli *achchhati* is, he considers, beyond doubt the present tense of *ās*, and points to an anomalous form *atsati*.

[36] This alteration of *brūmaḥ* into *bollāmo* may perhaps be conceived to have proceeded by the following steps: *barūmaḥ, balūmaḥ, bollāmo*. Or it is possible that *bol* may be an indigenous non-Sanskrit form, or a vernacular root retained in Prākṛit.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 115.	*kshipatu* (*phel*, to go)	*pheladu*[37]	*phelite*(Beng.)	. . .	to throw.
Mṛichh. 139.	*dūrīkarishyāmi*	*phelaïssam*	. . .	. . .	I shall remove.
Mṛichh. 112.	*jāgṛita*	*jaggetha*	*jāgnā*	*jāganeṁ*	to wake.
Var. vii. 7.	*gataḥ*	*ga'o*	*gayā*	. . .	gone.
Var. vii. 1. and ii. 24.	*paṭhati*	*paḍhaï*	*paḍhnā*	*paḍhaṇeṁ*	to read.
Mṛichh. 121. Var. viii. 51.	*paṭāmi*	*paḍemi* / *paḍāmi*	*paḍnā*	*paḍaneṁ*	to fall.
Delius, 51.	*patitaḥ*	*paḍido*	*paḍā*	. . .	fallen.
Mṛichh. 120. Delius, p. 22.	*uḍḍayaṇte*[38]	*uḍḍenti* / *uḍḍa'enti*	*uḍnā*		to fly.
Mṛichh. 124.	*paridhāsye*	*pahiliïssam*	*paharnā*	*pāndharaneṁ*	to put on (clothing).
Mṛichh. 71.	*pibanti*	*pianti*	*pīnā*	*piṇeṁ*	to drink.
Delius, 77.	*jīvāmi*	*jīāmi*	*jīnā*	. . .	to live.
Mṛichh. 170.	*jīvantam*	*jīantam*	. . .		
Mṛichh. 165.	*nishkāśaya*	*ṇikkālehi*	*nikāsnā* / *nikālnā*	. . .	to put out.
Var. viii. 44 Vik. 11. Del. 60. Kram. 10	*varddhate*, *varddhatām*	*vaḍḍhadi* / *vaḍḍhadu*	*baḍhnā*	*wāḍhaṇeṁ*	to increase.
Vikr. 44.	*tvarayasva*	*turavāvehi*	*turant* (quickly.)	. . .	hasten.
Var. viii. 4.	*tvarate*	*tuvara'i*	. . .	. . .	he hastens.
S'ak. 43. 168 Vikr. 91. Delius, 79. Hemachandra, Cowell. 173. note.	*paśyāmi* / *dṛiśyāmi*[39]	*dekkhāmi*[40]	*dekhnā*	*dekhaṇeṁ*	to see.
	darśaya	*dekhāvahi*	*dikhānā*	*dākhaviṇeṁ*	to cause to see.
Var. viii. 48.	*yudhyate*	*jujjhaï*	*jūjhnā*	*junjhaṇeṁ*	to fight: be killed.
Var. viii. 48.	*budhyate*	*bujjhaï*	*būjhnā*	*bujhaṇeṁ*	to understand.
Var. viii. 25. 26, Mṛich. 73	*dhyai*	*jhā, sanjhāadi*	*samajhnā* (?)	*samajaṇeṁ*	to meditate, understand.
Kram. 28. in Delius, p. 10.	*krudh*	*kujjh*	. . .	. . .	to be angry.
Var. viii. 46.	*rushyati*	*rūsa'i*	*risiyānā*	. . .	to be angry.
Var. viii. 50.	*mṛidnāti*	*mala'i*[41]	*malnā*	. . .	to grind, rub.

[37] Perhaps derived from *prer*, to impel. Comp. *pellaṇeṇa* and *vellaṇeṇa*, rendered by *preraṇena*, in the Bālar., p. 203. Both roots are given in the lexicons.

[38] Prof. Aufrecht draws my attention to the fact that, in the Vedas, the root signifying "to fly" is not *ḍī*, but *dī*. See also the intensive form of the verb in *dedīyitavai*, S'atapatha Brahmaṇa, v. 3, 2, 6, quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v.

[39] This form may at one time have been in use.

[40] This word occurs on the Lāt of Firoz Shah in the forms *dekhati* and *dekhiye*, and in the form *dekhāmi* in the inscription at Dhauli. See Burnouf, Lotus de la bonne Loi, pp. 666, 669, 671, 676, who supposes *dekhati* may come from an old form *driśyati*, he sees. Mr. Childers thinks, however, it must come from the Sanskrit future *drakshyate*.

[41] See also Kramadīśvara, 39, in Delius, p. 11, where the root *mṛid* is said to become *maṇ* in Prākṛit. In Persian also the verb *mālīdan* means to *rub*.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Var. viii. 531	*sphuṭ*	*phuṭṭaï*, *phuḍaï*	*phūṭnā*	*phuṭaṇeñ*	to split.
Mṛich. 70. 7. Delius, 59.	*badḍhyante*	*bajjhaṅti*	*bajhnā*	. . .	to be bound or caught.
Var. viii. 27.	*khād*	*khā*	*khānā*	*khāṇeñ*	to eat.
Delius, 29. . Mālavikā, 54.	*pārayāmi*	*pāremi*	*pārite* (Bengalī.)	. . .	to be able
Prasaṅna-rāghava, 45	*prāghuṇasya* *prāhuṇasya*	*pāhuṇassa*[42]	*pāhun* *pāhunā*	. . .	a guest.
Bālarāmāyaṇa 203.	*pakshiṇaḥ*	*pakkhiṇo*	*pakherū* *panchhī*	. . .	birds.
Bāl. 290.	*kshīra*	*khīra*	*khīr*		milk.
Bāl. 231. 235.	*lahshāḥ*	*lakkhā*	*lākh*		hundred thousand.
Bāl. 45. 307.	*akshi*	*achchhi* *akkhi*	*ānkh*		eye
Bāl. 246.	*kaksha*	*kakkha*			side.
Bāl. 53. 69. 98	*gotra*	*gotta*	*got*		family, clan.
Bāl. 267.	*sūtra*	*sutta*	*sūt*		thread.
Bāl. 165. 167. 297.	*putra*, *putrī*	*putta*, *puttī*	*put*		son, daughter
Bāl. 221.	*kārpāsa*	*kappāsa*	*kapās*		cotton.
Bāl. 142. 178.	*karpūra*	*kappūra*	*kapūr*		camphor.
Bāl. 269. 298.	*dharma*	*dhamma*			virtue
Bāl. 294.	*darpaṇam*	*dappaṇam*			a mirror.
Bal. 267.	*ṇirvāṇa*	*ṇivvāṇa*			extinction.
Bāl. 76. 194.	*dugdha*	*dudḍha*	*dūdh*		milk.
Bāl. 266.	*mugdha* *snigdha*	*mudhdha* *siṇidhdha*			infatuated. affectionate.
Bāl. 236.	*pippala*	*pīpala*	*pīpal*		pīpal tree.
Bāl. 178. Prasannarāgh.	*mishṭā* *mishṭā*	*miṭṭhā* *miṭṭhī*	*mīṭṭhā*		sweet.
Bāl. 270. 278.	*oshṭha*	*uṭhṭha*, *oṭhṭha*	*hoṅth*		lip.
Bāl. 156. 303.	*śvaśureṇa*	*sasureṇa*	*sasur*		father-in-law
Bāl. 153.	*śvaśrū*	*sāsue*	*sās*		mother-in-law.
Bāl. 158.	*śvaśrūṇām*	*sāsūṇam*	*sās*		Do. gen. pl.
Bāl. 182.	*bhrū*	*bhū*	*bhauṅ*		eyebrow.
Bāl. 168. 176.	*snushā*	*suṇā*, *susā*			daughter-in-law.
Bāl. 34. 179. 234. 245. 364.	*śabdaḥ*	*saddo*			sound.
Bāl. 245. 251.	*mudgara*	*mogāra*	*mogra*, *mudgar*		a mallet.
Bāl. 235.	*dhūma*	*dhūśa*	*dhūāṅ*		smoke.
Bāl. 238.	*pādayoḥ*	*pāesu*	*pāṅw*		at the feet.

[42] The word is translated by *atitheḥ* in Pandit Govinda Deva's edition. But I find the word *prāghuṇa* in Wilson's Dictionary in the sense of guest; and Böhtlingk and Roth give both that and another form *prāhuṇa*. As, however, they do not cite from any very ancient author any passage in which the word is found, and as it is of rare occurrence as compared with *atithi*, it may perhaps have been imported into Sanskrit from Prākṛit. *Pāhuṇa*, in the sense of "guest," is, Mr. Childers informs me, a good Pāli word.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Bāl. 142. 292.	*pakva*	*pikka*	*pakkā*		mature.
Pras. 48.	*mūrkha*	*murukha*	*mūrakh*		fool.
Bāl. 49. 93. 270	*jhaṭiti*	*jhatti*	*jhaṭ*		quickly.
Bāl. 246. 270.	*śirasā*	*sireṇa*	*sir*		head.
Bāl. 77.	*katham*	*kīsa*	*kaisā*		how?
Prasan. 36. 44.	*katham*	*kahaṁ*			
Prasan. 26.	*vyāghrasya*	*vaghghassa*	*bāgh*		a tiger.
Prasan. 84.	*stana*	*tthaṇa, thaṇa*	*than*		female breast, udder.
Bāl. 76. 238.					
Bāl. 168.	*jihvā*	*jīhā*	*jībh*		tongue.
Bāl. 276.	*kāṁsya*	*kaṁsa*	*kāṅs*		bell metal.
Var. viii. 6.	*ghūrṇat*	*gholanta*	*gholnā* (to mix with a liquid.)		rolling.
Bāl. 76.					
Bāl. 238.	*ghūrṇanti*	*gholanti*			roll, move.
Bāl. 246.	*ghūrṇati*	*ghuṇṇadi*			turns round.
Bāl. 143.	*chūrṇitam*	*ghullalidam*			pounded, crushed.
Mṛichh. 3.	*āhūya*	*saddābia* [43]	. . .	. . .	having called, summoned.
Mṛichh. 50.	*āhvayāmi*	*saddābemi*	. . .	. . .	I call.
Mṛichh. 54.	*āhvaya*	*saddābehi*	. . .	. . .	call (imper.).
Mṛichh. 54. 141.	*ājnāpayati*	*saddābedi*	. . .	. . .	he commands, calls.
	āhvayati				
Mṛichh. 60.	*ākārayishyāmi*	*saddābaïśśam*	. . .	. . .	I shall summon.
Mṛichh. 150.	*āhūyate*	*saddābīadi*			he is called.
Mṛich. 6.	*spṛishṭvā*	*chhibia* [44]	*chhūnā* (?) (to touch)	. . .	having touched.
Mṛichh. 35.	*ves'yā*	*gosāmiā* [45]			a harlot.

[N.B.—In this and the following list, it will be seen that I have generally given the Hindī and Mahrattī verbs in the infinitive, without reference to the mood or tense of the corresponding word in Prākṛit. The verbs in the Sanskrit column, on the contrary, are always exact renderings of the Prākṛit ones, in tense, number, person, etc.]

[43] This word is, no doubt, as Mr. Childers suggests, from the Sanskrit *śabdāpay* (see above the alteration of *śabda* into *sadda*). The word *śabdāpayet* occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 57, 9, Schlegel's ed., and in ii. 59, 3, of the Bombay ed., where the commentary explains the word by *ākārayet*, "summon." In Gorresio's ed., ii. 59, 6, the verb *āhvayet*, having the same sense, is substituted. Forms like *śabdāpay* are, as Prof. Aufrecht informs me, very common in the later Sanskrit.

[44] A various reading is *bibia*. Mr. Childers thinks *chhibia* comes from the Sanskrit *chhup*, "to touch." This root is given, he tells me, in Clough's list of Pāli verbs in the sense of "to touch;" and the word occurs in the Dhammapada, p. 156, line 1.

[45] This word is, no doubt, derived from *gosvāminī*, the wife of a Gosvāmin, or Goshain; and I am told by a well-informed friend that the word has got the sense of harlot from the indifferent character of some of these female devotees.

It is thus clear from an examination of the Indian dramas, and of the examples furnished by the grammarians who treat of the dramatic dialects (as illustrated in the preceding comparative table), that the words which we find in Prākṛit are in great part identical with those of Sanskrit, but more or less modified in their forms, and that these modifications are, in numerous instances, intermediate between the original Sanskrit words and the still more corrupted forms which we discover in the languages descended from the Prākṛits, I mean, in the modern vernacular dialects.

But, while the great majority of Prākṛit words can, by the application of proper methods, be traced back to a Sanskrit source, there are some others which refuse to yield to the action of even the most powerful tests which criticism can employ, and successfully assert their claim to an origin independent of classical Sanskrit, and which we must therefore conclude either to belong to the vernacular Āryan speech, or to be of non-Āryan derivation.

Another fact then which is made clear by the examination of the dramatic poems and the Prākṛit grammarians is, that the Prākṛit dialects contain a certain number of words which are not discoverable in classical Sanskrit, but which we also find in the modern vernaculars, such as the roots *ḍub*, to sink, *tharhar* (in Hindī *tharthar*), to tremble, *ḍhakk*, to cover or shut, and the nouns *goṛ*, leg, *bappa*, father, etc.[46] The greater portion of the words of this class, which I have discovered, will be found in the subjoined table. [In the present edition I have added, at the foot of the table, a number of new words, some of which, however, I find, may be derived from Sanskrit, but few of which are discoverable in the modern vernaculars.]

[46] See the Rev. H. Ballantine's paper "On the relation of the Mahrattī to the Sanskrit," in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii. p. 369–385. Some of the words considered by Mr. Ballantine to be Mahrattī are, however, Persian or Arabic, such as *meḳh*, *baghal*, *manzila*; others, as *khāne*, to eat, are Sanskrit. I add the following remarks from Dr. J. Wilson's "Notes on the Constituent Elements," etc., of the Marāthī language (prefixed to Molesworth's Marāthī Dictionary, 2nd edition), p. xxii. [The Marāthī language] "has two distinct lingual elements, the Scythian (or Turanian) and the Sanskrit." . . . "The Scythian element . . is obviously the more ancient of the two, as far as its present locality is concerned. It is still a good deal in use, especially among the lower orders of the people, and in the business of common life. It claims almost all the words beginning with the cerebral letters, which, as initials, were probably not originally in use in the Sanskrit; almost all the words beginning with the letter *jh*; and a great majority of the words formed from imitative particles, both simple and reduplicated, which are often very expressive, and are not now of an arbitrary character, whatever they might have been before they got established in the

Table No. II.

List of Prākṛit words, chiefly from the Mṛichhakaṭī and the grammarians, which are not found in classical Sanskrit, or are of doubtful origin, with their modern vernacular equivalents, when ascertained.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 119.	*pitṛisambandhi*	*bappa-kelake*[47]	*bāp ke* / *bāp karke*	*bāp*	father.
Mṛich. 80. 108	*pōdam*	*goḍam*	*goḍ*	. . .	foot, leg.
Mṛich. 72. 112	*udara*	*poṭa, poṭṭa*	*peṭ, poṭa*	*poṭ*[48]	belly.
Mṛichh. 35.	*puṁśchalī*	*chhiṇāliā*	*chhināl*	*chhināl, sindal*	harlot.
Mṛichh. 40.	*stambha*	*khuṇṭa*	*khoṇṭā*	*khuṇṭā*	peg.
Mṛichh. 31. 36. 167.	*manushyaḥ*	*goho*	. . .	*goho*	man.
Mṛichh. 123. & n., 299.	*rasaḥ*	*lakhaliā*	. . .	*lakerī*[49]	a slight taste.
Mṛichh. 175.	*kukkuraḥ*	*huḍe*	. . .	. . .	dog.
Vikr. p. 79.	*paśya*	*ua*	. . .	. . .	look.
Mṛichh. 100.	*rakshata*	*johaha*[50]	*johnā*	. . .	to watch : look out for.
Mṛichh. 141.	*prakampate*	*thartaredi*[51]	*thartharānā*	*thartharaṇeṁ*	to tremble.
Var. viii. 68. & Kram. in Delius, 11.	*majjati*	*vuṭṭāi, vuttaï, khuppaï*	*būḍna*	*buḍaṇeṁ*	to sink.
Mṛich. 162. 317	*majjantam*	*ḍubbantam*	*ḍūbnā*	*ḍūbaṇeṁ*	
Mṛichh. 36. 79. 164. Prab. 58.	*pidhehi* / *pidhatta* / *pihitam*	*ḍhakkehi*[52], *ḍhakkēḍha* / *ḍhakkide*	*ḍhaknā*	*ḍhānkaṇ* (a lid or cover) / *jhānkaṇeṁ* (to cover)	to cover or shut.

usus loquendi of the people by whom they were originally formed." . . . "The Sanskrit element is that which predominates in the Marāthī, as the inspection of the Dictionary at once shows." . . "Colebrooke expresses it as his opinion that 'nine-tenths of the Hindī dialect may be traced back to the Sanskrit;' and perhaps a similar observation may be justly made as to the proportion of Sanskrit words in the Marāthī, when both primitive and modified forms are taken into the account."

[47] About the affix, *kelake* or *kerake*, see Lassen, p. 118.

[48] In Molesworth's Mahrattī Dictionary, this word is set down as derived from the Sanskrit *peṭa;* but the only sense assigned to this word in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary is that of *basket*.

[49] Stenzler's Mṛichhakaṭī, p. 299.

[50] In Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary the word *jongaṭa* is given as a noun, with the sense of "longing for;" which may possibly be connected with this word.

[51] Prof. Benfey, in his review of the first edition of this volume, in the "Gött. Gel. Anzeigen" for January 23rd, 1861, p. 132, considers this root to be connected with the Sanskrit *tarala*, "trembling," and the participle *tarturāṇa* (from the root *tur*), which occurs in Rig Veda, ix. 95, 3, where it has, according to Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, the sense of "rushing forward."

[52] Wilson and Böhtlingk and Roth give a root *dhakk*, with the signification to

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛich. 118. 95.	*kārayishyā-mi* / *kāraya*	*ghaḍāba-iśśam* / *ghaḍābehi* [53]	*ghaḍnā*	*ghaḍaṇeṁ*	to fabricate.
Mṛichh. 122.	*karshāmi*	*vaḍḍhāmi*	. . .	*oḍhaṇeṁ*	to draw. (Stenz. 298.)
Kramad. in Delius;	*nishad*	*numajj* [54]	. . .	. . .	to sit.
	piv	*ghoṭṭ*	*ghūnṭnā*	*ghoṭaṇeṁ*	to drink, gulp
	khip	*vijj*	. . .	. . .	to throw.
Var. viii. 64.	*krudh*	*jur* [55]	. . .	. . .	to be angry.
Var. viii. 66.	*trasyati*	*vajjaï*	. . .	. . .	to be afraid.
Var. viii. 28. Delius, p. 6.	*gras*	*vis, ghis* [56]	. . .	. . .	to eat.
Var. viii. 20.	*ghrā*	*pā*	. . .	. . .	to smell.
Var. viii. 67.	*mṛij*	*lubh, sup*	. . .	. . .	to cleanse.
Var. viii. 69.	*dṛiś*	*pulaa*	. . .	. . .	to see.
Prasanna-rāghava, 11.13.113. 115.	*vilokayan*	*pulovanto*	. . .	. . .	seeing.
	vilokaya	*pulovehi*	. . .	. . .	see.
Var. viii. 70.	*śak*	*tar, vaa, tīr*	. . .	. . .	to be able.
Mṛichh. 21.	*sphoṭayish-yāmi*	*maḍamaḍā-iśśam*			I shall split. [57]

"destroy;" but the *dh* is the dental, not the cerebral, letter. I have withdrawn from the table the word *kāṇelī*, as it is found in Sanskrit as well as Prākṛit sentences in the Mṛichhakaṭī.

[53] This may come from the Sanskrit root *ghaṭ*, "to act."

[54] Delius, p. 12, thinks that these roots may have been disused in Sanskrit.

[55] Prof. Benfey, in the review above quoted, regards this word as connected with the Sanskrit root *jvar*, and the adjective *jvara*, "excited," "in a passion."

[56] See Mr. Cowell's note 5, on p. 73, where he supposes that Delius's reading *ghis* is probably incorrect. In his Index, p. 262, however, Mr. Cowell places a mark of interrogation after *visaï*.

[57] While this table is passing through the press, I have been favoured with the following remarks on some of the words by Mr. R. C. Childers. "Bappa, Báp—In Siṁhalese *Appá* is 'father,' and *Báppá* 'uncle.' The latter word is a corruption of *bála-appá*, as is shown by the corresponding *Bálamma*, 'aunt.'—Poṭa, Peṭ—I think this may well be the Sanskrit *Peṭa*, compare the various meanings of *Koshṭha*. The Italian for a man's head is *testa*, properly an earthen pot. It is singular that the Siṁhalese for 'belly' is *Baḍa*, which, however, cannot be peṭa; it would rather represent *bhaṇḍa*, but I am very doubtful about its etymology.—Chhiṇáliá—Clough, in the Siṁhalese dictionary, gives under *Chhinna*, the meaning 'harlot.' Could *náli* be the Sanskrit *náṛí*?—Ua, 'look,'—I do not know how this word is used, but might it not be simply an interjection?—Ḍhakkhehi,—The Sanskrit root '*Stag*' is *Thak* in Páli (*thaketi* 'he covers,' *thakanaṁ*, 'a covering'). But Clough gives 'concealment' as one of the meanings of *ḍhakka*.—Ghaḍábaiśśam—This must be a causative of '*ghaṭ*': *Ghaṭápeti*, 'he fabricates,' occurs in Páli (see D'Alwis Intr. p. 35).—Vaḍḍhámi, 'to draw,'—Compare Turnour's Mahávaṁsa, p. 160, line 1 and erratum, *Kuntaṁ vaḍḍhetha bho*, 'pull up the lance,' which seems to have been stuck in the ground (see previous page).—Vijj, 'to throw,'—Could this be 'vyadh'? The present tense in Páli is *vijjhati*.—Vajjai, 'to fear,'—Could this be 'vṛij' (Páli *vajjati*), in the sense of 'to shrink from'?—Pul, 'to see'—This must be the Siṁhalese *bala-navá* 'to see,' the etymology of which I have not succeeded in tracing."

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PRĀKṚIT.	HINDĪ.	MAHRATTĪ.	ENGLISH.
Mṛichh. 17.	*bhakta*	*chhalli*[58]			boiled rice.
Mṛichh. 43.	*śasya-lampaṭa*	*śaśśa-palakka*			a rioter in grain (spoken of an ox).
Mṛichh. 101. 159.	*chintāparaḥ chintāyuktaḥ*	*tattilo* (or *tantilo*), *tattilā*			anxious.
Mṛichh. 127.	*bāle*	*vāśū*	. . .	. . .	O young female!
Mṛichh. 134.	*kshālayiṣhyāmi,*	*gīlāśśam*[59]	. . .	. . .	I shall wash.
Bāl. 65f. 74 240.	*kānti*	*riṅcholī*	. . .	. . .	brilliante.
Bāl. 194.	*pankti*	*rʼcholī*	. . .	. . .	a row.
Bāl. 86.	*gaja*	*doghaṭṭa*	. . .	. . .	an elephant.
Bāl. 195. 264.	*śukti*	*sīppi*	*sīp, sīpī*	. . .	a shell.
Bāl. 249.	*trasta*	*chamakanta*[60]	*chamaknā* (to glitter, start)	. . .	alarmed.
Bāl. 240.	*miśrita*	*kallabida*	. . .	. . .	mixed.
Bāl. 264.	*patita*	*paloṭṭa*	. . .	. . .	fallen.
Bāl. 198.	*samūhāḥ*	*kaḍappā*	. . .	. . .	assemblages.
Bāl. 203.	*śreshṭha*	*garilla*[61]	. . .	. . .	most excellent.
Bāl. 243.	*nartakī*	*taraṭhṭhī*	. . .	. . .	a dancing girl.
Bāl. 251.	*chūrṇita*	*chuspania*	. . .	. . .	pounded.
Bāl. 276.	*miśram*	*vidurillam*	. . .	. . .	mingled.
Bāl. 246.	*sparśaiḥ*	*jhaḍappehiṁ*	. . .	. . .	contacts.
Bāl. 246.	*ḍutkāraiḥ ḍutkurutaḥ*	*ḍukkarehim ḍukkanti*	*ṭhokaron se ṭhonkte?*	. . .	they beat with blows?
Bāl. 259.	*lalāṭa*	*niḍola*[62]	. . .	. . .	forehead.
Bāl. 198.	*śobhita*	*changoṭhṭhia*	. . .	. . .	beautified.

[N.B.—See other non-Sanskrit roots, or roots of doubtful origin, used in Prākṛit, in Vararuchi, viii. 18, 21, 23, 34, 35, 39, 40.]

[58] Wilson gives *challi*, with the sense of "rind," "bark."

[59] Here the *ksh* of the Sanskrit may be changed into *g*. The Pāli form, Mr. Childers tells me, is *khālayissāmi*, which he thinks may supply a link between the two words in the Table. But the Bālarāmāyaṇa, p. 48, has *pakkhālaṇa* for the Sanskrit *prakshālana* and the Prasannarāghava, p. 124, has *chchhālaa* for the Sanskrit *kshālaya*.

[60] The word also occurs in p. 243 of the same drama, in the forms *chamakkanta* and *chamakkidą*, where it is explained in the commentary by *chamakṛita*, "astonished."

[61] This may possibly be a mistake of the copyist for *gariṭhṭha (garishṭha)*, which occurs in page 224.

[62] Mr. Childers suggests that *niḍola* is probably only an altered form of *lalāṭa*, as in Pāli *naḷāta* is a more common form than *lalāṭa*, while metathesis would account for the most important remaining variation.

[63] The Sanskrit lexicons have *changa* in the sense of beautiful; but from what the latter part of the word is derived, I do not see.

It is true that these vernacular words, occurring in the dramas, are few in number; that many vocables, very unlike the Sanskrit, which seem, on a hasty inspection, to be of a different origin, are discovered, on a more careful examination, to be derived from that language by successive steps proceeding according to certain recognized rules of mutation; and that the words, not deducible from the written Sanskrit, which remain, do not bear so large a proportion to those which are of Sanskrit origin, as is the case in the modern vernaculars.[64] This paucity of such words in the dramas is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the fact that they are polished compositions containing many poetical passages, and were written by Pandits, men familiar with Sanskrit, who would be likely, when they could, to avoid vulgar words and phrases, and to employ vocables of Sanskrit derivation, wherever it was found possible: just as we see the pedantic Pandits of our own time are in the habit of doing.[65] And there can be no doubt that in the provincial dialects, as spoken by the lower classes and by unlearned persons in general at the time when the dramas were composed, many more non-Sanskrit words would be current than we meet with in the dramas. In the same way we find in modern times several modifications of language in use among different sections of the community in the same provinces of Hindustan. The Hindu Pandits, for instance, use a dialect which is full of Sanskrit words; the villagers use fewer Sanskrit and more indigenous words; the lower Mahomedans use a language approaching to that of the Hindu villagers, but with more Persian and Arabic words; while educated Mahomedans introduce into their discourse a large number of Arabic and Persian words and phrases. But the existence of even a small proportion of such non-Sanskrit words

[64] Lassen remarks, p. 286: "The roots of the Prākṛits must be looked for in Sanskrit; and the few words which appear to be of extraneous origin can, for the most part, be traced to Sanskrit, if the investigation is pursued on right principles. At the same time I would not entirely deny that some vocables may have passed from the indigenous languages of India into the Sanskrit as well as the Prākṛit; but such words are certainly not numerous." Lassen may not underrate here the number of purely indigenous words in the Prākṛits, as they are exhibited in the dramas, but his remarks are not certainly correct if applied to the modern vernaculars, in which words not derived from Sanskrit, and which must have come down to them from the vernacular Prākṛits, are very numerous.

[65] Compare the case of English, like that of Dr. Samuel Johnson, full of Latin and Greek derivatives, with other compositions in which Anglo-Saxon predominates.

in the dramas, when taken in conjunction with the corrupted form,—akin to that of the modern vernaculars,—in which we find Sanskrit words employed there, appears sufficient to show that the Prākṛits, such as we see them in the dramas, were, in a more or less modified form, the spoken dialects of their day; and were consequently the precursors of the modern vernacular tongues. As we find in these latter a considerable proportion of words which cannot be traced back to classical Sanskṛit, we are led to conclude that these words must have existed in the older vernacular dialects, and have been transmitted from them to the later. The only alternative is that we suppose these non-Sanskṛit words to have been invented in modern times, a supposition which is destitute of all probability.[66]

The question, already proposed in p. 7, now recurs, Whence came these words which are met with in the Prākṛit dialects and the still larger number discoverable in the modern vernacular tongues, which are not found in classical Sanskrit? In answer to this question two suppositions have been already made. It has been suggested, p. 7, that these words are either (1) colloquial vocables of Āryan origin (a view which is adopted by Mr. Beames in the passage quoted in p. 8), or (2) that they have been borrowed from the language of non-Āryan tribes with which the Āryans came into contact. For I must here anticipate an assertion which I hope further on to prove more in detail, viz., that there are in India very manifest traces of a variety of races of men differing widely in their origin.

It appears that the ancestors of the higher classes of northern Hindus, who originally spoke Sanskrit and called themselves Āryas, must have had their origin in countries to the north or west of India, and immigrated into Hindustan at an early period. When they arrived there, they found the country already occupied by a race of men called in the Veda and Mahābharata, Dasyus, who spoke a different language from themselves, and with whom they became engaged in continual

[66] Even if it were to be admitted that the Pāli and the scenic dialects were never identical with the spoken vernaculars, this would not neutralize my argument. For the Prākṛits must have been used on the stage, and must therefore have been understood. They could not, however, have been intelligible, if they had not approached closely to some form of spoken language. And the existence of the Pāli, as well as of the Prākṛits, shows both the general tendency of men to break down and modify their languages, and the actual process by which they proceeded in northern India.

warfare. These Dasyus appear to have been partly driven away by the Āryas to the east and south and north, where they took refuge in the forests and mountains, and partly to have been subdued and to have become incorporated in the Āryan communities as their slaves or dependents. Though these earlier inhabitants of India also had, in all probability, immigrated into that country at some period anterior to the invasion of the Āryas, I shall, for the sake of ready distinction, style them the aborigines. These aboriginal tribes may not have been all of one race, and may have arrived in India at different times, but their history is very obscure, and can only be conjectured. So much is clear, that their languages are not all alike. In the south of India we find still existing a set of spoken languages called Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalim, etc., which differ very widely from the vernacular tongues of northern India, viz., the Mahrattī, Hindī, Bengalī, etc. Though the southern languages have now a certain intermixture of Sanskrit words, yet it is clear that this intermixture is only of comparatively recent date, as those languages differ entirely both in structure and in the great bulk of the words of which they are composed from the Sanskrit, and all its derivative languages. The dialects of northern and central India, on the other hand, viz., the Mahrattī, Hindī, Bengalī, etc., are, as we have already seen, mainly derived from classical Sanskrit, though they contain a considerable proportion of words which are evidently of a different origin. These words of non-Sanskrit origin, which we first discover, to a certain extent, in the ancient Prākṛits, and which descended from them to the northern vernaculars, must (1) either have formed a part of the colloquial speech of the Āryas, which did not pass into their literary language; or (2) they have been derived from the language spoken by the aborigines, who had occupied the south as well as north of India before the Sanskrit-speaking race of the Āryas arrived; or (3) they most probably came partly from the one and partly from the other of these sources. Assuming that they spring in part, at least, from a non-Āryan source, we may suppose some such linguistic process as the following to have taken place. After the northern aborigines had been reduced to dependence by the Āryas, and both classes, Āryan and non-Āryan, had coalesced in one community (of which the former composed the upper, and the latter the lower ranks), the languages of both classes (which had

previously been different) would begin to become assimilated and amalgamated; the Sanskrit-speaking Āryas would soon adopt many words belonging to the speech of the aborigines, while the aboriginal race would begin to borrow many words from the Sanskrit, the language of their masters. This process, however, would naturally lead to a great corruption and alteration of the Sanskrit. Many of the compound consonantal sounds in Sanskrit words, such as those in *strī*, *rakta*, *kshatriya*, seem to have been found such as the lower orders of people found it difficult to pronounce, and these compound sounds became accordingly broken up or simplified, or in some way modified. Thus *strī* became *istrī*, *rakta* became *ratta* or *rakat*, and *kshatriya* became *khatriya*, *khattia*, or *chhatriya*. In this manner both languages would become gradually changed, according to processes which are seen in operation in all countries. Caprice, alteration of physical circumstances, differences of education, and those varieties in the organs of speech which are peculiar to different races,—are all found to produce progressive modifications in language. Various forms of Prākṛit would spring up by degrees in different provinces, in which Sanskrit and aboriginal words and forms would be combined, though the more cultivated element, the Sanskrit, has, in either a pure or a modified shape, remained predominant. At the same time the Sanskrit language gradually ceased to be spoken in its then existing form, and becoming the language of books, and of the learned class exclusively, was more and more polished and settled by grammarians; and being exempted from the ordinary causes of alteration, continued thenceforward unchanged: just as was the case with the Latin language. It seems, at the same time, to be very probable that many words of indigenous origin, as well as words which, though of Sanskrit origin, had been modified in the Prākṛits, were incorporated in the Sanskrit; and that in this way the modern vocabulary of that language includes many words and roots which were unknown to it at an earlier period.[67]

[67] Dr. Stevenson says, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal As. Society, for January, 1859: "The Brahmans scattered through all the different provinces of Hindusthan no doubt adopted many of the words of the languages of the tribes among whom they resided, and introduced them into the sacred tongue." Professor Benfey has drawn attention to the introduction into Sanskrit of words which had become modified in the Prākṛits. See Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii. 1149, note 2; and

SECT. III.—*On the origin and vernacular use of the Scenic Dialects.*

It has been doubted, however, whether the dramatic dialects were ever spoken languages. This view is thrown out as the most likely by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the introduction to his "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus," pp. lxv, lxvi.

"There is one question of some interest attaching to our construction of the Prakrit, which merits a fuller inquiry than has been yet given to it, and on which this is not the place to dilate. Does it represent a dialect that was ever spoken, or is it an artificial modification of the Sanskrit language, devised to adapt the latter to peculiar branches of literature? The latter seems to be the most likely; for there would be no difficulty in the present day in writing it, although it is no longer spoken, and highly finished specimens are to be found in plays which are modern productions. The Vidagdha Mādhava, for instance, consists more than half of high Prakrit, and it was written less than three centuries ago. On the other hand, many of the modifications are to be found in the spoken dialects of Hindusthan, and the rules of Prakrit grammar account for changes which, without such aid, it is difficult to comprehend. The simplification of the grammatical construction by the disuse of the dual number, and the reduced number of verbal conjugations, looks also like the spontaneous substitution of practical to theoretic perfection in actual speech, and may tempt us to think the Prakrit was once a spoken tongue. The subject

Benfey, article "Indien" (in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl.), p. 248. A paper on "The Dravidian elements in Sanskrit," by Dr. H. Gundert, has lately appeared in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1869, pp. 517 ff. The author remarks: "It was to be expected *à priori* that a number of Dravidian words must have found their way into Sanskrit. How, further, could the Aryan people have spread itself over the whole of India, without adopting very much from the aboriginal population which they found there, and which has submitted to them partly in a peaceable manner, and partly under compulsion, and yet even to this day only imperfectly?" And in opposition to the Brahmanical grammarians who would derive such words from Aryan roots, or declare Dravidian roots to be Sanskrit, the writer appeals to the nature of the case, and urges that: "where peoples speaking different languages live in constant mutual intercourse, traffic or fight with one another, suffer and enjoy together, they take over much from each other without examination or scrutiny; and this process must have gone on in the earliest times, when their mutual relations were still of a naïf character. We thus expect *à priori* that as the Aryans penetrated southwards, they would become acquainted with new objects under Dravidian appellations, and with them adopt their names."

is interesting, not only in a philological, but in a historical view; for the sacred dialects of the Bauddhas and the Jainas are nothing else than Prakrit, and the period and circumstances of its transfer to Ceylon and to Nepal are connected with the rise and progress of that religion which is professed by the principal nations to the north and east of Hindusthan."

Mr. Beames expresses himself still more strongly in the same sense: "In fact, there is much that requires clearing up in the relation between the Saurasenî, Braj, and the Modern Hindî dialects, and until we know more of the colloquial forms of early Prakrit, the mist cannot be dispelled. The Prakrit of the poets is clearly *not* a dialect that ever was spoken. How far it represents the characteristics of any spoken dialect is a question."—(Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1868, p. 498.)

To support the view which has been already expressed of the relation of the modern vernaculars to certain pre-existing Prākṛit, *i.e.* vernacular dialects, it is not necessary to assume that the dramatic Prākṛits are identical with the spoken Prākṛits which existed at or anterior to the periods when the former were used for poetical purposes. In fact, it is clear from what Prof. Wilson says of the composition of dramas within the last few centuries, when the older Prākṛits had been superseded by the existing vernaculars, that the Prākṛits of the dramas have continued to be employed as the traditional dramatic language for females and for the lower classes long after these Prākṛits have, on any supposition, become obsolete. But it is possible that when they were originally so used they may have been identical with some contemporaneous vernaculars. It is, however, sufficient for my purpose to assume that the dramatic dialects were at one period closely akin to some contemporaneous vernaculars. This appears to be sufficiently established by the lists of words which I have given above, and which show that the modern vernaculars have naturally sprung out of forms of speech either identical with or akin to the dramatic Prākṛits. The same point is also proved by the relation in which, as we shall see, the latter stand to the Pāli.

I shall now introduce a quotation from Professor Lassen, who, in his Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ, pp. 39, ff., adopts the opposite side of the question from Prof. Wilson and Mr. Beames. His remarks

will also be found to illustrate the process by which the Prākṛits arose out of Sanskrit.

"If the question regarding the origin of these dialects merely refer to the source whence they are derived, it admits of a very easy answer: for, as has been already stated, all the scenic dialects are drawn entirely from the Sanskrit.[68] If, however, the question means by what process these dialects have been drawn from the Sanskrit, it will be more difficult to answer. The difficulty does not consist in these languages containing any forms or words of which the Sanskrit archetypes are undiscoverable: for, on the contrary, both forms and words are deduced from that ancient source by undergoing certain mutations which all languages follow as they become altered and corrupted in the course of time; as, for example, has been the case with all the Germanic and Romanic dialects which have sprung from the Gothic and the Latin.

"The difficulty, however, consists in this, that these dramatic dialects, sprung from the Sanskrit, and bearing the names of different provinces, are different from the provincial languages which have the same name and origin; *e.g.* the principal Prakrit (which appears to have been called Mahārāshṭrī) differs from the modern Mahrattī, and the Saurasenī from the Brajbhākhā. Hence a doubt has been suggested whether the dramatic dialects were formerly the spoken tongues of the people of the several provinces, who at present use a form of speech which, though cognate, is yet different; or whether these dramatic dialects are anything more than artificial adaptations, either of Sanskrit, or of the provincial tongues, to dramatic purposes. The latter opinion has appeared to Wilson the most probable, for this reason, that the modern dialects of the Mahratta country, of Mathurā, and Behar, are different from those which were employed on the stage under the same names. He assigns another reason, viz., that these dramatic dialects can be composed even now. But is not the case precisely the same with the Sanskṛit or the Latin? both of which can in our day be written by men who are skilled in them, though they have long ceased to be used in daily life, or to be spoken, except by a few scholars. Wilson's first reason is equally inconclusive: for, to use what I may call an argumentum ad hominem, the learned Pro-

[68] See, however, what has been said on this subject above, in pp. 26, ff.

fessor would scarcely succeed in making himself understood, if he were to address his countrymen in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. His argument would, indeed, be sound, if it could be proved that in the age when the dramatic dialects were first brought upon the stage, the Mahārāshṭrī, or any other form of contemporaneous speech, was different from the dialect introduced into the dramas under the same name. For it must be recollected that succeeding dramatic poets, following the example of their predecessors, did not change the dramatic varieties of speech, but retained them in their original forms; whilst, on the other hand, the popular dialects continued to undergo great alterations, as is the fate of all languages which are subjected to the wear and tear of constant use. These scenic dialects can be taught even now by grammatical tuition, just as the Sanskrit can, though neither the one nor the other can be learned by the Indians from a nurse. All change in the scenic dialects was guarded against (just as in the case of the Sanskrit) from the period when their forms and laws had been fixed by grammarians; and, consequently, the argument drawn from the diversity of the dramatic and modern provincial dialects is of no force, unless it can be shown that the provincial dialects also have remained unchanged, from the commencement to the present day. This, however, can neither be shown, nor was it possible. On the other hand, the existing condition of the provincial dialects cannot be explained unless we suppose them to have had another form, more ancient than the present, and more conformable to the Sanskrit.

"Since, then, it cannot be proved that the provincial dialects were originally different from the scenic, I shall add some arguments by which it will be made probable that the latter (the scenic) were actually current in the provinces from which they derived their names. And, first, I shall make use of the names themselves as an argument: for the names Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, would be absurd if they were not referred to provincial dialects; seeing that the names cannot be deduced from any orders of men so called, nor from any peculiarities in those dialects. The same may be said of the Māgadhī, for though I am aware that the word Māgadha denotes an order of bards, still the Māgadhī dialect is employed on the stage by other classes of men, and the bards themselves derive their appellation from the province which gave its name to the dialect.

"In the next place, I argue that the nature of dramatic poetry renders it scarcely credible that dramas composed in a language different from that of common life should have been exhibited on the stage. This, however, is a different matter from the supposition that the dramatic dialects have subsequently ceased to be spoken, and have become obsolete, while yet they maintained their place on the stage. The same thing holds good of the employment of Sanskrit itself in dramas written in a comparatively modern period.

"If these considerations be duly weighed, it appears to follow that the use of different dialects on the stage was the result of a peculiar condition of Indian life, at the time when the laws of dramatic art were first fixed by the Indian poets.

"To these arguments it must be added that there is so close an affinity between the primary dramatic dialect and the Pali, as to leave scarcely any doubt of their being originally identical. So much is undoubted that the sacred language of the Jains is not different from the primary Prakrit. This language would certainly not have been adopted by the adherents of a sect which is strongly opposed to the Brahmans and their opinions, if the dramatic dialect had had no other foundation than the fertile and subtle genius of the Brahmans. The Jains could, however, have no difficulty in appropriating it to their own uses, if it was the language of daily life. How it happened that the Mahārāshṭrī dialect in particular came to be selected both by the dramatic poets and by the Jains, is a point to be explained from the history of the Indian stage, and of the Buddhist religion, out of which the sect of the Jains sprang. To attempt this here would be out of place.

"The primary argument, however, is to be drawn from the structure of the languages themselves. This structure is the same, as regards principles and general rules, in all the provincial languages of Sanskrit origin, while it is different (though very similar), if the individual forms and the elements of these be regarded. I shall therefore do sufficient justice to the plan I have in view, if I examine more minutely some of these languages, and show what their grammatical character is. In doing so, however, I am prevented by the limits of my book from exhibiting their entire grammar, nor would it better serve the end I have in view if I were to do so. I propose, there-

fore, to inquire into the scheme of declensions peculiar to these languages, which follows the same analogy as the laws of conjugation. I pass over the permutations of sounds, which are too various to be treated here; nor, if I did treat them, would it conduce to my object, which is so to describe the structure of the provincial dialects as to exhibit the differences between them and the dramatic languages. For the changes in their elements undergone by the Sanskrit words which have been received into the modern dialects, follow two very different laws, which, if not carefully distinguished, might be used to demonstrate contrary conclusions. One sort of mutation prevails in those words which had been received into the provincial dialects which were anciently formed, or rather corrupted, from the Sanskrit; such as the Brajbhākhā 'pōthī,' a book, which in Prakrit is 'pōthaō,' and in Sanskrit 'pustaka,' and numerous others, which would lead us to conclude that the same changes in the elements of words have taken place in the modern vernaculars as in the dramatic dialects; and that the forms of words in the former are derived from, and find their explanation in, the latter. This I by no means deny. But there is another kind of words to be found in the modern dialects, which come nearer to the original Sanskrit words than do the forms used in the dramatic Prakrits. The following are some examples from the Brajbhākhā, Panjābī, Mahrattī, and Bengālī:

	Brajbhākhā.	Panjābī.	Mahrattī.	Bengālī.
	Putra,[69] *Putrī*	*Prakās*	*Kartā, Pruthuwī*	*Dīp, Pṛithivī.*
Prakrit	*Putta, Puttī*	*Pakāsa*	*Kattā, Puhavī*	*Dība, Puhavī.*
Sanskrit	*Putra, Putrī*	*Prakāśa*	*Kartā, Pṛithivī*	*Dīpa, Pṛithivī.*

"To these might be added numerous other instances. And if such words alone were regarded, it would not be absurd to conclude that the modern dialects retain a greater number of Sanskrit words in their genuine form than the Prakrits do. But this would be an unsound conclusion; for the modern vernaculars, especially when spoken by men who are learned in Sanskrit, and as they are seen in books written by such persons (from which the manuals, grammars, and lexicons of such dialects which we use, have been derived), are con-

[69 *Put, son,* is, however, also used in this dialect, as in the phrase, *bāp put, father and son.*—J.M.]

tinually recurring to their sacred and ancient source (the Sanskrit), not only when they want words expressive of recondite ideas, and required for elegance of diction, but also when the vernacular form of the word is more corrupt than learned men would wish to introduce into their writings. Hence it happens that twofold forms of the same Sanskrit words are found in the same provincial language, one more Sanskrit, the other Prakrit; for the parent Sanskrit has never ceased to exercise an influence on the vernacular dialects of India, just as the Latin does on the Romanic tongues; while, on the other hand, the Sanskrit has exercised no influence on the forms of the dramatic dialects from the period when the dramatic poets, and the grammarians following their guidance, had assigned to these dialects certain fixed forms. It has hence resulted that these dramatic dialects have undergone no change whatever, and are just the same in dramas composed within the last three centuries as in the far more ancient Mṛichḥakaṭī. For the language of the stage is continually borrowing Sanskrit words, but alters and inflects them according to rules peculiar to itself; the vernacular dialects, on the other hand, continue similarly to borrow words from the Sanskrit, but leave them unaltered,[70] while those words which they had long ago adopted had been altered according to natural laws common to them with the Prakrits. In this way the occurrence of pure Sanskrit words in the vernaculars, such as, *e.g. tīkshṇa*, *tiraskṛita*, in the Bengalī, is to be explained."—Pp. 39-45.

Professor Lassen then proceeds to examine the forms of declension employed in some of the modern vernaculars. He then goes on to remark as follows:—

[In the modern vernaculars] "we find the structure of the Sanskrit and Prakit declension quite destroyed, the same inflexions applied to the singular and the plural, and a new difference introduced in certain declensions between the direct and the oblique cases. This proves that the provincial declensions are of a later date than those of

[70] It is also to be observed, that many of the Sanskrit words which have been borrowed and modified in the Pāli and Prākṛit are, in the modern dialects, replaced, as far as the common people are concerned, by words of aboriginal, or, at least, colloquial, origin; such as *beṭā*, instead of *putra*, for son; while words like the latter are used chiefly by Brahmans, and other high-caste persons.—J.M.]

the dialects used in the dramas, which are derived from the Sanskrit by certain fixed rules, and involve only a few innovations. In the provincial inflections there remain, indeed, some traces, partly distinct, partly somewhat obscured, of Sanskrit and Prakrit declension; but in other points there are great innovations which reveal to us a total dissolution of the old grammatical structure, and its reconstruction by means of new instruments.

"As this state of things is perceptible in the whole grammar of the provincial dialects which owe their origin to the Sanskrit, I conclude that they are of later origin than the scenic dialects. Between the Sanskrit language and its existing daughters [the modern vernaculars], there is so great a diversity of grammatical structure as to make it certain that the pristine language cannot have sunk by one fall, so to speak, into that condition in which we find the provincial dialects. It follows of necessity that there must have been an intermediate condition between the pristine and the modern speech. This intermediate condition was no doubt very various, and approached at first more nearly to the Sanskrit, and subsequently to the provincial tongues.

"If we except the Pali [and, I would add, the Gāthā dialect in the Buddhist books, J.M.], the earliest form of the Sanskrit after it began to degenerate and to alter its character is that which we find in the dramas; from which dramatic dialect, therefore, we are to suppose that the first mutation of the Sanskrit, which eventually gave rise to the modern vernaculars, was not very different. I contend that, though not identical, this earliest corruption of Sanskrit was very similar to that which we find in the dramas. If this opinion be correct, there is nothing to prevent our believing that the scenic dialects were formerly the current speech of the different provinces. The names which these scenic dialects have received from the grammarians, and the conditions of dramatic poetry, lead us to the same conclusion.

"Here, however, I conceive I must stop, for I could not adduce detailed arguments to prove this opinion without examining the whole field, both of the scenic and the provincial dialects. I think, however, that I ought distinctly to add that I should not be disposed to dissent from any one who should assert that the scenic dialects were not exactly the pure forms of speech which were contemporaneously

current in the different provinces, but were a little modified, so as better to harmonise with the character of the persons who were to employ them. The principal argument for this conclusion is that two forms are sometimes found to occur in the dramatic dialects, one having a close resemblance to the provincial language, and another which is softer and, so to speak, more feminine.

"To bring this disquisition to a close: there are two families of degenerate Sanskrit extant; the first more ancient, and not much corrupted, to which class the Pali and the scenic dialects belong; the second of more recent origin, and dispersed at the present day over the [northern] provinces of India, which is more diverse from the parent language. The members of the former family are daughters of the Sanskrit; those of the latter are its granddaughters, though it is in some degree doubtful whether they are daughters of the first family or granddaughters descended from sisters. As regards the age of these two classes, it is proved by the history of the Buddhist religion, and of the Indian stage, that the former arose prior to the commencement of the Christian era; while it can be made out with considerable probability that the latter (*i.e.* the modern provincial vernaculars) were formed before the year 1000 of the Christian era." —Pp. 57–60.

I subjoin some further remarks on the distinction between the older Prākṛits and the modern vernaculars, from the Indische Alterthumskunde of the same author, Vol. ii. pp. 1149, 1150.

"We must draw a distinct line of demarcation between the Indian languages of the middle age (under which denomination we may fittingly class the Pali, the languages of the dramas, and those employed in the oldest inscriptions) and the new Indian, or existing vernacular dialects. The former had not, so to speak, crossed the Rubicon, nor entirely renounced obedience to the laws of their mother-language. They conform, it is true, but little to the ancient phonetic laws, and are regulated for the most part by such as are of a later date; but their grammatical forms, though corrupted and stunted, are inherited immediately from their parent. The modern dialects of India, on the other hand, have almost entirely ceased to obey the phonetic rules of the Sanskrit. They conform in part to the phonetic laws of the Prakrit dialects, but in addition to these the modern

dialects have peculiar phonetic laws of their own, and their words, when not borrowed immediately from the Sanskrit to enlarge their vocabulary, often manifest more extreme contractions, and greater deviations from the original words, than do the corresponding words in the Prakrit. The grammatical forms of the modern dialects are, with rare exceptions, newly constructed; for the case-terminations are chiefly indicated by post-positions, the old personal terminations have, for the most part, entirely disappeared, and the tenses are marked in quite a different manner than in the Prakrit dialects, the past tenses being commonly shown by participles, with the three personal pronouns in the instrumental case. Even the lowest of the dramatic Prakrits, the Apabhraṅśa, has not transgressed this line of demarcation, and stands much nearer to the Sanskrit than the modern vernaculars do."

SECT. IV.—*Views of the Indian Grammarians on the relation of the Prākṛits to Sanskrit, and on the other elements in their composition.*

Vararuchi,[71] the oldest extant grammarian who treats of the Prākṛit forms of speech, and his commentator Bhāmaha (in his Manoramā), distinctly assert their derivation, mediate or immediate, from Sanskrit. The former describes in his "Prākṛita-prakāśa" four dialects of this description, viz.: 1st, Mahārāshṭrī, or Prākṛit generally so called; 2nd, Paiśāchī; 3rdly, Māgadhī; and 4thly, Śaurasenī.[72] After having in the first nine chapters laid down the rules for the formation of the Prākṛit, properly so called, from Sanskrit, he proceeds to the others; and at the commencement of Chapter X. he lays it down that "the root of the Paiśāchī is the Śaurasenī." *Paiśāchī | prakṛitiḥ Śaurasenī|* On which the commentator Bhāmaha remarks that Paiśāchī is the language of the Piśāchas.[73] The Māgadhī also is delared by Vararuchi in Chapter XI. "to be derived from the same Śaurasenī." *Māgadhī | prakṛitiḥ Śaurasenī |*[74] The Śaurasenī dialect itself is spoken of at the

[71] See on his age, Lassen, Instit. Pracr. 4. 5; Addenda, p. 65; and Indische Alterthumskunde, ii. p. 1160, where he is declared to have flourished about the middle of the first century A.D.

[72] See Lassen, Instit. Pracr. 7 f.; and Cowell, Prākṛita-prakāśa, p. xvii.

[73] *Piśāchānām bhāshā Paiśāchī | asyāḥ Paiśāchyāḥ prakṛitiḥ Śaurasenī |* Cowell, p. 86, and Lassen, Instit. Pracr. 7. 439.

[74] Cowell, p. 89, and Lassen, pp. 8. 391.

commencement of Chapter XII. as derived immediately from the Sanskrit. *Śauraseni | prakritiḥ Sanskritam |* [75] At the end of the Chapter on the Śaurasenī, it is stated that "in other points" (which have not been specifically touched upon) "it is like the Mahārāshṭrī dialect." *Śesham mahārāshṭrīvat |* [76] From this and from some other quotations which will be found below, it appears that the ancient Mahārāshṭrī, and the dialect called by way of eminence "the Prākṛit," are the same.[77] In another work called the "Shaḍbhāshā Chandrikā," by Lakshmīdhara, it is stated that the "Prākṛita dialect had its origin in Mahārāshṭra." *Prākṛitam Mahārāshṭrodbhavam |* [78] As the Śaurasenī is said to be derived from the Sanskrit, the same must *a fortiori* be true of the Mahārāshṭrī, or principal Prākṛit, as the greater part of Vararuchi's work is devoted to showing how it is formed by modifications of the Sanskrit. And, in fact, at the close of Vararuchi's ninth section on this dialect we have it thus stated in the following Sūtra, the 18th: "The rest is [to be learned] from the Sanskrit:" *śeshaḥ Śaṁskṛitāt ||* [79] On which the commentator remarks, "The rest means all that has not been already referred to. The remaining rules for affixes, compounds, taddhitas, genders, etc., must be learned from the Sanskrit." *uktād anyaḥ śeshaḥ | pratyaya-samāsa-taddhita-linga-varṇakādi-vidhiḥ śeshaḥ saṁskṛitād avagantavyaḥ |* The derivation of Prākṛit from Sanskrit is here implied, and, in fact, as has already been intimated, the same thing results from the whole series of rules for forming Prākṛit words, which are nothing but explanations of the manner in which the Sanskrit forms are modified in Prākṛit. The same origin is ascribed to Prākṛit by Hemachandra, who says, *Prakṛitiḥ saṁskṛitam | tatra-bhavaṁ tataḥ āgataṁ vā Prākṛitam |* [80] "It has its origin in Sanskrit. Prākṛit is that which springs, or comes, from Sanskrit." Of the Prākṛits handled by Vararuchi we thus see that three derive their names from three provinces of India, viz., Mahārāshṭra, Magadha, and the country of the Śūrasenas, the region round

[75] Cowell, p. 93, and Lassen, pp. 8 and 49 of Appendix.

[76] Cowell, p. 96, and Lassen, pp. 8 and 50 of Appendix.

[77] That the Mahārāshṭrī of that period was not the same as the modern Mahrattī appears (I need scarcely say) from the character of the former, as shown in the dramatic works in which the Prākṛits are employed.

[78] Lassen, p. 12.

[79] Cowell, pp. 85 and 176.

[80] Cowell, p. xvii.; Lassen, p. 26.

Mathurā. This, as we have already seen above, p. 37, is considered by Lassen as a strong proof that they were spoken dialects.

Four kinds of Prākṛit only, as we have thus seen, are mentioned by Vararuchi, the oldest authority on Prākṛit Grammar, viz., Mahārāshṭrī (or the principal Prākṛit), Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Paiśāchī. Though many other dialectic varieties are referred to by later grammarians, it is not necessary for my purpose to give a detailed account of any of these.

Vararuchi devotes nine chapters, containing in all 424 aphorisms, to the Mahārāshṭrī; one chapter containing 32 aphorisms to the peculiarities of the Śaurasenī; another chapter containing 17 aphorisms to the Māgadhī; and a third chapter containing 14 aphorisms to the Paiśāchī.

It is clear from this mode of treatment alone, that the points in which these four dialects, and especially the Mahārāshṭrī and the Śaurasenī, agree with each other, must be much more numerous than those in which they differ; and this conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the specimens of the several dialects which are extant in the dramas. Accordingly, Professor Lassen remarks (Instit. Prac. p. 377), that "the principal dialect, and the Śaurasenī, coincide in most respects." The technical distinction made between these two dialects by the grammarians is, that the one (the Śaurasenī) is the language used in prose, while the Mahārāshṭrī is appropriated to verse (Lassen, p. 384). The same author remarks of the Māgadhī, that it does not depart much further from the Sanskrit than the principal Prākṛit does (p. 387); and that the Indian grammarians are wrong in deriving the Māgadhī from the Śaurasenī, as the former is as directly descended from the Sanskrit as the latter; and that the two derivatives coincide with each other in most respects (p. 437). The Paiśāchī (a dialect employed by barbarous hill tribes) Lassen supposes, in like manner, to have been derived directly from the Sanskrit, but by a process peculiar to itself (p. 447).

In regard to these Prākṛit dialects generally, Lassen remarks (p. 386) as follows: "that the Sanskritic languages of Hindusthan proper were formerly less different from each other than they now are, is to be inferred from the fact, that at that earlier period they had not departed so far from their common fountain."

The following passage, quoted by Lassen, Instit. Linguæ Pracrit., p. 17, from a work called Prākṛitadīpikā, by Chandīdeva, seems also to show that Prākṛit was a language in current use, as well as employed in the dramas: *etad api lokānusārād nāṭakadau mahākaviprayoga-darśanāt Prākṛitam mahārāshṭradeśīyam prakṛishṭa-bhāshanam | tathā cha Daṇḍī "mahārāshṭrāśrayām bhāshām prakṛishṭam Prākṛitaṁ viduṛ" iti |* "This Prākṛit of the Mahārāshṭra country [so called], from its conformity to popular usage, and from its being employed by great poets in dramas and other poems, is the most excellent form of speech. Thus Daṇḍī says, 'The Prākṛit which prevails in Mahārāshṭra is considered the best.'" Rāma Tarkavagīśa, in his Prākṛitakalpataru, declares "the Mahārāshṭrī dialect to be the root of the others;" *sarvāsu bhāshāsv iha hetubhūtām bhāshām mahārāshṭra-bhavām purastāt | nirudayishyāmi* (sic) *yathopadeśaṁ srī-Rāmaśarmā 'ham imām prayatnāt |*[81] and affirms that "the Saurasenī is derived from it." *Virachyate samprati S'aurasenī pūrvaiva bhāshā prakṛitiḥ kilāsyāḥ |*[82] The Māgadhī is said to be derived from these two: *Atha iha Māgadhy anuśishyate . . . asyāḥ mahārāshṭraka-S'aurasena-bhāshe pravīnaiḥ prakṛitī nirukte |*[83] These languages, together with the Ardhamāgadhī and the Dākshiṇātya, are called *bhāshās*. The author then refers to the second class, called *vibhāshas*, the dialects called Śakārī or Chaṇḍālikā, Śābarī, Abhīrikā, Drāviḍā, and Utkalī, which, he says, "though characterized by rusticity (apabhraṅśatā), are yet not to be ranked in the class of apabhraṅśas if they are employed in dramas." *S'akkārakoḍra-draviḍādi-vācho 'pabhraṁśatāṁ yadyapi saṁśrayanti | syād nāṭakādau yadi samprayogo naitāsv apabhraṁśatayā tathaishaḥ |*[84] On the other hand, the forms of those *vibhāshas* which are not used in the dramas are reckoned by the author among the *apabhraṅśa* dialects, under which name he understands the provincial languages, such as the Bengalī, Guzarātī, etc.[85] A third class of languages is called by this author the Paiśāchī.

[81] Prākṛitakalpataru, quoted by Lassen, p. 20.
[82] Ibid., 2nd S'ākhā, 1st Stavaka.
[83] Ibid., 2nd Stavaka.
[84] Ibid., 3rd Stavaka (Lassen, p. 21).
[85] Lassen, p. 22.

The Kāvyachandrikā, a work on poetry, has the following remarks on language:

Tad eva vāṅmayaṁ vidyāt saṁskṛitam prākṛitaṁ tathā | apabhraṁśaś cha miśraś cha tasya bhedāś chaturvidhāḥ | saṁskṛitaṁ devatā-vaṇī kathitā muni-pungavaiḥ | tadbhavaṁ tatsamaṁ deśīty anekam prākṛitaṁ viduḥ |

"In regard to language, let it be understood that there are four kinds, viz., Sanskṛit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṁśa, and mixed. The Munis call Sanskrit the language of the gods; and consider that there are several kinds of Prākṛit, viz. (*Tadbhava*), that which is derived from, and (*Tatsama*) that which corresponds with, Sanskrit, and (*Deśi*) the provincial."[86] On this passage the scholiast remarks:

"Tadbhavaḥ" saṁskṛita-bhavaḥ khaggādi-śabdaḥ | "tatsamaḥ" saṁskṛita-prākṛitayoḥ samaḥ hiṇḍīra-haṇḍe ityādi-śabdaḥ | "deśi" iti mahārāshṭrīyādi | "apabhraṁśas" tv Abhīrādi-vākyam | "miśrakam" nāṭakādikam |

"The word *tadbhava* means 'derived from Sanskrit,' like the word *khagga*, etc., for *khadga*. *Tatsama* means the words which are 'alike in Sanskrit and Prākṛit,' like *hiṇḍīra*, *haṇḍe*, etc.[87] *Deśi* means the Mahārāshṭrī, etc. *Apabhraṁśa* is the speech of the Abhīras, etc. The mixed dialect is that of the dramas, etc."[88] Here it is to be remarked that though the Mahārāshṭri is generally recognized as the principal Prākṛit, it is in this passage called *Deśi*, or provincial, by the scholiast. To the same effect is the following passage from the Kavyādarśa of Daṇḍī:

Tad eva vāṅmayam bhūyaḥ saṁskṛitam prākṛitaṁ tathā | apabhraṁśaṁ cha miśraṁ chety āhur āptāś chaturvidham | saṁskṛitaṁ nāma daivī vāg anvākhyātā maharshibhiḥ | tatsamaḥ tadbhavo deśīty anekaḥ prākṛitaḥ kramaḥ | mahārāshṭrāśrayām bhāshām prakṛishṭam prākṛitaṁ viduḥ | sāgaraḥ śukti-ratnānāṁ Setubandhādi-yanmayam (?) *| Śauraseni cha nāṭī cha Gauḍī chānyā cha tādriśī | yāti prākṛitam ity eshu vyavahāreshu*[89] *saṁvidhim | Abhīrādi-giraḥ kāvyeshv "apabhraṁśaḥ" iti sthitiḥ | śāstreshu saṁskṛitād anyad apabhraṁśatayoditam |*

[86] Kāvyachandrikā, quoted by Lassen, p. 32.

[87] See Prof. Benfey's review of the 1st edit. of this volume in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen for 23rd January, 1861, p. 132.

[88] Scholiast on the same passage, ibid.

[89] Tattaddeśīya-vyavahāreshu naṭakādishu, marginal gloss, quoted by Lassen.

"Writers of authority say that there are four kinds of language: Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhranśa, and mixed. Great Ṛishis denominate Sanskrit the language of the gods. There are several orders of Prākṛit, viz., (*tadbhava*) that which is derived from, and (*tatsama*) that which corresponds with, Sanskrit, and the provincial (*deśi*). The language of Mahārāshṭra is called the principal Prākṛit, and it is an ocean of pearls and gems, such as the Setubandha, etc. [This line is corrupt; and the above sense is assigned as a conjecture. The allusion appears to be to the ancient Prākṛit poem called 'Setubandha,'[90] though there may also be a reference to the reef of Setubandha, a line of rocks between India and Ceylon, in the vicinity of the Ceylonese pearl fisheries.] The Saurasenī, the Nāṭī (dramatic?), the Gauḍī, and such like dialects, follow the law of the Prākṛit according to their several provincial usages. The speech of the Ābhīras, and other such tribes, when occurring in poems, is called *Apabhranśa*. In books on grammar, whatever differs from Sanskrit is called Apabhranśa."[91]

In his note to the introduction to Campbell's Telugu Grammar, p. 15, Mr. F. W. Ellis remarks as follows on the Shaḍbhāshā Chandrika of Lakshmīdhara, above referred to (p. 54): "The work here noticed is confined to these dialects [the Maḥārāshṭrī, Saurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśāchi, Chulikā-paiśāchī, and Apabhranśa], as they now exist in the Nāṭakas [dramas], and treats therefore only of Tatsamam and Tadbhavam terms of Sanskrit origin; it is expressly stated, however, that each possessed its proper Deśyam, or native, terms; and it is probable, as many of these dialects prevailed in countries far distant from each other, that each was connected with Deśyam words of various derivations, in conjunction with which they produced spoken languages, differing considerably from each other. This in fact is declared to be the case with respect to Paiśāchi in the following passage:" *Piśāchadeśa-niyatam Piśāchī-dvitayaṁ viduḥ | Piśācha-desās tu vriddhāir uktāḥ | Pāṇḍya-Kekaya-Vāhlīka-Śahya-Nepāla-Kuntalāḥ | Sudhesha-Bhota-Gāndhāra-Haiva-Kanojanās tathā | ete Paiśācha-deśāḥ syus taddeśyas tad-guṇo bhavet |* [*i. e.* Two kinds of Paiśāchī are recognized, which depend on the different Piśācha countries. These are declared by the ancients to be the following, Paṇḍya, Kekaya, Vāhlīka, Sahya,

[90] See note, p. x. and note 2, p. 26, in Cowell's Prākṛita-prakāśa.

[91] From the Karyādarśa of Daṇḍī, as quoted by Lassen, pp. 32, 33.

Nepāla, Kuntala, Sudhesha, Bhota, Gāndhāra, Haiva, and Kanojana. These are the Paiśācha countries; and the native of each country has his own particular qualities.] "The two Paiśāchī dialects are said to prevail in all the countries here mentioned, commencing with Pāṇḍyam at the southern extremity of India, and extending to Canoj (Canojana) in the north, . . . and it is added, These are the Paiśāchī countries, and the Deśyam terms of each have their own particular quality."[91] The concluding phrase is more vague in the original than Mr. Ellis has rendered it; but as language is the subject which the author is treating, it is to be presumed that he here alludes to the peculiar character of the different provinces in respect of their varieties of speech.

It is irrelevant to my present purpose to inquire particularly whether the various distinctions adopted by Vararuchi and his successors, of the mediate or immediate derivation of the Prākṛits from Sanskrit, and their classifications of Prākṛit, into that which is properly so called, and Apabhraṅśa, and Paiśāchī, are merely arbitrary and factitious, or are founded on any rational principles. It is enough that I find the following facts, which are important to the conclusions I am seeking to establish, admitted by the native authorities I have just cited; viz., first, that the Prākṛits are derived from Sanskrit as their source; secondly, that they are composed of a threefold element: *Tatsamam*, pure Sanskrit; *Tadbhavam*, derived from Sanskrit; and *Deśi*, local. As this third element, *Deśi*, is distinguished both from pure Sanskrit and from words derived from Sanskrit but modified, it would appear, thirdly, that it denotes words which were regarded as having an origin different from Sanskrit. Such, at least, is indubitably the sense in which the word *Deśi* is used by Telugu writers.[92]

[92] See Campbell's Telugu Grammar (3rd edit., Madras, 1849), p. 37, where it is said:—"The words of the Teloogoo language . . . . are classed by Sanskrit grammarians under four distinct heads. 1st *Déshyumoo*, or, as it is more emphatically termed, *Utsu Déshyumoo*, the *pure* language of the land; 2nd *Tutsumunoo*, Sanskrit words assuming Teloogoo terminations; 3rd *Tudbhavumoo*, Teloogoo corruptions of Sanskrit words, formed by the substitution, the elision, or addition of letters; 4th, *Grāmyumoo*, provincial terms, or words peculiar to the vulgar. To these we may also add *Unyu Déshyumoo*, or words from other countries, sometimes given as a subdivision of the first class, and comprising, according to the definition of ancient writers, words adopted from the dialects current in the Canarese, Mahratta, Guzerat, and Dravida provinces only, but now also including several of Persian, Hindoostanee, and English origin."

To give an idea of the artificial manner in which the Indian critics classify the different Prākṛit dialects, and of the different classes of people to whom they conceive the dramatic writers ought to assign them, I quote a passage from the Sāhitya Darpaṇa :—

Purushāṇām anīchānāṁ saṁskṛitaṁ saṁskṛitātmanām | Śaurasenī prayoktavyā tādṛiśīnāṁ cha yoshitām | āsām eva tu gāthāsu Māhārāshṭrīm prayojayet | atroktā māgadhī bhāshā rājantaḥpura-chāriṇām | ceṭīnāṁ rājaputrāṇāṁ śreshṭhināṁ chārḍḍamāgaḍhī | prāchyā vidūshakādīnām dhūrtānāṁ syād Avantikā | yodḍha-nāgarikādīnām dākshiṇātyā hi dīyatām | Śakarāṇāṁ Śakādīnāṁ śākāriṁ samprayojayet | Vāhlīka-bhāshā divyānām drāviḍī Draviḍādishu | Ābhīreshu tathā "bhīrī chāṇḍālī Pukkasādishu | Ābhīrī Śāvarī chāpi kāshṭha-patropajīvishu | tathaivāṅgārakārādau Paiśāchī syāt Piśācha-vāk | ceṭīnām apy anīchānām api syāt Śaurasenikā | bālānāṁ shaṇḍakānāṁ cha nīcha-grahavichāriṇām | unmattānām āturāṇāṁ saiva syāt saṁskṛitaṁ kvachit | aiśvaryeṇa pramattasya dāridryopaskṛitasya cha | bhikshu-bandhadharādīnām prākṛitaṁ samprayojayet | saṁskṛitaṁ samprayoktavyaṁ linginīshūttamāsu cha | devīmantriśutā-veśyāsv api kaiśchit tathoditam | yaddeśaṁ nīcha-pātraṁ tu taddeśaṁ tesya bhāshitam | kāryataś chottamādīnāṁ kāryo bhāshā-viparyayaḥ | Yoshit-sakhī-bāla-veśyā-kitavāpsarasām tathā | vaidagdhyārtham pradātavyaṁ saṁskṛitaṁ chāntarāntarā |

"Let men of respectable rank and cultivated minds speak Sanskrit; and let women of the same description use Śaurasenī, except in the metrical parts, where they should talk Mahārāshṭrī. Persons living in kings' palaces should employ Māgadhī, and servants, kings' sons, and magistrates Ardhamāgadhī. The eastern dialect (which the scholiast says is Gauḍī, or Bengalī) should be spoken by buffoons; and the Avantī by crafty persons. Let Dākshiṇatyā (the language of Vidarbha, according to the scholiast) be employed by soldiers and citizens; and Śākārī by Śakārds, Śakas, and others. The Vāhlīka dialect is the one proper for celestial (?) personages, Drāviḍī for Draviḍas, etc., Ābhīrī for Ābhīras, Chāṇḍāli for Pukkasas, etc., the Ābhīrī and Śāvarī for those who live by cutting wood and gathering leaves, and Paiśāchī, the speech of Piśāchas, for charcoal-burners. Śaurasenī may be used also for female servants of the more respectable sort, for children, eunuchs, and low astrologers; the same, and occasionally Sanskrit, for madmen and sick persons. Prākṛit should be

employed by those who are intoxicated by authority or affected by poverty, by mendicants and prisoners, etc. Sanskrit should be assigned to the better sort of female mendicants, and also, as some say, to queens, ministers' daughters, and harlots. A dialect belonging to the country from which each character of low origin comes should be assigned to him; and the language employed by the superior personages should vary according to their function. Sanskrit should be occasionally assigned to women, female friends, children, harlots, gamblers, and celestial nymphs, with the view of [showing their] cleverness."[93]

The rules here given are quite artificial, as it would be absurd to suppose that different classes of persons living in the same locality, as most at least of the dramatis personæ would do, could each speak different dialects, and that, too, the dialects of other and perhaps distant provinces.

I shall conclude this section by adding the substance of what Professor Lassen says about the Prākṛit dialects in the earlier portion of his work (pp. 22, 25–29).

"The word *prākṛita* comes from *prakṛiti* (procreatrix), 'nature,' and means 'derived;' the several Prākṛit dialects being regarded as derivatives of Sanskrit either directly or mediately. The original language from which any other springs is called its *prakṛiti*, or source. Thus Hemachandra says, 'Prakrit has its origin in Sanskrit; that which is derived, or comes from the latter, is called *prākṛita*.'[94] The expressions Sanskrit and Prakrit are opposed to each other in another sense, when the former word denotes men of cultivated minds, and the latter those who are uncultivated. The term Prakrit is therefore also applied to vulgar and provincial forms of speech.

"The grammarians concur in considering Mahārāshṭrī as in the strictest sense of the word Prakṛit, the principal form or type of Prakrit. The Śaurasenī and the Māgadhī approach most nearly to the Mahārāshṭrī, and both derive their appellations from the names of provinces. By these three provincial designations, Mahārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, and Māgadhī, the Indian grammarians appear to have

[93] Sāhitya Darpaṇa in Bibliotheca Indica, No. 53, pp. 172, 173. (See also Lassen, Instit. Linguæ Pracr., pp. 35, 36.)

[94] Hemachandra, viii. 1, Lassen, p. 26; quoted above, p. 44.

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understood the local varieties of language employed in those three several provinces, as well as the dramatic dialects severally so called. Vararuchi specifies only one inferior dialect, the Paiśāchī, and understands by it the form of speech employed by the lowest classes of men. This is to be distinguished from the speech of Piśāchas (goblins), which, when introduced on the stage, are said to use a gibberish totally ungrammatical. The word is to be understood as figuratively used to denote the contempt in which the lowest classes were held. Hemachandra mentions a variety of this dialect, the Chūlikā-paiśāchī, which denotes a form of speech lower than even the former. In fact two varieties of Paiśāchī appear to be distinguished by the grammarians,[95] both of them spoken by barbarous tribes, of which the one seems to belong to northern, the other to southern, India. Rāma Tarkavāgīśa also mentions two sorts of Paiśāchī, signifying by this name a rude mixture of language drawn from different idioms.

"The term *apabhraṅśa* is applied by the grammarians to those dialects which are the furthest removed from the pure Sanskrit original, and have undergone the greatest corruption. Hemachandra specifies two kinds, of which one has most affinity with the principal Prakrit, and the other with the Śaurasenī. The older writers assign this dialect to the people who dwell on the shores of the western ocean, especially the Ābhīras. Rāma Tarkavāgīśa, departing from the view of the earlier writers, ascribes the varieties of the local and provincial dialects to the *apabhraṅśa*, as their source. The same author seems also (when he uses (iii. 1) the words *nāgādikramāt*, "according to the manner of those who speak like *Nāgas*, or serpents, etc."), to assign a mythological name to the provincial dialects in the same way as the older writers talk of certain barbarous tribes as Piśāchas. This designation appears to have proceeded from the writers on rhetoric, who assign Sanskrit to the gods: Prakrit is then left for men; while those whom the Brahmans consider to be scarcely deserving of the name of men, Chaṇḍālas, Ābhīras, and such like, are only fit to utter the speech of goblins, or serpents.

"The Prakrit dialects employed in the dramas are rightly asserted by the grammarians to be of Sanskrit origin; for both the grammatical forms and the words, with very few exceptions, as well as the entire

[95] See the passage quoted in p. 48.

structure of the Prakrits, and the character of their syntax, are derived from the Sanskrit. When, however, the more recent grammarians assert the same of the Canarese and other South-Indian dialects, they are in error, as, although these languages contain words formed from Sanskrit according to certain rules, their grammatical forms and primary words cannot by any possibility have been drawn from that source."

I will hereafter show (when I come to refer more particularly to the South-Indian languages) that the Indian grammarians of the south claim for the Teḷugu, and no doubt for the Tamul, Canarese, and Malayalim, also, an origin quite independent of the Sanskrit.[96]

Sect. V.—*The Pāli, and its Relations to Sanskrit and Prākṛit.*

The above tabular comparison of the Prākṛits with the modern vernaculars, will have abundantly shown, that the latter are derived from the former, or from some kindred sources, and that both are derived in great part from the Sanskrit, at some period of its history, the one mediately, the other more immediately. Although, however, it be sufficiently clear, both from the authority of the native grammarians and by a comparison of the Sanskrit and the Prākṛits, that the latter are derived from the former, yet the later Prākṛits do not represent the derivative form of speech which stands nearest to the Sanskrit; and we are in a position to point out a dialect which approaches yet more closely to the latter than the Prākṛits do. I mean the Pāli, or sacred language of the Buddhists; a language which is extinct in India, but in which numerous canonical books of the Bauddha religion, still extant in Burmah and Ceylon, are written.[97]

Though, however, this language has had the singular fate of having now disappeared from its native soil, to become a sacred language in foreign countries, it is yet nothing more than one of the ancient

[96] See Dr. Caldwell's Comp. Grammar of the Dravidian languages, pp. 30, 31; the Introduction to Campbell's Telugu Grammar, 3rd edit., Madras, 1849, pp. xv. ff.; and the Note, in the same work, by Mr. Ellis, to Mr. Campbell's Introduction, pp. 11–22.

[97] If any Brahmanical reader should think of studying these pages, I hope that the connexion of the Pāli language with the Buddhist religion will not deprive it of all interest in his eyes, much less induce him, with the author of the Nyāya mūlā vistara, I. 3, 4, to regard it, though of pure Sanskrit original, as polluted, like cow's milk in a dog's skin (*nahi pūtaṁ syād gokshīram śva-dṛitau dhṛitam*), by the unholy contact of these heretics.

vernacular dialects of Northern India. Māgadhī is the appellation which the Buddhists of Ceylon themselves give to it. It is, indeed, true, as we are informed by Mr. Turnour, that the "Buddhists are impressed with the conviction that their sacred and classical language, the Māgadhi or Pāli, is of greater antiquity than the Sanskrit; and that it had attained also a higher state of refinement than its rival tongue had acquired. In support of this belief they adduce various arguments, which in their judgment are quite conclusive. They observe that the very word 'Pāli' signifies original, text, regularity; and there is scarcely a Buddhist Pāli scholar in Ceylon who, in the discussion of this question, will not quote, with an air of triumph, their favourite verse, *sā Māgadhī mūla-bhāsā narā yāy'ādikappikā | brahmāno ch'assutālāpā Sambuddhā chāpi bhāsare.* 'There is a language which is the root (of all languages); men and Brahmans at the commencement of the creation, who had never before heard or uttered a human accent, and even the supreme Buddhos spoke it: it is Māgadhi.'[98] This verse[99] is a quotation from Kachchāyano's Grammar, the oldest referred to in the Pāli literature of Ceylon. The original is not extant in this island."[100] Mr. Turnour, however, is inclined to "entertain an opinion adverse to the claims of the Buddhists on this particular point [the priority of Pāli to Sanskrit]. The general results of the researches hitherto made by Europeans, both historical and philosophical, unquestionably converge," he thinks,

[98] Mahāwanso, Introduction, p. xxii; see also p. xxvii. Mr. Childers translates thus: "The Māgadhī is the original language in which men of former Kalpas, and Brahmas by whom speech has not been heard, and supreme Buddhas speak." The "Brahmas" are, he thinks, the inhabitants of the upper Brahma worlds. The idea entertained by the Buddhists of the superiority of the Pāli to Sanskrit may also be learnt from the following passage of the commentary on the Grammar called Rūpasiddhi, describing the result of the composition of Kachchāyano's Grammar: *ewañ sati nānādesa-bhāsā-sankkatādi-khalita-wachanam anākāraṁ jetwā Tathāgatena wuttāya subhāwa niruttiyā sukhena Buddha-wachanam uggaṇhissanti* | "This being done, men, overcoming the confusion and incorrectness of diction, arising from the mixture of Sanskrit and other dialects of various countries, will, by conformity to the rules of grammar propounded by the Tathâgata (Buddha), easily acquire the doctrine of Buddho."—Mahāwanso, Introd., pp. xxvi, xxvii.

[99] Preserved in the grammar called Payogasiddhi. Turnour, p. xxvii. Mr. Childers tells me that the verse does not occur in Kachchāyana.

[100] This grammar is now in the hands of scholars, and parts of it have been published by Mr. D'Alwis and Dr. Kuhn. Mr. Childers says that it is in the hands of every native scholar, and must have been so in Mr. Turnour's time.

"to prove the greater antiquity of the Sanskrit. Even in this island," he proceeds, "all works on astronomy, medicine, and (such as they are) on chemistry and mathematics, are exclusively written in Sanskrit: while the works on Buddhism, the histories subsequent to the advent of Gōtamo Buddho, and certain philological works alone, are composed in the Pāli language" (Mahāwanso, Introd. pp. xxii, xxiii). There is no question that Mr. Turnour is right, and that the priests of Ceylon, who are no philologists, are wrong. The Pāli bears as distinct traces of derivation from Sanskrit, in an early stage of its development, as any of the other northern dialects. Before, however, adducing the proofs of this, I must give some account of the manner in which the Pāli was introduced into Ceylon.

The appearance of Buddha as a religious reformer in Northern Hindustan seems to have taken place in the earlier part of the sixth century before Christ. He is said to have entered on his mission in the year 588, and to have died in 543 B.C. (Turnour, Introd. to Mahāw., p. xxix).[101] In strong contrast to the Brahmans, he and his followers strove to disseminate their new doctrines in a popular shape among all classes of society; and for this purpose employed, where necessary, the current vernacular dialects of their age and country, though, at the same time, they may have used both Sanskrit and Māgadhī in the composition of their sacred works (Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii. 492, f.; 1147, f; Burnouf, Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 862).[102] Three Buddhist synods were held at different periods within 300 years after

[101] The grounds for preferring the Cingalese date of Buddha's death, 543 or 544 B.C., to that of the Northern Buddhists, are set forth by Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. ii., pp. 51–61. See especially pp. 60, 61. The historical value of the Buddhist records is, according to Mr. Turnour (Introd., p. xxviii), assured in the following way:—"The age in which we now live is the Buddhōtpādo of Gotamo [the interval between the manifestation of one Buddho and the epoch when his religion becomes extinct]. His religion was destined to endure 5,000 years; of which 2,380 have now passed away (A.D. 1837) since his death, and 2,620 are yet to come. . . . By this fortunate fiction, a limitation has been prescribed to the mystification in which the Buddhistical creed has involved all the historical data contained in its literature *anterior* to the advent of Gotama. . . . The mystification of the Buddhistical data ceased a century at least prior to B.C. 588, when Prince Siddhattho attained Buddhohood, in the character of Gotamo Buddho."

[102] Benfey has expressed a different opinion on one point. He says (Indien, p. 194), the Buddhist books of Nepal composed in Sanskrit are, "as we shall hereafter show to be probable, merely translations from the Buddhist sources, which were originally composed in Pali."

Buddha's death, for the collection and arrangement of the sacred works which expounded the doctrines and discipline of his religion; for the correction of errors and abuses; and for the purpose of propagating the new faith in foreign countries. The revelations of Buddha are stated by his followers "to have been orally pronounced in Pali, and orally perpetuated for upwards of four centuries, till the close of the Buddhistical age of inspiration." They consist of the Pitakattaya [in Sanskrit Piṭakatraya], or the three piṭakas, which now form the Buddhistical Scriptures, divided into the Vinaya, Abhidharma, and Sūtra pitakas. A schism having arisen after Buddha's death, the first Buddhist council was held in 543, when the authenticity of this Pāli collection was established, and commentaries upon it, called Aṭṭhakatha, were promulgated. At the second council, in 443 B.C., the authority of the Pitakattaya was again vindicated, and the Aṭṭhakatha delivered on that occasion completed the history of Buddhism for the interval subsequent to the previous council. In the year 309 B.C., the third council was held in the reign of King Aśoka, who was a zealous promoter of Buddhism [Turnour, p. xxix]. Various missions were consequently undertaken.[103] Mahendra, the son of King Aśoka, was sent on a mission to Ceylon, for the conversion of that island.

The following account of his proceedings is given by the native authorities, as abstracted by Professor Lassen (Ind. Alt. ii. pp. 247–253):—Mahendra arrived in Ceylon in the year 245 B.C., was hospitably received by the king of the island, and began by his preaching to convert the inhabitants to the religion of Buddha. The king himself embraced the new doctrine. Relics of Buddha were transported to the island from Northern India, and the Bodhi tree, under which Buddha had attained the most perfect knowledge, was transplanted thither from Behar, and, according to the belief of the Buddhists, continues to flourish to the present time. Many miracles attended these transactions. The conversions to Buddhism continued; and many male and female devotees were consecrated to the Buddhist priesthood. Buddhism, thus introduced, has ever since remained the creed of Ceylon; and that island, the head-quarters of Southern Buddhism, and the seed-plot from which it was propagated into Burmah and other parts of Transgangetic India, is regarded in those countries as a holy

[103] See Lassen, Ind. Alt., ii., pp. 79, 86, 229, ff., and 234–240.

land. In Ceylon there exists, as has been already mentioned, an extensive Buddhistic literature, which fills up an important blank in that of the Brahmans. This literature is, as has been stated, in Pali. At first, however, the principal sacred records of the Buddhists are said to have been handed down by oral tradition. Mr. Turnour (p. xxix) gives the following statement on this subject from the native authorities: The Pitakattaya, together with the Aṭṭhakatha, completed to the era of the third Council, were orally promulgated in Ceylon by Mahendra, the Pitakattaya in Pali, and the Aṭṭhakatha in Cingalese, with a further Aṭṭhakatha of his own. These works were, it is said, propounded orally by his inspired disciples and successors till the close of the period of inspiration, which occurred in Ceylon between 104 and 76 B.C. They were then committed to writing, the text (Pitakattaya) in Pali (in which it had before been handed down orally), and its commentaries in Cingalese. This event is thus celebrated in the Mahāwanso, chap 33, p. 207. *Pittaka-ttaya-pāliṁ cha tassā aṭṭhakathaṁ cha tam | mukha-pāṭhena ānesuṁ pubbe bhikkhū mahāmati | hāniṁ diswāna sattānaṁ tadā bhikkhū samāgatā | chiraṭṭhitattham dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayuṁ |* "The wise Bhikkhus of earlier times had handed down orally both the text (Pali) of the three pitakas, and their aṭṭhakatha. But at that period, perceiving the injury which would otherwise be sustained by the people, the Bhikkhus assembled and caused them to be written down in books for the more lasting stability of the faith." About 500 years later, in the period between 410 and 432 A.D., Buddhaghosa transferred the Cingalese Aṭṭhakatha into Pāli, as related in the 37th Chapter of the Mahāwanso. These Pāli versions of the Buddhist scriptures and their commentaries are those now extant in Ceylon, and they are identically the same with the Siamese and Burmese versions.

Such are the Buddhist traditions regarding the oral transmission of their sacred books, viz., the scriptures themselves in Pāli, and the commentaries, etc., in Cingalese, and their subsequent consignment to writing. It is to be remarked, however, that so much of this narrative, as records the oral transmission of these works, is distinctly rejected by Mr. Turnour, who says, p. lvii., "although there can be no doubt as to the belief entertained by Buddhists here, that these scriptures were perpetuated orally for 453 years before they were reduced to writing,

being founded on superstitious imposture, originating perhaps in the priesthood denying to all but their own order access to their scriptures, yet there is no reasonable ground for questioning the authority of the history thus obtained of the origin, recognition, and revisions of these Pali scriptures."

Regarding the introduction of Pāli into Ceylon, different views have been taken. In his "Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ," Professor Lassen remarks as follows (pp. 60, 61):—

"It is clear that the Pali is the sacred language of the Southern Buddhists, *i.e.* of those who departing, for the most part, from the shores of Kalinga, towards the south, carried with them, first of all, the doctrines of Buddhism into Ceylon, and eventually propagated them them in India beyond the Ganges."

And again:—

"While the Pali is connected with the emigration of Buddhism to the south, it was itself, without doubt, produced in India. It is by no means clear whether the Buddhists, when they travelled southwards, made use of the Pali language from the first or not; but indeed, as the commencement of the emigration to Ceylon can scarcely be placed earlier than from 628–543 before Christ, the application of the Pali dialect as a vehicle for communicating the Buddhist doctrines can hardly have taken place earlier than that period. How much more recent it may be, I leave to those who may be endeavouring to trace the history of this sect to discover."

In his later work, however, the "Indian Antiquities" (vol. ii., pp. 488–490), Lassen proposes the following theory on the subject, which I translate, with slight abridgements:—

"The Pali language is called by the Buddhists of Ceylon Māgadhī, and it ought consequently to have had its birthplace in Magadha. This, however, cannot have been the case, as, like the majority of the dramatic dialects, it does not possess the peculiarities of the Māgadhī. The Buddhists are also wrong when they declare the Pali to be the root of the Sanskrit, and assert that Kātyāyana restored it to its original perfection by purifying it from all intermixture of Sanskrit and the provincial dialects. We shall therefore have to seek for the birthplace of the Pali elsewhere than in Magadha. We must necessarily assume it to have been once a vernacular dialect, as it is other-

wise impossible to perceive why it should have been selected as the language of the sacred writings. There is, besides, nothing in its character which is opposed to the supposition that it was once a spoken tongue. If we compare it with the language of the Western inscriptions, we find that, generally speaking, they stand both equally removed from the Sanskrit; for if the one presents some forms which are older, the other again has other forms which are more ancient.[104] The western inscriptions have, in addition to other differences, also the peculiar phonetic rule of changing *tvā* into *ptā* (e.g. *dasayitvā* [Sanskrit *darśayitvā*] into *dasayiptā*), which is unknown to the Pali, as well as to the dramatic dialects. These discrepancies render it impossible to identify the Pali with the language of the western inscriptions. It is besides to be observed, that Buddhism had not its principal seat on the western coast, where the dialect in question was vernacular."

Thus, according to Lassen, the Pāli is neither identifiable with the Māgadhī, the language of Eastern Hindustan, nor with the dialects of Western India, as made known by the western inscriptions.

"In the absence of any other circumstance to indicate the birthplace of the Pali (Professor Lassen proceeds), I propose the following conjecture on the subject. I assume that Kātyāyana selected the speech of the country in which he was engaged in propagating Buddhism, *i.e.* of Malwa. Of the Prakrits employed in the dramas, the Saurasenī is the one most frequently employed, and is the variety used in the prose passages. Vararuchi derives it immediately from the Sanskrit, and from it the other dramatic dialects. He must therefore have considered it as the oldest, though he (as well as his successors), regards the dialect called Mahārāshṭrī as the principal. These two dialects stand the nearest to the Pali, though it is decidedly older than they are. I conjecture, therefore, that we may regard it as the oldest form

[104] Thus the language of the inscriptions preserves the *s* before *t* and *th*, as in *asti*, in *sesthe*, and in *usthāna;* and the *r* in *sarvva*, where the Pāli has *tth*, *ṭṭh*, and *vv*. The inscriptions, too, preserve the Sanskrit dative, for which the genitive is used in Pāli, though the grammarians recognize the existence of the dative. In Pāli the ablative in *smā*, as well as *mhā*, and the locative in *smin* as well as *mhi*, are found, though they are rarely used in composition. In the inscriptions, on the other hand, the locative has the form *mhi*, while the ablative of words in *a* is *ā*, so that the pronominal declination of this case has not yet been transferred to the noun.

which has been preserved of the vernacular language of Western India between the Jumna river and the Vindhya range, a tract which includes Malwa. The Saurasenī would consequently present a later form of this language. From Ujjayani a knowledge of Kātyāyana's work was probably diffused over the Dekhan; and the Cingalese derived their acquaintance with the dialect of which it treated from the country of the Ḍamilas, *i.e.* the Tamilians, or the Cholas. In that country, Dīpankara, surnamed Buddhapriya, composed his new arrangement of that work, the oldest Pali grammar now extant.[105] As the canonical writings in Ceylon were not translated into this sacred dialect till the beginning of the fifth century A.D.,[106] the knowledge of it appears to have been only very slowly diffused towards the south. The grammar just referred to appears to be more ancient than that translation. A more accurate conclusion regarding this portion of the history of the languages of India will perhaps result from a complete investigation of the writings of the Southern Buddhists."

These remarks of Lassen afford, perhaps, scarcely sufficient grounds for denying that the Pāli was introduced into Ceylon from Magadha. The peculiarities which are enumerated by Vararuchi as the characteristics of the Māgadhī, as it existed in his day, such as the substitution of *ś* for *sh*, and *s*, *y* for *j*, *sk* for *kṣh*, *l* for *r*, are, after all, of no great consequence, and would perhaps be regarded by learned persons, even

[105] "The oldest version of the compilation from Kachchāyano's Grammar," says, Mr. Turnour (Introd. to Mahāw. p. xxv.), "is acknowledged to be the Rūpasiddhi. I quote three passages . . . . The first of these extracts [from the conclusion of the Rūpasiddhi] . . . . proves the work to be of very considerable antiquity, from its having been composed in the Daksina, while Buddhism prevailed there as the religion of the state." This quotation is as follows:—*wikhyātānanda-therawhaya-waragurūnañ Tambapaṇṇi-ddhajānañ sisso Dīpankarākhyo Damila-wasumati dīpaladdha-ppakāso Bālādichchādi-wāsa-ddwitayam adhiwasan sāsanañ jotayī yo soyam Buddha-piyyawho yatī imam ujukañ Rūpasiddhim akāsi* | which, with the aid of Mr. Turnour's version, I translate as follows:—"The celebrated teacher Anāndo, who was a rallying point like a standard to Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon), had a disciple called Dīpankaro. The latter, who had obtained renown in the land of Damila, and was the superintendent of two religious houses, called Bālādichcha, etc., illustrated the religion of Buddha. He was the devotee who bore the appellation of Buddhapiyo, and composed this perfect Rūpasiddhi."

[106] This statement of Lassen disagrees with the account given by Mr. Turnour, on native authority (quoted above, p. 57), that the Pitakattaya had been handed down in Pāli from the first. See also the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1837, pp. 503, ff.

in Magadha itself, rather as vulgar provincialisms, than essential characteristics of their language. If so, such varieties would naturally be discarded by educated men acquainted with Sanskrit, when they came to form for themselves a literary language.

The early Buddhist teachers appear to have been in the habit of travelling over the whole of the central parts of Northern India, and must have been acquainted with the languages of its different provinces. When, therefore, they set themselves to compose works which were intended for circulation in all these different regions, they would naturally adopt the most correct and approved forms of speech which were current anywhere within those limits. The case is quite different in regard to the dramatic compositions of India, which would preserve the most salient points of every provincial patois, as works of this class derive a considerable part of their attraction from depicting, or even exaggerating local peculiarities.

I find it also difficult to concur in Lassen's opinion as to the period at which the Pāli, or Māgadhī, was introduced into Ceylon. Mahendra and his followers, who were no doubt numerous, must necessarily have carried with them the language of their native country; and not only so, but they may have been the bearers of numerous works written in that language. For it is not easy to receive literally the account given by the Ceylonese writers (which, as we have seen, p. 54, Mr. Turnour also rejects,) of the time at which their religious works were first committed to writing, or to suppose that the foreign propagators of Buddhism, who would at first be ignorant of Cingalese, should, at the period of their arrival, have had no records in their own language of the new religion which they were introducing, or that these records should not have been safely handed down to their successors.

M. Eugène Burnouf, in the course of a comparison which he is instituting between a paragraph extracted from a Pāli work, one of the books of the Buddhist canon, the Dīgha Nikāya, and a parallel passage from a Nepalese Sanskrit work, makes the following observation on the language in which the former is composed, from which it will be observed, that he does not controvert the derivation of the Pāli language from the dialect of Magadha:—

"It is quite possible that these two versions may have been nearly contemporaneous in India, and have been current there from the

earliest period of Buddhism, before the events occurred which transported them to Ceylon. The Pali version would be popular among the inferior castes and the bulk of the people of Magadha and Oude, while the Sanskrit version was used by the Brahmans. Still, we should not be justified in supposing that we possessed in the Pali text the authentic version of this passage in its true Māgadhī form, since a comparison of the Indian inscriptions of Aśoka, and of the Pali of Ceylon, reveals to us certain differences between the forms of these two dialects. Still, while we allow for the degree of artificial regularity which the cultivation of the Pali in Ceylon may have introduced, we must hold that the Pali version of this passage approaches very closely to the form which it must have had in Māgadhī."—(*Lotus de la Bonne Loi.* App., p. 862.)

Professor Weber (in the course of a detailed notice of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi, in his Indische Studien, iii., 176, ff.) remarks as follows on this passage:—"This last explanation [that the Pali was elaborated in Ceylon] does not appear to me satisfactory, because a language carried by a few persons along with them into a foreign country ordinarily retains its ancient character unchanged. It is further very questionable whether the cultivation of the Pali commenced in Ceylon, and probability speaks rather in favour of the supposition that the grammar of the language was fixed in the country which was its home." Weber proceeds to observe, that the Cingalese tradition ascribes the origin of their grammar to India; and thinks it may be doubtful whether Pāli was used at all in Ceylon before the arrival there of Buddhaghosa in 420 A.D. For though a translation of the Sūtras is said to have been made into the Cingalese sixty years earlier (which seems to prove that the Pāli was understood all along), yet it is improbable, he conceives, that, if it had been earnestly studied before Buddhaghosa, the translation of the work called Aṭṭhakatha would have been so long deferred. At any rate, he thinks the arrival of this teacher appears to have given a new impulse to the study of Pāli, as is attested by the composition of the Mahāvansa in that language, fifty years later. It is clear, however, that Weber maintains the essential identity of Pāli with the vernacular dialect of Magadha, in the sixth century B.C., as he explains the more archaic character of the language of the Pāli books, the Aṭṭhakatha

and Tripitaka, as compared with the language of the Indian inscriptions of Aśoka, by supposing that (while the popular dialect had undergone great alterations in the 300 years which intervened between Buddha's death and the date of the inscriptions) the followers of Buddha may have made it a rule to retain, as far as possible, the dialect in which Buddha himself spoke, as the language of all the discourses which actually emanated from him, or were ascribed to him, as well as of all the narratives of which he formed the subject.

I quote two other authorities on the subject of the early introduction of Pāli into Ceylon. The first is Professor Spiegel, who remarks as follows, in the Preface to the Kammavākya (a short Buddhist work edited by him, and translated into Latin):—"It appears reasonable to believe that the Pali was introduced by the Buddhists into Ceylon, and carried thence into Transgangetic India. An extensive intercourse existed between the continent of India and Ceylon from the earliest period, and the mention of this island in the Rāmāyana is well known. Six Brahmanical kings are enumerated in the Mahāvansa, who, as they lived before the age of Aśoka, must no doubt have employed another language. That this was the case is proved by the multitude of words which have been transferred from Sanskrit, not from Pali, into the Cingalese language, and which appear to have been introduced in consequence of that previous intercourse to which reference has been made. Thus we find in Cingalese, *karṇa*, not *kaṇṇa*, ear, *vaira*, not *vera*, enmity, the use of the visarga, which has nearly disappeared from Pali, as well as the vowels *ṛi*, *ṛī*, *ḷṛi*, *ḷṛī*." Spiegel proceeds:—"We find from the Cingalese books, that the Buddhists arrived in Ceylon, bringing with them the Pali language, in the time of Devānampiyatissa, the contemporary of Aśoka, who reigned from 260–219 B.C. It is probable that the Pali was called Māgadhī in consequence of the mission of Aśoka's son Mahendra to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon. In fact, a comparison of the Pali with the language of the inscriptions which have descended to our own time, leaves no doubt that the two forms of speech are most closely connected. Both are but comparatively little removed from the Sanskrit, since in neither of them is elision of letters practised, nor, with few exceptions, are aspirated letters commuted into *h*, as in the Prakrit."

The other authority I shall quote is Professor Benfey, who thus

writes in his article on India (in Ersch and Gruber's German Encyclopædia, p. 194) :—

"The place exterior to India, where Buddhism became first established as a state religion (about 240 years before Christ) under the especial auspices of Aśoka, Emperor of India, was Ceylon. It is therefore to be assumed that at that period all which was of importance on the subject of Buddhism, was brought to Ceylon in the form in which it then existed. Besides, so close a connexion existed between Ceylon and the head-quarters of the Indian empire, viz., the regions lying on the Bay of Bengal (Bengal itself and the adjoining provinces), that the Ceylonese took at least a passive share in the development of Buddhism. Hence their books appear to me to be authorities of the greatest consequence. It is further to be observed that these works are composed in Pali, which is the sacred language of the Buddhist in Ceylon, and in the countries converted to Buddhism by the Ceylonese, and which was the predominating popular dialect of central India."

I quote another passage, to a similar effect, from p. 250 of the same work; and although there, at the close, the author speaks doubtfully of the derivation of Pāli from the province of Magadha, and of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon from the shores of the Bay of Bengal, he is not to be understood as throwing any uncertainty on the connexion of Pāli or of Buddhism with Northern India in general.

He characterizes the Pāli as "the sacred language of the Buddhist writings found in Ceylon and Transgangetic India, . . . which is shown both by internal and external indications to have been the vernacular dialect of central India, and which was diffused along with the Buddhist religion in the countries above named, where it soon acquired the same sacredness in the eyes of the Buddhists, which Sanskrit possessed, and still possesses, for the Brahmans. This language," he continues, "(though distinct proof cannot yet be adduced of the assertion), is one of the very oldest of the Indian vernaculars, and was already in popular use at the period of the rise of Buddhism. It was probably the dialect of a considerable, I mean the western, portion of Bengal. It was from this point, from Banga or Kalinga, that, according to the Ceylonese account, Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon: and yet again this conjecture becomes uncertain, owing to the fact that the language of Magadha, which was spoken only a

little to the north of the Bay of Bengal, and which (as Aśoka's inscription in Cuttack seems to have been composed in it) appears also to have extended towards the south, varies essentially from the Pali in several particulars." Again, in p. 246, Benfey speaks of "the Pali, as varying in many particulars from the language of Magadha, and approximating to the principal Prakrit or Mahārāshṭrī, dialect."

But it matters little in what particular province we suppose the Pāli to have originated, whether in Magadha, or in some country further to the westward; as the fact remains in any case indubitable that, perhaps with some modifications, it represents one of the oldest Prākṛitic dialects of northern India.

The Buddhist writers assert, as we have already seen, that the Pāli is not derived from the Sanskrit; but that, on the contrary, it is the primitive language from which all others are descended. These Buddhist grammarians were no doubt led away by their prejudice in favour of the dialect which they or their predecessors had adopted as the depositary of their sacred literature; and by a prejudice against the Sanskrit, which was venerated by their rivals, the Brahmans. Even Mr. Clough says (Pāli Grammar, Advertisement, p. iii.), without determining the question, "it has long been a contested point whether the Pali or Sanskrit be the more ancient language of India;" and contents himself with the remark that, "it is certain that Pali was the popular dialect of the native country of Buddho, namely, Magadha, before the powerful sect, founded by him, was expelled from the continent of India, an event prior to the Christian era."

The following is the conclusion at which Mr. James D'Alwis arrives after a long investigation of the subject in his introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar (published at Colombo, in 1863), p. cxxxii:—

"When, therefore, we consider the high state of refinement to which the Pali had in very early times attained as a language,—its copiousness, elegance and harmony, combined with its high antiquity, and its comparative simplicity, both verbally and grammatically,—its relationship to the oldest language of the Brahmans, from which their present dialect has been *Sanskritized*,—its claims to be considered the Vyavahārika-vāk of the Brahmans to which the Rig Veda refers,—its concurrence with some of the Indo-European languages in some forms which differ from the Sanskrit,—its identification with the only

original Prākrita dialect, which was 'similar to the Sanskrit,'—the absence of any statement in old Brahman writers to the effect that that Prākrita dialect was a derivative of the Sanskrit,—the great improbability of a derivative being denominated the [Prakriti] Prākrita,—the palpable inaccuracy of the definition by which in modern times it is called the 'derived, the vulgar, or the ungrammatical,'—the absence in it of many a peculiarity which distinguishes derivative tongues,—and the probability that it had issued from the same ancient seat (Bactria or Punjab) from whence the Sanskrit itself had taken an easterly direction,—I believe it may be concluded that the Pali and the Sanskrit are, at least, two dialects of high antiquity, contemporaneously derived from a source of which few, if any, traces can be discovered at the present day."

In a review of Mr. D'Alwis's work in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1865, vol. xix., pp. 658, ff., Prof. Weber notices thus the remarks of that writer:—

"The long investigation which the author then institutes (pp. lxxiii–cxxxii) regarding the antiquity of the Pāli and its relation to the Sanskrit conducts him rightly to the conclusion that both dialects were 'contemporaneously' evolved from one source (viz., the Vedic language). He here shows himself to be a warm, patriotic admirer of the Pāli, but allows himself here and there to be carried away by this feeling beyond the proper limits into a depreciation of the Sanskrit, and specifically to assumptions respecting its purely arbitrary formation, which must appear to the European reader highly peculiar," etc. "Nevertheless, we owe even to this part of his labour the acknowledgment that he has striven to the best of his power to arrange and sketch the results and views both of native and European scholars, and that he has in general succeeded well in doing so. It can now in fact no longer be denied that it is better to understand the name Prākṛita in the sense of 'natural,' 'original,' 'normal,' 'common,' 'general,' and in the signification perhaps secondarily deduced therefrom, of 'common,' 'low,' than in the sense of 'derived' (*saṁskṛitam prakṛitir yasya*) assigned to the word by the grammarians.[107] And yet

[107] In order to make this clause more intelligible, I quote Mr. D'Alwis's interpretation of the word Prākṛita from an earlier page of his introduction, p. xcii, where he writes thus: "Prakriti is therefore that which is natural, or the nature itself of a

the assumption that the Pāli, and so the Prākṛit, are derived from the Sanskrit, deserves the preference over the converse view to which D'Alwis appears here and there to be not indisposed, viz., that the Pāli, as being the most ancient Prākṛit which has been handed down to us, stands higher in point of originality and independence than the Sanskrit. For it is clear that the Sanskrit, both in its phonetic system and flexions, stands much closer to the common mother of it and the Pāli than the latter does,[108] and has consequently a far superior right than it to be regarded as the representative of that parent language. A perplexing circumstance connected with this question, and one which leads to many sorts of mistakes, is that we have unfortunately no proper name for that stage of the language which lies at the foundation of both the 'sister dialects,' the Pāli (and Prākṛit) and the Sanskrit, *i.e.* for the Vedic vulgar speech; for the names *bhāshā* and *vyāvahārikī* are not sufficiently pregnant; and one is consequently

thing—that which is pre-eminent—that which is the natural or quiescent state of anything—'not made.' Hence it is clear that the correct and primary sense of the word *Prākṛita*,—indeed that which was originally assigned to it, despite the so-called 'common acceptation,'—was 'original,' 'root,' 'natural.' By the Prākrit was therefore at first meant the original Indian language, as distinguished from the apabhransa, 'the ungrammatical,' and the Sanskrit, signifying [from *sam* 'altogether', or 'together,' and *kṛita* 'done' = 'altogether,' or 'completely made, done, or formed'] that 'which has been composed or formed by art, adorned, embellished, purified, highly cultivated or polished,' and regularly inflected as a language." See in opposition to this view of the sense of the word *prākṛita*, Hemachandra's interpretation of it given above in p. 44, and Lassen's explanation, quoted in p. 51. In a review of Prof. Weber's Ind. Literaturgeschichte, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1853, p. 605, Prof. Roth thus expresses himself on this question: "Prākṛit (according to the derivation which seems to me the correct one) signifies that which has its foundation in another thing, 'the derived,' or the 'to be derived.' The expression is one formed by grammarians, and has a grammatical sense. The grammarians say *e.g. saṁhitā pada-prākṛitis*; the Sanhitā texts have for their foundation the words, *i.e.* that form of speaking and writing the texts in which the end and beginning of the words which follow one another in a sentence are brought into harmony with the general phonetic laws of Sanskrit has for its foundation the single words conceived in their original form. The Sanhitā text is thus *prākṛitā* in relation to the word-text, the *pada-pāṭha*: it is a derived text made for a scientific purpose. I would understand the word *prākṛita* in the same sense, when it is applied to the dialects." In Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit Lexicon the sense "customary," "common," is assigned to the word *prākṛita* when generally used, while of the dialect so called it is said: "The 'common' speech is that spoken by the people, which the grammarians derive from Sanskrit."

[108] This, however, can afford us no reason to deny that the Pāli has actually preserved older forms than the Sanskrit. [Note of Prof. Weber.]

at a loss how to designate it. Benfey's excellent remarks at p. 245 of his article Indien (which unfortunately has not yet been re-written), regarding the dying out of the Sanskrit as a vernacular language in the sixth century B.C. labour under this disadvantage, that they apply the name Sanskrit for a period for which it is in no way applicable."

The views of Burnouf and Lassen on the relation of the Pāli to Sanskrit are thus stated in their Essai sur le Pali, pp. 138, ff:

"The Pali is derived from the Sanskrit, according to certain rules, for the most part euphonic, which do not allow the derivative language to admit certain sounds and combinations of consonants, common in the parent tongue. These modifications apply equally to the substantive portions of the words and to their terminations and inflections. It hence results that there is no grammatical form to be found in Pali of which the origin may not be discovered in Sanskrit; and that there is no occasion to call in the influence of any foreign idiom to explain the modifications to which the Pali has subjected the Sanskrit.

"When the Pali, as a derivative from Sanskrit, is compared with other dialects having the same origin, it is found to approach far more closely than any of those others to that common source. It stands, so to speak, on the first step of the ladder of departure from Sanskrit, and is the first of the series of dialects which break up that rich and fertile language. But it appears that the Pali, which contained in itself the germs of alteration already greatly developed, was arrested in its progress all at once, and fixed in the condition in which we now find it, *i.e.*, in a state of almost immediate connexion with the language from which it proceeded. In fact the greater part of the words which form the basis of the one, are found without modification in the other; those which are modified can all be traced to their Sanskrit root; in short, no words of foreign origin are to be found in Pali."

Again:—

"We shall not enter into new details regarding the manner in which the Pali has been derived from the Sanskrit. The laws which have guided the formation of that language are the same which we find at work in other idioms in different ages and countries; these laws are general, because they are necessary. Whether we compare the lan-

guages which are derived from Latin with the Latin itself, or the later Teutonic dialects with the ancient languages of the same stock, or the modern with the ancient Greek, or the numerous popular dialects of India with the Sanskrit, we shall see the same principles developed, the same laws applied. The organic inflections of the parent languages are seen to exist in part, but in a state of evident alteration. More commonly they will be found to have disappeared, and to have been replaced, the case-terminations by particles, and the tenses by auxiliary verbs. The processes vary in different languages, but the principle is the same; it is always analytic, whether the reason of this be that a synthetic language happens all at once to become the speech of barbarians who do not understand its structure, and therefore suppress its inflections, and replace them by other signs; or whether it be that when abandoned to its natural course, and as a necessity of its cultivation, it tends to decompose and to subdivide the representative signs of ideas and relations, just as it unceasingly decomposes and subdivides the ideas and the relations themselves. The Pali appears to have undergone this last sort of alteration; it is Sanskrit, not such as it would be spoken by a strange population, to whom it would be new; but pure Sanskrit, becoming altered and modified in proportion as it becomes popular. In this manner it still preserves its declension, instead of replacing it by particles, as the modern dialects of India do. One form only, the ablative in *to* might pass for the commencement of the analytic declension; but it is already found in the parent language. A great number of Pali forms might be cited to prove that the modifications, which it has made in the Sanskrit, are of the same kind as those which the Italian, among other tongues, has made in the Latin. Thus the assimilation of consonants, which in Italian makes *letto* from *lectus*, and *scritto* for *scriptus*, is one of the principles of Pali."

The Pāli, in the precise form in which we find it in the Ceylonese books, could scarcely have been a vernacular language. At least, it exhibits a variety of refinements which could hardly have been employed in common speech; but seem likely to have been confined to the language of composition, or introduced after the Pāli had ceased to be the spoken tongue of the followers of Buddha, and had become consecrated to the service of religion and literature: just as the gram-

mar of the Sanskrit itself became regulated by more fixed and rigid rules, after it had been removed from the deteriorating influences of vernacular use. Such a peculiarity is the use of interpolated, or the retention of otherwise disused, consonants to obviate the inharmonious sounds which would arise from the collision of vowels. No less than nine letters, y, v, m, d, n, t, r, l, and g, are employed for this purpose, as is shown in the following examples, viz.:

1.	*y* — na	+ imassa	becomes		na*y*imassa.
2.	*v* — ti	+ angikam	„		ti*v*angikam.
3.	*m* — lahu	+ essati	„		lahu*m*essati.
4.	*d* — atta	+ attham	„		atta*d*attham.
5.	*n* — ito	+ āyati	„		ito*n*āyati.
6.	*t* — tasmā	+ iha	„		tasmā*t*iha.
7.	*r* — sabbhi	+ eva	„		sabbhi*r*eva.
8.	*l* — cha	+ abhiṇṇa	„		cha*l*abhiṇṇa.
9.	*g* — putha	+ eva	„		putha*g*eva.[109]

This peculiarity of attention to euphony is common to the Pāli with the Sanskrit; and though the means they use are for the most part

[109] Clough's Pāli Grammar, p. 11. On this subject I translate the following remarks made by Dr. Kuhn in a review of the first edition of this volume, in his Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung u.s.w. vol. iii. p. 241, f.; "As regards the interpolation of euphonic letters treated of in p. 82, I cannot entirely agree with the author when he claims them for the written language alone: the greater part of them show that they are by no means what are called interpolations, but the old *auslaut*" (i.e. concluding consonant) "which the preceding words had in an earlier stage of the language. I have briefly treated of them in the first volume of these Beiträge, p. 126, and here only repeat that I now regard only the y and the v in na-y-imassa, and ti-v-angikam as real euphonic interpolations; and that I look upon the latter as having proceeded from y." I subjoin a translation of the remarks referred to by the writer as having been previously made by him in the 1st vol. of the Beiträge, p. 126:—"A comparison with the Sanskrit shows that only a few of those apparently interpolated consonants are due to an actual interpolation, as the others are remains of an earlier condition of the language. The Pali has almost entirely rejected the final mutes, and the few cases in which such are found are to be regarded as exceptions. When for instance *etad eva* is found in place of the ordinary *etam eva*, this is an archaism which Lassen rightly explains by the close juxtaposition of the following *eva* to the preceding *etad*. In the same way we are to explain *tasmāt iha* from the Sanskrit *tasmād iha*, *sabbhir eva* from *sadbhir eva*, *chhalabhiññā* from *shalabhijñās*, which as a technical designation preserved the old form (see Turnour, Mahavānso, p. 31, 1, and elsewhere), *puthageva* from *pṛithag eva*, *prageva* from *prāg eva*. Of the remaining instances *nayimassa*, *tivangikam*, and *itonayati* are indeed to be regarded as cases of consonantal interpolation, whilst *lahum essati* and *attadattham* may still remain doubtful. Clough further states, in p. 14, that m̃ is sometimes introduced as an augment before both vowels and consonants; that thus *chakkhuṁ anichchaṁ* (Sanskrit *chakshur anityam*) stands for *chakkhu anichcham*, *avaṁsiro* for *ava siro*; but in the first case, as in that of *lahum essati*, perhaps another

different, yet in neither case could the refinements employed in writing have been practised in the language of ordinary life. The Pāli has other characteristics (borrowed from the Sanskrit) which could scarcely have been very common in the vernacular dialects of Northern India, supposed to have been contemporary with it; such as the use of desiderative, and nominal verbs; like *jighachchhati*, he wishes to eat; *pabbatāyati*, he resembles a mountain; *puttiyati*, he treats like a son.[110]

Fausböll observes in his introduction to the Dhammapada (p. vi.) that the antiquity of that work is proved by the character of its language, which approaches closely to the Sanskrit, even in some of its oldest forms, and differs widely from the diction of the prose Sūtras,

explanation is possible, whilst in the second case, the assumption of an interpolation appears decidedly wrong, as the final mute of the Sanskrit was probably nasalized. Nevertheless, Clough's rule appears to be correct, since at least Turnour's text shows some other examples of this interpolation. Thus in p. 50, line 14, *ewañ te-m attaṇo nāmañ katwā janapadañ bahuñ*, unless perhaps *te-m* is here mutilated (*verstümmelt*) from the Sanskrit *te īme;* and in p. 52, line 4, *yatra-m-ichchasi tam aññatra yakkhehi wijite mama*, where, however, certainly the metre declares itself (*spricht*) not only against the interpolation of *m*, but also in favour of the elision of the final *a* of *yatra*." It is to be observed that the same interpolation (if I am right in so calling it) of more than one letter (as in *yatha-r-iva* for *yathā-iva*), is to be found in the language of the Gāthās in the Lalita vistara, which will be treated of further on. This shows that the process did not begin in Ceylon.

The following are instances collected from the Lalita vistara of the euphonic insertion of consonants between vowels which may be compared with the cases of a similar character which have been adduced in the text as occurring in Pāli.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.
Lalita vistara, 428.	*vartishye 'sya*	*vartishyam asya*
,, 63.	*yathā eva*	*yatha+r+iva*
,, 195.	*tvayā iha*	*tvam iha*
,, 154.	*avamānam, akhilāḥ*	*avamānu,+r+akhilā*
	sa upagataḥ	*cha rūpagatu*
,, 220.	*śabdānubhāvena*	*śabda+r+anubhāva*
,, 215.	*śrutvā idam*	*śrutva+m+idam*
,, 355.	*muchye itaḥ*	*muchye+m+itaḥ*
,, 239.	*lābhā ehi*	*lābhī+m+ehi*
,, 370.	*svake ātmani*	*svaki+m+ātmani*
,, 398.	*tatra asi*	*tatra+m+asi*
,, 471.	*tava upaimi*	*tava+m+upemu*
,, 430.	*dṛishṭvā imām*	*dṛishṭvā+n+imām*
,, 3.	*sva ushṇīsha*	*sa+v+ushṇīsha*

[110] Some desiderative verbs and nouns must, however, have been in ordinary use in the Prākṛits; as we find in the modern vernaculars some words which have their origin in desideratives. Thus the Hindī *bhūkh*, hunger, must come from *bubhukkhā*, a Prākṛit corruption of *bubhukshā*. The Hindī *piyās*, thirst, too, is probably derived from *pipāsā*, though it may also have been compounded of *p.'+ās'ā*, a desire to drink.

and of the commentary of Buddhoghosa. Thus we find in the Dhammapada such forms as these, viz., the nominative of the present participle in *am*, as *gaṉayam*, *rodam* (instead of *gaṉayanto*, etc.); the third person plural of the present middle in *ăre* as *sochare*, *upapajjare*; and the dative form of the infinitive, as *netave*, *pahātave*, which is usually found only in the Vedas, etc. It is clear from this that the Pāli appears in various phases of greater or less antiquity.

Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with the following notices of Vedic forms which occur in Pāli:—"Besides the infinitive in *tave*, used after verbs, expressing wish or desire, as well as *tum*, the Pāli uses, in agreement with the Prākṛit and Mahratta an indeclinable participle in *tvāna*, and contracted, *tūna*. *Katvāna* or *kātūna gachchhati* =*kṛitvā gachchhati*. ["Having done he goes."][111] These forms agree with ancient forms which are mentioned by Pāṉini as Vaidic, namely *pītvānam*=*pītvā*, *ishṭvīnaṁ devān*=*ishṭvā devān*, Pāṉini vii. 1, 48. Yāska Nirukta vi. 7, assumes that *asme* can stand for all cases of *vayam*. The Pāli declines *amhe*=*asme* in all cases. Nom. *amhe*, acc. *amhe* or *amhākam* (=*asmākam*), instr. *amhebhi* or *amhehi*, gen. *amhākam*.

"Further, the Pāli has preserved the instrumental in *ebhis*. It says *buddhebhi* or *buddhehi* = *buddhaiḥ*; *bhi* or *hi* in all declensions; for the declension of *go*, it has in the gen. pl. *gavaṁ* or *guṉṉaṁ* or *goṉāṁ*, the last form being the Vaidic *gonāṁ*. Neuters in *a*, *i*, *u*, like *phala*, *aṭṭhi* (*asthi*), *madhu*, have either the regular plur. nom. acc. *phalāni*, *aṭṭhīni*, *madhūni* or *phalā*, *aṭṭhī*, *madhū*, just as in the Vedas.

"There is one more modern form that is found in the Veda. The Pāli has *assa* (*asya*) or *imassa* (*imasya*), so also the Prākṛit *imassa*, etc. Now we find in Rig Veda, viii. 13, 21, *imasya pāhi andhasaḥ* for *asya*. This is more curious than to find in the Matsyapurāṉa *imair vidvāṁsaiḥ* for *ebhir vidvadbhiḥ*."

Notwithstanding the introduction of various refinements into the Pāli, after it became the sacred language of the Buddhist religion, there can be no doubt, as Burnouf considers (Lotus, App. 862), that it substantially represents to us the language which was in vernacular use in Behar, and in all the central parts of Northern India, at the era when Buddhism was first introduced, *i.e.*, in the third, fourth, and fifth

[111] Some further specimens of this form will be given in the Tables which follow.

centuries B.C. Such being the case, we should naturally expect to find that it bears a strong resemblance to the Prākṛit dialects; which, as we have already seen (in the preceding section) were either spoken, or closely resembled dialects which were spoken, in the same provinces in the first centuries of the Christian era. That such was actually the case, is put beyond a doubt by a comparison of these dialects with the Pāli. I shall immediately proceed to prove, by some comparative lists of nouns, pronouns, verbs, and particles, first, that an extensive class of Sanskrit words undergoes precisely the same modifications in the Pāli as in the Prākṛit; and secondly, that in some respects the modification of Sanskrit words and forms of inflection had not proceeded so far in Pāli as it afterwards did in Prākṛit. From this comparison it will result that the Pāli stands nearer to the Sanskrit, and represents a more ancient phase of the vernacular speech of Northern India than is exhibited in the Prākṛit.

The following is a comparative scheme of the declension corresponding to the Sanskrit one in *á*, in which it will be seen that the Pāli is somewhat nearer than the Prākṛit to the Sanskrit forms. (Clough, p. 19; Cowell, p. xxiv.)

Singular.		*Plural.*	
PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.
1. Buddhō.	Buddho.	1. Buddhā.	Buddhā.
2. Buddham.	Buddham.	2. Buddhe.	Buddhe. Buddhā.
3. Buddhena.	Buddhena.	3. Buddhehi. Buddhebhi.	Buddhehi.
4. Buddhāya. Buddhassa.	Same as 6th case.	4. Buddhānam.	Same as 6th case.
5. Buddhasmā. Buddhā. Buddhamhā.	Buddhādō. Buddhā. Buddhāhi.	5. Buddhehi. Buddhebhi.	Buddhāhinto. Buddhāsunto.
6. Buddhassa.	Buddhassa.	6. Buddhānam.	Buddhāṇam.
7. Buddhasmiṇ. Buddhe. Buddhamhi.	Buddhe. Buddhammi.	7. Buddhesu.	Buddhesu.

The first personal pronoun in the two languages is as follows: (Clough, p. 61; Cowell, p. xxviii.).—In most cases the Pāli is nearest to the Sanskrit.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.
1. aham.	aham.	1. mayam. amhe.	vaam. amhe.
2. mam. mamam.	mam. mamam.	2. amhākam. amhe.	no. amhe.
3. mayā.	me. maë.	3. amhebhi. amhehi.	amhehiṉ.
4. mamʃa. 6. mayham. amham. mamam.	me. mama. majjh. maha.	4.) 6.) amhākam.	amhāṉam.
5. mayā.	matto.	5. amhebhi. amhehi.	amhāhinto. amhāsunto.
7. mayi.	mayi. mamammi.	7. amhesu.	amhesu.

The second personal pronoun, as it appears in both dialects will be given in a following Table.

The Pāli verb seems to be far more complete than the Pākṛit. The following are some of its principal tenses, as compared with those of the latter: (Clough, p. 100, ff.; Cowell, p. xxix.)

PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.
Parasmai-pada, or active mood.		Ātmane-pada, or middle-mood.	
Singular.	*Singular.*	*Singular.*	*Singular.*
1. pachāmi.	1. pachāmi. pachami.	1. ṇache.	(wanting.)
2. pachasi.	2. pachasi.	2. pachase.	2. pachase.
3. pachati.	3. pachadi. pachaï.	3. pachate.	3. pachade. pachae.
Plural.	*Plural.*	*Plural.*	*Plural.*
1. pachāma.	1. pachāmo. pachimo, etc.	1. pachāmhe.	(wanting.)
2. pachatha.	2. pachaha. pachitthā.	2. pachavhe.	ditto.
3. pachanti.	3. pachanti.	3. pachante.	ditto.

The Pāli has also, like the Sanskrit, a potential mood, and three past tenses, which in the parasmai-pada or active mood, are as follows:

Singular.	*Plural.*	*Singular.*	*Plural.*
I. Potential.		II. Reduplicated perfect.	
1. pacheyyāmi.	1. pacheyyāma.	1. papacha.	1. papachimha.
2. pacheyyāsi.	2. pacheyyātha.	2. papache.	2. papachittha.
3. pache. pacheyya.	3. pacheyyum.	3. papacha.	3. papachu.
III. Imperfect.		IV. Third preterite.	
1. apacha.	1. apachamhā.	1. apachim.	1. apachimhā.
2. apacho.	2. apachattha.	2. apacho.	2. apachittha.
3. apachā.	3. apachū.	3. apachi.	3. apachum. apachimsu.

In Prākṛit, on the other hand, few traces appear to remain of any past tenses at all. Mr. Cowell says, p. xxix, "The only tenses of the active voice which remain seem to be the present, the second future, and the imperative." In the 23rd, 24th, and 25th aphorisms of Chapter VII., and in the 17th aphorism of Chapter VIII. of Vararuchi, however (Cowell, pp. 162, 163), mention is made of a past tense, of which the instances, *huvīa*, *hohīa*, *āsi*,[112] 'he was,' *hasīa*, 'he laughed,' *kāhīa*, 'he did,' are given. Few instances of the past tense in Prākṛit, however, seem to occur in the dramas; but it is inconceivable that in the Prākṛit dialects which were currently spoken in the long interval between the disuse of the Pāli and the rise of the modern vernaculars (in both of which we find past tenses), there should have been no grammatical forms in daily use for expressing past time. It is not, however, necessary to pursue this subject further: as the details and explanations which I have already furnished, together with the tables which follow, are amply sufficient to show the place which the Pāli and the Prākṛit dialects respectively occupied in the history of North-Indian speech.[113]

[112] The form *āsa*, "was," occurs in Hāla's Saptaśataka 128, p. 114, of Weber's edition.

[113] The following note in p. 107 of the first edition should have been placed in p. 55 of the present edition, as an addition to note 101.

[Professor Müller considers the data—derived from Buddhist sources—on which the death of Buddha is placed in 543 B.C., and on which the occurrence of any Buddhist synods before the one in Aśoka's time, is asserted, to be fictitious and unsatisfactory. Though he does not try to bring down Buddha's death below 477 B.C., he regards all the Buddhist dates before Chandragupta as merely hypothetical. See his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," received while this Section was in the press, pp. 260–300.]

Table No. III.

Containing a List of words which are identical, or nearly so, in Pāli and Prākṛit.

[The authorities for the Pāli words in these Lists are the Dhammapada, a Pāli work edited by Fausböll, the Pāli Grammar of the Rev. B. Clough (Ceylon, 1824), Burnouf and Lassen's Essai sur le Pali, Spiegel's Kammavākya, and Anecdota Palica, containing the Rāsavāhinī, etc., and Turnour's Mahāwanso (Ceylon, 1837). The authorities for the Prākṛit words are partly given in the previous List, No. I., p. 15, ff. In the present edition the lists have been greatly enlarged, and parallel words from the Gāthā dialect in the Lalita Vistara (Lv.) are occasionally introduced. The Pāli column has had the advantage of being revised by Mr. Childers, and the additional Prākṛit words are taken from the Bālarāmāyaṇa (Br.) the Prasannarāghava (Pr.), and the Saptaśalaka (Śś.) A good many Prākṛit words, for which no Pāli equivalents have been found, are left in the list; as they will at least show the mutations which the Sanskrit undergoes in the former dialect.]

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 43. Clough, 15. Mrichh. 44. Var. xii. 22.	*strī*	*istri*, *istrī*, *istriya*, *istrikā*	*itthī* *itthi*	*itthī, itthiyā*	a woman.
Clough 39. Var. iii. 10.	*dṛishṭi*		*diṭṭhi*	*diṭṭhi*	sight.
Bālarāmāyaṇa, 215.	*dṛishṭa*		*diṭṭha*	*diḍa*	seen.
Br. 210. Clough, 39.	*vṛishṭi*		*vuṭṭhi*	*viṭṭhi*	rain.
Br. 73.	*sṛishṭi*		*saṭṭhi*	*sishṭhī*	discharge.
Br. 238, 245, 248, 267, 287. Pr. 44.	*prishṭha*		*piṭṭhi* *piṭṭha*	*puṭhṭhi*, *puṭhṭha*, *piṭhṭha*, *vaṭhṭha*, *vaṭṭa*, *veṭha*	the back.
Br. 175. Pr. 41.	*mishṭā*			*miṭhṭhā*, *miṭṭhī*	sweet (fem.)
Dham. 5.	*śreshṭha*		*seṭṭha*	*seṭṭha*	best.
Br. 79, 113, 144. Cl. 37.	*jyeshṭha*		*jeṭṭha*	*jeṭṭha, jeṭhṭha*	eldest.
Br. 113, 223, 225.	*kanishṭha*		*kaniṭṭha*	*kaniṭṭa*, *kaniṭṭha*, *kaniṭhṭha*	youngest.
Br. 6, 122, 225.	*varishṭha*			*variṭhṭha*	best.
Clough, 39. Var. iii. 10.	*tushṭi*		*tuṭṭhi*	*tuṭṭhi*	satisfaction.
Br. 224.	*garishṭha*			*gariṭhṭha*	heaviest.
Clough, 27.	*mushṭi*		*muṭṭhi*	*muṭṭhi*	the fist.
Br. 56, 194, f.	*dushṭa*		*duṭṭha*	*duṭhṭha*	wicked.
Br. 270.	*dashṭa*		*daṭṭha*	*daṭhṭha*	bitten.
Br. 34.	*nivishṭa*		*niviṭṭha*	*niviṭhṭha*	entered, placed.
B. & Las. 166. Br. 6. Pr. 20.	*śishṭaḥ* *dishṭyā* *pravishṭa*		*siṭṭho* *diṭṭhā* *paviṭṭha*	*siṭṭho* *diṭhṭhiā* *paviṭhṭha*	instructed. by good luck. entered.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 86.	*sushṭha*		*suṭṭhu*	*suṭhṭhu*	woll.
Br. 203, 270.	*nishṭhura*		*niṭṭhura*	*niṭhṭhura*	severe.
Br. 179, 242, 294.	*goshṭhī*			*goṭhṭhī*	assembly.
Br. 270, 278. Clough, 2.	*oshṭha*		*oṭṭha*	*oṭhṭha*	lip.
Br. 259, 270.	*daṁshṭrā*		*dāṭhā*	*dāḍhā*	tusk.
Mrich. 18, 30.	*kāshṭha*		*kaṭṭha*	*kaṭṭha*	wood.
Dham. 3. 50.	*vṛiksham*		*rukkham*	*rukkham*, *ukkham*	tree.
Pr. 84. Br. 155, 219.	*vṛittānta*		*vuttanta*	*vuttanta*	intelligence.
Pr. 114 f, 125. Br. 216.	*vṛittānta*			*uttanta*	intelligence.
Pr. 84, Br. 53, 56.	*saṁvṛitta*		*saṁvaṭṭa*	*saṁvutta*	happened.
Pr. 303.	*nivṛitta*		*nivatta*	*nivutta*	ceased.
Pr. 44.	*vṛishabha*		*usabha*	*vusaha*	bull.
Pr. 91.	*tṛina*		*tiṇa*	*tuṇa*	grass.
Mrichh. 3, 126.	*ghṛita*		*ghata*	*ghia*	ghee.
Pr. 19.	*prakshyāmi*		*pucchissāmi*	*putsissam*	I shall ask.
Var. i. 29. Lass. 293. Vikr. 45. Ss. ind. 244.	*prāvṛish*		*pāvusā*	*pāusa*	rainy season.
Br. 157, 163. Var. i. 27.	*vṛiddha*		*vuddha*, *vuḍḍha*, *buḍḍha*	*buḍḍha*, *viddha*, *vaddha*	old.
Dham. 52. Var. i. 27.	*smṛiti*		*sati*	. . .	recollection.
Mrich. 94 f.	*mṛittikā*		*nattikā*	*maṭṭiā*	earth.
Br. 131.	*ṛitu*		*utu*	*ridu*	season.
Br. 199.	*kṛitānta*			*kayanta*	fate.
Mrich. 14, 95, 116, 141, Var. iv. 32. Br. 178, 164 f.	*gṛiha*		*gaha*, *ghara*	*ghala*, *ghara*, *giha*, *haraa*	house.
Pr. 303.	*gṛihiṇī*		*gharaṇī*	*gharinī*	wife.
Pr. 33, 35, 38, 41.	*gṛihiṇītva*			*gharinittaṇa*	state of a wife.
Dham. 13.	*gṛihī*		*gihī*	*giha* (house)	householder.
Dham 46.	*artham*		*attham*	*attham*	meaning.
Dham. 47.	*sarva*		*sabba*	*sabba*, *savva*	all.
Dham. 1.	*pūrva*		*pubba*	*pubba*, *puvva*	first.
Br. 169, 231, 238.	*śīrsha*		*sīsa*	*sīsa*	head.
Br. 168, 235, 262, 270.	*dīrgha*		*dīgha*	*dīha*	long.
Br. 126, 198, 267, 293.	*mārga*		*magga*	*magga*	road.
Br. 7, 36, 70.	*sarga*, *nisarga*		*sagga*, *nissagga*	*sagga*, *nisagga*	section. nature.
Dham. 23.	*svarga*		*sagga*	*sagga*	heaven.
Br. 10. Cl. 2.	*varga*		*vagga*	*vagga*	class.
Br. 199.	*durga*		*dugga*	*dugga*	inaccessible.
Br. 293.	*nirgama*		*niggama*	*niggama*	going out (noun).

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 55, 76, 178, 276. Pr. 134.	*garbha*		*gabbha*	*gabbha*, *gabhbha*	womb.
Pr. 34.	*nirghosha*		*nigghosa*	*nighghosa*	sound.
Pr. 33. Br. 69, 87, 198. 288.	*ardha*		*addha*, *aḍḍha*	*addha*	half.
Pr. 48. Br. 267, 298. Bur. and Lass. 166.	*dharma*		*dhamma*	*dhamma*	righteousness
Br. 94.	*karma*		*kamma*	*kamma*	work.
Dham. 43.	*karmakāra*, *charmakāra*		*kammakāra*, *kammāra*, *chammakāra*	*chammūra*	blacksmith; leather cutter
Br. 64, 72, 94.	*nirmāṇa*		*nimmāna*	*nimmāṇa*	construction.
Br. 7.	*charmachakshuḥ*			*chammachakkhū*	leather-eyed.
Br. 246.	*kūrma*		*kumma*	*kumma*	tortoise.
Pr. 126.	*avatīrṇa*		*otiṇṇa*	*avatiṇṇa*	descended.
Br. 200.	*uttīrṇa*		*uttiṇṇa*	*uttīṇa*	crossed.
Pr. 46, 48.	*tarkayāmi*		*takkemi*	*takkemi*	I reason.
Pr. 12, 48. Br. 228, 245.	*karṇa*		*kaṇṇa*	*kaṇṇa*	ear.
Br. 200.	*sampūrṇa*		*sampuṇṇa*	*sampuṇṇa*	full.
Br. 298.	*parṇa*		*paṇṇa*	*paṇṇa*	feather.
Br. 264.	*Tāmraparṇi*		*Tambapaṇṇi*	*Tambavaṇṇī*	Ceylon.
Br. 142, 198. Bur. & Ls. 166.	*varṇa*		*vaṇṇa*	*vaṇṇa*	colour.
Br. 291.	*suvarṇa*		*suvaṇṇa*, *soṇṇa*	*suvaṇṇa*	gold.
Br.	*udgīrṇa*			*udgiṇṇa*	vomited.
Br. 240, 243.	*kīrṇa*		*kiṇṇa*	*kiṇṇa*	crowded.
Br. 147, 200, 278.	*chūrṇa*		*chuṇṇa*	*chuṇṇa*	crushed.
Br. 267.	*nirvāṇa*		*nibbāna*	*nivvāṇa*	extinction.
Br. 209, 289, 307.	*kīrtti*		*kitti*	*kitti*	renown.
Br. 198, 278.	*marttaṇḍa*			*mattaṇḍa*	the sun.
Br. 129, 198, 287.	*nirvighna*		*nibbigga*	*nivviggha*, *nivvighgha*, *nivvigghgha*	without obstacles.
Br. 241.	*nirjhara*		*nijjhara*	*nijjhara*	a cascade.
Br. 154.	*nirvāhana*		*nibbāhana*	*nivvāhaṇa*	effecting.
Br. 153 ff.	*duryaśaḥ*			*dujjasa*	bad repute.
Br. 86, 179.	*darpa*		*dappa*	*dappa*	pride.
Br. 216.	*upasarpāmaḥ*		*upasappāma*	*uvasappamha*	we approach.
Br. 5, 179.	*kandarpa*			*kandappa*	the god of love.
Br. 129, 194.	*darpaṇa*		*dappana*	*dappaṇa*	a mirror.
Br. 142, 178.	*karpūra*		*kappūra*	*kappūra*	camphor.
Br. 221.	*kārpāsa*		*kappāsa*	*kappāsa*	cotton.
Br. 218.	*paraspara*			*paroppara*	mutual.
Br. 239.	*kūrpara*		*kappara*	*kuppara*	elbow, knee.
Br. 236.	*karkara*			*kakkara*	limestone.
Br. 239.	*śarkarā*		*sakkhara*	*sakkara*	gravel.
S'ak. 25.	*kharjūra*		*khajjūrī*	*khajjūra*	date tree.
Br. 240.	*kardama*		*kaddama*	*kaddama*	mud.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 243. Br. 203.	*paryasta nirlūṇa*		*pallattha*	*pallattha ṇillūṇa*	thrown down cut.
Pr.144. Br.52.	*durlabha*		*dullabha*	*dullaha*	difficult to obtain.
Pr. 16, 48. Dham. 56.	*samarpita*		*samappita*	*samappida*	entrusted.
Br. 178.	*muhūrta*		*muhutta*	*muhutta*	moment.
Br. 136, 215.	*vārtā*		*vāttā*	*vattā*	intelligence.
Br. 242, 266, 147.	*sārtha*		*sattha*	*sattha*	a band of travellers.
Br. 198.	*tīrtha*		*tittha*	*tittha*	place of pilgrimage.
Br. 234.	*sammarda*			*sammadda*	friction.
Br. 265, 267.	*vimarda*			*vimadda*	
Br. 181, 194.	*parvata*		*pabbata*	*pavvada*	mountain.
Br. 179.	*Pārvatī*		*Pabbatī*	*Pabbadī*	Pārvatī.
Br. 113, Pr. 114, 137.	*ārya*		*ariya, ayya*	*ajja*	respectable person.
Br. 94.	*sammārjita*		*sammajjita*	*samajjida*	cleansed.
Br. 209.	*garjita*		*gajjita*	*gajjida*	thundered.
Cl. 19. Br. 73.	*chandra*		*chanda*	*chanda*	moon.
Br.36,130 f, 148, 299. Clough, 27.	*granthi*		*ganṭhi*	*ganṭhi*	a knot.
Br. 113, 144, 223. Mrichh. 72. Var. v. 35.	*bhrātā, bhrātuḥ*		*bhātā*	*bhāda, bhāā, bhāduṇo*	brother (nom. and gen.).
Br. 238.	*graha*		*gaha*	*gāha*	taking.
Br. 308.	*śighra*		*sīgha*	*siggha*	quickly.
Br. 149.	*yātrā*		*yātrā*	*jattā*	journey.
Br. 34, 52.	*chitra*		*chitta, chitra*	*chitta*	variegated.
Br. 8, 53, 69, 86, 98, 267.	*gotra*		*gotta*	*gotta*	family, clan.
Br. 86.	*kshuraprā*		*khurappā*	*khurappā*	a kind of arrow.
Pr. 122.	*bhadra*		*bhadda, bhadra*	*bhadda*	good.
Br. 145, 198.	*tatkāla*		*takkāla*	*takkāla*	that time.
Br. 86, 98. Pr. 10, 21.	*sahasra*		*sahassa*	*sahassa*	a thousand.
Br. 121.	*vaktra*		*vatta*	*vakka*	mouth.
Pr. 140.	*vakra*		*vaṅka*	*vakka*	crooked.
Pr. 14.	*chakra*		*chakka*	*chakka*	wheel.
Br. 20, 120, 198, 245. Pr. 16.	*chakravartti*		*cakkavatti*	*chakkavaṭṭi chakkavatti*	emperor.
Br. 198. Dham. 59.	*srotas*		*sota*	*sota, sotta*	stream.
Br. 5, 71, 293. Cl. 52. Bur. & Las. 165.	*patra pātra*		*patta*	*patta*	leaf, vessel.
Br. 132.	*sāmagrī*		*sāmaggī*	*sāmagg*	implements.
Br. 87, 243. B. & Las. 85.	*rātra, rātri*		*ratta, ratti*	*ratta, ranti*	night.
Br. 67, 75.	*netra*		*netta*	*ṇetta*	eye.
B. & Las. 91. Br. 24, 247.	*mitra*		*mitta*	*miṭṭa*	friend.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GATHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 35, 65; 75.	*mātra*		*matta*	*metta*	measure.
Br. 270.	*bhrukuṭī*			*bhiuḍī*	frown.
Br. 71, 182.	*bhrū*		*bhū*	*bhū*	eyebrow.
Br. 209.	*mantra*		*manta*	*manta*	advice.
Br. 221.	*yantra*		*yanta*	*yantra*	an engine.
Br. 20.	*abhra*		*abbha*	*abhbha*	cloud.
Br. 221, 267.	*sūtra*		*sutta*	*sutta*	thread.
Pr.21. Br.165, 167, 174, 297.	*putra*		*putta*	*putta*	son.
Pr. 65.	*jāgrat*		*jāgaṭam*	*jagganta*	waking.
Pr. 45.	*prāghuṇasya*		*pāhuṇassa*	*pāhuṇassa*	guest (gen.
Br. 156, 279.	*aśru*		*assu*	*asu*	a tear. [sing.)
Br. 26. Cl. 51.	*vyāghrasya*		*vyagghassa*	*vaghghassa*	tiger (gen. s.)
Br. 267.	*krodha*		*kodhą*	*kodha*	anger.
Br. 113, 126.	*vikrama*		*vikkama*	*vikkama*	valour.
Br. 67,88,113.	*parākrama*		*parakkama*	*parakkamma*, *parakkama*	valour.
Br. 55, 113.	*vibhrama*		*vibbhama*	*vibbhama*	flurry.
B. & Las. 166.	*nigraha*		*niggaha*	*niggaha*	control.
Br. 64.	*pariśrama*		*parissama*	*parissama*	toil.
Br.21,113,276	*miśra*		*missa*	*missa*	mixed.
Br. 278.	*viśrāma*		*vissama*	*vissāma*	rest.
Br. 94.	*grāma*		*gāma*	*gāma*	village.
Br.279.Dh.44.	*prāṇa*		*pāṇa*	*pāṇa*	life.
Br. 294.	*adri*		*addi*	*addi*	a mountain.
Br. 189, 202, 237, 290.	*samudra*		*samudda*	*samudda*	the ocean.
Br. 220, 223, 267.	*nidrā*		*niddā*	*ṇiddā*	sleep.
Br. 165.	*daridra*		*dalidda*	*daridda*, *dalidda*	poor.
Br. 297.	*Rudra*		*Rudda*	*Rudda*	Rudra.
Br. 142.	*mudrā*		*muddā*	*muddā*	a seal.
Dham 24. Var. iii. 3.	*priyam*		*piyam*		dear.
Br. 48. Pr. 13, 46, 119. Clough, 26.	*agni*		*aggi*, *aggini*, *gini*	*aggi*	fire.
Br. 218.	*budhna*			*buddha*	bottom.
Dham. 25. Var. iii. 2.	*nagna*		*nagga*	*ṇagga*	naked.
Br.82,126,130	*bhagna*		*bhagga*	*bhagga*	broken.
Br. 137.	*vijnāna*		*viññāṇa*	*viṇṇāṇa*	knowledge.
Br. 293.	*jnāna*		*ñāṇa*	*jāṇa*	
Br. 227.	*ājnā*		*āṇā*, *aññā*	*aṇṇā*	command.
Br.168,176. Ss. ind. 255.	*snushā*		*sunisā*, *suṇhā*	*suṇā*, *susā*, *soṇhā*	daughter-in-law.
Br. 281.	*patnīnām*		*patānīnam*	*padiṇam*	of wives.
B. & Las. 166.	*jnātam*		*ñātam*	*ṇātam*	known.
Br. 35,80,145.	*kārya*		*kāriya*	*kajja*	work.
Bur. 58, 157. Pr. 46.	*rājya*		*rajja*	*rajja*	kingdom.
Dh. 44, Cl. 10. Br. 86, 202.	*vidyā*, *avidyā*		*vijjā*, *avijjā*	*vijjā*, *avijjā*	knowledge. ignorance.
Dham. 62.	*madhya*		*majjha*	*majjha*	middle.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 33.	*dhyānam*		*jhānam*	*jhānam*	contemplation
Br. 262, 264. Pr. 137.	*vidyādhara*			*vijjāhara*	a sort of deity.
Mahāv. 182. Br. 50. Lv. 204.	*vidyut*	*vidyu*	*vijju, vijjutā*	*vijju, vijjulī*	lightning.
Br. 136. Br. 131, 269.	*vaidyatva*		*vejjatta*	*vejjattaṇa*	profession of a physician.
Pr. 32, 55, 114, 134, 144 Dham. 58.	*adya*		*ajja*	*ajja*	to-day.
Br. 125. Pr. 32.	*udyāna*		*uyyāna*	*ujjāna*	a garden.
Br. 147, 262.	*niravadya*		*niravajja*	*ṇiravajja*	blameless.
Br. 147.	*vādyat*		*vajjamāna*	*vajjanta*	sounding.
	vādyamāna				
	udbhidyamāna		*ubbhijjamāna*	*ubbhijjanta*	being split.
	nibadhyamāna		*nibajjhamāna*	*ṇivajjhanta*	being stopped
Br. 58, 169, 181, 198.	*Vindhya*		*Viñjha*	*Vinjha*	Vindhya mountains.
Clough, 37.	*bandhyā*		*vañjhā*	*vanjhā*[114]	barren woman.
Br. 226.	*bandhyībhūta*			*vanjhjhībhūda*	become barren.
Br. 245.	*adhyavasya*			*ajhjhavasia*	having striven
Br. 144. 150.	*Ayodhyā*			*Aojjhā*	Ayodhyā.
Br. 135.	*sandhyā*		*sanjhā*	*sanjhā*	evening.
Kam. 3. Var. ii. viii. 25, etc. Br. 185 ff.	*upādhyāya*		*upajjhāya* *upajjha*	*uvajjhāa* *uajjhāa, ojhāa*	religious teacher.
Br. 69.	*nidhyāyantī*			*ṇijjhāantī*	meditating.
Br. 121.	*aparādhyati*		*aparajjhati*	*aparajjhaï*	he offends.
Br. 20, 105.	*sādhvasa*			*sajjhasa*	fear.
Br. 168, 180, 216 f.	*yuddha*		*yujjha*	*jujjha*	battle.
Br. 105.	*yujyate*		*yujjati*	*jujjadi*	it is proper.
Br.	*pratyūsha*		*pachchūsa*	*pachchūsa*	morning.
Br. 71.	*pāṇḍitya*		*paṇḍichcha*	*paṇḍichcha*	learning.
Dham. 3, 24. Var. iii. 27.	*pretya*		*pechcha*		after death.
Br. 20, 100, 182	*satya*		*sachcha*	*sachcha*	true.
B. & Las. 167.	*kṛitya*		*kichcha*	*kichcha*	duty.
Br. 181, 198, 278, 291.	*nitya*		*nichcha*	*nichcha*	continual.
Br. 98, 147.	*rathyā*		*rachchhā*	*rachchhā, ratthā*	road.
Var. i. 15, 28. iii. 41.	*vṛiśchika*		*vichchhika*	*vichchua, vinchua*	scorpion.
Dham. 55, 74. Br. 6, 22.	*paśchāt*		*pachchhā*	*pachchhā*	after.
Br. 287.	*paśchima*		*pachchima*	*pachchhima*	west.
Br. 6, 53. Var. iii. 18.	*āścharya*		*achchhera*	*achchhera, achcharia*	wonderful.
Br. 242. Vikr. 9.	*āścharya*		*achchhariya*	*achcharīa, achchharia*	wonderful.

[114] See above, p. 17, note 18.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 87.	*niśchita*		*nichchhita*	*nichchhida*	ascertained.
Br. 218.	*apsarasaḥ*		*achchharā*	*achchharāūm̃*	nymphs.
Br. 202.	*apsarobhiḥ*		*achchharāhi*	*achchharāhim̃*	by nymphs.
Br. 43, 64, 144. Pr. 47, 113.	*asti, astu*		*atthi, atthu*	*atthi, atthu*	is; let there be.
Pr. 20, 47.	*nāsti*		*n'atthi*	*n̤atthi*	is not.
Br. 122.	*vastuni*		*vatthuni*	*vatthuṇi*	thing (loc.).
Br. 154.	*avastambha*			*avaṭṭhamha*	stoppage.
Br. 154, 191.	*vistareṇa*		*vitthārena*	*vitthareṇa*	diffusion (instr.).
Br. 238, 243.	*vistaranti*		*vittharonti*	*vittharanti*	they spread.
Pr. 19.	*mastakāni*		*matthakānī*	*matthaāiṁ*	heads.
Br. 76, 238. Pr. 84.	*stana*		*thana*	*thaṇa*	breast.
Br. 49, 76.	*stanita*		*thanita*	*thaṇida*	sounded.
Dham. 65. Br. 158. Pr. 26, 30, 110.	*hasta*		*hattha*	*hattha*	hand.
Clough, 29. Br. 266.	*hasti*		*hatthi*	*hatthi*	elephant.
Pr. 12. Pr. 278.	*sthala*		*thala*	*thala*	ground.
Dham. 55. Br. 71, 56, 278, 294.	*sthāna*		*ṭhāna*	*ṭhāṇa*	place.
Br. 164.	*susthāna*			*suṭṭāna*	a good place.
Br. 131.	*sthānastha*		*ṭhānaṭṭha*	*thānattha*	standing in the place.
Br. 220.	*adhishṭhāna*		*adhiṭṭhāna*	*ahiṭhṭhāna*	support
Br. 164, 178. 220.	*sthita*		*ṭhita*	*ṭhida, thida, ṭida*	standing.
Br. 157.	*prasthita*		*paṭṭhita*	*patthida*	proceeded.
Br. 238.	*prasthāna*		*paṭṭhāna*	*ppaṭhṭhāṇa*	departure.
Br. 97.	*anushṭhita*		*anuṭṭhita*	*aṇuṭhṭhida*	practised.
Br. 209, 263.	*adhishṭhita*		*adhiṭṭhita*	*ahiṭṭia adhiṭhida*	governed.
Br. 199.	*upasthita*		*upaṭṭhita*	*uvaṭhṭhida*	arrived.
Dham. 27. Var. iii. 11.	*asthi*		*aṭṭhi*	*aṭṭhi*	a bone.
Br. 220.	*avasthā*		*avaṭṭhā*	*avatthā*	condition.
Br. 293.	*sthira*		*thira*	*thira*	firm.
Br. 154.	*susthita*		*suṭṭhita*	*sutthida*	well placed.
Br. 217, 218.	*saṁsthita*		*saṇṭhita*	*saṇṭhia*	placed.
	utthita		*uṭṭhita*	*uḍida*	risen.
Br. 198, 268, 296.	*Agastya*			*Agatthi*	name of a rishi.
Br. 52.	*Pulastya*			*Pulattha*	a proper name.
Var. i. 20. jij. 20.	*pustaka*		*potthaka*	*potthaa*	book.
Br. 236.	*prastara*			*patthara*	a stone.
Dham. 9. Var. iii. 27. Br. 96.	*mṛityu*		*machchu*	*machcha* (mortal)	death.
Br. 112, 150, 153, 310. Pr. 35. Dham. 50.	*vatsa*		*vachchha*	*vachchha*	a child.
Sś. 249 (index)	*vatsala*			*vachchhala*	affectionate.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 35.	*vātsalya*			*vachchhattaṇa*	affection.
Dh.28.Br.195.	*matsya*[115]		*machchha*	*machchha*	a fish.
Br. 228.	*udgāraiḥ*		*uggārehi*	*uggārehiṁ*	vomitings.
Br. 182.	*udghāṭana*		*ugghaṭana*	*ugghaṭṭaṇa*	opening.
Br. 125. Ss. 236.	*grīshma*		*gimha*	*gimha*	hot season.
Dham. 41.	*tushṇīm*		*tuṇhī*	*tuṇhīm*	silent.
Br. 48. Bur. & Las. 166.	*ushmā*		*umhā*,[116] *usmā, usumā*	*umhā*	heat.
Dham. 59, 61.	*tṛishṇā*		*taṇhā, tasinā*	*taṇhā*	thirst.
Br. 125, 135. Ss. 233.	*ushṇa, anushṇa*		*uṇha*	*uṇha, uṇṇa* *aṇunha*	hot. not hot.
Dham. 16. Br. 141.	*kṛishṇa*		*kaṇha*	*kaṇha*,[117] *kisaṇa* *kasaṇa*	black.
Br. 67, 125.	*pakshmala*		*pakhuma, pamha* (eyelash).	*pamhala*	with long eyelashes, or filaments.
Pr. 137.	*vismaya*		*vimhaya*	*vimhaa*	astonishment.
Pr. 47, 124. Ss. 238.	*jyotsnā* *jyautsnā*		*juṇhā*	*joṇhā* *jauṇha*	light. lustrous.
Br. 231, 245.	*khaḍga*		*khagga*	*khagga*	sword.
Pr. 33, 37, 46.	*jalpa*		*jappa*	*jappa*	chatter.
Br. 265, 278.	*kalpa*		*kappa*	*kappa*	wish.
Br. 265.	*analpa*		*anappa*	*aṇappa*	not little.
Br. 158, 167.	*valkala*		*vakkhala*	*vakkala*	bark.
Var. iii. 29. Mṛi. 54. Dh.71	*pushkara*		*pokkhara*	*pokkhara*	pond.
Br. 234.	*pushkala*			*pukkala*	excellent, much.
Mṛich. 18, 21.	*śushka*		*sukkha*	*sukkha, śukkha*	dry.
Br. 54, 80.	*dushkara*		*dukkara*	*dukkara*	difficult.
Br. 202.	*anugraha*		*anuggaha*	*aṇuggaha*	kindness.
Br. 34, 82.	*pāṇigrahaṇa*		*pāṇiggahaṇa*	*paṇiggahaṇa*	hand-taking, marriage.
Br. 246.	*hastagrāha*		*hatthaggāha*	*hatthaggaha*	hand-taking.
Br. 36.	*nāmagrahaṇa*		*nāmaggahaṇa*	*ṇāmaggahaṇa*	name-taking.
Br. 20.	*S'ankarapra-sāda*			*Sankarappa-sāda*	S'ankaras' favour.
Br. 198.	*prabhā-prasara*			*pabhāppasara*	diffusion of splendour.
Br. 10.	*pārśvapra-sara*			*pāsappapsara*	diffusion of, or from, the side.
Dham. 29. Var. iii. 32.[118]	*aśmanmayam*		*amhamayam*	. . .	stony.
Br. 279.	*nishkaruṇa*		*nikkaruṇa*	*ṇikkaruṇa*	merciless.

[115] The form *machchha* is also given as correct Sanskrit in Wilson's Dictionary, as well as by Böhtlingk and Roth; but it may have been introduced from Prākṛit.

[116] Mr. Childers regards *umhā* as a doubtful Pāli form.

[117] See p. 15, note 17, above. *Kaṇha* means in Prākṛit the God Krishṇa.

[118] The rule here quoted strictly applies only to the mutation of *shma* and *sma*, and does not mention *śma*.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 156, 281. Var. iii. 35,38. Lassen, 209.	*vāshpa*		*bappa*	*vāppha, vappha, ṭāha*	moisture.
Var. iii. 35. Br. 293. Dham. 10.	*pushpa*		*puppha*	*puppha*	flower.
Br. 285.	*nṛitya*			*naṭṭa*	dancing.
Br. 247. Ra. 27.	*nṛitya*		*nachchā*	*nachcha*	dancing.
Br. 147.	*nṛityat*		*nachchaṁ, nachchanto*	*nachchanta*	dancing (part.).
Br. 248.	*nartitum*		*nachchitum*	*nachchidum*	to dance.
Br. 242. Pr. 12, 38.	*sphurat*		*phuraṁ, phuranta*	*phuranta*	throbbing.
Br. 209.	*visphurita*			*vipphuria*	quivered.
Br. 235.	*visphuranti*			*vipphuranti*	quiver.
Br. 235. Pr. 13.	*sphulinga*		*phulinga*	*pphulinga*	a spark.
Br. 242.	*saṁsphuṭita*			*sampphudida*	blossomed.
Br. 204.	*sphāra*			*phāra*	quivering.
Br. 218.	*āsphālya*			*ăpphălia*	having touched.
Br. 202.	*sparśa, parisparśa*		*phassa*	*phaṁsa, paripphaṁsa*	touch. [ed. touch.
Br. 310.	*parisyanda*			*paripphanda*	dropping.
Br. 245.	*utprerita*			*uppherida*	sent up.
Br. 262.	*parisphuranti*			*paripphuranti*	they quiver.
Pr. 10.	*sphaṭika*		*phaḷika*	*phaḍia*	crystal.
Br. 195, 268.	*skandha*		*khandha*	*khandha*	shoulder.
Var. iii. 14, 50. Mṛich. 40.	*stambha*		*thaṁbha*	*khambha*	a post.
Br. 153. Śś. 254.	*śvaśrū*		*sassu*	*sāsue, sāsū*	mother-in-law.
Br. 158.	*śvaśrūṇām*		*sassūnam*	*sāsūṇăm*	of mothers-in-law.
Br. 156, 163, 303.	*śvaśurā*		*sasura*	*sasura*	father-in-law
Br. 142, 209, 292.	*pakva*		*pakka*	*pakka, pikka*	mature.
Br. 143, 263.	*jvālā*		*jālā*	*jālā*	flame.
Br. 235.	*prajvalanti*		*pajjalanti*	*pajjalanti*	they burn.
Pr. 119.	*prajvālaya*		*pajjālehi*	*pajjālehi*	burn (*causal imperative*).
Br. 48.	*jvālāli*			*jālāli*	?
Br. 213. 215.	*svāminī*		*sāminī*	*sāmiṇī*	mistress.
Br. 216.	*tvarita*		*turita*	*turia*	quick.
Pr. 48.	*tattva*			*tatta*	truth.
Br. 238.	*aśva*		*assa*	*assa*	horse.
Br. 147.	*svachha*			*sachchha*	clear.
Br. 6.	*dvidhā*		*dvidhā, dvedhā*	*dudhā*	in two ways.
Br. 168.	*jihvā*		*jivhā*	*jīhā*	tongue.
Br. 203.	*mālya*		*mālya*	*malla*	garland.
Pr. 48.	*puṇya*		*puñña*	*puṇṇa*	merit.
Br. 200. Pr. 45.	*śūnya*		*suñña*	*suṇa, sunna*	empty.
Bur. & Lass. 166.	*aranya*		*arañña*	*araṇṇa*	forest.
Clough, 36. Var. x. 10.	*kanyā*		*kañña*	*kañjā*	a girl.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 247.	*svādīkṛita*		*sādīkata*	*saddīkada*	sweetened.
Br. 230, 244.	*divya*		*dibba*	*divva*	divine.
Br. 22, 64, 144, 162.	*yogya*		*yogga*	*jogga*	fit.
Br. 72, 85, 100, 105.	*śishya*		*sissa*	*sissa*	disciple.
Br. 100, 120, 139, 229.	*anya, anyathā* *anyataḥ*		*añña* *aññathā*	*aṉṉa, aṉṉadhā aṉṉado*	other, otherwise, etc.
Br. 276.	*kām̃sya*		*kam̃sa*	*kam̃sa*	bell metal,
Br. 132. Rasav. 17.	*palyanka* *paryanka*		*pallanka* *pariyanka*	*pallanka*	bed.
Br. 155.	*śalya*		*salla*	*salla*	dart.
Br. 68, 76, 246.	*tiryak*		*tiriyaṁ*	*tirichchha*	oblique.
Pr. 65. Dham. 6, 56.	*supta, gupta*		*sutta, gutta*	*sutta, gutta*	asleep, protected.
Pr. 21, 46, 114.	*prāpta*		*patta*	*patta*	obtained.
Br. 279.	*vidhvam̃sana*		*viddham̃sana*	*vidhdham̃saṉa*	destruction.
Br. 198, 259.	*vilupta*		*vilutta*	*vilutta*	disappeared.
Br. 240.	*vilipta*		*vilitta*	*vilidda*	smeared.
Dham. 54.	*tapta*		*tatta*	*tatta*	burnt.
Br. 218, 245.	*kshipta*		*khitta*	*khitta*	thrown.
Clough, 39.	*tṛipti*		*titti*	*titti*	satisfaction.
Br. 76, 154, 198	*samutpatti* *utpanna*		*samuppatti* *uppanna*	*samuppatti* *uppaṉṉa*	birth. born.
Br. 243.	*samutposhita*		*samupposita*	*samupposida*	cherished.
Br. 217.	*utkshipya*		*ukkhippa*	*ujjhia*	having thrown upwards.
Br. 228.	*janma*			*jamma*	birth.
Br. 236.	*pippala*		*pipphala*	*pīpala*	ficus Indica.
Br. 198.	*sikta*		*sitta*	*sitta*	sprinkled.
Br. 227.	*vaktukāma*		*vattukāma*	*vattukāma*	wishing to speak.
Br. 113, 120.	*punarukti*		*punarutti*	*puṉarutti*	repetition.
Dham. 54.	*bhukta*		*bhutta*	*bhutta*	eaten,
Var. iii. 1.	*bhakta*		*bhatta*	*bhatta*	rice boiled or in husk.
Br. 195, 227, 264, 298.	*muktā* *mauktika*		*muttā*	*motā, muttā* *mottia*	pearl.
Clough, 39.	*yukti*		*yutti*	*jutti*	propriety.
Var. iii. 1.	*mukti*		*mutti*	*mutti*	redemption.
Pr. 35, 91. Br. 10, 24, 168, 170, 195, 231.	*mukta*		*mutta*	*mukka*	freed.
Br. 35, 98, 141.	*yukta*		*yutta*	*jutta*	fit.
Br. 67, 204.	*rakta*		*ratta*	*ratta*	red, blood.
Br. 75.	*sakta*		*satta*	*satta*	attached.
Mṛichh. 120. Var. iii. 29.	*kshetra*		*khetta*	*khetta*	field.
Br. 87.	*abhiyoktum*		*abhiyuñjitum*	*abhijujjidum*	to accuse.
Br. 76, 238, 242, 259, 294. Pr. 45.	*akshi*		*achchhi, akkhi*	*achchhi*	eye.
Br. 307.	*akshi*			*akkhi*	eye.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 238, 244, 259.	*vakshaḥsthala*			*vachchha-tthala*	breast.
Br. 199, 134, 294. Pr. 11, 41	*Lakshmī*		*Lakkhī*	*Lachhī*, *Lachchhī*	goddess of fortune.
Br. 113.	*yashṭi*		*yaṭṭhi, laṭṭhi*	*lachchhi*	a club.
Br. 76, 243.	*vikshobha*		*vikkhobha*	*vichchhoha*	agitation.
Br. 49, 93. Pr. 10, 35.	*prekshasva*		*pekkhassa, pekkha*	*pekkha*	look (thou).
Br. 68, Pr. 21.	*prekshasva*			*pechchha*	look (thou).
Br. 220.	*prekshya*		*pekkhiya*	*pekkhia*	having looked
Br. 48, 198, 226.	*prakshālana*		*pakkhālana*	*pakkhālaṇa*	washing.
Pr. 35, 124.	*prakshālitam*		*pakkhāliṭam*	*pachchāliam*	washed.
Br. 139.	*avakshipāmi*		*okkhipāmi*	*avakkhivāmi*	I distract.
Br. 202, 221, 250.	*ṛiksha*		*ikka, achchha*	*rikkha*	a bear.
Pr. 19.	*nikshipyante*		*nikhipīyanti*	*nikhkhipyanti*	are thrown
Br. 92.	*lakshya*			*lakkha*	a mark. [out.
Br. 67, 77, 86 Cl. 51. Pr. 46	*kshatriya*		*khattiya*	*khattia*	a kshatriya.
Br. 199.	*laksha*		*lakkha*	*lakkha*	100,000.
Br. 48, 69, 71. Pr. 84.	*khaṇa*		*khaṇa, chhaṇa*	*khaṇa*	a moment, festival.
Clough. 38.	*kshamā*		*khamā*	*khamā*	pardon.
Bur. & Lass. 166. Br. 112.	*lakshaṇa*		*lakkhaṇa*	*lakkhaṇa*	a mark.
Br. 180.	*kshīṇa*		*khīṇa*	*khīṇa*	decayed.
Br. 86, 141, 266.	*paksha*		*pakkha*	*pakkha*	side, wing.
Br. 20, 52. Pr. 19.	*rākshasa*		*rakkhasa*	*rakkhasa*	a Rākshasa.
Br. 52.	*rakshā*		*rakkhā*	*rakkhā*	deliverance.
Pr. 19.	*rakshitvā*		*rakkhitvā*	*rakkhia*	having delivered.
Pr. 12, 84.	*dakshiṇa*		*dakkhiṇa*	*dakkhiṇa*	south.
Br. 249.	*dakshiṇa*		*dakkhiṇa*	*dāhiṇa*	right (side).
Br. 193.	*sākshin*		*sakkhī*	*sakkhi*	witness.
Br. 290.	*kshīra*		*khīra*	*khīra*	milk.
Br. 221.	*kshauma*		*khoma*	*khoma*	of linen.
Br. 121.	*akshara*		*akkhara*	*akkhara*	letter.
Br. 246, 248.	*kaksha*		*kaccha*	*kakkha*	side.
Br. 215.	*chakshushaḥ*		*chakkhuno*	*chakkhuṇo*	of the eye.
Br. 103, 166 f.	*śikshita*		*sikkhita*	*sikkhida*	learnt.
Br. 75.	*vikshepa*		*vikkhepa*	*vikkheva*	perplexity.
Bur. & Lass. 167.	*moksha*		*mokkha*	*mokkha*	deliverance.
Dham. 46.	*kshema*		*khema*	*khema*	prosperity.
Dham. 23.	*antarikshe*		*antalikkhe*		atmosphere.
Br. 7, 179, 234 245. Pr. 34, 90	*śabda*		*sadda*	*sadda*	sound.
Br. 66, 121, 266. Pr. 10, 35, 41.	*mugdha*		*muddha*	*muddha*	bewildered.
Br. 76, 194. Pr. 10, 41.	*dugdha*		*duddha*	*duddha*	milk.
Br. 290.	*dugdha*		*duddha*	*duda*	milk.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 10. Br. 72, 266.	*snigdha*		*siniddha*	*siṇiddha*	affectionate.
Pr. 36.	*vidagdha*			*vidaddha*	clever.
Br. 20.	*labdha*		*laddha*	*laddha*	obtained.
Br. 131.	*lubdha*		*luddha*	*luddha*	covetous.
Br. 67, 226, 278, 287. Pr. 134.	*paryanta*		*pariyanta*	*peranta*	limit.
Br. 176.	*prānta*		*pānta*	*peranta*	vicinity.
Var. i. 8.	*mayūra*		*mayūra, mora*	*maūra, mora*	peacock.
Var. i. 7.	*lavaṇa*		*lavaṇa, loṇa*	*loṇa*	salt.
Mṛichh. 120.	*vīja*		*bīja*	*vīa*	seed.
Mṛichh. 77.	*vaṇik*		*vāṇija*	*bāṇia, vāṇia*	merchant.
Mṛichh. 78.	*kāyastha*		*kāyaṭṭha*	*kāathaa*	kāyasth.
Mṛich. 296, 151. Lass. 172, 218.	*devālaya devakula*		*devālaya*	*devala*	temple.
Var. iv. 1.	*rājakula*		*rājakula*	*rāaüla, rāula*	royal race.
Mṛichh. 30, 38 f.	*dyūtakara*		*jūtakara*	*jūdiara jūdiaru jūdiala*	gambler.
Var. iii. 33. Br. 289.	*snāna*		*nahāna sināna*	*ṇhāna*	bathing.
	vahni			*vaṇhi*	fire.
	Vishṇu			*Viṇhu*	Vishṇu.
	ślakshṇa		*saṇha*	*saṁha*	gentle.
	tīkshṇa		*tikhiṇa, tiṇha*	*tikkha, tiṁha*	sharp.
Mṛichh. 6.	*daridratā*		*daliddatā*	*daliddadā*	poverty.
Var. v. 24.	*haridrā*		*haliddā*	*haladdā, haladdī*	turmeric.
Var. iii. 25.	*gartta*			*gaḍḍa*	hole
Var. iv. 31.	*malina*		*malina*	*maliṇa, maïla*	dirty.
Var. iii. 30.	*makshikā*		*makkhikā*	*machchhiā*	a fly.
Var iv. 33.	*duhitā dhīdā*		*duhitā dhītā*	*dhūdā dhīā*	daughter. maiden.
Var. iv. 25.	*dhanavat śabdavat mālāvat*		*dhanavā*	*dhaṇāla saddāla mālāilla*	wealthy. sounding. having a garland.
Var. iii. 17,19. Clough, 19.	*sūrya*		*suriya*	*sujja, sūra*	sun.
Var. iii. 12. Mṛichh. 18.	*mastaka*[119] *samasta stuti*		*matthaka samattha thuti*	*matthaa samattha thuï*	head. all. praise.
Br. 195, 264.	*śukti*		*sutti, sippī*	*sippi*	shell.
Br. 259, 270,	*lalāṭa*		*lalāṭa, nalāṭa* (fem.)	*lalāḍa, ṇiḍola*	forehead.
Br. 66.	*Dravida*		*Ḍamila*	*Damida*	the Dravida country.
Br. 242. Lv. 372.	*kamalinī pushkariṇī*	*paḍinī*[120]	*puṇḍarīkinī*	*puḍaïṇī*	lotus-pond.

[119] This word has been repeated by mistake. See p. 82.

[120] According to another reading, *pushkariṇī*.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 245.	*peśalā* (*vyaktā*?[121])		*vyattā*	*veaṭṭī*	clever.
Lalitavista. 355 f., and n. 2, p. 40f.	*adambhī*, *anāścharyavān vā*	*achchhambhī*	*achchhambhī* [122]		without arrogance, or without wonder [according to the commentary.] Undaunted. [In Pāli].
B. & Las. 99.	*purushaḥ*		*puriso*	*puriso*	man.
B. & Las. 86.	*avakāśaḥ*		*okāso*	*okāso*	leisure.
B. & Las. 166.	*manushyaḥ*		*manusso*	*manusso*	man.
Lv. 153.	*avalambhate*	*olambate*	*olambati*		he hangs.
Lv. 245.	*ālambayata*, *avalambayata*?	*olambayātha*			hang.
Lv. 272.	*ābhāsitā*, *avabhāsitā*?	*obhāsitā*	*obhāsitā*		illuminated.
Lv. 270.	*prasvāpitāḥ* *avasvāpitāḥ*?	*osvāpitā*			put to sleep.
Lv. 292.	*prasvāpanam* *avasvāpanam*?	*osvāpanam*			putting to sleep.
Lv. 292, 456.	*praṉamantaḥ* *avanamantaḥ*?	*onamanta*	*onamanto*		bowing down.
Lv. 300, 338.	*avaruhya*	*oruhitvā* *oruhyā*	*oruhitvā* *oruyha*		having descended.
Pr.	*sambhāvayāmi*		*sambhāvemi*	*sambhāvemi*	I conjecture.
Br. 58.	*sampādayāmaḥ*		*sampādema*	*sampādemha*	we fulfil.
Pr. 44.	*āropayasi*		*āropesi*	*ārovesi*	thou stretchest.
Pr. 34.	*nirūpayāmaḥ*			*nirūvemha*	we fix.
Pr. 126.	*ālingayāmi*		*āliṅgayāma*, *ālingema*	*ālingemi*	I embrace.
Br. 221.	*sajjayata*, *ānayata*		*sajjetha* *ānetha*	*sajjeha* *ānedha*	prepare ye. bring ye.
Br. 112.	*dhārayasi*		*dhārayasi* *dhāresi*	*dhāresi*	thou upholdest.
Lv. 324.	*dhārayanti*	*dhārenti*	*dhārayanti* *dhārenti*	*dharenti*	they hold.
Br. 20, 88.	*mantrayathaḥ*		*mantetha*	*mantedha*	ye advise.
Br. 121. Lv. 157.	*niyamanti* *vineshyati*	*vinenti*	*vinenti*	*ṉimenti*	they restrain. he, they, lead, or will lead.
Br. 221.	*uttambhayata*			*uttambheha*	support ye.
Lv. 352.	*darśayanti*	*darśenti*	*dassenti*		they show.
Br. 36.	*śithilayāmi*			*siḍhilemi*	I slacken.
Lv. 148.	*nivartayati*	*nivarteti*	*nivatteti*		he stops.
Lv. 84, 157, 180, 204.	*āyānti* *upayanti*	*enti* *upenti*	*enti* *upenti*		they come. they approach.
Lv. 14, 186, 189	*chodayanti*	*chodenti*	*chodenti*		they impel.
Lv. 214.	*sthāpaya*	*sthape*, *sthapehi*	*ṭhapehi*		place thou.

[121] One of the senses assigned in Wilson's Dictionary to *vyakta* is "wise, learned."

[122] Mr. Childers thinks this word is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *astambhin*, "not paralyzed with fear." The word "*achambhā* is well known in Hindī, where it means "astonishment."

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Lv. 223.	*pūraya*	*pūrehi*	*pūrehi*		fill thou.
Lv. 90.	*yashṭidhārakān*	*ishṭikān*			mace-bearers.
Lv. 158, 181.	*na api*	*năpi*	*nāpi*		not even.
Lv. 231, 288.	*tathā'pi*	*tathăpi*	*tathāpi*		nevertheless.
Lv. 421.	*punar api*	*punopi*	*puna pi* *puno pi*		again, so.
Pr. 19, 39. Pr. 89. Br. 94.	*kim api*		*kim pi*	*kiṁ pi, kim vi* *kimpi*	anything.
Pr. 19, 151.	*kim iti*		*kin ti*	*kiṁ ti*	what, so,
Pr. 84.	*kasminn api*		*kasmim pi*	*kassiṁ pi*	in any.
Pr. 47. Lv. 227, 304.	*tvam api*	*tuṭhyampi* *vayampi*	*tvam pi*	*tumaṁ vi*	thou, we, so.
Pr. ? Lv.387.	*ayam iti*	*ahaṁ ti*	*aham pi*	*imotti*	this, I, so,
Br. 198.	*mitratva*			*mitrattaṇa*	friendship.
Br. 79.	*bālatva*			*bālattaṇa*	childhood.
Lv. 231, 302.	*vidvadbhiḥ*	*vidubhiḥ*	*vidūhi*		by learned men.
Br. 87.	*manasā*		*manasā, manena*	*maṇeṇa*	with the mind
Br. 246, 270.	*śirasā*		*sirasā, sirena*	*sireṇa*	with the head
Lv. 148, 204.	*nabhasi*	*nabhe*	*nabhasi, nabhe*		in the heaven

NOTE.—For the greater part of the words in Table II. pp. 27–29 above, Mr. Childers knows no Pāli equivalents, nor for the following additional words which I have noted in the Bālarāmāyana and Prasannarāghava, viz., *kadraṇo* "monkeys" (Br. 238), *nilukkana* "abode," *nilukkanta* "issued forth" (Br. 266 f.), *vellira* "moving" (Br. 203), *halahavallāvā* "whispers" (Br. 150), *visaṭṭa*, *vissaṭṭanta*, *visaṭṭanti* "clear," "blown," or "blowing (as a flower)," and "they issue forth," (Br.). I find in the Br. 221, a verb *ḍhoeha*, rendered in the comm. by *vahatā*, "carry ye," = the Hindī *ḍhonā*, "to carry a load," and in the Lalita Vistara 261, a noun *osa*, dew, = Hindī *os*, which has the same sense. These two words belong to Table II. p. 27, ff.

Table No. IV.

The following Table of ordinals and numerals will show that in some cases the Pāli and Prākṛit words are identical; but that in most cases the Pāli words are nearer to the Sanskrit than the corresponding Prākṛit words are.

In the cases where the Prākṛit words are omitted, I have been unable to supply them.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 4. Mṛichh. 98. Lassen, 209.	*prathamaḥ*	*paṭhamo*	*paṭhumo, paḍhamo*	first.
Dham. 6. Mṛichh. 69.	*dvitīyaḥ*	*dutiyo*	*dudio*	second.
Dham. 8. Mṛichh. 69.	*tṛitīyaḥ*	*tatiyo*	*taïo*	third.
Dham. 35, Bur. & Las. 90. Var. vi. 58.	*chatvāraḥ*	*chattāro*	*chattāro*	four.
Dham. 11. Var. i. 9. Mṛich. 69.	*chaturthaḥ*	*chatuttho*	*cha,utṭho, cha,uṭṭho*	fourth.
Dham. 14. Mṛich. 70.	*panchamaḥ*	*panchamo*	*panchamo*	fifth.
Bur. & Las. 87. Las. 320. Dham. 16. Mṛi. 70.	*shaṭ*	*cha*	*chhā*	six.
	shashṭhaḥ	*chhaṭṭho*	*chhaṭṭho*	sixth.
Dham. 18. Mṛichh. 71.	*saptamaḥ*	*sattamo*	*sattamo*	seventh.
Dham. 21. Mṛichh. 72.	*ashṭamaḥ*	*aṭṭhamo*	*aṭṭhamo*	eighth.
Dham. 23. Mṛich. 100	*navamaḥ*	*navamo*	*ṇavamo*	ninth.
Dham. 26. Lass. 320.	*daśamaḥ*	*dasamo*	*dasamo*	tenth.
Dham. 28. Var. ii. 14.	*ekādaśan*	*ekādasa*	*eāraha*	eleven.
Dham. 30. Var. ii. 14.	*dvādaśan*	*dvādasa, bārasa*	*vāraha*	twelve.
Dham. 32. Var. ii. 14.	*trayodaśan*	*terasa, telasa*	*teraha*	thirteen.
Dham. 76. Var. i. 9, and ii. 14.	*chaturdaśan*	*chatuddasa, chuddasa, choddasa*	*cha,uddaha*	fourteen.
Dham. 38. Var iii. 44.	*panchadaśan*	*pañcadasa, pannarasa*	*paṇṇaraho*	fifteen.
Dham. 39. Lass. 320.	*shoḍaśan*	*soḷasa*	*solaha* (?)	sixteen.
Dham. 42. Lass. 320.	*saptadaśan*	*sattarasa*	*sattaraha* (?)	seventeen.
Dham. 45. Lass. 320.	*ashṭādasan*	*aṭṭhārasa*	*aṭṭhāraha*	eighteen.
Dham. 48.	*ūnaviṁśati*	*ekūnavīsati*	. . .	nineteen.
Dham. 51. Lass. 320.	*viṁśati*	*vīsati*	*vīsa,i*	twenty.
Dham. 54, 76.	*ekaviṁśati*	*ekavīsati*	. . .	twenty-one.
Dham. 56, 76.	*dvāviṁsati*	*dvāvīsati, bāvīsati, dvāvīsaṁ*	. . .	twenty-two.
Dham. 59, 76.	*trayoviṁśati*	*tevīsati, tevīsā*	. . .	twenty-three.
Dham. 64.	*chaturviṁśati*	*chatuvīsati*	. . .	twenty-four.
Dham. 68.	*panchaviṁśati*	*pañchavīsati*	. . .	twenty-five.
Dham. 75.	*shadviṁśati*	*chhabbīsati*	. . .	twenty-six.
Dham. 76.	*chatvāriṁśat*	*chattāḷisaṁ*	. . .	forty.

Table No. V.

Comparative list of particles and pronouns, etc., in Pāli and Prākṛit, with a few corresponding words in the Gāthā dialect.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 20, 149.	*atha*		*atha*	*aha*	now.
Cl. 74, Br. 282.	*athavā*		*athavā*	*adhavā*	or.
Br. 48, ff. Cl. 68.	*itaḥ*		*ito, ato*	*ido*	hence.
Br. 20. Cl. 69.	*iha*		*iha, idha*	*idha*	here.
Br. 35, 92, 121, 139, 157, 169, 178. Cl. 69. Pr. 43.	*atra*		*ettha*	*ettha*	here.
Pr. 35.	*atra*			*etta*	here.
Pr. 113, Cl. 68 f.	*atra*		*atra, attha*	*attha*	here.
Pr. 19.	*atra*			*atto*	here.
Br. 156. Pr. 119. Clough 69.	*yatra*		*yatra, yattha*	*jattha*	where.
Br. 96, 149, 238.	*tatra*		*tatra, tattha*	*tattha*	there.
Br. 98, 149. Lv. 153, 191 f. Cl. 69.	*tatra*	*tahi*	*tahiṁ, taham*	*tahiṁ*	there.
Br. 246.	*tadā*			*tahiṁ*	then.
Br. 180, 213, 145, 148, 200, 210, 235. Lv. 56, 61, 464.	*yathā*	*jihmi, jihma, jaha*	*yathā*	*jahā, jahă, jahaṁ, jadhā*	as.
Br. 150.	*yat*		*yaṁ*	*jadhā*	that.
Br. 181, 210, 223.	*tathā*		*tathā*	*tahă*	so.
Br. 148, 278.	*tathā*			*tadhā*	so.
Br. 86, 122.	*yataḥ*		*yato*	*jado*	whence.
Br. 297.	*yataḥ*			*jatto*	whence.
Pr. 47.	*tataḥ*		*tato*	*tado*	thence.
Br. 88, 148. Pr. 20.	*yadi*		*yadi*	*jadi*	if.
Br. 70, 229. Pr. 17, 47.	*yadi*			*jaï*	if.
Br. 189.	*yadi*			*jahiṁ*	if.
Br. 77.	*yathechchham*		[*yathicchitaṁ*	*jahijjam*	as desired.
Br. 238.	*yathechchham*		is used.]	*jahichchham*	as desired.
Br. 34, 97. Pr. 20, 34.	*katham*		*kathaṁ*	*kahaṁ*	how?
Br. 92, 154, 163, 167.	*katham*			*kadham*	how?
Br. 77.	*katham*			*kīsa*	how?
Br. 139, 169. Pr. 112.	*kva*	*kahiṁ* (Lv. 262, 283.)	*kuhiṁ, kuham*	*kahiṁ*	where?
Pr. 40. Cl. 69.	*kva*		*kva, kutra, kuttha*	*kaha*	where?
Br. 86.	*kutaḥ*		*kuto*	*kudo*	whence?
Br. 88.	*kim*		*kiṁ*	*kī*	why?
Br. 295. Cl. 52.	*katara*		*katara*	*kadara*	which?
Br. 20.	*kati*		*kati*	*kadi*	how many?
Br. 5, 181.	*tat*		*taṁ*	*tam*	that.
Br. 34. 36, 65, 73 f, 113, 276, Pr. 19.	*tat*		*taṁ*	*tā*	that, therefore.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 19, 47.	*tarhi*		*tadá (tarahi)*	*tā*	then.
Br. 35, 79, 182.	*yat*		*yaṁ*	*jam*	what.
Cowell, xxviii. Br. 70. Pr. 44. 122. Lv. 190, 196.	*tvăm*[123]	*tuma*	*tvam, tuvam*	*tumam*	thou.
Pr. 41.	*tvām*		*tam, tavam, tvam, tuvam*	*tumam*	thee.
Pr. 38.	*tubhyam*		*tava, tuyham, tumhaṁ*	*tuha*	to thee.
Br. 120, 181. Br. 35, 113.	*tava* / *te (tava)*	*ti*	*tava, tuyhaṁ, tumham*	*tuha, tumma, tumha, tujjha, te, de*	of thee.
Br. 56, 181, 224, 145, 165, 170, 177, 153.	*tvayā*		*tvayā / tayā*	*tue, tumaë, tăë, tume, te, de, tīe*	by thee.
Pr. ? Pr. 124.	*tvayi*		*tayi*	*tumammi, tumhi, taï*	in thee.
Pr. 40. Lv. 173, 396.	*yūyam*	*yushme, yushmi*	*tumhe*	*tumhe, tujhe*	you.
Cowell, xxviii.	*yushmān*		*tumhākam, tumhe*	*tujjhe, tumhe, vo*	you (accus.)
	yushmābhiḥ		*tumhebhi, tumhehi*	*tujjhehiṁ, tumhehiṁ, tummehiṁ*	by you.
	yushmat		*tumhebhi, tumhehi*	*tumhāhinto tumhāsunto*	from you.
	yushmākam		*tumhākam*	*vo, bhe, tujjhāṇaṁ, tumhāṇaṁ*	of you.
	yushmāsu		*tumhesu*	*tujjhesu, tumhesu*	in you.
Br. 283. Pr. 41, 138.	*tasyāḥ*		*tissāya, tissā, tassā, tāya*	*tissă, tīe, tāë*	of her.
Pr. 134.	*tayā*		*tāya*	*tāë*	by her.
Pr. 45, 47.	*ayam*		*ayam*	*imo*	this (masc.)
Pr. 26, 47, 120, 125. Br. 36, 55, 66, 72, 100. Lv. 396.	*asya, imasya (vedic)*	*imasya*	*assa, imassa*	*imassa, se*	of this (masc.)
Pr. 120. Br. 35. Lv. 454.	*anena*	*ena*	*anena, iminā*	*iminā*	by this (masc.)
Pr. 38.	*anayā*		*imāya*	*imāë*	by this (fem.)
Br. 65, 67, 70.	*asmin*		*asmiṁ, imasmiṁ, imamhi*	*imassiṁ*	in this (masc)
Pr. 13.	*eshām*		*esaṁ, esānaṁ, imesaṁ, imesānaṁ*	*imāṇam*	of these.
Pr. 36.	*ebhiḥ*		*ebhi, imebhi, ehi, imehi*	*imehiṁ*	by these.
Pr. 134.	*kasyāḥ*			*kīe*	of whom ? (f.)

[123] A comparative statement of the first personal pronoun will be found further on in the text.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 35.	*idam*		*idam, imam*	*iṇam*	'this (neuter).
Br. 5.	*etat*		*etam, etad*	*edam*	this.
Br. 50.	*ete*		*ete*	*ede*	these (masc.)
Br. 44 f.	*etāḥ*		*etā, etāyo*	*edāo*	these (fem.)
Br. 57.	*te*		*ne, te*	*de*	they.
Br. 35.	*etāvat*		inst. *ettāvatā*, "so far"	*edaha*	so much.
Br. 213.	*etāvat*		*etto* and *ettako* (adj.) "so much"	*ettia*	so much.
Pr. 19.	*iyanti*			*ettiāïṁ*	so much (pl. neuter).
Br. 29, 293.	*yena*		*yena*	*jeṇa*	by which or whom,
Br. 8.	*yasmin*		*yasmiṁ, yamhi*	*jassiṁ*	in which or whom.
Br. 87.	*yeshām*		*yesaṁ*	*jāṇam*	of whom.
Br. 56.	*teshām*		*tesam, tesānam, nesam, nesānam*	*tāṇam*	of them.
Br. 55.	*sadṛiśa*		*sadisa, sādisa*	*sadisa*	like.
Br. 35, 113, 289. Pr. 12, 16, 44.	*sadṛiśa*		*sārisa*	*sarisa*	like.
Br. 65, 76, 80, 292. Pr. 41.	*sadṛiksha*		*sādikkha, sarikkha*	*sarichchha*	like.
Br. 35.	*īdṛiśa*		*īdisa*	*īdisa*	like this.
Pr. 43, 46.	*īdṛiśa*		*īrisa*	*īrĭsa*	like this.
Pr. 16, 19, 48.	*īdṛiśa*		*edisa, erisa*	*erĭsa*	like this.
Br. 53, 57, 164, 218.	*kīdṛiśa*		*kīdisa*	*kīdĭsa*	like what.
Br. 88. Pr. 113.	*kīdṛiśa*		*kīrisa*	*kīrisa, kerisa*	like what?
Pr. 91.	*tādṛiśa*		*tādisa, tārisa*	*tārisa*	like that.
Pr. 112.	*anyādṛiśa*			*aṇṇārisa*	like another.
Br. 299.	*asmādṛiśam*		*amhādisa*	*amhārisa*	like us.
Br. 120. Clough, 70.	*idānim*		*dāni, idāni, etarahi*	*eṇhiṁ*	now.
Br. 77, 138. Pr. 25. Dham. 29.	*ātmānam* *ātmānam*		*attānam, ātumānaṁ*	*attāṇam* *appāṇam*	himself.
Karpūramanjarī, in Bālar. p. 5. Br. 122.	*ātmā* *māhātmya*		*attā*	*appā* *māhappa*	greatness.

Table No. VI.

The following Table exhibits a list of Pāli words, some of which retain unaltered the Sanskrit form, while others are modified, but sometimes less than in Prākṛit.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 31, 55, 58. Clough, 21. Var. v. 36.	*rājā*		*rājā*	*rāā*	king.
Dham. 12. and Var. i. 17.	*jihvā*		*jivhā*	*jīhā*	tongue.
Clough, 39. and Var. ii. 32.	*yashti*		*yaṭṭhi, laṭṭhi*	*laṭṭhi*	staff.
Dham. 40. Var. ii. 27. & Mṛich.	*sādhum*		*sādhum, sāhum*	*sāhūm*	good.
Dham. 51. and Var. v. 35.	*pitā*		*pitā*	*piā*	father (nom.)
Dham. 52. and Var. v. 34.	*pitaram*		*pitaram*	*piaram*	father (accus.)
Rasa. 15.	*pitrā*		*pitarā*	*piduṃā*	father (instr.)
Dham. 26, 52, 71. & Var. iii. 8.	*brāhmaṇaḥ*		*brāhmaṇo*	*vamhaṇo*	Brahman.
Dham. 72. & Var. i. 18.	*gambhīra*		*gambhīra, gabhīra*	*gahira*	deep.
Dham. 20, 24. & Var. iv. 5.	*jīvitam*		*jīvitam*	*jīvam, jīam*	life.
Dham. 27. Br. 242, 251.	*andhakāreṇa*		*aṇdhakārena*	*andhaāreṇa*	darkness.
Dham. 28. Mṛichh. 43, 69.	*balīvardaḥ*		*balivaddo*	*baliddo, ba,illo*	ox.
Dham. 34. & Var. iii. 39.	*kārshāpaṇaḥ*		*kahāpaṇa*	*kahāvaṇo*	16 paṇas of cowries.
Dham. 44.	*samādhim*		*samādhim*[124]	. . .	meditation.
Dham. 46. and Var. iv. 15.	*yāvatā*		*yāvatā*	*jāva, jā*	as much.
	tāvatā		*tāvatā*	*tāo, tā*	so much.
Dham. 22, 68. Mṛichh. 11. Var. iv. 12.	*bhadram*		*bhadram, bhaddam*	*bhaddam*	good.
Clough, 40.	*śūkarī*		*sūkarī*	*sūarī*	a sow.
Br. 234, 267.	*śūkara*		*sūkara*	*sūyara, sūara*	a boar.
Clough, 7. Var. ii. 27. v. 25, 27.	*madhu*		*madhu*	*mahu*	honey.
Dham. 36. Prabodha. 58. Pr. 38, 40.	*sukham*		*sukham*	*suham*	happiness.
Clough. 37. Var. ii. 27. Br. 156.	*sabhā*		*sabhā*	*sahā*	an assembly.
	gāthā		*gāthā*	*gāhā*	a verse.
Clough, 42. and Var. v. 32.	*mātā*		*mātā*	*māā*	mother (nom.)
	mātaram		*mātaram*	*māam*	mother (acc.)
Rasa. 22. Clou. 45. Var. ii. 27.	*mukham*		*mukham*	*muham*	face.

[124] I cannot say whether the Prākṛit form of this word is *samādhi* or *samāhi*, or any third form different from either.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Burn. & Lass. Var. ii. 2.	*lokaḥ*		*loko*	*loo*	world.
	gajaḥ		*gajo*	*gao*	elephant.
	rajatam		*rajatam*	*raadam*	silver.
Ditto, Var. i. 27.	*kṛitam*		*katam*	*kaam*	done.
Ditto, Var. iii. 58.	*trailokyam*		*telokkam*	*telloam*	the three worlds.
Ditto, Var. ii. 2.	*jīvam*		*jīvam*	*jīam*	life.
	vachanam		*vachanam*	*vaaṇam*	word.
Do., Var. ii. 2, 46.	*divasaḥ*		*divaso*	*divaho, diaho*	day.
Ditto, Var. i. 41.	*yauvanam*		*yobbanam*	*jovvanam*	youth.
Mahāvanso, p. xxvi. Mṛich. 44.	*samskṛitam*		*sakkatam*	*sakkadam*	Sanskrit.
Mahāvanso, 207 Var. i. 20.	*pustakam*		*potthakam*	*potthao*	book.
Rasa. 40. Pr. 97. Br. 143.	*bhaginī*		*bhaginī*	*vahiṇī* / *bahiṇī, bhaiṇī*	sister.
Mahāv. 250. Var iii. 26.	*gardabhaḥ*		*gadrabho*	*gaḍḍaho*	ass.
Rasa. 32. Var. i. 20.	*muktā*		*muttā*	*mottā*	pearl.
Rasa. 33. Mṛich. 16, 43, 44, 50. Br. 35, 221.	*dvāra*		*dvāra*	*duāraa* / *dŭvāra, dŭvāra*	door.
Br. 130, 284.	*śākhī*		*sākhī*	*sāhī*	a tree.
Br. 70.	*rekhā*		*rekhā*	*rehā*	a line.
Br. 113.	*sakhī*		*sakhī*	*sahī*	female friend
Br. 48, 76, 156, Pr. 36.	*śikhā*		*sikhā*	*sihā*	crest.
Br. 93, Pr. 10, 12.	*śikhara*		*sikhara*	*sihara*	summit.
Br. 73, 96, 156. Pr. 38.	*śekhara*		*sekhara*	*sehara*	crest.
Br. 52. Pr. 35, 38.	*śikhaṇḍa*		*sikhaṇḍa*	*sihaṇḍa*	peacock's tail
Pr. 12, 41.	*lekhā*		*lekhā*	*lehā*	a writing.
Pr. 36.	*nakha*		*nakha*	*ṇaha*	nail.
Pr. 36, Br. 6, 10, 92.	*likhita*		*likhita*	*lihida*	written.
Br. 221, 278.	*parikhā*		*parikhā*	*parihā*	ditch.
Br. 287.	*mekhalā*		*mekhalā*	*mehalā*	girdle.
Br. 215, 225.	*megha*		*megha*	*meha*	cloud.
Br. 50.	*saṅgha*		*saṅgha*	*saṁha*	assemblage.
Dham. 7, 66. Var. iii. 65. Mṛichh. 107.	*laghu*		*lahu*	*lahu*	light.
Br. 71, 199. Pr. 14.	*ratha*		*ratha*	*raha*	chariot.
Pr. 36.	*athavā*		*athavā*	*ahavā*	or.
Pr. 137, Br. 242, 297.	*mithuna*		*mithuna*	*mihuṇa*	pair.
Br. 308.	*Mithilā*		*Mithilā*	*Mihilā*	name of city.
Br. 298.	*atithi*		*atithi*	*adihi*	guest.
Br. 238.	*adhara*		*adhara*	*ahara*	lower lip.
Pr. 39, Br. 158. Br. 151, 153.	*vadhū*		*vadhū*	*vahū, vadhū*	wife.
Pr. 34, 39, Br. 70.	*madhura*		*madhura*	*mahura*	sweet.
Br. 244, Cl. 7, 51.	*madhu*		*madhu*	*mahu*	sweet.
Br. 10.	*vibudha*		*vibudha*	*vibuha*	wise man.
Br. 278.	*panchavidha*		*panchavidha*	*panchaviha*	fivefold.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 198, 221, 243.	*vividha*		*vividha*	*viviha*	various.
Br. 238.	*vidhura*		*vidhura*	*vihura*	agitated.
Br. 199.	*jaladhi*		*jaladhi*	*jalahi*	sea.
Br. 86, 203 f.	*rudhira*		*rudhira*	*ruhira*	blood.
Br. 250.	*dadhi*		*dadhi*	*dahi*	curds.
Br. 228.	*vadhira*		*badhira*	*bahira*	deaf.
Br. 239.	*mahīdhara*		*mahīdhara*	*mahīhara*	mountain.
Br. 167.	*ārādhana*		*ārādhana*	*ārāhaṇa*	worship.
Br. 72, 292. Clough 7, 24.	*phala, saphala*		*phala, saphala*	*ṁala, sahala*	fruit, fruitful.
Pr. 137.	*rabhasa*			*ṙuhasa*	speed.
Pr. 11.	*śobhante*		*sobhanti*	*sohanti*	they shine.
Pr. 36.	*abhilashanti*			*ahilasanti*	they desire.
Br. 123.	*labhate*		*labhati*	*lahai*	he receives.
Br. 79, 156, 242, 259.	*vallabha*		*vallabha*	*vallaha*	beloved.
Br. 219.	*upalabdham*			*ualahium*	to understand.
Br. 73, 93, 297.	*vṛishabha*		*usabha*	*vusaha*	bull.
Br. 202, 218.	*kshobha*		*khobha*	*khoha*	shaking.
Br. 224.	*vibhinna*		*vibhinna*	*vihiṇṇa*	divided.
Br. 238.	*surabhi*		*surabhi*	*surahi*	fragrant.
Br. 276.	*dundabhi*		*dundubhi*	*dunduhi*	drum.
Br. 198.	*nābhi*		*nābhi*	*ṇāhi*	navel.
Br. 237.	*śaila*		*sela*	*sella*	mountain.
Br. 86, 145.	*vairi*		*veri*	*veri*	enemy.
Br. 221, 240.	*taila*		*tela*	*tella*	oil.
Br. 264.	*dāha*		*dāha, ḍāha*	*ḍāha*	burning.
Pr. 104.	*sūchī*		*sūchi*	*sūī*	needle.
Br. 243.	*sūchita*		*sūchita*	*sūida*	indicated.
Br. 217 f.	*chhurikā*		*chhurikā*	*chhuriā*	knife.
Br. 150, 155.	*hṛidaya*		*hadaya*	*hiaa*	heart.
Br. 238.	*pādayoḥ*		*pādesu*	*pāesu*	at the feet.
Br. 235.	*dhūma*		*dhūma*	*dhūsa*	smoke.
Br. 199.	*padātikasya*			*pāikassa*	footman (gen.)
Br. 245, 251.	*mudgara*		*muggara*	*mogāra*	mallet.
Pr. 44.	*kubja*		*khujja*	*khujja*	bent.
Br. 125.	*śosha*		*sosa*	*sosa*	drying up.
Br. 50.	*ghosha*		*ghosa*	*ghosa*	noise.
Var. iii. 62. Lv. 228.	*mlāna, glāna*	*gilāna*	*milāta, gilāna*	*milāṇa*	withered, wearied.
Var. iii. 62. Lv. 269.	*klānta*	*kilānta*	*kilanta*	*kilānta*	wearied.
Var. iii, 62. Lv. 51, 60 f, 188.	*kleśa*	*kileśa*	*kilesa*	*kilesa*	trouble.
Dh. 50. Pr. 41. Br. 36, 122, 273.	*sneha*		*sneha, sineha*	*siṇeha*	affection.
Cl. 39. Pr. 12. Br. 129, 175 f.	*śrī*	*siri*	*sirī*	*sirī*	splendour.
Dham. 44.	*hrī*	*hiri*	*hirī*	*hirī*	shame.
Pr. 12. Var. iii. 62.	*harsha*			*harasa, hŭrisa*	joy.
Pr. 113, 114, 238. Lalitavistara, 65, 235, 239, 399.	*svapna*	*supina*	*supina, soppa*	*siviṇa*	sleep.
Pr. 44, 48.	*mūrkha*			*murukha*	fool.
Pr. 35.	*vismṛita*			*visumarida*	forgotten.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 163, 278.	*smaraṇa* *smṛitvā*		*sumariya*	*sumaṇa* *sumaria*	recollection. having recollected.
Br. 198.	*utkarsha*		*ukkaṁsa*	*ukkarisa*	eminence.
Br. 246.	*karshanti*		*kaḍḍhanti*	*karisanti*	they draw.
Br. 20, 126, 276.	*varsha*		*vassa*	*varisa*	rain.
Br. 210.	*varshitum*		*vassituṁ*	*varisidum*	to rain.
Br. 296.	*varshartuḥ*			*vāsāratto*	rainy season.
Br. 144. Lv. 198.	*bhāryā*, *nāryaḥ*	*nārīyā*	*bhariyā* *nāriya*	*bhārīā*	wife, of a woman.
Br. 310.	*S'atrughna*			*Sattuhaṇa*	proper name.
Cl. 8. Lv. 56, 92,132,181,188 Clough, 45, 51. Lv. 157.	*ratna*	*ratana*	*ratana*		gem.
	padma	*paduma*	*paduma*		lotus.
Mṛichh. 30.	*gṛihāṇa*		*gaṇha*	*geṇha*	take thou.
Pr. 37, 87. Br. 236.	*parihṛitya*		*pariharitvā*	*pariharia*	having removed.
Pr. 134.	*angīkṛitya*			*angīkaria*	having assented.
Pr. 64.	*militvā*			*milia*	having met.
Br. 216. Pr. 84.	*samuttīrya* *uttīrya*	*uttaritvă*	*samuttaritvā* *uttaritvā*	*samottīria* *uttaria*	having crossed.
Lv. 438.	*parāhatya*	*parāhania*			having smitten.
Br. 87.	*chintayitvā*	*chintiyā*	*cintetvā*, *cintiya*	*chintia*	having reflected.
Br. 87.	*anusandhāya*			*aṇusandhia*	having ascertained.
Br. 235.	*avamatya*		*avamāetvā* *avamāniya* (causal)	*avamāṇia*	having despised.
Br. 7, 261.	*atikramya*		*atikkamitvā* *atikkamma*	*adikkamia*	having attacked.
Br. 241.	*utpāṭya*		*uppāṭetvā*	*uppāḍia*	having rooted up.
Br. 96.	*uchyate*		*uchchate* *vuchchati*	*uchchadi*	it is said.
Br. 9.	*varṇyate*		*vaṇṇīyati*	*vaṇṇīadi*	it is related.
Br. 6.	*paṭhyate*		*paṭhīyati*	*paḍhīadi*	it is read.
Br. 229.	*uttīryate* *vibodhyate* *nimajyate*		*uttarīyati*	*uttarīaï*	it is crossed. it is understood. it is sunk.
Br. 113.	*sandhīyate*		*saṁdhīyati*	*sandhijjaï*	it is joined
Br. 120.	*vijñāpyate*		*viññāpiyati*	*vinnavīadi*	it is informed.
Br. 35.	*vistāryate*		*vitthāriyati*	*vittharaï*	it is extended.
Pr. 44.	*bhajyate*			*bhaṇjīadi*	it is broken.
Br. 259.	*niveśyantām*		*nivesiyantu*	*nivesīantu*	let them be placed.
Br. 22, 36, 121.	*vijñāpayāmi* *vijñāpayati*		*viññāpemi* *viññāpeti*	*vinnavemi* *vinnavedi*	I inform. he informs.
Br. 263.	*pūryamāṇa*		*pūramāna*	*pūrijjamāna*	being filled.
Br. 241, 263.	*dahyamāna*		*dayhamāna*	*dahijjanta*	being burned
Br. 135.	*ramaṇīya*		*ramaṇīya*, *ramaṇiyya*	*ramaṇijja*	pleasant.

Table No. VII.

The following Table contains a list of verbs and participles, in which it will be observed that the Pāli forms generally depart less from the Sanskrit than the Prākṛit ones do.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
B. & Las. 125. Del. 24. Br.101	*śṛiṇumaḥ*		*suṇoma*	*suṇamha*, *suṇimo*	we hear.
B. & Las. 125.	*śṛiṇoshi*		*suṇāsi*, *suṇosi*	. . .	thou hearest.
Cl. 109. Del. 24.	*śṛiṇoti*		*suṇoti*	*śunādi*	he hears.
B. & Las. 125. Delius, 24.	*śṛiṇotu*		*suṇātu*, *suṇotu*	*suṇādu*	let him hear.
B. & Lass. 121. Var. vii. 16, 17. Cowell, xxx. Dekus, 24.	*śroshyāmi*, *śroshyati*	*śruṇishyi*, *śuṇishyati*	*sossāmi*	*sochchham*, *sochchhissam*, *suṇissam*	I, he, will hear.
B. & Lass. 131. Delius, 24.	*śrutaḥ*		*suto*	*sudo*	heard.
Dham. 15, 19. Rasa. 29. Del. 4. Var. iv. 23. Lv. 65 f. &c.	*śrutvā*	*śrutvă*, *śrutya*, *śuṇitya*, *śuṇitvā*, *śruṇitvă*, *śruṇitvā*	*sutvā*, *sutvāna*, *suṇitvā*	*suṇia*, *sō*, *ūn*	having heard.
Rasa.17. Del.24.	*śrotum*		*sotum*	*suṇidum*	to hear.
Pr. 14, 28. Br. 200, 234, 284, 287.	*śrūyate*	*śṛiṇute*	*sūyati*	*suṇīadi*, *suṇīaï*	he is heard.
	śrūyante	*śravanti*	*sūyanti*	*suṇijjanti*	they are heard
Br. 122.	*śrūyantām*		*sūyantu*	*suṇīadu*	let them be heard.
Br. 179.	*śrūyate*			*ṇisuṇi*	he is heard.
Br. 202.	*śrūyamāṇa*		*suyamāna*	*sunijjanta*	being heard.
Br. 163.	*śrūyamānā*			*suvantī*	being heard (fem.)
Br. 280.	*śrāvayatu*		*sāvetu*	*suṇāvedu*	let him cause to hear.
Br. 166.	*śuśrūshaṇa*		*sussūsā*	*sussūsaṇa*	obedience.
B. & Las. 125. Delius, 17.	*dadāmi*	*dadămi*, *dadāmī*	*dadāmi*, *demi*, *dajjāmi*	*demi*	I give.
Dham. 44. Cl. 134,135. Del.17	*dadāti*		*dadāti*, *deti*, *dajjati*	*dedi*, *deï*	he gives.
B. & Las. 127.	*adāt*		*adāsi*, *adā*	. . .	he gave.
B. & Lass. 121. Var. vii. 16. Del. 17.	*dāsyāmi*		*dassāmi*	*dāham*, *da,issam*	I will give.
Cl.25. Del. 17.	*dadat*		*dadam*, *dadanto*, *dento*	*dento*	giving.
Dh. 43. Br. 179.	*dadataḥ*		*dadato*	*dentassa*	of one giving.
Dham. 44. Var. viii. 62.	*dattam*		*dinnam*	*dinnam*	given.
Br. 22, 153, 218, 277. Lv. 89, 108, 215. 270.	*dehi*	*dehi*, *dadahi*, *dadahī*, *dadāhi*	*dehi*	*dehi*, *dejja*	give thou.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 67, 75, 137.	*dīyatām,*	*dīyatu*	*dīyatu, diyyatu*	*dijjadu*	let it be given
	dīyantām		*dīyantu, diyyantu*	*dijjantu*	let them be given.
Delius, 17.	*datvā*	*detī, dadia, dadiya*	*datvā*	*daŭa, deïa, daūna*	having given
Rasa. 34.	*bhavitum*		*bhavitum, hotum*	*bhavidum*	to be.
Lv. 293. Dh. 42. B. & Las. 122. Del. 26.	*bhava*	*bhohi*	*bhava, hohi*	*hohi, hoï*	be (thou).
B. & Las. 161.	*bhavatu*		*hotu, bhavatu*	*bhodu, hodu*	let him be.
Dham. 44, 67. Cl., 8, 102. Var. viii. 3.	*bhavati*	*bhoti, bhavi*	*bhavati, hoti*	*bhodi, hodi, hoï, pabhava, i* (he overcomes).	he becomes.
Dham. 54, 61. B. & Las. 86.	*bhavanti*	*bhonti*	*bhavanti, honti*	*bhonti, honti*	they are.
Rasa. 22.	*prabhavāmi*	*prabhāmi*	*pabhavāmi, pahomi*	*pabhavami pabhavāmi*	I overcome.
Clough, 103.	*bhūyatām*		*bhūyatām*	. . .	let it be (passive.)
B. & Lass. 130.	*bhavan*		*honto, bhavam bhavanto*	. . .	being.
Dh. 11, 32. Del. 26. Var. viii. 2.	*bhūtaḥ*		*bhūto*	*bhūdo, hua*	been.
Rasa. 15. Del. 26.	*bhūtvā*	*bhavia, bhavitvā*	*hutvā*	*bhavia*	having been.
Cl. 15. Var. vii. 23	*abhavat*		*abhavi*	*huvīa*	he was.
B. & Las. 127. Var. vii. 24. Lv. 187.	*abhūt*	*abhūshi*	*ahosi, ahu*	*hohīa*	he was.
B. & Lass. 127.	*abhūvan*	*ababhūvan*	*ahosum*	. . .	they were.
	asthāt		*aṭṭhāsi*	. . .	he stood.
B. & Lass. 129.	*sthātum*		*ṭhātum*	. . .	to stand.
Dh. 60. Cl. 25. Del. 19. B. & L. 125. Var. vi. 63.	*tishṭhanti*		*tiṭṭhanti*	*tiṭṭhanti, chiṭṭhanti*	they stand.
Br. 219. Lv. 261.	*bhavishyāmi*	*bheshyi*	*bhavissāmi*	*bhavissam*	I shall be.
Br. 149, 179. Pr. 140, 142. Lv. 62, 127, 238	*bhavishyati*	*bheshyati bhavi*	*bhavissati hessati*	*bhavissudi havissadi*	he shall be.
Br. 20.	*paribhava*			*parihava*	excel thou.
Pr. 83, 140.	*paribhūta*		*paribhūta*	*parihūda*	excelled.
Br. 86, 269.	*prabhūta*		*pahūta*	*pabhūda*	strong.
	anubhūta			*anubhūda*	perceived.
Br. 169. Lv. 291.	*uttishṭha*	*utthi*	*uṭṭhaha*	*uṭhṭhehi*	rise thou.
Lv. 396, 406.	*utthāya*	*utthi, utthihitvā*	*uṭṭhāya uṭṭhahitvā*		having risen.
Lv. 355.	*uttishṭhet*	*utthihet*	*uṭṭhaheyya*		he may rise.
Lv. 298.	*sthitvā*	*sthihiya*	*ṭhatvā*		having stood.
Dham. 31. Mṛi. 80. Var. viii. 69.	*paśyati*		*passati, dichchhati*	*passadi, dekhadi, pulaï*, etc.	he sees.
Dham. 6. 101.	*prāpnoti*		*pappoti, pāpuṇāti*	*pāvidi*	he obtains.
Rasa. 22.	*prāpnuvanti*		*papponti, pāpuṇanti*	. . .	they obtain.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKRIT.	ENGLISH.
Dham. 24, 75. Del. 62.	*prāpto 'si*		*papto'si, patto*	*pābido, patto*	obtained.
Rasa. 15, 23, 40 Delius, 62.	*prāpya*		*patvā, pāpuṇitvā*	*samāpia*	having obtained: finished.
Dham. 12. Del. 15	*vijānāti*		*vijānāti*	*jaṇādi, jāṇadi, viāṇādi*	knows.
Dham. 3, 50. B. & Las. 129.	*jnātvā*		*ñatvā, jānitvā*	*jāṇia*	having known.
Br. (?)	*jnātum*		*jānitiṁ, ñātuṁ*	*jāṇidum*	to know.
	jnāyamāna		*ñāyamāna*	*jānijjanta*	being known
Dham. 6, 11, 41. Delius, 29.	*jāgrataḥ*		*jāgaṛato*	*jaggantassa*	waking (genitive.)
Dham. 40. Del. 70. Var. xii. 10.	*gatvā*	*gachchhitvă*	*gantvā*	*āgachhia, gadia, gadua*	having gone.
Br. 58, 250, 218.	*gataḥ*		*gata*	*gado, gaũm*	gone.
Dh. 27, 60. Ma. 1. Del. 79, Br. 245.	*dṛishṭvā*		*disvā, disvāna, passitva*	*daṭṭhūna*	having seen.
Br. 243, 287,	*dṛiśyante*		*dissanti*	*dīsanti*	they are seen.
305. Pr. 13, 35.	*dṛiśyate*		*dissati*	*dīsadi*	he is seen.
Br. 150.	*dṛiśyamāna*		*dissamāna*	*dīsamāṇa*	being seen.
Br. 65.	*darśana*		*dassana*	*daṁsana*	sight.
Br. 6.	*darśayishyati*		*dassayissati*	*daṁsaïssadi*	he will show.
Delius, 79.	*mṛitvā*		*maritvā*	*mariũṇa*	having died.
Br. 297.	*uḍḍīya*			*uḍḍiũṇa*	having flown
Dh. 52. Del. 62.	*hatvā*	*hanitvā*	*hantvā, hanitvā*	*āhaṇia*, etc.	having killed
Rasa. 22. Del. 18.	*pītvā*	*pitvā*	*piḅitvā, pītvā vivitvā*	*pibia, pāũṇa*	having drunk
Dh. 17. Lv. 284.	*hitvā*	*jahitvā*	*hitvā, jahitvā*	. . .	having left.
Dham. 32.	*jitvā*		*jetvā, jinitvā*	. . .	having conquered.
Dh. 50. Del. 55.	*chhitvā*	*chhinitvā*	*chhetvā*	*parichhidia*	having cut.
Dham. 8, 9. Var. viii. 55.	*viditvā*		*viditvā*	*vettūna*	having known.
Rasa. 30. Del. 59.	*baddhvā*	*baddhiṭvā*	*bandhitvā*	*bandhia*	having bound.
Dham. 58. Del. 26	*abhibhūya*		*abhibhuyya*		having overcome.
Dham. 58.	*vihāya, prahāya*	*vijahitvā, vijahya*	*pahāya, pajahitvā*	. . .	having left.
Dham. 24, 67. Del. 67. Br. 123.	*labhate*		*labhate, labhati*	*lahade, lahadi, lahaï*	he receives.
Dham. 63. B. & Las. 137.	*asmi*		*asmi, amhi*	*mhi*	I am.
Dham. 51. Del. 86.	*santi*		*santi*	*santi, achchhanti*	they are.
Dham. 60. Var. viii. 51.	*patanti*		*patanti*	*paḍanti*	they fall.
Dham. 71. Cow. App. Sūtra 24. p. 99.	*bravīmi*		*brūmi*	*bollāmi* (?)	I speak.
B. & Las. 86. Delius, 53.	*kathayishyāmi*		*kathessāmi*	*kadhaïssam, kahissam*	I will say.
Br. 113.	*kathayāmi*		*kathemi*	*kadhemi*	I say.
Br. 117.	*kathayati iva*		*katheti*	*kahaïva*	he says as it were.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Br. 53, 164, 218. Pr. 123.	*kathaya*		*kathehi*	*kadhesu, kahesu, kahehi*	say thou.
Pr. 124.	*kathayishyati*		*kathessati*	*kahissadi*	he will say.
Br. 213.	*kathayatām*			*kahīadu*	let it be said.
Ras. 22. Del. 53.	*kathayitum*		*kathetum*	*kadhedum*	to say.
Dh. 36. Del. 77.	*jīvāmaḥ*		*jīvāma*	*jīāma, jīvāma*	we live.
Clough, 142.	*prichhanti, prichhyate*		*puchchhanti*	*puchhanti, puchchhīadi*	they ask; it is asked.
Dham. 43. Var. viii. 27.	*khādati*		*khāyati, khādati*	*khāï*	he eats
Cl. 9. Var. vii. 25.	*āsīt*		*āsi*	*āsi*	he was.
Br. 289.	*āsan*		*āsuṁ*	*āsi*	they were.
Dham. 43, 67.	*asti*		*atthi*	*atti, achchhi*	he is.
Dham. 15.	*syāt*		*siyā, assa*	. . .	he may be.
Dham. 5.	*rakshati*		*rakkhati*	*rakkhadi*	he keeps.
Dham. 51, 52, 53. Var. viii. 48.	*budhyate*		*bujjhati*	*bujjhaï*	he understands.
Dham. 40. & Var.	*krudhyet*		*kujjheya*	*kujjh* (root)	let him be angry.
Dham. 40.	*dadyāt*		*dajjā*	. . .	let him give.
Dham. 101. Cl. 145. Del. 32.	*smarati*		*sumarati, sarati*	*sumaredi*	he recollects.
Pr. 12, 35. Br. 57, 86, 92.	*varte*		*vattāmi*	*vaṭṭāmi*	I am.
	vartate		*vattati*	*vaṭṭadi*	he is.
Br. 5, 247.	*vardhamāna*		*vaḍḍhamāna*	*vaḍḍhanta*	increasing.
	vardhita		*vaḍḍhita*	*baḍḍhida*	increased.
Dham. 13. Var. viii. 44.	*varddhate*		*vaḍḍhati*	*vaḍḍhaï*	he increases.
Pr. 133.	*jayatu*		*jayatu, jetu*	*jedu*	let him conquer.
Dh. 64. Del. 21.	*jayati*		*jināti, jeti*	*jaadi, jiṇādi*	he conquers.
Clough, 5, 110. Dham. 54. Del. 27, 28.	*karomi*	*kurumi*	*karomi*	*karomi, karemi, kalemi*	I do.
Dham. 1, 7, 63. Cl. 100. Del. 28.	*karoti, kriṇoti (vedic)*		*karoti*	*karedi, karei, kuṇaï*	he does.
Dham. 9. Cl. 110	*kurute*		*kurute*	. . .	
Cl. 110. Br. 195.	*kurvanti, kriṇvanti (vedic)*	*karonti*	*karonti, kubbanti*	*karenti, kuṇanti*	they do.
B. & Las. 182.	*kurmaḥ*	*karoma, karomo*	*karoma*	*karemha, karamha*	we do.
B. & Las. 127. Clough, 110. Var. viii. 17.	*akārshīt*		*akāsi*	*kāhīa*	he did.
Clough, 110.	*akārshuḥ*		*akāsuṁ*	. . .	they did.
Delius, 28.	*karishyati*		*karissati, kāhati*	*karissadi kāhii*	he will do.
Var. viii. 17. Dh. 28, 322.	*karishyasi*		*kāhasi, karissasi*	. . .	thou wilt do.
Var. vii. 16.	*karishyāmi*		*karissāmi*	*kāham*	I will do.
Dham. 10, 12, 23, 39. Cl. 25. Delius, 28.	*kurvan, kurvataḥ, kurvantam, kurvantaḥ*		*kubbaṁ, kubbato, kubbānaṁ, karontā*	*karanto karento*	doing (different cases and numbers of) (pres. part.)

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Dh. 42. Del. 28.	*kuru*	*kurvahi*	*karohi, kuru*	*karehi, kalehi*	do (imper.)
Br. 69.	*kuru, kṛiṇu (vedic)*			*kuṇa*	do thou.
Pr. 84.	*kurushva iti*			*karesutti*	"do thou," thus.
Br. 200, 168.	*kuruta, kṛiṇuta (vedic)*			*kuṇaha, kuṇadha*	do ye.
Br. 20.	*kartum*		*kattuṁ, kātuṁ*	*kādum*	to do.
Br. 142, 200.	*kartavya*		*kattabba, kātabba*	*kādavva, kāavva*	to be done.
Br. 72, 149 f.	*kṛita*		*kata*	*kida, kira*	done.
Br. 228.	*kriyate*		*karīyati, kayyati*	*kīraï*	it is done.
Br. 7, 224.	*kriyatām*			*karīadu, kīraü*	let it be done
Br. 221.	*pratikuruta, samīkuruta*		*paṭikarotha* . . .	*paḍikareha, samīkareha*	oppose ye. lend ye.
Br. 86, 236. Pr. 47 f. Clough, 3.	*gṛihīta*		*gahita, gahīta*	*gahia, gahida*	taken.
Pr. 46.	*grahītum*		*gaṇhituṁ*	*gahīdum*	to take.
Br. 75.	*grāhya*		*gayha*	*geṷṷha*	to be taken.
Clough, 16.	*akurma*		*akaramhase*	. . .	we have done.
Dh. 24. Del. 28. Var. xii. 10, iv. 23.	*kṛitvā*	*karitya, kariyā, karitvā*	*katvā, karitvā*	*kādua, kadua kāūṇa*	having done.
Dham. 28.	*adhyagāt* (?)		*ajjhagā*	. . .	arrived.
Dham. 39. Del. 90.	*pratigṛihṇanti*		*paṭiganhanti*	*paḍigeṇhanti*	they receive.
Dh. 420. (com.)	*kalpayan*		*kappento*	*kappento* (?)	cutting.
Dham. 101.	*śaknoti*	*śakkitam*	*sakkuṇāti, sakkoti*	. . .	he can; possible.
Rasa. 22. Cow. 171, n. Del. 36.	*śaknomi*		*sakkomi, sakkuṇomi*	*sakkaṇomi*	I can.
Clough, 129. Var. viii. 50.	*mṛidnāti*		*maddati*	*maladi*	he treads.
Ras. 22. Del. 20.	*snātum*		*nahāyituṁ*	*ṇahādum*	to bathe.
Dham. 50. Vikr. 116.	*ārādhayet*		*ārādhaye*	*arāhaṇa*	let him reverence: reverencing (noun).
Pr. 10, 12.	*rājate*			*rehadi*	he shines.
Br. 22.	*sandadhāsi*		*sandadhāsi, sandahisi*	*sandhihisi*	thou appliest
Br. 178.	*paṭhishyāmi*		*paṭhissāmi*	*paḍhissam*	I shall read.
Br. 35, 52, 157, 179.	*manye*		*maññe*	*manne*	I think.
	manyadhvām		*maññatha*	*mannadha*	think ye.
Br. 178.	*svapsyāmi*		*supinissāmi*	*suvissam*	I shall sleep.
Br. 122.	*stumaḥ*			*thuṇimo*	we praise.
Br. 246.	*ghnanti*		*hananti*	*haṇanti*	they strike.
Br. 27.	*pratighnantu*		*paṭihanantu*	*paḍihaṇantu*	may they avert.
Pr. 11 ff, 41, 113, 115.	*vilokayan,*		*vilokayaṁ*	*pulovanto,*	looking.
	vilokaya,		*vilokaya, vilokehi*	*pulovehi, puloesu,*	look (impera).
Br. 76.	*vilokayāmaḥ*		*vilokayāma, vilokema*	*puloamha,*	we look.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GĀTHĀ.	PĀLI.	PRĀKṚIT.	ENGLISH.
Pr. 11 ff, 41, 113, 115. Br. 76.	*anālokayantī* *vilokayishye*		*anālokentī* *vilokayissaṁ*	*apuloantī* *pulovaïssam*	not looking. I shall look.
Br. 113, 179. 199, 202, 216, 245, 261.	*kṛishṭa*, *ākṛishṭa*		*kaḍḍhita* *ākaḍḍhita*	*kaṭṭhia*, *kaṭṭia*, *ūkaṭṭhia*, *ākaṭṭhida*	drawn.
	kṛishyamāṇa			*kaṭṭhijjanta*	being drawn.
	karshaṇa		*kaḍḍhana*	*kaḍḍhaṇa*	drawing.
Br. 49. Pr. 17.	*apasarati*[135] *apasaranti*		*osaranti (ava-)*	*osaradi*, *osaranti*	he departs. they depart.
Br. 10, 50, 127.	*avatarantī*, *avatāra*, *avatīrya*		*otaranti* *otāra, avatāra*	*odaranti*, *odāra*, *otchharia*?	they descend. descent. having descended.
Br. 174.	*hāryase*			*hīrasi*	thou art snatched away
Br. 176.	*kīrtyate*			*kīradi*	he is celebrated.
Br. 7, 178.	*pratyakshīkṛita*		*pachchakkhīkata*	*pachchakkhīkida*	manifested.
Br. 473.	*parityaja*		*parichchajassu* *parichchaja*	*parittaasu*	abandon thou.

[125] In pp. 38, 39, 126, 146, of the Prasannarāghava, and in pp. 76 and 162 of the Bālarāmāyaṇa, however, we find the forms *avagadamhi* (*avagatā 'smi*), *avasara*, *avatiṇṇa* (*avatīrṇa*), *avataraï* (*avatarati*), and *avadārassa* (*avatārasya*).

SECT. VI.—*The Dialects of the Rock and Pillar Inscriptions of Aśoka.*

Our knowledge of the vernacular languages of India in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is not, however, exclusively derived from the Pāli books of Ceylon. Certain inscriptions, dating from the second or third century B.C., containing edicts of king Priyadarsī or Aśoka[126] (whose name has been already mentioned above, p. 63, f.), and written in a corrupt Sanskrit, apparently the vernacular speech of that period, are still extant engraved on pillars and rocks in different parts of India.

I borrow the following particulars regarding them from the summary given by Lassen (Ind. Alt., ii. 215, ff.).[127] The inscriptions are engraved partly upon pillars, partly on rocks. The pillars are at Dehli, Allahabad, Mathiah, and Radhia. The inscriptions on these four pillars are partly uniform, while those of Dehli and Allahabad have additions peculiar to themselves. The rock inscriptions are: 1stly, those at Girnār, in Guzerat, divided into fourteen compartments; 2ndly, those at Dhauli, in Orissa, which for the most part agree in purport with those at Girnār, though the dialect is different; and 3rdly, those at Kapur di Giri, near Peshawar, which coincide in purport, though they often differ in expression, and in their greater or less diffuseness, from the Girnār inscriptions. Besides these, Aśoka appears to have caused other similar edicts to be promulgated in the same way. Accordingly another inscription has been discovered at Bhabra, not far from Jaypur, which contains a fragment of an address to the Buddhist synod in Magadha.

These inscriptions were mostly discovered about thirty years ago, and the great merit of having first (in 1837 and 1838) deciphered and translated by far the larger portion of them belongs to the late Mr. James Prinsep. His translations were subsequently revised by Prof. H. H. Wilson, in an article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic

[126] Professor Wilson thinks it extremely uncertain whether Piyadasi can be identified with Aśoka, and inclines to the conclusion that the date of the inscriptions is some period subsequent to 205 B.C. (Journ. Royal As. Soc., vol. xii. pp. 243–251; vol. xvi. p. 357.) Professor Müller, in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 520, speaks incidentally, but without any hesitation, of the inscriptions as being those of Aśoka, and as dating from the third century B.C. See also the other authorities cited in the text a little further on.

[127] See also Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by E. Thomas, i. 233, ii. 14.

Society for 1849 (vol. xii., part i., pp. 153–251): and a portion of them were a third time examined by M. Burnouf in the Appendix to his translation of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi, pp. 652–781.[128] Prof. Wilson has concluded his notice of the subject in a further paper on the Bhabra inscription, in the Journ. Royal As. Soc., vol. xvi., part ii., pp. 357–367. The importance of these inscriptions, as throwing light on the languages of India in the third century B.C., is also expressly recognized by Prof. Lassen (Ind. Alterthumsk., vol. ii.) in passages which will be quoted below; by Weber in his review of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Ind. Stud., iii. pp. 166–173), in the Preface to his Malavikā and Agnimitra, p. xxxii., and in his Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 170; and by Benfey, in his Article Indien, in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia, pp. 194 and 250.

To give the reader an idea of the nature of these edicts, as well as of the language in which they are composed, I shall quote the eleventh, which is short and tolerably clear, according to the Girnār version, together with the translation (rendered into English) of M. Burnouf (Lotus, App., x. p. 736; Wilson, p. 212): *devānaṁ piyo Piyadasi rājā evam āha nāsti etārisaṁ dānaṁ yārisam dhamma-dānam dhamma-saṁstavo vā dhamma-saṁvibhāgo vā dhamma-sambandho vā | tata idam bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samnipati-patī mātari pitari sādhu sususā mitā-sastuta-ñātikānaṁ bāhmaṇa-samaṇānaṁ sādhu dānaṁ pāṇānam anārambho sādhu etaṁ vatavyam pitā va putena va bhātā va mita-sastuta-ñātikena va āva paṭivesiyehi idaṁ sādhu idaṁ katavyam | so tāthā kuru i[ha] loka cha saārādho hoti parata cha anantam puṁñam bhavati tena dhammadānena |*

"Piyadasi, king beloved by the gods, speaks thus: There is no gift equal to the gift of the law, or to the praise of the law, or to

[128] In an obituary notice (probably contributed by Professor Wilson) on M. Burnouf, in the Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1853, p. xiii. (published in part i. vol. xv. of the Society's Journal), the following remarks are made on this dissertation: "Bringing to the inquiry a knowledge of Pāli and of Buddhism, the superiority of which his predecessors would be the first to acknowledge, and having the advantage of their previous speculations, the value of which M. Burnouf, with his never-failing candour, recognizes, we may look upon his researches as conclusive, and feel satisfied that they have eliminated from these remains of antiquity all the information they are capable of affording." Prof. Weber also in his review of the Lotus de la Bonne Loi (in the Ind. Stud.), speaks in highly laudatory terms of the same dissertation.

the distribution of the law, or to union in the law. This gift is thus exhibited: Good will to slaves and hired servants, and obedience to one's father and mother are good things: liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relations, Brahmans and Samaṇas, is a good thing: respect for the life of creatures is a good thing; this is what ought to be said by a father, by a son, by a brother, by a friend, by an acquaintance, by a relation, and even by simple neighbours: this is good; this is to be done. He who acts thus is honoured in this world; and for the world to come an infinite merit results from the gift of the law."

From the age to which these inscriptions appear to belong, we might expect that their language, as it is not pure Sanskrit, would coincide in a great degree with the Pāli, which, as we have already seen, represents what we may suppose to have been the spoken language of some province of northern India about the same period. And such proves on comparison to be to a considerable degree the case. In proof of this point I shall first proceed to quote the general observations made by Professors Wilson, Lassen, and others, on the subject of the languages in which the inscriptions are composed; and then supply a comparative table, by which some opinion may be formed of the degree in which they coincide with, and diverge from, the Pāli.[129]

The following are the remarks made by Professor Wilson (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xii., pp. 236, ff.) on the language of the edicts:

"The language itself is a kind of Pali, offering, for the greatest portion of the words, forms analogous to those which are modelled by the rules of the Pali grammar still in use. There are, however, many differences, some of which arise from a closer adherence to Sanskrit, others from possible local peculiarities, indicating a yet unsettled state of the language. It is observed by Mr. Prinsep, when speaking of the Lāt inscriptions, 'The language differs from every existing written idiom, and is as it were intermediate between the Sanskrit and the Pali.' The nouns and particles in general follow

[129] I might have been in a position to treat this subject in a more satisfactory manner than I can now hope to do from my own cursory investigations, had I been able to consult the Pāli Grammar, with appendices on the dialects of Dhauli and Girnār, formerly advertised for publication, but never published, by Professor Spiegel. (See the cover of his Anecdota Palica, published at Leipzig, in 1845.)

the Pali structure; the verbs are more frequently nearer to the Sanskrit forms; but in neither, any more than in grammatical Pali, is there any great dissimilarity from Sanskrit. It is curious that the Kapur di Giri inscription departs less from the Sanskrit than the others, retaining some compound consonants, as *pr* in *prĭya*, instead of *piya;* and having the representatives of the three sibilants of the Devanagari alphabet, while the others, as in Pali, have but but one sibilant: [130] on the other hand, the Kapur di Giri inscription omits the vowels to a much greater extent, and rarely distinguishes between the long and short vowels, peculiarities perhaps not unconnected with the Semitic character of its alphabet.

"The exact determination of the differences and agreements of the inscriptions with the Pali on the one hand, and Sanskrit on the other, would require a laborious analysis of the whole, and would be scarcely worth the pains, as the differences from either would, no doubt, prove to be comparatively few and unimportant, and we may be content to consider the language as Pali, not yet perfected in its grammatical structure, and deviating in no important respect from Sanskrit.

"Pali is the language of the writings of the Buddhists of Ava, Siam and Ceylon; therefore it is concluded it was the language of the Buddhists of Upper India, when the inscriptions were engraved, and consequently they are of Buddhist origin. This, however, admits of question; for although the Buddhist authorities assert that Sâkya Sinha and his successors taught in Pali, and that a Pali grammar was compiled in his day; yet, on the other hand, they affirm, that the doctrines of Buddha were long taught orally only, and were not committed to writing till four centuries after his death, or until B.C. 153, a date, no doubt, subsequent to that of the inscriptions." [131] . . .

"It is by no means established, therefore, that Pali was the sacred language of the Buddhists at the period of the inscriptions, and its

[130] Weber also remarks (Ind. Stud. iii. 180): "The greater purity of pronunciation maintained in the popular dialect of the north-west in comparison with the east, is shown by the inscription of Kapur di Giri, in which, according to Wilson's remark (The Rock Inscriptions of Kapur di Giri, etc.), not only the three sibilants of the Sanskrit, but also a number of compound consonants, containing an *r* (such as priya, tatra, prati, yatra, putra, savatra, krama, śuśrūsha, śramana, bramana, bhratu), and some others, such as *st*, *str*, have been preserved."

[131] See, however, the remarks in the preceding section, p. 57.

use constitutes no conclusive proof of their Buddhist origin.[132] It seems more likely that it was adopted as being the spoken language of that part of India where Piyadasi resided, and was selected for his edicts that they might be intelligible to the people." . . . .

"We may, therefore, recognize it as an actually existing form of speech in some part of India, and might admit the testimony of its origin given by the Buddhists themselves, by whom it is always identified with the language of Magadha or Behār, the scene of Sākya Sinha's first teaching; but that there are several differences between it and the Māgadhi, as laid down in Prakrit grammars, and as it occurs in Jain writings. It is, as Messrs. Burnouf and Lassen remark, still nearer to Sanskrit, and may have prevailed more to the north than Behar, or in the upper part of the Doab, and in the Punjab, being more analogous to the Saurasenī dialect, the language of Mathura and Dehli, although not differing from the dialect of Behar to such an extent as not to be intelligible to those to whom Sākya and his successors addressed themselves. The language of the inscriptions, then, although necessarily that of their date, and probably that in which the first propagators of Buddhism expounded their doctrines, seems to have been rather the spoken language of the people in Upper India, than a form of speech peculiar to a class of religionists, or a sacred language, and its use in the edicts of Piyadasi, although not incompatible with their Buddhist origin, cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof that they originated from any peculiar form of religious belief."

Some observations of Prof. Lassen regarding these dialects, and their relative antiquity as compared with the Pāli, have been already quoted in the last section (p. 59). He remarks in another place (Ind. Alt., ii., 221, 222): "These inscriptions are of the greatest value for the history of the Indian languages, because they exhibit to us in an authentic shape the most ancient forms assumed by the popular dialects, and furnish us with a secure basis for the comparative grammar of the great Sanskritic family of languages, which became so variously developed."

[132] Professor Wilson has since, however, from an examination of the Bhabra inscription, arrived at the conviction, that there is in it "enough sufficiently indisputable to establish the fact that Priyadarsī, whoever he may have been, was a follower of Buddha."—(Journ. R. A. S., vol. xv., p. 357.)

"In these inscriptions we possess specimens of three vernacular dialects, one from the border country to the north-west, a second from western, and a third from eastern Hindustan. The inscriptions on the pillars of Dehli, Allahabad, etc., differ only in particular forms from the Dhauli (Cuttak) inscription, while they possess in the main the same character, and may be classed with the Māgadhī of the grammarians. As this dialect is used even on the Dehli column, which is situated beyond the bounds of Magadha, Aśoka appears to have had a partiality for the vernacular language of his principal province; and from the predominating employment of this particular derivative of the Sanskrit, we may perhaps explain the fact that, among the Cingalese, who received the Buddhist religion from that country, their sacred language should have obtained this appellation."

At p. 486, again, Lassen says: "It is only the rock inscriptions which can be admitted as authentic evidence of the local dialects, while the columnar inscriptions everywhere exhibit the same dialect, which consequently cannot have been spoken in every quarter where such pillars have been discovered. This remark is especially true of the Dehli column. When we consider that, between Cabul, Guzerat, and Magadha (which latter province was the native country of the dialect employed in the pillar inscriptions), a wide region intervenes, inhabited by different branches of the Sanskrit-speaking race, we are driven to the conclusion that many other dialects must have been current there, of which we find no specimens in any of the inscriptions."

The following list of words, from the Dehli and Allahabad columns, and the Bhabra stone, borrowed from M. Burnouf's Lotus de la Bonne Loi (App. x., pp. 665, 724, and 741), will show the correctness of Lassen's remark, that the dialect of the pillar inscriptions resembles the Māgadhī of Dhauli, as exhibited in the comparative list which I shall immediately adduce. Thus on these columns we have *dhamme*, *dāne*, *sache*, *anugahe*, *kate*, *piye*, *kayāne* and *pāpe*, for *dhammo*, *dānam*, *sacham*, *anugaho*, *kato*, *piyo*, *kayānam* and *pāpam*; *lājā*, *vālichalesu*, *vihālatam*, *chīla*, *Aliya*, *pulisa* and *abhihāle*, for *rājā*, *vāricharesu*, *vihāratam*, *chira*, *Ariya*, *purisa* and *abhihāro*; *Budhasi*, *dhammasi* and *sanghasi*, for *Budhamhi*, *dhammamhi* and *sanghamhi*.

The list of words, which I shall immediately adduce, borrowed from the article of Prof. H. H. Wilson, above alluded to, in Vol. XII. of the

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and from the Appendix, No. X., to M. Burnouf's Lotus de la Bonne Loi, when compared with the Pāli equivalents which have been added, will suffice to show the points in which the languages of the inscriptions agree with the last-named dialect, as well as the respects in which they differ from one another. I must, however, frankly state that I do not pretend to have made these inscriptions, or the character in which they are written, the object of particular study; and I therefore take it for granted that the words have been correctly deciphered by the eminent scholars from whom I quote.

In comparing the dialect of the inscriptions with other kindred forms of language, presumed to be of about equal antiquity with them, which have come down to us in books, we should recollect that the latter may have been retouched from time to time, to render them more intelligible to the readers by whom they were studied in successive generations, whereas the inscriptions have descended to us unaltered, except by the defacing action which ages have exercised on the rocks on which they are engraved. On this subject I quote the following judicious observations of Mr. Turnour, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for December, 1837, p. 1049:—

"When we consider that these inscriptions were recorded upwards of two thousand years ago, and that the several columns on which they are engraven have been exposed to atmospheric influences for the whole of that period, apparently wholly neglected; when we consider, also, that almost all the inflections of the language in which these inscriptions are composed, occur in the ultimate and penultimate syllables, and that these inflections are chiefly formed by minute vowel symbols, or a small *anuswāra* dot; and when we further find that the *Pāli* orthography of that period, as shown by these inscriptions, was very imperfectly defined—using single for double, and promiscuously, aspirated and unaspirated, consonants; and also without discrimination as to the class each belonged, the four descriptions of *n*,—the surprise which every reasonable investigator of this subject must feel will be occasioned rather by the extent of the agreement than of the disagreement between our respective readings of these ancient records."

The following is the comparative list (the Pāli column of which owes its completeness to Mr. Childers) which I proposed to adduce:—

Table No. VIII.

Comparative list of words from the rock inscriptions at Girnār, Dhauli, and Kapur di Giri, with their equivalents in Pāli.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GIRNĀR.	DHAULI.	KAPUR DI GIRI.	PĀLI.	ENGLISH.
Wilson, 157.	*devānām*	*devānam*	*devānam*	*devānam*	*devānam*	of the gods.
Wilson, 158.	*priyasya*	*piyasa*	*piyasa*	*priyasa*	*piyassa*	of the beloved.
Wilson, 165, 175, 177, 198. Burn. 731.	*rājā,*	*rājā, rājă*	*lājā, lāja*	*ră̆jă, raya*	*rājā*	king (nom.)
	rājnaḥ	*rāño, răño*	*lājine*	*raño*	*rājino; rañño*	king (gen.)
Wilson, 165.	*rājānaḥ*	*rājano*	*lājāne*	*rajaya*	*rājāno*	kings (nom.)
	vijite	*vijitamhi*	. . . .	*vijite*	*vijitamhi*	conquered (loc.case.)
Wilson, 166.	*vṛikshāḥ*	*vachchhā*	*lukhani*	. . . .	*rukkhā*	trees.
	paribhogāya	*paribhogāya*	*paṭibhogăya*	*pratibhogăyă*	*paribhogāya*	enjoyment (dat.)
Wilson, 190.	*prativedanā*	*paṭivedanā*	*paṭivedanā*	*paṭivedana*	. . . .	representation.
	dvādaśan	*dvādasa*	*duvādasa*	. . . .	*dvādasa*	twelve.
Wilson, 170.	*panchasu*	*panchasu*	*panchasu*	*pachasu*	*panchasu*	five (loc.)
	varshāḥ	*vāsā*	*vasa*	*vasha*	*vassā*	years (nom.)
	varsheshu	*vāsesu*	*vasesu*	*vasheshu*	*vassesu*	years (loc.)
Wilson, 171, 213.	*mātari, pitari*	*mātari, pitari*	. . . .	*matapitushu*	*mātari, pitari*	mother, father (loc.)
Wilson, 171.	*mitra*	*mitā*	. . . .	*mitra*	*mitta*	friend.
Bur. 731. Wilson, 175, 213.	*śuśrūshā*	*sususā*	*susūsā*	*suśrusha*	*sussūsā*	obedience.
Bur. 730. Wilson, 171, 174, 175.	*brāhmaṇa*	*bāhmaṇa, bāmhana*	*bambhana, bābhana*	*bramaṇa*	*brāhmaṇa*	Brahman.
Wilson, 171, 174.	*śramaṇānām*	*samaṇānam*	*sumanehi*	*śramaṇa*	*samaṇānaṁ*	S'ramanas (gen. and loc., or instr. ?).
Wilson, 174.	*prāṇārambhaḥ*	*pānārambho*	*pānālambhe*	*prănărambho*	*pāṇārambho*	injury to life.
Wils. 174, 182, 199.	*antaram*	*antaram*	*antalam*	*antaram*	*antaram*	interval.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GIRNÁR.	DHAULI.	KAPUR DI GIRI.	PÁLI.	ENGLISH.
Wilson, 175.	*divyāni*	*divyani*	*diviyāni*	*divāni*	*dibbā, dibbāni*	divine. [pl.]
	rūp̣āṇi	*rŭpāni*	*lūpānam*	. . . .	*rūpā, rūpāni*	forms (nom. & gen.
	pūrve	*puve*	*puluve*	*pŭrve*	*pubbe*	before.
Wilson, 190.	*sarva*	*sava*	*sava*	*sava*	*sabba*	all.
	sarvatra	*savata*	*savata*	*savatra*	*sabbattha*	everywhere.
Wilson, 176.	*putrāḥ, pautrāḥ,*	*putā, potā*	*putā*	*putrā,* . . .	*puttā*	sons. [grandsons.
	prapautrāḥ	*papotā*	*nati*	*pranatikā*	*paputtā*	grandsons, great-
	dharme, śīle	*dhammamhi*	*dhammasi*	. . . .	*dhammamhi*	virtue, goodness
		sīlamhi	*sīlasi*	. . . .	*sīlamhi*	(loc.)
	asmin, arthe	*imamhi, athamhi*	*imasa, athasa*	. . . .	*imamhi,atthamhi*	this object, (loc. and
Wilson, 182.	*dushkaram*	*dukaram*	*dukalam*	. . . .	*dukkaram*	difficult. [gen.)
	apatyam	*apacham*	*apitaye*	*apacha*	*apachcham*	progeny.
Wilson, 183.	*dharmādhish-ṭhānāya*	*dhammadhi-sṭānāya*	*dhammādhi-thānye*	. . . .	*dhammādhi-ṭṭhānāya*	supervision of religion (dat.)
Wilson, 184, 200.	*sthavirāṇām*	*thairānam*	*vadhānam*	. . . .	*therānam*	elders: religious teachers (gen.)
Wilson, 184.	*bhikshāhārishu*	*bhikaresu*	*bhīkala*	*bhikati*	. . . .	livers on alms.
	sarveshu	. . . .	*savesu*	*savesu*	*sabbesu*	all (loc. pl.)
	nagareshu	. . . .	*nagalesu*	*nagareshu*	*nagaresu*	cities (loc. pl.)
Wilson, 190.	*avarodhaneshu*	. . . .	*olodhanesu*	*orodhaneshu*	*orodhañesu*	fortresses (loc. pl.)
Wilson, 184.	*avarodhane*	*orodhanamhi*	*olodhanasi*	*orodhanasi*	*orodhanamhi*	palace (loc. sing.)
	bhaginīnām	. . . .	*bhaghininam*	. . . .	*bhaginīnam*	sisters (gen.)
Wilson, 190.	*garbhāgāre*	*gabhagāramhi*	*gabhatapasi*	*gabhagarasi*	*gabbhāgāramhi*	inner apartments.
	garbha-grihe (?)					(loc.)
	vachasi	*vachamhi*	. . . .	*vachasi*	*vachasi,vachamhi*	word (loc.)
	vinīte	*vinītamhi*	*vinītasi*	*vinatasi*	*vinītamhi*	polite (loc.) [(loc.)
Wilson, 203.	*pravāse*	*pavāsammhi*	*pavāsasi*	*pavasa*	*pavāsamhi*	departure from home
Wilson, 191, 194.	*uṭṭhāne*	*ustānamhi*	. . . .	. . . .	*uṭṭhānamhi*	elevation (loc.)
Wilson, 192, 195.	*utthānam*	*ustānam*	*suṭhāna*	. . . .	*uṭṭhāna*	elevation.
Wilson, 192.	*aham*	*ahaṁ*	*hakaṁ*	. . . .	*aham*	I.
Wils. 192, 195, 205.	*svargam*	*svagam*	*svaga*	*saga*	*saggam*	heaven.
Wilson, 192.	*etasmai, arthāya*	*etāya, athāya*	*etāye,* . . .	*etaya, athaye*	*imassa, atthāya, atthassa*	this object (dat.)
	chiram	*chiraṁ*	*chila*	. . . .	*chiram*	long.

Burn. 731.	*śreshṭham*	*seṭṭe*	. . . .	. . . .	*seṭṭham*	best.
Wilson, 193.	*parākrameṇa*	*parākamena*	*palākamena*	*parakamena*	*parakkamena*	valour (instr.)
Wilson, 198.	*rāgaḥ*	*rāgo*	*lāgā*	*rago*	*rāgo*	passion.
	kṛitajnatā	*kataṁñatā*	. . . .	*kaṭañatā*	*kataññutā*	gratitude.
Burn, 755. Wils. 198.	*dṛiḍhabhaktitā*	*daḍhabhatitā*	. . . .	*daḍhabhatitā*	*daḷhabhattitā*	firmness of devotion.
Wilson, 198.	*nitya*	*nichā*	*niche*	*nicha*	*nichcha*	constant.
Wilson, 199.	*etādṛisāni*	*etārisāni*	*edisāni*	*edisāni*	*etādisāni*	such (neuter pl.)
Wilson, 200.	*yātrā*	*yātā*	. . . .	*yatra*	*yātrā*	journey.
	paripṛichchhā	*paripuchhā*	. . . .	*pariprutachhu(?)*	*paripuchchhā*	question.
Wils. 204. Burn. 736.	*bhrātrā*	*bhātā*	*bhatinā*	*bhata*	*bhātarā*	brother (instr.)
Wils. 215. Burn. 761.	*gṛihasthāni*	*gharastāni*	. . . .	. . . .	(*ghara*) *gahaṭṭhāni* (Dh. 72.)	domestic (nom. pl. neuter.)
Wilson, 215.	*vividhayā*	*vividhāya*	. . . .	. . . .	*vividhāyā*	various (instr. fem.)
	pūjayā	*pūjāya*	. . . .	. . . .	*pūjāya*	honour (instr. fem.)
	vṛiddhi	*vaḍhī*	. . . .	. . . .	*vaḍḍhi, vuddhi*	increase.
Wilson, 215. Burn. 761, 765.	*ātmā, ātmanaḥ*	*ātpa, ātpano*	. . . .	. . . .	*attā, attano*	self: of self.
Burn. 761.	*garhā*	*garahā*	. . . .	. . . .	*garahā*	reviling.
Wilson, 225.	*chatvāraḥ*	*chaptārā* (?) *chattāro* (?)	. . . .	. . . .	*chattāro*	four.
Wilson, 158, 233.	*asti*	*asti*	. . . .	*asti*	*atthi*	is.
Wilson, 165, 191, 198, 212.	*nāsti*	*nāsti*	*natthi, nathi, nathā*	*năsti, nāsti*	*natthi* (B. 649)	is not.
Wilson, 166.	*ropitāni*	*ropāpitāni*	*lopāptānt*	. . . .	*ropāpitāni*	planted.
Wilson, 191.	*āropitam*	*aropitam*	*alopite*	. . . .	*āropitam*	intrusted.
Wilson, 205.	*apavāditavyam*	*ovāditavyam*	. . . .	. . . .	*ovāditabbam*	to be blamed.
Wils. 170, 182, 203.	*āha*	*āha*	*āhā, kaha* (?)	*ahati*[133]	*āha*	says.
Wilson, 176.	*tishṭhantaḥ*	*tiṣṭanto*	. . . .	. . . .	*tiṭṭhanto*	standing (nom. pl.)
Wils. 176, 191, 200.	*bhavati*	*bhavati, hoti*	*hoti*	*bhoti, hoti*	*bhavati, hoti*	is
Wilson, 182, 190.	*bhūta*	*bhūta*	*hūtā*	*bhuta*	*bhūta*	been.
Wilson, 182, 203.	*karoti*	*karoti*	*kaleti*	*karāti*	*karoti*	does.
Wilson, 191.	*karomi*	*karomi*	*kalāmi*	*karomi*	*karomi*	I do.
Wilson, 190.	*kṛitam*	*katam*	*kaṭe*	*kiṭa*	*katam*	done.
Wilson, 184.	*nisṇṭhitaḥ*	*niṣṭito*	*nisita*	*nisṭisita*	*niṭṭhito*	placed.
Wilson, 192.	*kartavyam*	*katavya*	*kaṭaviya*	. . . .	*kātabbaṁ, kattabbaṁ*	to be done.

[133] The ancient form of *āha* according to Wilson, p. 171.

REFERENCES.	SANSKRIT.	GIRNÂR.	DHAULI.	KAPUR DI GIRI.	PÂLI.	ENGLISH.
Wilson, 192, 195.	*parâkramâmi*	*parâkamâmi*	*palakamâva*	*parakamama*	*parakkamâmi*	I have power.
Wilson, 209.	*paṣâkramati*	*parâkamate*	*palâkamati*	*parakramati*	*parakkamati*	he has power.
Wilson, 192, 195.	*tishṭhet*	*tiṣṭeya*	*ṭhiti, hotu*	*ṭhitikâ, bhotu*	*tiṭṭheyya*	let it endure.
Wilson, 199.	*abhûvan*	*ahuṁsu*	. . . .	*abhavasu*	*ahesuṁ*	they were.
	san	*santo*	. . . .	*santu*	*santo*	being (nom. sing. [part.)
Wilson, 216.	*kshaṇoti*	*chhanoti*	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	hurts.
	garhate	*garahati*	. . . .	. . . .	*garahati*	reviles.
Burn. 666, 669.	*paśyati, dṛiśyati* (?)	. . . .	*dekhati* (on Dehli pillar.)	. . . .	*passati, dichchhati* (*dekhadi* Prâk.)	he sees.
Wilson, 223.	*labdheshu*	*laddhesu*	. . . .	. . . .	*laddhesu*	obtained (loc. pl. past part.)
Burn. 761.	*varddhayati*	*vaḍhayati*	. . . .	. . . .	*vaḍḍheti*	he increases.
Burn. 731.	*darśayitvâ*	*dasayitpâ*	. . . .	. . . .	*dassetvâ*	having shown.
	tishṭhati	*tiṭhati*	. . . .	. . . .	*tiṭṭhati*	stands.
Burn. 757, 758.	*ajnâsuḥ*	*ñeyâsu, ñayisu* (?)	. . . .	. . . .	*aññâsuṁ*	they knew.
Burn. 759.	*iyâya*	*ayâya* (?)	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	he went.
Burn. 659, 654, Lass. Ind. Alt. ii. 227, note 4.	*parityajya*	*parichajitpâ*	. . . .	. . . .	*parichchajitvâ*	having left.

From an examination of this list, it will be seen that, as Professors Wilson and Weber remark (above, p. 107), the Kapur di Giri inscription departs less from the Sanskrit in the particulars which they specify than the others do; that the language of the Girnâr inscription coincides most of the three with the Pâli; while in the use of *l* for *r*, and *e* for *o*, the Dhauli inscription bears the well-known characters of the Mâgadhî.[134] In general the whole language of these inscriptions is so well characterized by Professor Wilson in the passage I have already extracted (p. 106, ff.), as to render any further remarks upon them superfluous.

[134] It is worthy of remark that in a passage of the S'atapatha Brâhmaṇa, 3, 2, 1, 23 (p. 235), the Asuras, who, perhaps, represent some barbarous tribe, are introduced as using the Mâgadhî form *alavaḥ* instead of *arayaḥ*, enemies. *Te asurâḥ âttavachaso "he alavo he alavaḥ" iti vadanto parâbabhûvuḥ* | "The Asuras, marred in their utterance, and crying out 'O enemies, O enemies,' were defeated." This passage is quoted, with some variety of reading, in the Mahâbhâshya, pp. 18 and 64.

SECT. VII.—*The Dialect of the Buddhist Gāthās, and its relation to the Pāli: Summary of the results of this and the preceding Section.*

I now come to the last of the varieties of corrupted Sanskrit to which I referred in p. 10, viz., the language which we find in the Gāthās, or metrical portions occurring in such works as the Lalita Vistara, descriptive of the life and discourses of Gotama Buddha. An account of the peculiarities of this dialect, as it is convenient to call it, has been given by Bābu Rājendralāl Mitra, in No. 6 of the Journal As. Soc., Bengal, 1854. Of the Lalita Vistara, from which the specimens given by this writer, and those which will be adduced by myself, are drawn, Professor Müller remarks, that though "on account of its style and language," it "had been referred by Oriental scholars to a much more modern period of Indian literature," it "can now safely be ascribed to an ante-Christian era, if, as we are told by Chinese scholars, it was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, as one of the canonical books of Buddhism, as early as the year 76 A.D."[135]

I proceed to give the substance of Bābu Rājendralāl's dissertation in his own words, omitting only those portions which appear to be of the least importance; making occasional abridgments; and adding, in some places, to the number of the specimens he has given of the Gāthā forms.

"Of the dialects which have proceeded from the Sanskrit, the Pāli and the Māgadhi have hitherto been supposed to bear the closest resemblance to their parent, but the discovery of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal has brought to our knowledge a new dialect, bearing a still closer affinity to the classic language of the East, than either of the former. Nepalese chroniclers have named it Gāthā (ballad),[136] probably, from its having been principally used by the scalds and bards[136*] of mediæval India. For nearly a similar reason the

[135] Buddhist Pilgrims, in "Chips," (1st ed.) vol. i., p. 258.

[136] [The antiquity of certain compositions, called *Gāthās*, is proved by the fact that the expression *munigāthā*, the gāthās or verses of the Muni, or Munis, occurs in the ancient inscription of Piyadasi at Bhabra. Burnouf, App. x. to Lotus, pp. 724, 725, 729; Wilson, Jour. R. A. S., vol. xvi., pp. 359, 363, 367. Bābu Rājendralāl also refers to the Mahāwanso, p. 252, where *gāthās* are mentioned.—J.M.]

[136*] On this Prof. Benfey remarks, Gött. Gel. Anz. for 1861, p. 134: "On the other hand, Bābu Rājendralāl's views on the origin of these Gāthās have very much to recommend them: they require only a slight modification, the substitution of inspired believers,—such as most of the older Buddhists were,—sprung from the lower classes of the people,—in the place of professional bards."

Balenese style the language of their poets, the *Kāwi* or poetical, and the language of their Vedas is called *Chhandas* (metrical), whence, by a well-known euphonic law, we have the *Zend* of the old Persians.

"M. Burnouf, the only European scholar who has noticed the existence of this dialect, describes it to be 'a barbarous Sanskrit, in which the forms of all ages, Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākṛit, appear to be confounded.'[137] It differs from the Sanskrit more in its neglect of the grammatical rules of the latter than from any inherent peculiarity of its own. The niceties of the Sanskrit forms of declension and conjugation find but a very indifferent attention from the Gāthā versifier; he uses or rejects the usual case-affixes according to the exigencies of his metre with as much veneration for the rules of Pāṇini as the West Indian Negro has for those of Lindley Murray; indeed, the best illustration that can be given of the relation which exists between the Sanskrit, the Gāthā, and the Pāli, would be extracts from the literature of the Negroes.

"The Gāthā exists only in a versified form, and is to be met with in that class of Buddhist writings called the *Mahāvaipulya* or the 'highly developed' sūtras. It occurs generally at the end and often in the middle, but never at the commencement of a chapter, and contains a poetical abstract of the subject described in the prose portion of the works. The latter is written in pure Sanskrit, and comprises a highly amplified version of the subject-matter, and often adverts to circumstances unnoticed in the former.

"The Gāthā is written in a variety of metres, from the facile octo-syllabic *anushṭup*, to the most complicated *śārdūlavikrīḍita*. Its peculiarities are those of a language in a state of transition; it professes to be Sanskrit, and yet does not conform to its rules. In it we find the old forms of the Sanskrit grammar gradually losing their expressive power, and prepositions and periphrastic expressions supplying their places, and time-hallowed verbs and conjugations juxtaposed to vulgar slangs and uncouth provincialisms. At one place, orthography is sacrificed for the sake of prosody and a word of a single short syllable is inflated into one of three syllables, while at another the latter yields to the former and a molossus supplies the place of a pyrrhic or a tribrach. A spirit of economy pervades the whole, and syllables and words are retrenched and modified with an unsparing

[137] L'Histoire du Buddhisme, p. 104.

hand. In the Lalita Vistara instances of these peculiarities occur in great profusion, and they may be generally referred to (A) exigencies of metre, (B) provincialisms, and (C) errors of syntax and prosody.

"A.—Of the changes which may be attributed to the exigencies of metre, prolongation, contraction and elision of vowels, elision of consonants, and the segregation of compound consonants and long vowels into their simple elements, appear to be the most frequent. We shall quote a few instances:

1st. "Of the prolongation of vowels the following may be taken as examples.[138]

"*Nā cha* for *na cha; ṣa cha* for *sa cha; prayāto* for *prayataḥ*; *rodamāna* for *rudamāna.*

2nd. "Of contractions of vowels, instances occur almost in every śloka. They are generally effected by the use of short for long vowels, and the substitution of i and u for e, ai, o, and au: for example, *yāmi* for *yāme; dharenti* for *dhārayanti;*[139] *drumavara* for *drumavarāḥ; māya* for *māyā; ghaṇṭa* for *ghaṇṭā; pujam etām* for *pūjām etām; yatha* for *yathā; tatha* for *tathā; sada* for *sadā.*

3rd. "Elisions of vowels and consonants are also very frequent; they are effected principally with a view to economy and euphony. Final *ses* are invariably elided. Take for instance: *nabhe* for *nabhasi; apsarāḥ* for *apsarasaḥ;*[140] *sadārchiskandhi* for *sadārchishi skandhe; ima dṛishṭa vasthām* for *imāṁ dṛishṭvā avasthām; niścharī* for *niśchachāra; praṇidhenti* for *praṇidhyāyanti; manā* for *manasaḥ; ena* for *etena.*

4th. "Of the division of long vowels and compound consonants into their short and simple elements, the following are instances of constant occurrence:

"*Rāttiye* for *rātryāḥ*, or *rātryām; turiyebhi* for *turyebhyaḥ; gilāno*

[138] Quoted from the edition of the Lalita Vistara, in the Bibliotheca Indica.

[[139] Other instances of the same abbreviation (common also in the Pāli and Prākṛits) are *enti* for *āyānti; upenti* for *upayanti; janenti* for *janayanti; janehi* for *janaya; moehehi* for *moehaya; bodhehi* for *bodhaya; pūrehi* for *pūraya; darśenti* for *darśayanti*, and numerous others.—J.M.]

[140] On this Professor Benfey remarks in the Gött. Gel. Anz. for January, 1861, p. 134: "Such forms, as, for instance, *apsarā* for *apsaras*, appear already in abundance in the Vedas, and arise, not from the exigencies of the metre, but from the fact of terminations in *as* passing into terminations in *a*." He then goes on to refer to the great importance of this Gāthā language; and expresses the hope of being able to exhibit this in a grammar of this form of speech, which he had then already prepared, but which has not yet been published.

for *glāno*; *istri* for *strī*; *turiya* for *tūryya*; *akilāntaka* for *aklāntaka*; *kileśa* for *kleśa*; *hiri* for *hrī*; *śiri* for *śrī*; *śiriyā* for *śriyā*; *śirīye* for *śriye*; *deviye* for *devyāḥ*; *pūjārāham* for *pūjārham*; *padumāni* for *padmāni*; *dānacharīyā* for *dānacharyā*; *supina* for *svapnam*.[141]

"This tendency to segregation of aspirated consonants forms a principal characteristic of mediæval and modern Indian phonology. The Pāli and the Prākṛit owe their origin entirely to this cause. The Hindi and the Marhatti indulge in it to a large extent, and the Bengāli is not exempt from its influence.

"B.—The provincialisms of the Gāthā include neglect of gender, number, and case, abbreviations and omissions of declensions, corruption of pronouns, and new forms of conjugation.

(1.) "Of the neglect of gender, number, and case, the following may be taken as examples: *viśuddhanirmalam* for *viśuddhanirmalān* (singular for plural); *buddhakshetram* for *buddhakshetrāṇi* (singular for plural); *āsaninā* for *āsanāt* (instrumental for ablative); *bodhisuvaṭa* far *bodhisuvaṭāt* (objective for ablative); *ūrddha hastā* for *ūrddhau hastau* (plural for dual); *kechid ekapāde* for *kechid ekapādena* (locative for instrumental); *trilokam* for *trilokī* (neuter for feminine); *kāraṇaṁ* for *kāraṇāni* (singular feminine for plural neuter); *nakshatrāḥ* for *nakshatrāṇi* (masculine for neuter); *pṛithu* for *prithavaḥ*; *ime karma* for *imāni karmāṇi*.

(2.) "Under the head of abbreviations and omissions of declension, the most remarkable peculiarity appears to be the use of *u* in the room of all flectional affixes," as *ratanu* for *ratnam*; *ahu* for *aham*. *U* is also merely put for the inherent *a*, as in two of the following cases: *kshayusaṁskṛitu* for *kshayasaṁskṛita*; *nishkrāntu* for *nishkrānta*; *parivāritu* for *parivāritaḥ*. The next are instances in which the case terminations are omitted: *laukika* for *laukikāḥ*; *chitrakarma* for *chitrakarmāṇaḥ*; and such instances are of continual occurrence.

(3.) "The following are the corruptions of pronouns that are frequently met with in the Lalita Vistara. They apparently lead the way to the formation of pronouns in the modern vernaculars:—

[141 Other cases are *viyūha* for *vyūha*; *ratana* for *ratna*; *śākiyānām* for *śākyānām*; *nāriyā* for *nāryāḥ*; *vajirikāya* for *vajrakāya*; *śakkitam* for *śaktam*; *śukula* for *śukla*; *nyasiya* for *nyasya*; *ābhujiya* for *ābhujya*; *akampiyo* for *akampyaḥ*, etc.—J.M.]

"*Mahya* for *mama* and *mattaḥ*; *tubhya* for *tvăyă* (sic) *tvāṁ*, and *tava*;[142] *ayu* for *eshaḥ*; *te* for *tā*; *kahiṁ* for *kutra* and *kena*.

(4.) "The new forms of conjugation observable in the Gāthā are attributable exclusively to corrupt pronunciation; they follow no fixed rule, and are the result of that natural tendency to abbreviation which in the English originates "wont" from "will not," and "shant" from "shall not." The following are a few examples:

"*Dadami* and *demi* for *dadāmi*; *bhosi* for *bhavasi*; *bhoti* for *bhavati*; *bhonti* for *bhavanti*; *ramishyasi* for *ramsyase*; *āruhi* for *ārohat*; *raṇī* or *raṇi* for *arat*; *utthi* for *uttishṭha*; *dada* for *dadasva*; *śuṇohi* and *śuṇa* for *śriṇu*; *munchamī* for *amuncha*; *bheshyi* for *bhavishyāmi-v-m-ti-taḥ-anti-si-thaḥ-tha*;[143] *parikatha* for *parikathaya*; *nyasī* for *nidadhuḥ*; *śaṇuvantī* for *śriṇvanti*; *śuṇitvā*, *śruṇitvā*, *śuṇitya* and *śrutya* for *śrutvā*; *śuṇishyati for śroshyāti*; *śūnya* for *śrāvyān*; *oruhitvā* for *avaruhya*; *glapayisu* for *glāpayāmāsuḥ*; *jahitvā* for *hitvā*; *buddhitvā* for *buddhvā*.

"It may be remarked that the corruptions above quoted are, in many instances, the precursors of forms adopted in other affiliated dialects. In Sanskrit the third person singular of the verb *to be* is *bhavati*, which in the Gāthā changes to *bhoti* by the conversion of the *v* into *o* and the elision of the *a* before and after it (*bhonti* in the plural, and *bhosi* in the second person singular), and thence we have *hoti*, *hosi*, and *honti* in the Māgadhi. *Śuṇitvā* for *śrutvā* is the first step to the formation of *suniā* in Bengāli, while *śuṇohi* passes into *suno* with nothing but the elision of an inflection.

"C.—In the collocation of words and phrases the Gāthā strictly follows the rules of Sanskrit syntax, but in the formation of compound terms it admits of many licences highly offensive to the canons of Pāṇini and Vopadeva. They seem, however, to be the consequence of haste and inattention, and are not referrible to any dialectic peculiarity."

There are, however, some other forms discoverable in the Gāthā

[142] [I have noted also *mi* for *mahyam* and *mayā*; *ti* for *tvayā* (Lv. pp. 256, 358, 380, 399); *tasā* for *tasya* (p. 125); *anabhiḥ* for *ebhiḥ* (p. 304).—J.M.]

[143] [I find the following additional irregular forms of the verb *bhū*, "to be," viz., *bhavīti* for *bhavati*, *abhūshi* for *abhūt*, *abhūshīḥ* for *abhūḥ* (?), *ababhūvan* for *abhūvan*, *bhavi* for *bhavishyasi* and *bhavāni*, *bhaviya* and *bhaveyā* (resembling a Pāli form of the same tense) for *bhavet*, *bhohi* for *bhava*, *bhaviyā* and *bhaviaḥ* for *bhūtvā*, *anubhaviyā* for *anubhūya*, *prabhāmi* and *prabhāma* for *prabhavāmi* and *prabhavāmaḥ*. The forms *asmaḥ* for *smaḥ*, and *āsi* for *asti*, or *ṛsīt*, also occur.—J.M.]

dialect, which have been either passed over, or but briefly noticed by Bābu Rājendralāl, and which yet present some points of remarkable interest. Thus the plural instrumental in *ebhiḥ*, which is so general in the Vedas, is in constant use in the Gāthās also, as in the instances *śākiyebhiḥ*, *sattvebhiḥ*, *guṇebhiḥ*, *siṁhāsanebhiḥ*, *dārakebhiḥ*, *cheṭakebhiḥ*, employed instead of the form, *śākyaiḥ*, *sattvaiḥ*, etc., which is alone current in modern Sanskrit. It is from this older form in *ebhiḥ* that the Pāli form of the same case in *ebhi*, or *ehi*, is derived, as in the word *buddhebhi*, or *buddhehi* (Clough, Pāli, Gram., p. 19). Again, we find in the Gāthās various other cases besides those above noticed in which the case-terminations of the declension in *a* are substituted, in the case of words ending in consonants, for those proper to the latter form of declension. Thus, for *jagataḥ* and *jagati* (the gen. and loc. of *jagat*), we have *jagasya* and *jage;* for *nāmnā* (instr. of *nāman*), we have *nāmena;* for *mahātmānam* we have *mahātmam;* for *anantayaśasam* we have *anantayaśam;* for *karmaṇaḥ* (gen. of *karman*) we have *karmasya;* and for *duhitaram*, accusative of the word *duhitṛi* (ending in *ṛi*), we have *duhitām*, the accusative of feminine nouns ending in *ā*. This change is one to which the Pāli inclines (as in the form *Brahmassa*, as one of the genitives of Brahman), and to which a still more decided tendency is observable in the Prākṛit. (See Cowell's Prākṛit Gram. Introd., p. xxiii., xxiv.) On the other hand, we find also in the Gāthās instances of the quite different change of *e* into *i* in the locative, as *loki*, *gehi*, *udari*, for the proper form *loke*, *gehe*, *udare*. The particle *api* (*also*) is contracted to *pi*, as in Prākṛit; thus we have *ahampi* for *aham api*, *tubhyampi*, for *tubhyam api*, *vayampi* for *vayam api*, *napi* for *nāpi*, *tathāpi* for *tathāpi*, *punopi* for *punar api*: so also *iti* is contracted to *ti*, as in *ahanti* for *aham iti*. Again, we have the peculiar forms *jihmi*, *jihma*, and *jaha* for *yathā;* *yathariva* for *yathaiva*[144] (precisely as in Pāli; Clough's Gram., p. 11); *sīti* for *smṛiti;* *paṭhe* for *patheshu*, and *ishṭikān* for *yashṭidhārakān* (macebearers).

Many of the changes in the Gāthā verbs are in part the same which we find in Pāli. Thus, for the correct Sanskrit forms *chodayanti*, *tarpayishyanti*, *nivarttayati* and *dhārayantī*, we have *chodenti*, *tarpesh-*

[144] See the further instances of interpolation of letters already adduced above, p. 70, and note.

yati, *nivartteti* and *dharentī*, which, in Pāli, would be *chodenti*, *tappessati*, *nivaṭṭeti*, and *dharentī*. Again, for *avalambate* we have *olambate*, which would take the same form in Pāli. The modifications *avachi* for *avochat*, *munchi* for *amunchat*, *gachchhi* for *agachchhat*, *dhyāyi* for *adhyāyat*, correspond in some measure to such Pāli forms as *akāsi* for *akārshīt*, *ahāsi* for *ahārshīt*, *adāsi* for *adāt*, *ahosi* for *abhūt*, *aṭṭhāsi* for *asthāt*, *abadhi* for *abadhīt*, etc.: and *snapinsuṁ* for *snāpayāmasuḥ* or *asisnapan*, is nearly the same as the Pāli form *apachinsu*, the third person plural of the third preterite. The Gāthā forms *darśishyasi* for *drakshyasi*, *suṇishyati* for *śroshyati*, *kshipishyati* for *kshepsyati*, and *spṛiśishyati* for *sparkshyati* or *spṛakshyati*, are analogous to the Pāli forms *vedissāmi* for *vetsyāmi*, *bhuṇjissāmi* for *bhokshyāmi*, and *dessissāmi* for *dekshyāmi*. The Gāthā past indeclinable particles also, such as *bhavitvā*, *ramitvā*, *hanitvā*, *labhitvā*, *stuvitvā*, *manitvā*, *vijihitvā*, *śuṇitvā*, *spṛiśitvā* for *bhūtvā*, *mantvā*, *hatvā*, *labdhvā*, *stutvā*, *matvā*, *vi+hitvā*, *śrutvā*, and *spṛishṭvā*, are formed on the same principle as the similar Pāli ones, *pavisitvā*, *jānitvā*, *bhuṇjitvā*, for *pra + veshṭvā*, *jñātvā*, and *bhuktvā*. Of the forms *karitya* and *kariyāna* for *kṛitvā*, the latter coincides in its termination with such Pāli forms as *sutvāna* and *disvāna* for *śrutvā* and *dṛishṭvā*. Again, we have the forms *kampayantō*, *vārayanto*, *vinishkramanto*, *vīryavanto* (part. nom. sing.), for *kampayan*, etc., which coincides with the Pāli and Prākṛit. The same may be said of *pekshasi* for *prekshase*; *tāva* for *tāvat*; *smarāhi*, *kurvahi*, *bhaṇāhi*, *vasāhi*, for *smara*, *kuru*, *bhaṇa* and *vasa* respectively; *deviye* and *devīye for devyāḥ*; *tapasmi* for *tapasi*; *talasmin* for *tale*; *arhantebhiḥ* for *arhadbhiḥ*; *prabhāyā* for *prabhāyā*, *vāchāyā* for *vāchā*. For *tyaktvā* I find the word *chhorayitvā*, which does not seem to be much used in Sanskrit, though Wilson, in his Dictionary, gives *chhoraṇa* in the sense of "leaving." I quote the following additional anomalous forms, viz., *pithitā* for *pishṭā*, *pithitāni* for *prathitāni*, *visnapī* for *vyasnāpayan*, *snapit* for *snāpayitvā*, *kshipiṇsu* for *kshipantī*, *bhaviya* for *bhavet*, *pratishṭhihitvā* for *pratishṭhāya*, *datti* for *dadati*, *deti* for *dadāti*, *dāsmi* for *dāsyami*, *dīyatu* for *diyatām*, *dārthi* for *dadataḥ*, *daditu* for *dātum*, *detī*, *dadia* and *dadiya* for *dattvā*; *kurumi* for *karomi*, *karonti* for *kurvanti*, or *karishyanti*; *karoma* for *karishyāmaḥ*; *kareya* for *kuryuḥ*; *karitya*, *kariye*, and *kariyā* for *kṛitvā*; *prakarohi* for *prakuru*; *gṛihītya*, *grahiya* for *gṛihītvā*; *bhinanmi* for *bhinadmi*; *vademi* for *vadāmi*; *vyus-*

thāya for *vyutthāya*; *sthihiya* for *sthitvā*; *utthihitvā* for *utthāya*; *āruhitya* for *āruhya*, *parāhaniya* for *parāhatya*; *utthihet* for *uttishṭhet*; *charoti* for *charati*; *miṇitvā* for *matvā*; *śakkitam* and *śaktitam* for *śaktam*; *uchchhrepaya* for *utkshepaya*; *miyati* for *mriyate*; *pūrima* for *pūrva*; *vidu* for *vidvān*; *vidubhiḥ* for *vidvadbhiḥ*; *lābhase* for *lābhāya*; *saṁskṛitāttaḥ* for *saṁskṛitāt*, or *saṁskṛitataḥ*; *jānamī* for *jānāmi*; *bhāsī* for *bhāshate*; *vinenti* for *vineshyati*; *janeshi* or *janaishī*, for *janayishyati*; *adṛiśuḥ* for *adrākshuḥ*; *paśyeta* for *driśyate*; *adhyeshṭu* for *adhyetum*; *chintayā* for *chintayitvā*; *vademi* for *vadāmi*; *vandima* for *vandāmahe*; *atikrametum* for *atikramitum*. (In all these cases, I should observe, the Sanskrit equivalents are given according to the notes in the printed edition of the Lalita Vistara.) Nouns and participles are frequently lengthened by the addition of the syllable *ka*, as *rodantako*, *gachchhamānake*, *bhāshamāṇikāḥ*, *dadantikāḥ*, *roditavyakaḥ*, *āgatikāḥ*, *dāsinikāḥ* for *rudan* (or rather *rodanto*), *gachchhamāne*, *bhāshamāṇāḥ*, *dadatyaḥ*, *roditṛvyaḥ*, *āgatāḥ*, *dāsikāḥ*. This insertion of *ka* is also to be noticed in the following verses of the Vājasaneyi sanhitā, xxiii. 22, f.; where *yakā* and *asakau*, *yakaḥ* and *asakau*, stand for *yā*, *yaḥ*, and *asau*.

Very peculiar is the use of the *a* privative in *ajanehi* for *mā janaya*, "do not cause."

The use of abbreviated, or otherwise irregular, forms, such as *labhi* for *lapsyase*, or *labdhaḥ*, *gachchi* for *agachhat*, *chali* for *chalitā*, *munchi* for *amunchat*, *avachi* for *avochat*, *niveśayi* for *niveśitāḥ*, *chhādayi* for *chhādayati*, *parichari* for *paryacharaḥ* and *parichāriṇī*, *varichari* for *varāchaṇam*, *tyaji* for *tyaktā*, *tyaktvā*, and *tyaktavān*, *smari* for *smṛitam* and *smaraṇam*, *varshi* for *varshitvā*, *vraji* for *avrajat*, *sparśi* for *sprashṭum*, *utthi* for *uttishṭha* and *utthāya*, is extremely common, and, as will be seen from the equivalents following each word, these forms are very variously interpreted by the commentator, and supposed to stand for verbs in the present, past, and future tense, and in the imperative mood, and for participles active and passive, as well as for nouns. The penultimate syllable of verbs is very often lengthened, as in the Vedic *leṭ* form, as in *mochayāti*, *dharshayāti*, *sahāti*, *labhāti*, *dṛiśāsi*, *vrajāsi*, for *mochayăti*, etc., for which the commentator generally substitutes the present tense, but sometimes the past, and sometimes the future. This form is even found with the augment in *adṛiśāsi*, rendered by the commentator *paśyati* or *adrākshīt*.

I proceed with the quotations from Bābu Rājendralāl's Essay.

"Of the origin of the Gāthā nothing appears to be known for certain. M. Burnouf is inclined to attribute it to ignorance; he says:—'This fact (the difference of language of the different parts of the Vaipulya Sūtras) indicates in the clearest manner that there was another digest (of the Buddhist literature prepared, besides those of the three convocations), and it agrees with the development of the poetical pieces in which these impurities occur, in showing that those pieces do not proceed from the same hand to which the simple Sūtras owe their origin. There is nothing in the books characterized by this difference of language, which throws the smallest light on its origin. Are we to look on this as the use of a popular style which may have developed itself subsequent to the preaching of Sākya, and which would thus be intermediate between the regular Sanskrit and the Pāli,—a dialect entirely derived from, and manifestly posterior to the Sanskrit? or should we rather regard it as the crude composition of writers to whom the Sanskrit was no longer familiar, and who endeavoured to write in the learned language, which they ill understood, with the freedom which is imparted by the habitual use of a popular but imperfectly determined dialect? It will be for history to decide which of these two solutions is correct; to my mind the second appears to be the more probable one, but direct evidence being wanting, we are reduced to the inductions furnished by the very few facts as yet known. Now, these facts are not all to be found in the Nepalese collection; it is indispensably necessary, in order to understand the question in all its bearings, to consult for an instant the Singalese collection and the traditions of the Buddhists of the South. What we thence learn is, that the sacred texts are there written in Pāli; that is to say, in a dialect derived immediately from the learned idiom of the Brahmans, and which differs very little from the dialect which is found on the most ancient Buddhist monuments in India. Is it in this dialect that the poetical portions of the great Sūtras are composed? By no means; the style of these portions is an indescribable *melange*, in which incorrect Sanskrit bristles with forms of which some are entirely Pāli, and others popular in the most general sense of the term. There is no geographical name to bestow upon a language of this kind; but it is at the same time intelligible how

such a jargon may have been produced in places where the Sanskrit was not studied systematically, and in the midst of populations which had never spoken it, or had known only the dialects derived more or less remotely from the primitive source. I incline then to the belief that this part of the great Sūtras must have been written out of India, or, to express myself more precisely, in countries situated on the western side of the Indus, or in Cashmir, for example; countries where the learned language of Brahmanism and Buddhism would be cultivated with less success than in Central India. It appears to me almost impossible that the jargon of these poems could have been produced in an epoch when Buddhism flourished in Hindusthan. Then, in fact, the priests had no other choice but between these two idioms; either the Sanskrit, i.e. the language which prevails in the compositions collected at Nepal, or the Pāli, that is, the dialect which is found on the ancient Buddhist inscriptions of India, and which has been adopted by the Buddhists of Ceylon.' [145]

"This opinion," continues Bābu Rājendralāl, "we venture to think, is founded on a mistaken estimate of Sanskrit style. The poetry of the Gāthā has much artistic elegance which at once indicates that it is not the composition of men who were ignorant of the first principles of grammar. Its authors display a great deal of learning, and discuss the subtlest questions of logic and metaphysics with much tact and ability; and it is difficult to conceive that men who were perfectly familiar with the most intricate forms of Sanskrit logic, who have expressed the most abstruse metaphysical ideas in precise and often in beautiful language, who composed with ease and elegance in *Ārya*, *Toṭaka*, and other difficult measures, were unacquainted with the rudiments of the language in which they wrote, and even unable to conjugate the verb *to be*, in all its forms. This difficulty is greatly

[145] L'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, p. 105. [I have introduced a very few verbal alterations into this translation from Burnouf. Lassen, Ind. Alt., ii. p. 9, concurs in these views of Burnouf:—"The Mahāyāna Sūtras (of the Buddhists) are composed in a prose made up of a mixture of irregular Sanskrit, of Pali, and of forms borrowed from the vulgar dialects; and the narrative is repeated in verse. Such a medley of forms could only, as it appears, have arisen in a country where the learned language was no longer maintained in its purity; and, consequently, the writings in question were probably composed in the countries bordering on the Indus, and most likely in Kashmir, which plays an important part in the later history of Buddhism." (See also pp. 491, 492, and p. 1153 of the same volume.)—J.M.]

enhanced, when we bear in mind that the prose portion of the Vaipulya Sūtras is written in perfectly pure Sanskrit, and has no trace whatever of the provincialisms and popular forms so abundant in the poetry. If these Sūtras be the productions of men beyond the Indus imperfectly acquainted with the Sanskrit, how happens one portion of them to be so perfect in every respect, while the other is so impure? What could have been the object of writing the same subject twice over in the same work, once in pure prose and then in incorrect poetry?

"It might be supposed,—what is most likely the case—that the prose and the poetry are the productions of two different ages; but the question would then arise, how came they to be associated together? What could have induced the authors of the prose portions to insert in their works the incorrect productions of Trans-Indus origin? Nothing but a sense of the truthfulness and authenticity of those narratives could have led to their adoption. But how is it likely to be supposed that the most authentic account of Sākya, within three hundred years after his death, was to be had only in countries hundreds of miles away from the place of his birth, and the field of his preachings? The great Sūtras are supposed to have been compiled about the time of the third convocation (309 B.C.), when it is not at all likely that the sages of central India would have gone to Cashmere in search of data, which could be best gathered at their own threshold.

"The more reasonable conjecture appears to be that the Gāthā is the production of bards, who were contemporaries or immediate successors of Sākya, who recounted to the devout congregations of the prophet of Magadha the sayings and doings of their great teacher, in popular and easy flowing verses, which in course of time came to be regarded as the most authentic source of all information connected with the founder of Buddhism. The high estimation in which the ballads and improvisations of bards are held in India and particularly in the Buddhist writings, favours this supposition; and the circumstance that the poetical portions are generally introduced in corroboration of the narrative of the prose, with the words: *Tatredam uchyate*, 'Thereof this may be said,' affords a strong presumptive evidence."

In a review of Burnouf's "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," Professor Weber (in the Indische Studien, iii. pp. 139, 140) remarks as follows on the

views expressed by Burnouf in the preceding passage in regard to the language of the Gāthās:—

"The last reason (viz. that Sanskrit was cultivated with less success in Kashmir than in Central India) is an incorrect one; since, on the contrary, it is precisely in the north-west of India that the proper seat of Indian grammatical learning appears to have existed. As regards the fact itself, Burnouf may be right, and the jargon of those poetical portions may have actually been at one time the local dialect of Kashmir, which would preserve a far more exact resemblance to the ancient form of speech, than did the Pāli and Prakrit dialects which were developed in India proper under the influence of the aborigines, who spoke differently. But as Burnouf urges elsewhere, that the more recent a Buddhistic work is, the purer and more correct is its language, it appears to me more natural to assume that these poetical portions are fragments of older traditions; because, if they were more recent than the rest of the text, there is no good ground on which to account for their deviating from them in point of language; or if there were a difference, one would expect that the poetical parts would be more correct than the prose. This is in fact the view taken in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1851, p. 283, where the Lalita Vistara is said to have been 'compiled in Sanskrit about the end of the sixth century from ballads in an obsolete patois of that language, composed evidently by bards at a much earlier period.'"

In regard to the point on which Bābu Rājendralāl is at issue with the views of M. Burnouf, I will not venture to express any opinion. The peculiarities of the Gāthā dialect are so anomalous that it is very difficult to explain them. In any case, it is clear that, if not a spoken language, it was at least a written language in a remote age: and it therefore exemplifies to us some portion of the process by which the Sanskrit was broken down and corrupted into the derivative dialects which sprang out of it.

I subjoin the concluding passage of Bābu Rājendralāl's dissertation, in which he states his opinion in regard to the periods at which the successive modifications of Sanskrit were spoken in India.

"The language of the Gāthā is believed, by M. Burnouf, to be intermediate between the Pāli and the pure Sanskrit. Now, as the

Pāli was the vernacular language of India from Cuttack to Kapurdagiri within three hundred years after the death of Śākya, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Gāthā which preceded it was the dialect of the million at the time of Śākya's advent. If our conjecture in this respect be right, it would follow that the Sanskrit passed into the Gāthā six hundred years before the Christian era; that three hundred years subsequently it changed into the Pāli; and that thence, in two hundred years more, proceeded the Prākṛit and its sister dialects the Śaurasenī, the Drāviḍi,[146] and the Panchāli, which in their turn formed the present vernacular dialects of India."

I have thus (as I originally proposed in Section I.) passed in review the various phases through which the vernacular speech of Northern India has gone since it began to deviate from the forms of its parent Sanskrit. Commencing with the provincial dialects of our own day, the Hindī, Mahrattī, Bengalī, etc., which diverge the most widely from the original tongue, I have attempted to ascend, successively, from the more recent to the more ancient mediæval vernaculars, and to trace backwards their gradual approach in form and structure to the language of the Vedas. In Section I. the modern vernaculars are considered. In Sections II.—IV. the dialects entitled Prākṛit are described; and it has there been proved that they were either themselves the spoken tongues, or at least closely akin to the spoken tongues, of northern India before the modern vernaculars came into existence, and shown, by a variety of illustrations, that the former approach much more closely to the Sanskrit than the latter. In Section V. an account has been given of the Pāli; and it has been demonstrated at length that it, in its turn, is more ancient in its grammatical forms than the Prākṛits are, and departs less widely than they do from the Sanskrit. In Section VI. I have supplied some description of the language employed in the rock inscriptions of Piyadasi; by which it is put beyond a doubt that different dialects resembling the Pāli were in vernacular

[146] [If by the Drāvidi is meant the Telugu, or any of its cognate languages, it is a mistake to class it with the northern Prākṛits.—J.M.]

use in northern India in the third century B.C. And finally, in Section VII., I have described a form of corrupt Sanskrit occurring in the Gāthās or narrative poems in which the actions of Buddha were recounted at a period apparently preceding the Christian era.

It is not necessary that I should be able to point out the exact relative antiquity of the Pāli, of the language of the inscriptions, and of the language of the Gāthās. We have seen (p. 59) that the Pāli has some grammatical forms which are older than those of the inscriptions; and *vice versâ*. It is sufficient to say that all these three different dialects exhibit a form of Indian speech which is of greater antiquity than the Prākṛits of the dramatic poems; and that they illustrate to us some of the earliest stages of the process by which the original spoken language of India, i.e. the early Sanskrit, was disintegrated and corrupted.

SECT. VIII.—*On the original use of Sanskrit as a vernacular tongue; on the manner in which the Prākṛits arose out of it, and on the period of their formation: views of Professors Weber, Aufrecht, Lassen, and Benfey.*

From the above review of the spoken dialects of India, commencing with the modern vernaculars, and going back to the Prākṛits and the Pāli, we discover, as has been repeatedly stated, that the older these dialects are, the more closely do they resemble the Sanskrit, in the forms of the words themselves, as well as in the modes of their declension and conjugation. Judging by the great differences which we find between the modern Indian languages and the oldest forms of the vernacular dialects, and by the gradual changes through which the latter have at length passed into the former, we can have no difficulty in concluding that the very oldest known forms of the Prākṛits also had, in earlier ages, undergone similar mutations, and had at one time been different in some respects from the languages which have been handed down to us: and that the further back these dialects went, the fewer and smaller were their deviations from the oldest forms of Sanskrit, till they at length merged altogether in that parent language, and were, in fact, identical with it. And as there is no doubt that

these Prākṛit dialects, in the oldest forms in which we can trace them, were spoken languages, so we are further entitled to conclude that the Sanskrit itself was at one time, i.e., at the period before the Prākṛits broke off from it, a vernacularly spoken language.

Before, however, proceeding to the particular proof of this, I shall first of all present some general speculations of Professors Weber, Lassen, Benfey, and Aufrecht, on the anterior elements out of which the Prākṛits (under which term I include all the old vernacular languages derived from Sanskrit) were developed, and the process by which their formation was effected.

The following is Professor Weber's account of the way in which he conceives the Prākṛits to have arisen:— [147]

"I take this opportunity of once more declaring myself decidedly against a commonly received error. It has been concluded (as by Spiegel against Röth) from the existence (in inscriptions) of Prakrit dialects in the centuries immediately preceding our era, that the Sanskrit language had died out before these dialects were formed; whereas we must, on the contrary, regard the development of both the Sanskrit and the Prakrit dialects from one common source, viz. the Indo-Arian speech, as entirely contemporaneous. . . . . For a fuller statement of this view I refer to my 'Vājasaneyi-Sanhitæ Specimen,' ii., 204–6; and, in proof of what I have urged there, I adduce here the fact that the principal laws of Prakrit speech, viz. assimilation, hiatus, and a fondness for cerebrals and aspirates, are prominent in the Vedas, of which the following are examples: *kuṭa=kṛita, R. V., i. 46, 4; kāṭa=karta (above, p. 30): geha=gṛiha (above, p. 40); guggulu=gungulu, Kātyāy., 5, 4, 17; viviṭṭyai=vivishṭyai, Taitt. Arany., x. 58 (Drāv.); yāvatsaḥ=yāvatyaḥ, Śatap. Br. ii. 2, 3, 4 (yāvachaḥ Cod. Mill., according to the second hand, and in Sāyaṇa); kṛikalāsa, Vṛih. Ār. Mā., i. 3, 22=kṛikadāśu, Rik., i. 29, 7; purodāśa=purolāśa (comp. daśru=lacryma); paḍbhiḥ=padbhiḥ; kshullaka=kshudraka; bhallāksha=bhadrāksha, Chhāndogya, 6, 1 (gloss); vikiriḍa=vikiridra (above, p. 31); gabhasti=grabhasti, or garbhasti; nighaṇṭu=nigranthu; ghas=gras; bhanj=bhranj (or branj); bhuj=bhruj; bhand=blandus; bhas=bras. In the latter cases an *r* has dropped out, after it had aspirated the preceding consonants. . . . .

[147] Indische Studien, ii. p. 87, note.

Comparative philology exhibits similar phonetic prakritizings within the circle of the Indo-Germanic languages as compared the one with the other." The same writer says in his Vājas. Sanh. Specimen, ii. 203, ff.:[148] "I incline to the opinion of those who deny that the Sanskrit Bhāshā, properly so called, was ever the common spoken language of the whole Arian people, and assign it to the learned alone. Just as our modern high-German, arising out of the ancient dialects of the Germans, reduced what was common to all to universal rules and laws, and by the power of analogy obliterated all recollection of varieties; and just as, on the other hand, these dialects, while they gradually degenerated, often preserved at the same time fuller and more ancient forms; so also the Vedic dialects became partly combined in one stream, in which their individual existence was lost, and so formed the regular Sanskrit Bhāshā, and partly flowed on individually in their own original (Prākṛita) irregular force, and continued to be the idioms of different provinces, in the corruption of which they participated. The Sanskrit language and the Prakrit dialects had, therefore, a common and simultaneous origin: the latter did not spring out of the former, but rather, being connected by a natural bond with the ancient language, have often a more antique fashion than the Sanskrit, which, being shaped and circumscribed by the rules of grammarians, has sacrificed the truth of analogy for the sake of regularity. The Prakrit tongues are nothing else than ancient Vedic dialects in a state of degeneracy; while the Sanskrit (or Epic) bhāshā is the sum of the Vedic dialects constructed by the labour and zeal of grammarians, and polished by the skill of learned men. In this way we obtain an explanation of two facts: 1st, That the very same exceptions which are conceded by grammarians to the Vedic language (*chhandas*) are often found in the Prakrit dialects, being in fact nothing but original forms; and 2nd, That in the Vedic writings, forms and words occur which are more irregular than any Sanskrit word could ever be; for as yet no fixed rules of euphony, orthography, or formation existed,—rules which were eventually deduced in part from those very irregularities. All the irregular forms which prevail in the Prakrit tongues are to be found throughout the Vedas. In the latter, the faculty which creates language is seen exuberant in its early power,

[148] Reprinted in Indische Studien, ii. pp. 110, 111.

while in the former (the Prakrits) it is seen in the degeneracy of full-blown licence, luxuriating wantonness, and at last of senile weakness. Assimilation, the hiatus, and a fondness for cerebrals and aspirates, play an important part in the Vedas, not so much in those portions which are peculiar to the Yajur-veda (which, as forming a transition from the Vedic to the Epic period, or rather itself initiating the Epic period, has also a style of language of a more modern cast, and adapted to grammatical rules), as in the older forms and words of the Rigveda; many of which were difficult to understand in the age of the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas (*parokṣavṛittayaḥ:* comp. Roth, p. li. Nighaṇṭavaḥ). There occur moreover in the Epic poems many words which, however corrupted, have been received into the Sanskrit sometimes with no change, sometimes with very little, from the Prakrit languages in use among the greater part of the people. Of this the word *govinda* is a clear example, which, according to the ingenious conjecture of Gildemeister, is nothing but *gobinda* derived from *gopendra*."

Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with the following remarks on the preceding passages:—"I consider that in his account of the origin of the Prākṛit dialects, Professor Weber goes much too far in stating them to be contemporaneous with the Veda dialect. The examples which he gives are, I conceive, partly erroneous, partly collected from *late* books, and consequently unsuited to establish his assertion. I incline to the opinion that the language of the Rigveda was at one time universally spoken, not through the whole of India, but the Punjab, that is in the original seats of the Arians. The dialects sprang from it, on the one hand, because the greater part of the population were non-Arians, and naturally corrupted a language which was forced upon them. On the other part, it is likely that the conquerors were forced to marry Śūdra women (hence the warning against such marriages in Manu), who introduced the vulgar tongue into the family. In the last instance, I believe that, by a political revolution, the original tribes recovered the government, and that then the language of the masses began to prevail. I agree with Professor Weber in believing that Sanskrit proper, that is, the language of the Epic poems, the law books, nay even that of the Brāhmaṇas, was never actually spoken, except in schools or by the learned."

This theory of Professor Weber, even if it were correct, would not

be inconsistent with the conclusion which I hope ultimately to establish, viz., that the language out of which the Prākṛits grew had itself been subject to mutation prior to their evolution out of it. It would only imply that no one such language as Sanskrit existed during the Vedic era, but was then represented by a number of what (to distinguish them from the Prākṛits) I may call Sanskritic dialects, which, by the continued action of a modifying process all along at work in them, were, on the one hand, gradually formed into the dialects which received the name of Prākṛit, while, on the other hand, by a reverse process of aggregation and construction, another language of a different character, and previously non-existent, became developed out of them, under the appellation of Sanskrit.

Weber's theory, however, taken in its full extent, appears to me to be disproved by the fact that, in its forms, the Vedic Sanskrit is (excepting some archaisms) nearly identical with the Epic, while it is very different from even the oldest type of Prākṛit. It is no answer to this that some old Vedic forms, such as the instrumental in *ebhis*, reappear in the Prākṛits; for it need not be asserted that, at the earliest period when the Prākṛits began to be formed, the Sanskrit did not still retain many of its Vedic forms.

I will now adduce two quotations of considerable length from Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. ii., pp. 1147–1149, and 1151–1153, on the history of the languages of Northern India, in the course of which he replies to the preceding observations of Weber.

"The inscription of the Sinha Prince Rudradāman, which dates from the year 85 B.C., is written in Sanskrit prose, of an artificial character, with long compound words. From this fact we may infer that Sanskrit was no longer spoken by the common people, but only by the Brahmans and other persons in the higher classes."

"It has been already shown (p. 486) that in Aśoka's time the common people spoke dialects derived from the sacred language, and that, at that time, there were at least three such dialects; of which one prevailed in Eastern India, the second in Guzerat, and the third in Eastern Cabul. The existence of a fourth, of which the seat was perhaps in Upper Rajasthan, is attested by the inscription of Meghavāhana. It is highly probable that the popular Indian dialects existed at a still earlier period than this [the age of Aśoka was

263–226 B.C., and that of Meghavāhana 110 A.D.[149]]; for the accounts of Buddha's sayings and doings appear to have existed in a double form, i.e. both in the vernacular tongues and in Sanskrit. I do not venture to assume that the vernacular tongues originated much earlier. It is indeed true that we find in the Vedic hymns some individual traces of those corruptions which in Prākrit have become the rule and characteristic feature of the language. But we must assume a long period to have intervened between these isolated appearances and their full-blown development, as exhibited in particular local dialects. I do not, therefore, believe in a contemporaneous development, side by side, of the Sanskrit and the Prakrit tongues out of the one common source of the Indo-Arian language; but I assume that it was not till long after the immigration of the Indo-Arians that the Prakrits were

[149] Lassen, App. pp. x. xxiii. I add another passage on the subject of the mutations of the Sanskrit, and the period at which they may be supposed to have arisen, from Lassen's work, p. 592, f., 2nd ed.: "The fact now established, that in Aśoka's time Sanskrit was no longer the general vernacular language, is of the greatest importance for judging of the older literature. As Aśoka promulgated his ordinances, which were intended for the entire people, not in Sanskrit, but in three vernacular dialects differing more or less from one another, it follows that the old mother-tongue had already become limited to a smaller circle of the population. But such a corruption of language is not the work of a few years; the Sanskrit must have begun centuries before to be resolved into the popular dialects; we will not here take into account the tradition that the Buddhists from the commencement announced their new doctrine in Prākrit. The Epic poems nowhere allude to the different classes of auditors being unable to understand each other: nor have I yet found any reference to a diversity of speech among the Āryans. The Epic language now is manifestly the product of speech still fresh, flexible, and living in the mouth of the people; we can point out the first beginnings of the Epic style and versification in the Upanishads and in the hymns of the Veda, and can thus establish the high antiquity of this style. In the Sanskrit literature subsequent to Aśoka's time, even in the oldest inscriptions, we find the artificial language of later ages; and the same is the case in the dramas, which belong to this later period, in which we also meet with vernacular dialects for the lower orders. Although the Epic style is still maintained in this later age, it is easily seen, as in the Purānas, that a living stream of speech does not flow here; just as in the case of Apollonius and Callimachus, we perceive that they had not learnt the Homeric dialect from their nurses; the language is a learned, though often very clever, imitation. These considerations convince me that the Epic style was completely formed before the time of Aśoka, and even much earlier, and that we have it before us in its original genuineness. Hence I believe also that on the score of language no valid objection can be alleged against the position that after the critical separation of later elements, we possess in the Epic poems a rich and genuine store of ancient and genuine tradition."

formed in the several provinces of India. I further regard it as improbable that the Prakrits arose out of one particular dialect of the Sanskrit; for no dialects of the Sanskrit have yet been pointed out. An account is to be found, it is true, in an ancient record, according to which the Sanskrit had been preserved in greater purity in the northern countries than elsewhere, and Kashmir and Badari, at the source of the Ganges, are specified by the commentator as such regions. This, however, is not sufficient to prove that in the different provinces of India there were then fundamental differences in the sacred language.

"No conclusion in regard to the existence of dialectic varieties in the Sanskrit can be drawn from the fact that the Prakrit dialects have all preserved the form of the instrumental plural in *hi* (derived from *bhis*), in words ending in *a*, while the modern Sanskrit has lost this form; for the ancient form in *ebhis* is not peculiar to any particular Vedic writings. The preservation of this form only proves that the Prakrit dialects began to be formed at an early period, when the termination in question was in frequent use. The early adoption, too, into Sanskrit of words which had become modified according to the laws of the Prakrit dialects, testifies, not so much to the early creation of popular dialects widely different from each other, as to the mere beginnings of such. We have to regard the causes of the varieties in the Indian dialects as twofold. The first is that general one, which has operated also in other languages, and which is indeed the principal, viz., those peculiarities connected with the abodes and the character of the tribes into which a people becomes divided. The reason why they have so operated, as they actually have, is in individual instances often difficult, nay, impossible, to assign. In this way, five principal modern languages, the Provençal, French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, have arisen out of the Latin. Of these languages, the second, the fourth, and the fifth are rich in dialects. The second cause is (as has been already noticed) a special one,—I mean the influence exercised on the Prakrit dialects by the languages of the aboriginal tribes adopted into the Indian political system, who discarded their own form of speech and adopted the Indo-Arian language of the province in which they dwelt. These aboriginal tribes contributed, in some instances, to introduce peculiar varieties into the

Prakrit dialects. When these aborigines were particularly savage and uncultivated, it could scarcely fail to happen that they occasioned very great corruptions of sound and form in the Indo-Arian languages."

The second passage is as follows:—

"It is in the period with which we are now occupied (i.e. that between Vikramāditya and the later Gupta kings) that the appellations Sanskrit for the classical language, and Prakrit for the forms of speech springing from it, must have arisen; because it was now that the distinction between the classical language (which was no longer employed as a spoken tongue except by the Brahmans and highest classes) and the popular dialects became decidedly marked. It has been maintained that Sanskrit was never the common popular dialect of the Arian Indians, but owed its origin only to the learned; and that the Vedic dialects coalesced, on the one hand, in a single language, and so created the regular Sanskrit, in which they were lost; and on the other hand, in virtue of their inherent character, became corrupted and irregular, and in this corrupt form continued to exist as the vernacular dialects of particular provinces. I must dissent from this view on the following grounds: First, it has not yet been proved (as I have already, p. 1148, observed) that there were any different dialects in the Vedic language. To prove that there were, it must be shown that in contemporaneous Vedic writings there are found variations of such an essential character as to justify us in assuming a variety of dialects: varieties observable in writings belonging to different ages only show that there was a progressive departure from an earlier condition of the language. Secondly, it is necessary that we be agreed as to what we mean by language. If thereby we mean the style of expression, then it may be asserted of many languages which have attained a higher degree of perfection by being employed in literature or in public assemblies, that they were not popular languages. The Athenians and Romans certainly did not, in their ordinary life, express themselves in the same style in which their orators spoke; and we Germans permit ourselves to make use of many turns of expression which we deny ourselves in books. So too we may suppose that the Indians of the earliest age did not ordinarily speak the same language which their poets employed. If, on the other hand, by language we mean grammatical forms, I cannot see

why the Indians should not in the earliest ages have made use of the same as the contemporary poets employed. This certainly was the case also in the succeeding periods. To this it must be added that Pāṇini, the oldest of the three grammarians who are styled saints, uses the word *bhāshā* (speech) to designate the ordinary language in contradistinction to the Vedic, and employs as synonymous with *bhāshāyām* the word *loke*, i.e. in the world. The language which the Sanskrit-speaking Indians then spoke cannot, therefore, have been different from this *bhāshā*, or current form of speech. Its fate in contrast to that of its daughters has been a peculiar one. Whilst among the Greeks the Attic dialect became the general language of prose composition, ... and the other dialects became less and less prominent, ... and whilst in Germany the new high-German, from its use in literature and education, has more and more superseded the popular dialects, the sacred speech of the Brahmans, on the contrary, continued to lose ground, not so much in local extension, as in its employment by the different classes of the population in the same countries. It may be assumed that in the time of Aśoka the greater part of the people in the countries inhabited by Arian Indians spoke the local dialects, and that only the Brahmans and the principal persons spoke Sanskrit. On this circumstance the distribution of the dialects in the dramas rests. As the kings who were inclined to the Buddhist religion permitted only the popular dialects to be used in their inscriptions and coins, it becomes probable that they did the same thing in their decrees, and for other purposes."

The following remarks relating to the early extension and vernacular employment of Sanskrit, to its subsequent disuse as a spoken language, and to its ultimate resuscitation in a somewhat modified form, as a refined and sacred dialect, are translated, with occasional abridgment, from Prof. Benfey's article on India (above referred to), p. 245, ff. :—

"The language which we now call Sanskrit was once, as both the ancient and modern dialects which have issued from it distinctly show, the prevalent popular speech in the greatest part of India. Alongside of it there existed in the remotest times several dialects of one or more languages, not related to it, of the aborigines of India; which languages had at first a wider, and in later times a continually decreasing, extension. The period when Sanskrit began to spread itself

over India cannot be decided any more than the era of the immigration of the people who spoke it. We can only determine the following points: First, in regard to extension; (1) the Sanskrit once prevailed over a considerable tract west of the Indus, as is shown both by many geographical names in those regions, by the accounts of Chinese travellers, and by the languages which are now found existing there; (2) to the north, the Sanskrit or its dialects prevailed as far as the Himālaya and the Indian Caucasus; (3) to the east, in the time of Aśoka, as far as the region of the Brahmaputra, though this region was not entirely Sanskritized; (4) to the south, Sanskrit exercised nearly its full sway as far as the southern frontiers of Mahārāshṭra: this is proved by the fact that one of the dialects which are most decidedly of Sanskrit origin, namely, the Prakrit pre-eminently so named, is also called the language of Mahārāshṭra, and is manifestly the parent of the modern Mahratti; (5) Sanskrit penetrated still further to the south, where it formed the language of educated people: but this occurred at a time when the Sanskrit-speaking race had not sufficient power entirely to expel the indigenous language, as they were able to do in Northern India with a very few isolated exceptions.

"Second, as to the time when Sanskrit was the language of the people we can determine as follows: We find in Aśoka's time two vernacular dialects, one in Guzerat, and the other in Magadha, which, as their entire structure shows, could not have existed alongside of, i.e. contemporaneously with, the Sanskrit, but must have become further developed in those provinces after the Sanskrit had previously prevailed there: consequently the Sanskrit must have died out before Aśoka, who lived in the third century B.C., and therefore about three centuries after the period to which the rise of Buddhism may with great probability be assigned. Now it is related to us of the first Buddhists, that they composed their books not in Sanskrit, but in the vernacular dialects. The sacred language of Buddhism is the Pali, which, though varying in many particulars from the language of Magadha, and approximating to the principal Prakrit (the Mahārāshtrī), stands yet in a similar relation to the Sanskrit as the latter, and the two dialects of Aśoka's inscriptions. It becomes, therefore, highly probable that at the period when Buddhism arose, i.e. about

the sixth century B.C., Sanskrit was no longer the speech of the people. The entire character of Sanskrit shows that, at the time of its acme, it was fixed by means of something resembling a literature, and it is only on this supposition that we can comprehend how it appears in regions so far apart as the north and north-west of India and the Mahratta country, as a perfectly uniform basis of the dialects which sprang out it. But a speech which becomes fixed in such a manner does not soon die out. If we assume about three centuries for the time of its gradual extinction, the period when Sanskrit was the ordinary language of the people is thrown back to about the ninth century before Christ. During this and the immediately preceding period there existed, as we have already conjectured, a political union which embraced the entire Indian empire; and as we now know that Sanskrit must have been the actual speech of the people in the Mahratta country also at this period, we may conceive this political union to have extended from the Himālaya to the south of the Mahratta country. After this political unity had become severed (till the period of its restoration under Chandragupta), the various elements of Indian life became separately developed in the different provinces; and this was the case with the Sanskrit, too, which up to that time had been common to all. Out of this variety of local developments which the Sanskrit underwent, its different derivative languages arose, the earliest forms of which bore about the same relation to Sanskrit as the Romanic dialects to Latin.

"But while the Sanskrit was being thus developed and modified by popular use into new vernacular dialects, the literature which had been created in Sanskrit while it was yet a living tongue was still preserved in the schools[150] of the Brahmans, and along with it the Sanskrit itself as the sacred language of culture and science. When aroused to new energy by the attack made upon their system by the Buddhists, the Brahmans came forward with certain writings composed in this sacred language, and declared to be of primeval antiquity: one of the earliest of these was the Institutes of Manu; and then followed

[150] "Though we have no distinct external evidence that there were any such schools at this early period, we may yet appeal to the whole intellectual development of Indian life, in the form which it must have taken even before the rise of Buddhism, as evidence of their existence."

the Rāmāyana. But external grounds, as well as the mention which they make of the Yavanas (Greeks), prove these works to have been composed at a much later period than that to which they are alleged to belong. In like manner the treatment of the language in these books, and still more in the Sanskrit literature which follows, and is connected with them, demonstrates that they cannot possibly have proceeded from a popular dialect, but, on the contrary, are the products of a learned, or rather a sacred language, which, having died out among the mass of the people, had been preserved in the circle of the educated priesthood as the medium of intercourse with the gods, and of communicating the sacred sciences, and was cultivated with the liveliest zeal and devotion. Out of this circle again Sanskrit passed over to those persons who stood in connexion with the priests as members of the same administrative caste. When the Brahmans recovered their predominance, Sanskrit became for a time the language of the educated classes, of the court, and the administration [151] generally: and even the Buddhists could not abstain from employing so valuable an instrument of cultivation. We have only to recollect the manner in which the Latin, though long a dead language, remained in use throughout the middle ages, and even in our own time, in order to perceive clearly how the Sanskrit also, though it had died out as a vernacular tongue between the ninth and sixth centuries B.C., should yet have held its ground in the highest circles, and continued in use there to such an extent that it can even now be employed as an instrument for the expression of thought on the highest subjects. The Sanskrit had, however, here an important advantage over the Latin in this respect, that wherever Brahmanism prevailed it was regarded as a sacred language, as all the most sacred books of that religion were composed in it. In consequence of this opinion, it was considered a religious merit to be even acquainted with it; and a Sanskrit grammar, or other work which contributed to a knowledge of this language, was and is looked upon as a sacred book. In the same way a knowledge of Hebrew was long preserved among the

[151] [We have another instance of a language not vernacular in India being used as the language of administration, in the Persian, which, though unintelligible to the mass of the people, was used by the Mahomedans, and after them, for many years (until about thirty years ago), by the English, as the language of the law courts and the revenue offices.—J.M.]

Jews; and even so late as, perhaps, sixty years ago, no one among them could lay claim to the character of a learned man unless he had learnt the 'sacred language.'" . . . .

"At the period when the dramatic literature assumed its fixed form (a period which cannot yet be determined, but which may be conjecturally placed in the sixth or seventh century A.D.), the knowledge of Sanskrit must have extended, on the one hand, to all who laid claim to the character of educated men, for otherwise the dramatic poets could not have composed in Sanskrit the leading parts in plays designed for representation before the entire public; and on the other hand it must have been constantly used as the language of public documents, of religion, and of learned men, for otherwise it could scarcely have been put into the mouth of gods, kings, and priests. Whether Sanskrit was at that time the proper court-language, I cannot determine; but I scarcely think it was, as the officers of the state, if not Brahmans, do not use it."

Professor Benfey then proceeds to specify the differences between the ancient form of the Sanskrit when it was still a vernacular language, and the later form which it took after its regeneration as a sacred and learned form of speech, so far as he considered himself in a position to do so at a period (1840) when he had before him but a small portion of the Vedas, which furnish us with almost the only means we can have of judging what the earlier language was.[152] He remarks: "The late Sanskrit is distinguished from the Vedic by the use of extravagantly long compounds. Even if the specimens of the Vedas and the Upanishads which are known to me had not shown that in this respect there is an essential difference in the use of the Sanskrit at the two periods to which I refer, it might have been concluded with certainty, from the character and length of these compounds, that such monstrosities could not have been created at a

[152] Had these observations been written now, Professor Benfey would probably have seen no cause to modify his main conclusions, though he would have been in a position to express himself with greater confidence and precision. [Note in first edition, 1860.] In his review of the first edition of this work in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen, already referred to, p. 135, Prof. Benfey writes as follows: "I would, now that the differences between the Vedic language and the Sanskrit, which was formed by a process of regeneration, are more exactly known, say Vedic or old[-Sanskrit instead of Sanskrit]." See Weber's remark above, p. 68.

time when the language was in vernacular use. Such compounds might occasionally have been used with effect; but a living language would have energetically rejected such an abuse of these forms as we find in the late Sanskrit writings, which renders all easy comprehension impossible. On the other hand, the effort to employ such compounds was quite suitable to a learned language, and to a learned poetry, which was far removed from the real life of the people. In like manner the laws of Sandhi, as practised in its widest extent in later Sanskrit, must have been equally foreign to the ancient vernacular Sanskrit. In late Sanskrit all the words of a sentence are combined in one immense whole by the assimilation, or other connexion, of their final and initial letters. This rule does not, in general, prevail in the Vedas; and although it is well known that in actual discourse the final and initial letters of words exercise a certain modifying influence upon each other, every one who has considered the limited extent to which a vernacular dialect, and even a literary work composed in such a dialect, can obey this law, and who, at the same time, knows to what extremes the modern Sanskrit pushes the application of this rule, will be convinced that the excessive employment of Sandhi cannot have sprung out of any popular use, but must have resulted from carrying out to an absurd extent a grammatical canon which is correct in itself.

"Further, when the later Sanskrit is accurately examined, it is found to be affected in a most important degree by the influence of the popular dialects derived from the more ancient Sanskrit. The Indians, with their genius for grammar, or philology generally, were in general well aware of the modifications which the ancient language had received from the dialects which had been developed out of it: they had investigated the phonetic laws by which these dialects had been derived from their parent, and could, as it were, transport the former back to the latter. This facility threw them off their guard; and it consequently becomes possible for us to demonstrate that the Sanskrit of the whole Indian literature subsequent to Manu's Institutes, cannot be in all respects the ancient language of the people, with a degree of distinctness which none of the Sanskrit authors, convinced as they were that they were writing correct ancient Sanskrit, could have imagined. I must confine myself here to exhibiting the principal elements of this proof. It is divisible into two parts; as we must

(1) maintain that the new Sanskrit has lost[153] much which the older Sanskrit had, and which it could only lose from the circumstance that it had died out in the intermediate period, and had now to be revived in a form which might be as intelligible as possible. To this head belong a number of roots and inflected forms which the grammarians recognize and adduce partly as current, and partly as obsolete, but of which the later Sanskrit makes next to no use. The reason of this is that these roots, as well as these inflected forms, were either entirely lost in the vernacular dialects which existed at the time when the new Sanskrit was created, or had become so disfigured that their Sanskrit form could not have been easily discovered or understood. (2) The new Sanskrit contains in it much that the old Sanskrit could not have had. To this head belong a number of forms of roots which had become modified according to the laws of some one vernacular dialect, and which have been employed in the new Sanskrit in this modified shape, which the grammarians either hesitated to refer to its proper Sanskrit form, or did not comprehend. Every single example of this which might be adduced would, however, require detailed development and proof, which would demand too much space to be here attempted.

"I will, therefore, content myself with repeating the main results of the investigations which have been here merely indicated, and in great part yet remain to be carried out. These results are: That from the period when the Sanskrit-speaking race immigrated into India down to perhaps the ninth century B.C., Sanskrit became diffused as the prevailing vernacular dialect over the whole of Hindustan, as far as the southern borders of the Mahratta country. It penetrated no further south as a vernacular tongue, but only as the language of education, and apparently at a later period. From the ninth century B.C. the Sanskrit began to die out: derivative dialects became de-

[153] "The Sanskrit has lost a great many verbal roots, and has frequently modified the original meaning of those still in existence."—Aufrecht, Uṇādisūtras, pref. p. viii. "In the course of time some branches of literature disappeared, a number of words became antiquated, and the tradition as to their meaning was either entirely lost or corrupted. When commentators arose to explain the Uṇādisūtras," —supposed by Professor Aufrecht (p. ix.) to be considerably older than Pāṇini,— "they found the greater part of the words contained in them still employed in the literature of their age, or recorded in older dictionaries. But an unknown residuum remained, and to these, whenever tradition failed them, they were bold enough to assign quite arbitrary significations."—Ibid. pp. vi. xii.

veloped from it; and in the sixth century B.C. it had become extinct as a vernacular language. On the other hand, it maintained its ground in the schools of the Brahmans. About the third century B.C., in consequence of the regeneration of Brahmanism in Kanouj, it was brought back into public life as a sacred language, and gained a gradually increasing importance as the organ of all the higher intellectual development. About the fifth century A.D., it had become diffused in this character over the whole of India. So long as the empire of the Hindus lasted, it continued to increase in estimation; and even long after the Mahomedans had settled in India, it was almost the sole instrument for the expression of the highest intellectual efforts."

I conclude this section by quoting from an article by Mr. Beames in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1870, vol. v., new series, pp. 149, f., the following remarks on the relation of the Prākṛits to the "Old-Āryan" language:—

"In assuming that the languages of the first period" (the Prākṛits and Pāli) "are later than Sanskrit, I do not lose sight of the fact that historically they were contemporaneous with it. But I call them 'neo-Āryan,' because the majority of their forms exhibit a decadence from some more perfect condition. It is true that, not only in classical, but even in Vedic, Sanskrit forms are found which exhibit a perfect Prākrit type; but this does not prevent the general run of Prākrit from showing unmistakable signs of having degenerated from a purer and stronger ancient language, which we cannot call Sanskrit, because it is older still than even the language of the Vedas, and which therefore may, when necessary, be called 'Old Āryan.'

"It is a highly probable theory that the 'Old Āryan,' like all other languages, began to be modified in the mouths of the people as early as the Vedic period, and that the Brahmans, at a subsequent date, in order to prevent the further degeneration of their language, polished, elaborated, and stiffened it into the classical Sanskrit. We cannot, however, suppose that they brought any new material into the language, but simply that they reduced to rule what was till then vague and irregular, that they extended to the whole of the language euphonic laws which had been till then only of partial application, and so forth; all the while, however, only working upon already existing materials. It will, therefore, not militate against the established con-

temporaneous existence of learned Sanskrit and popular Prākrit, to consider the former as in general the representative of the original Old Āryan, and, consequently, as so far older than the Prākrit; because, ex hypothesi, in Sanskrit most of what existed in Old Āryan has not only been preserved, but worked up and expanded, while in the Prākrit, on the contrary, not only has much been absolutely lost, but that which remains has been corrupted and debased. Besides, as nothing whatever of the Old Āryan has been preserved, or is likely to be discovered (although much may be, and has been, guessed at from analogy), we are driven, whether we like it or no, to look to Sanskrit for the oldest extant forms; and we do, undoubtedly, find them there, as contrasted with Prākrit and Pāli."[154]

Sect. IX.—*Reasons for supposing that the Sanskrit was originally a spoken language.*

It appears from the passages cited from the works of Professors Lassen and Benfey, that these distinguished scholars assume that the Sanskrit (by which, no doubt, must be understood a language in some respects different from the later Sanskrit, and more akin to the Vedic dialect) was once a spoken tongue, regarding this as a fact which admits of no question: while Professor Weber is of opinon that the only Indo-Ārian speech which existed at the early period to which I refer had not yet been developed into Sanskrit, but was still a vernacular tongue.[155] As, however, what seems so clear to the European scholar,—viz., that Sanskrit in its earlier form was a spoken language,—may not be so plain to the Indian reader, it becomes necessary for me to adduce the most distinct evidence of the fact which I am able to discover.

[154] With reference to a question already discussed, see pp. 31, ff., I add the following sentences from Mr. Beames's article, p. 150:—"With regard to the languages of the second period, it must be explained that I do not intend to touch on the obscure question of how far non-Āryan elements enter into their composition. Much there is which is still doubtful, but this is admitted on all hands, that a very large proportion of their constituent parts is of Āryan origin."

[155] Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 1. His words, as translated, are these:—"In its earliest period the Indo-âryan speech had not yet become Sanskrit, i.e. the language of cultivated men, but remained still a vernacular tongue, whilst in its second period, the people spoke not Sanskrit but Prakritic dialects, which had been developed out of the ancient Indo-âryan vernacular contemporaneously with the Sanskrit."

First:—Even though we assume, as we must do, that there were, from the earliest times, other forms of spoken language current in India besides the Sanskrit; yet these would be the dialects of the Dasyus, or non-Ārian tribes; while the upper classes of the population of the Ārian race, the same order of persons who in after times spoke Prākṛit, must have been in the habit of speaking Sanskṛit (by which must be understood the then current form or forms of the Old Ārian speech) a few ages previously; for, in fact, no other Ārian language then existed in India which they could have used. If languages with such a complicated structure as the Pāli and the Prākṛits were employed in common conversation, there is no difficulty in supposing that Sanskrit too, which was not much more complex, should have been spoken by ordinary persons. We must not, of course (as Professor Benfey has well remarked above, p. 140, f.), imagine that all the refined rules for the permutation of letters which were used in later Sanskrit composition were then employed in daily discourse, though some few of them might have been; for the use of these rules is by no means essential to the intelligible or grammatical employment of the language; and at the time to which I refer, they had not been developed or systematized. Many, too, of the more complicated inflections of Sanskrit verbs would be then little used in conversation; as, in fact, they are now comparatively little used in most literary compositions.[156]

[156] The remark in this last sentence probably rests on a misapprehension of the character of the language vernacularly employed by men in the earlier stages of society. But I leave it as it stood, in order to make the following remarks on it by Professor Benfey, in the review above referred to, more easily intelligible. He writes, p. 135: "Here, nevertheless, I should like to see much otherwise understood. Thus it is said in p. 154—'Many, too, of the more complicated inflections of Sanskrit verbs would be then [at the time when the Sanskrit existed as a spoken language] little used in conversation;' which, as appears to me, leads to an erroneous understanding. It is precisely the deficiency of so many forms in the regenerated Sanskrit, as, for example, the want of a conjunctive generally, of the moods for the different tenses, the unfrequent employment of the aorists as compared with the Vedic Sanskrit, the disuse of so many double forms, as e.g. the substitution of the single form of *ais* for *ais* and *ebhis*, as the ending of instrumental cases of nouns in *a*, the limitation of the strong case-forms, which in the Vedas are used very irregularly, the regulation of the reduplication and many other differences of this description between the Vedic, or ancient, and the regenerated Sanskrit,—it is just these points which determine us to explain the latter (the modern Sanskrit) principally through the predominance of the vernacular dialects: those persons who wrote the regenerated Sanskrit were too much accustomed to these vernaculars to do more in general than to turn the speech

It is true that we cannot point out the exact forms of all the Sanskrit words in use at the latest period at which it was so employed as a spoken tongue; especially as the language of conversation always differs to some extent from the language of formal composition or of books, and the vernacular Sanskrit was no doubt undergoing a perpetual alteration till it merged into Prākṛit.

Second:—The case which I have supposed here of Sanskrit having been once a spoken language, and having at length ceased to be employed in ordinary discourse, while the provincial dialects which sprang out of it, and gradually diverged more and more from it and from each other, have taken its place as the popular vehicles of conversation,—is by no means a singular occurrence, unprecedented in the history of language; on the contrary, the manner in which the Italian, French, and Spanish languages (to which Burnouf and Lassen refer in a passage cited above, p. 69) have been formed out of Latin, presents a very close parallel to the mode in which the various mediæval Indian Prākṛit bhāshās (which in their turn have given birth to the modern Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc.) grew out of Sanskrit. During the existence of the Roman empire, Latin, as is quite well known, was the spoken language of Italy, and other western portions of Europe. It is now in nearly all those countries a dead language, and is only known to the learned who study the works of the Latin philosophers, historians, and poets; just as it is only the Pandits of India and other scholars who can understand the Sanskrit Śāstras. But while Latin has itself ceased to be a spoken language for eight hundred or a thousand years, various vernacular dialects have (as I have said) sprung out of it, such as Italian and the other modern tongues already specified; the Latin words which compose the greater part of their vocabulary being variously modified, and the ancient Latin inflections being either corrupted, or dropped, and replaced by particles and auxiliary verbs. Of these derivative dialects, the Italian, which is

with which they were familiar into Sanskrit according to the reflex rules (Reflexgesetze) which were known to them. It was only a constantly deeper study of the old remains of the genuine vernacular Sanskrit and the compositions which were more closely connected with it that brought back many of its at first neglected peculiarities into the regenerated Sanskrit, a point which can be proved by the express testimony of Pāṇini himself in reference to the participles of the reduplicated perfect. (Compare Pān. iii, 2. 108; and my complete Sanskrit Grammar, p. 413, note 13, and shorter Grammar, § 361, 369.)"

spoken in Italy, has retained the closest resemblance to its mother-language. Many of the changes which Latin words have undergone in Italian, resemble very closely the modifications which Sanskrit words have undergone in Pāli and Prākṛit, as has been already remarked in the passage quoted, in p. 69, from Burnouf and Lassen's Essay on the Pāli.

To exhibit the wonderful similarity (amounting in some cases to identity) of the processes by which these two ancient languages, the Sanskrit and the Latin, are modified in their modern derivatives, I shall place in juxtaposition a few of the most remarkable instances of it which occur to me.[157]

I.—Phonetic Changes.

(1). Words in which the *c* or *k* is dropped from a compound letter *ct*, *nct*, or *kt*, while the *t* is doubled.

Latin forms, as modified in Italian.			Sanskrit forms, modified in Pali and Prakrit.		
Latin.		Italian.	Sanskrit.		Pali and Prakrit.
perfectus	becomes	perfetto.	muktas	becomes	mutto
dictus	,,	detto.	yuktas	,,	jutto.
junctus[158]	,,	giunto.[159]	bhaktas	,,	bhatto.
fructus	,,	frutto.	sikthaka	,,	sitthao.
pactum	,,	patto.	parityaktas	,,	parichchatto.
tractus	,,	tratto.	bhuktas	,,	bhutto.
factus	,,	fatto.	saktas	,,	satto.
actus	,,	atto.			
octo	,,	otte.			
doctus	,,	dotto.			

(2). Words in which the *p* of *pt* is dropped, and the *t* doubled.

ruptus	becomes	rotto.	uptas	becomes	utto.
aptus	,,	atto.	suptas	,,	sutto.
inceptus	,,	incetto.	guptas	,,	gutto.
septem	,,	sette.	luptas	,,	lutto.
captivus	,,	cattivo.	tṛiptis	,,	titti.
assumptus	,,	assunto.	taptas	,,	tatto.
subtus	,,	sotto.	saptamas	,,	sattamo.
(With many others).			naptā	,,	nattā.
			prāptas	,,	patto.
			paryāptas	,,	pajjatto.
			kshiptas	,,	khitto.
			liptas	,,	litto.
			dīptas	,,	dītto.

[157] Since the first edition of this volume was published, this subject has been handled in a pamphlet of 68 pages published in 1869, entitled Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den Romanischen Sprachen, von Friederich Haag. In a review of this book in the Lit. Centralblatt for May 14, 1870, p. 594, f. reference is made to its being accompanied by Tables, which, however, I do not find in my copy.

[158] The Latin *c* is sounded *k* in Sanskrit.

[159] *giu*, in Italian, is sounded as *ju* in Sanskrit.

(3). Words in which the *l* of a compound letter, *pl* or *kl*, is dropped.[160]

Latin forms, as modified in Italian.			Sanskrit forms, modified in Pali and Prakrit.		
Latin.		Italian.	Sanskrit.		Pali and Prakrit.
plańctus	becomes	pianto.	viklavas	becomes	vikkavo.
planus	„	piano.			

(4). Words in which the *b* of the compound letter *bj* is dropped.

subjectus	becomes	soggetto.	kubjas	becomes	khujjo.[161]
objectus	„	oggetto.[162]	abjas	„	ajjo.

(5). Words in which the letters rejected, or changed, are not the same in the Italian and Prākṛit, but in which both languages show the same tendency to simplification.

absorptus	becomes	assorto.	utpalam	becomes	uppalam.
absurdus	„	assurdo.	skandhas	„	khandho.
externus	„	esterno.	dharmas	„	dhammo.
mixtus	„	misto.	dushkaras	„	dukkaro.
sextus	„	sesto.	kshamā	„	khamā.
textus	„	testo.	mugdhas	„	muddho.
saxum	„	sasso.	mudgas	„	muggo.
somnus	„	sonno.	labdhas	„	laddho.
damnum	„	danno.	śabdas	„	saddo.
autumnus	„	autunno.	nimnas	„	nimmo.[163]
domina	„	donna.	āmnāyas	„	āmmāyo.
			pradyumnas	„	pajjummo.
			janman	„	jammo.
			rājñā	„	rañña.

A large portion of the simplifications in Pāli and Prākṛit arise from the rejection of *r* before or after another consonant, as in the words *kaṇṇa* for *karṇa*, *savva* for *sarvva*, *mitta* for *mitra*, *putta* for *putra*, etc. This elision of *r* is not usual in Italian.

II.—I give an instance or two to show the manner in which the Latin case-terminations have been dropped in Italian. In Latin the word *annus*, a year, is thus declined.

Singular.		Plural.	
Nom. - - - -	annus.	Nom. - - - -	anni.
Gen. - - - -	anni.	Gen. - - - -	annorum.
Dat. and Abl. - -	anno.	Dat. and Abl. - -	annis.
Accus. - - - -	annum.	Accus. - - - -	annos.

In Italian, on the contrary, there is only one form in the singular,

[160] In Prākṛit, however, a compound letter, of which *l* is the final portion, is generally dissolved into two syllables, as *glāna* becomes *gilāna*.

[161] Var. II. 34. [162] Pronounced as if written in English, *sojjetto*, *ojjetto*.

[163] I can only infer, from the rule in Vararuchi, III. 2, that the *n* is thrown out and the *m* doubled in this and the two following words, as I have not met them anywhere.

anno; and one in the plural, *anni*; the case-terminations being supplied by prepositions with or without the article, as follows:

Singular.		Plural.	
Nom. and Accus.	l' anno.	Nom. and Accus.	gli anni.
Gen.	dell' anno.	Gen.	degli anni.
Dat.	all' anno.	Dat.	agli anni.
Abl.	dall' anno.	Abl.	dagli anni.

III.—In Italian verbs, the Latin forms of the active voice are preserved in a modified shape, as the following example will show:—

Present Tense.		Imperfect Tense.	
Latin.	Italian.	Latin.	Italian.
1. vendo.	vendo.	1. vendebam.	vendeva.
2. vendis.	vendi.	2. vendebas.	vendevi.
3. vendit.	vende.	3. vendebat.	vendeva.
4. vendimus.	vendiamo.	4. vendebamus.	vendevamo.
5. venditis.	vendete.	5. vendebatis.	vendevate.
6. vendunt.	vendono.	6. vendebant.	vendevano.

Perfect Tense.		Pluperfect Tense.	
1. vendidi.	vendei.	1. vendidissem.	vendessi.
2. vendidisti.	vendesti.	2. vendidisses.	vendessi.
3. vendidit.	vendè.	3. vendidisset.	vendesse.
4. vendidimus.	vendemmo.	4. vendidissemus.	vendessimo.
5. vendiditis.	vendeste.	5. vendidissetis.	vendeste.
6. vendiderunt.	venderono.	6. vendidissent.	vendessero.

But (IV.) in the passive voice the Italian language has entirely lost the Latin forms of conjugation. Thus instead of the Latin forms *ego laudor*, "I am praised;" *ego laudabar*, "I was praised;" *ego laudarer*, "I should be praised," etc., the Italians employ in all tenses (as the Latin had already done in a few), the substantive verb with the past participle, and say *Io sono lodato*, *Io era lodato*, *Io sarei lodato*, "I am," "I was," "I should be, praised."

These few instances will suffice to show the Indian reader how the Latin words and inflections are modified in Italian.

It is thus manifest from the history of Italy in ancient and modern times that the people of that country once spoke Latin, and now speak Italian, a vernacular dialect derived from Latin, and differing from it in many respects, as the Indian Prākṛits do from Sanskrit, while Latin equally with Sanskrit is in most of the countries where it was formerly current a dead language, known only from ancient books, or from its

use in the public worship of the Roman Catholic Church, or from its occasional employment by modern scholars in their writings, or in scholastic discussions, in Italy and other countries. But if it be true that a language like Latin, with its numerous and varied inflections, was once the common speech of the whole Roman people, there can be no difficulty in supposing that while the modern Hindus (excepting a few Pandits) can only speak Bengalī, Hindī, Mahrattī, etc., and while their ancestors spoke different Prākṛit dialects, which are the immediate parents of the modern vernaculars, the Hindus of a still earlier period should have spoken Sanskrit, i.e. the old Ārian language, itself, from which there is no doubt that the older forms of Prākṛit were immediately derived. If even in our own day Pandits can talk Sanskrit, why should not the vernacular use of it, in a simple and natural style, have, in former ages, been common, not only among Brāhmans, but also among other persons in all the different classes of society? The complex structure of a language, i.e. the multitude of its forms of inflection and conjugation, which, to those who are accustomed to a simpler form of speech, may appear to afford grounds for doubting that a language of the former description could ever have been vernacularly spoken, is, in fact, rather an argument in favour of that supposition; for such complexity of structure appears to be a characteristic of language as it exists in the earlier stages of society, whilst the dialects formed out of these earlier tongues, on their decay, are observed to become simpler in their forms. This is exemplified in the case of the Latin and its derivatives.

Third:—The fact that the dramatic authors put Sanskrit into the mouth of Brāhmans and other persons of the higher ranks, affords an argument of considerable force that Sanskrit was once spoken by the whole community, and by the upper classes down to a much later period (see above, p. 140): and even the common employment of the same language by learned Indians in their schools and disputations down to the present day, may go some way to prove its more general currency as a vernacular at an earlier date. For if Brāhmans did not at one time employ it in their ordinary discourse, how did they ever get into the habit of speaking it with so much ease and fluency? But if Sanskrit was at one time ordinarily spoken by Brāhmans, the use of it would easily be propagated from one generation of learned men to another.

Fourth:—Manu mentions a difference of speech in ancient India among the Dasyus, or non-Ārian tribes, some classes of them speaking the language of the Āryas, and others the language of the Mlechhas.[164] The language of the Āryas to which he alludes must have been derived from Sanskrit, or old-Sanskrit itself: whether it was the one or the other must depend on the age in which we suppose this particular text of Manu's Institutes to have been composed. This passage, at any rate, leaves the impression that there was a broad distinction between the Ārian language and the indigenous dialects with which it was contrasted; and that the varieties, if any, recognized as existing in the former, were regarded as comparatively insignificant.

Fifth:—In some of the oldest Indian grammarians, such as Yāska and Pāṇini, we find the obsolete language of the Vedas distinguished from the ordinary Sanskrit of the day. The former is alluded to or designated by the terms *anvadhyāyam* (in the Veda), *chhandas* (metre), or *ārsha* (the speech of the ṛishis), etc.; while the contemporary Sanskrit is referred to as *bhāshā* (the spoken language). Thus Yāska, the ancient author of the Nirukta, in the introductory part of his work, I. 4, speaking of particles (*nipātāḥ*), says: *teshām ete chatvāraḥ upamārthe bhavanti iti | "iva" iti bhāshāyāṁ cha anvadhyāyaṁ cha "Agnir iva" "Indraḥ iva" iti | "na" iti | pratishedhārthīyo bhāshāyām ubhayaṃ anvadhyāyam | "na Indraṁ devam amaṁsata" iti pratishedhārthīyaḥ ityādi |* "Of them these four are particles of comparison. '*Iva*' has this sense both in the common language (*bhāshā*) and in the Veda (*anvadhyāyam*): thus *Agnir iva, Indra iva,* 'like Agni,' 'like Indra.' '*Na*' has in the *bhāshā* a negative sense. In the Veda, it has the sense both of a negative and also of a comparative particle. Thus in the text *na Indram devam amaṁsata,* 'they did not regard Indra as a god,' it has a negative sense," etc. Again, in the next section (I. 5), he says similarly: "*nūnam*" *iti vichikitsārthīyo bhāshāyām | ubhayam anvadhyāyāṁ vichikitsārthīyaḥ padapūraṇaś cha |* "The particle '*nūnam*' is used in the *bhāshā* to signify uncertainty; in

[164] Manu, x. 45. The verse is quoted and translated in Vol. I. of this work, p. 482; but I repeat it here for facility of reference. *Mukha-bāhūru-paj-jānāṁ yāḥ loke jātayo vahiḥ | mlechchhavāchas' chārya-vāchaḥ sarve te Dasyavaḥ smritāḥ |* "Those tribes which are outside of the classes produced from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet [of Brahmā, i.e. Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and S'ūdras], whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas or of the Āryas, are called Dasyus."

the Veda, too, it has that signification, and is also a mere expletive." Again, Yāska says, Nir. II. 2: *athāpi bhāshikebhyo dhātubhyo naigamāḥ kṛito bhāshyante "damūnāḥ" "kshetrasādhāḥ" iti | athāpi naigamebhyo bhāshikāḥ "ushṇam" "ghṛitam" iti | athāpi prakṛitayaḥ eva ekeshu bhāshyante vikṛitayaḥ ekeshu | "śavatir" gati-karmā kambojeshv eva bhāshyate | vikāram asya āryeshu bhāshante "śavaḥ" iti | "dātir" lavanārthe prāchyeshu dātram udīchyeshu* | "Again, there are Vedic (*naigama*) nouns (as *damūnāḥ* and *kṣetrasādhāḥ*) which are derived from roots found in the *bhāshā;* and also formations in the *bhāshā*, such as *ushṇam*, *ghṛitam*, which come from Vedic roots. Further, the roots only are employed in the speech of some; the derived forms [or nouns] in that of others. *Śavati*, as a verb for 'going,' is used in the language of the Kambojas only: its derivative, *śava* ('a corpse'), is in use in the language of the Āryas. The verb *dāti* is employed in the sense of 'cutting' by the people of the East: while the noun *dātram* ('a sickle') only is known to those of the North." Here it will be observed that pure Sanskrit words are referred to as being used in the speech not only of the Āryas, but also of the Kambojas, a people living to the north-west, who are distinguished from the Āryas.

In the Sūtras of Pāṇini the Vedic dialect is referred to as follows: 1, 2, 36, *vibhāshā chhandasi* | "in the *chhandas* (Veda) there is an option:" 1, 4, 20, *ayasmayādīni chhandasi* | "In the *chhandas* we have the forms *ayasmaya* [instead of *ayōmaya*]," etc.; and so in numerous other aphorisms. The word *mantra* is put for Veda in the following Sūtras, 2, 4, 80; 6, 1, 151; 6, 1, 210; 6, 3, 131; 6, 4, 53; 6, 4, 141. The word *nigama* is similarly used in 6, 3, 113; 6, 4, 9; 7, 2, 64; 7, 4, 74:—and the expressions *ṛishau* ('in a ṛishi'), and *ṛichi* ('in a Vedic verse'), are employed in the same way, 4, 4, 96; 6, 3, 130; and 6, 3, 133. In contradistinction to the Vedic dialect, on the other hand, the current Sanskrit is designated by Pāṇini as *bhāshā* in the following Sūtras, 3, 2, 108: *bhāshāyām sadavasaśruvaḥ* | "in the current language the roots *sad, vas,* and *śru*, take *kvasu;*" 6, 3, 20: *sthe chā bhāshāyām* | "and in the case of *stha* in the current language." The same use of the word will be found in Sūtras, 6, 1, 181; 7, 2, 88; 8, 2, 98.[165]

[165] Compare Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, pp. 56, 139, and 167, with note 2, and Ind. Studien, iv. 76. Dr. F. Hall writes, pref. to his edition of the Vāsava-

Scholars are not agreed as to the periods when Yāska and Pāṇini respectively lived, or even as to which of the two was the more ancient. Professor Müller considers Yāska to have lived in the fifth century B.C. ("Chips," 1st ed., p. 74, published in 1867),[166]—and, as a passage in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 163, f. (published in 1859), is understood by Professor Goldstücker (Pāṇini, p. 221, published in 1861),—places him after Pāṇini. Professor Lassen, in his Indian Antiquities (vol. i., first edition, p. 739, and pp. 864 and 866 of the second edition; and vol. ii., p. 476), thinks that as Yāska shows himself unacquainted with the highly artificial terminology of Pāṇini, and was named by him, he must be older, and that the difference of their grammatical methods is so great that an interval of fifty years will scarcely suffice to explain it. Professor Goldstücker (Pāṇini, p. 221) agrees with Lassen that Pāṇini is more recent than Yāska, but regards the former as having, in all probability, lived before Buddha (Pāṇini, p. 227), whose death he seems to concur with Lassen in placing in 543 B.C. Lassen, however, does not agree with Goldstücker

dattā, p. 24, note: "The word bhâshâ signifies 'classical Sanskrit,' as contrasted either with the archaism of the Veda, or with the various Prākṛits." The following account of this *bhāshā* by Professor Weber is in consonance with the views which have already been quoted from him (above p. 129, ff.). "After the immigration into India of the several Indo-aryan tribes, a greater unity had in course of time been restored in their different dialects by their association and intermixture in their new abodes and their aggregation into larger communities, while on the other hand, the grammatical study which was gradually becoming necessary for the explanation of the ancient texts, and was growing up in connexion therewith, had the effect of fixing the linguistic usage (*usus loquendi*), so that a generally recognized language known as the *bhāshā* had arisen, in which the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras are composed."—Ind. Lit. p. 167.

On the subject of this same term I quote some remarks of Professor Roth from his review of Weber's History of Ind. Lit. in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1853, p. 605:—"Contradistinguished from these Prākṛit dialects, stands the proper and therefore originally nameless speech, *bhāshā*, the later name of which, *Sanskṛita*, we must regard as one formed with reference to the Prākṛita, and answering to it. Too much meaning therefore appears to be introduced into the word, when it is explained as the cultivated language, as Weber also does. The use of the word elsewhere does not justify the explanation, which at the same time aims at an incorrect contrast. I believe that we shall come nearer to the truth if we merely assign to this somewhat arbitrarily chosen collection of roots which are also contained in Prākṛit the value (signification?) of the already existing speech, to which another form of speech is referred."

[165] In the same Essay, printed under the title of the "Last Results of the Sanskrit Researches," in Bunsen's Outline of the Phil. of Un. Hist. i. 137 (published in 1854), Prof. Müller had placed Yāska in the fourth century B.C.

in regarding Pāṇini as anterior to Buddha (Ind. Ant., vol. i., second edition, p. 864). Professor Weber also (Ind. Stud. v. 136, ff.) rejects the opinion that Pāṇini was prior to Buddha.[167] If we accept the view of Böhtlingk and Lassen that Pāṇini flourished about 330 years B.C. (Lassen, vol. i., second edition, p. 864), and that Yāska was more than fifty years earlier, the latter may be placed about 400 B.C. If, further, we adopt the opinion expressed by Prof. Benfey (see last section, pp. 138, 143) that Sanskrit had ceased to be vernacular in the time of Buddha, i.e. in the sixth century B.C., the colloquial use of that language must have died out some centuries before the age of Yāska; and a somewhat longer period before the time of Pāṇini. In this case, these authors could not employ the word *bhāshā*, when referred to Sanskrit, in the sense of a universally spoken contemporaneous language; for the language then actually in general use must have been a species of Pāli or some of the earlier forms of Prākṛit. But still the spoken language of that day had not departed so far from the Saṇskrit but that its close relation to the latter as its parent, or rather as its standard, would be evident to every scholar; and thus Sanskrit would still be called the *bhāshā*, or language *par excellence*. We have consequently, in the continued use of this word, an argument of considerable force to show that the Sanskrit had at one time been a spoken tongue.

Again, in the Mahābhāshya (pp. 22 and 63 of Dr. Ballantyne's edition) we find the following passage :—

Bhūyāṁso 'paśabdāḥ alpīyāṁsaḥ śabdāḥ | ekaikasya hi śabdasya bahavo 'pabhraṁśāḥ | tad yathā "gaur" ity asya śabdasya "gāvī" "goṇī" "gotā" "gopotalikā" ity-evam-ādayo bahavo 'pabhraṁsāḥ |

"Incorrect words are the most numerous, and [correct] words are the fewest; for of each word there are many corruptions (*apabhraṁśāḥ*). Thus there are numerous corruptions of the word *goḥ* (cow); such as the following, viz., *gāvī, goṇī, gotā, gopotalikā*, etc." This reference to incorrect forms, such as those of the word *go*, which seem to be Prākṛit,[168] indicates that Sanskrit, even if not still spoken by a considerable class of persons, was at least regarded as the standard of all spoken language; and that all deviations from it were looked upon as mere

[167] Compare the same writer's remarks on this question in his review of Mr. D'Alwis's Kāchchāyana in the Journal of the Germ. Or. Society, xix. 653.

[168] In the Mṛichhakaṭi, pp. 98, 99, the word *goṇā* occurs in the sense of oxen.

vulgarisms: for there would have been no ground for such a mode of comparison between words which were regarded as belonging to different languages; nor would the Prākṛit synonyms of *go* have been wrong because of their variety of form.

Sixth:—In the 164th hymn of the 1st book of the Rigveda, the following verse (the 45th) occurs: *Chatvāri vāk parimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmanāḥ ye manīshiṇaḥ | guhā trīṇi nihitā nengayanti turīyaṁ vācho manushyāḥ vadanti |* "There are four measured grades of language: with these intelligent Brāhmans are acquainted. Three hidden in secret indicate nothing. The fourth grade of speech is uttered by men." I quote part of the comment on this verse, which is given in the Pariśishṭa, or Supplement to the Nirukta, i. 9:—

Katamāni tāni chatvāri padāni | "oṁkāro vyāhṛitayaś cha" ity ārsham | "nāmākhyāte cha upasarga-nipātāś cha" iti vaiyākaraṇāḥ | "mantraḥ kalpo brāhmaṇaṁ chaturthī vyāvakārikī" iti yājnikāḥ | "richo yajūṁshi sāmāni chaturthī vyāvahārikī" iti nairuktāḥ | "sarpāṇāṁ, vāg vayasāṁ kshudrasya sarīsṛipasya chaturthī vyāvahārikī" ity eke | "paśushu tūṇaveshu mṛigeshu ātmani cha" ity ātmapravādāḥ | athāpi brāhmaṇam bhavati "sā vai vāk sṛishṭā chaturdhā vyabhavad | eshv eva lokeshu trīṇi paśushu turīyam | yā pṛithivyāṁ sā Agnau sā rathantare | yā antarikshe sā Vāyau sā vāmadevye | yā divi sā āditye sā bṛihati sā stanayitnāv atha paśushu | tato yā vāg atyarichyata tām brāhmaṇeshv adadhuḥ | tasmād brāhmaṇāḥ ubhayīṁ vadanti yā cha devānāṁ yā cha manushyāṇām" iti |

"What are these four grades? The explanation of the ṛishis is, that 'they are the four mystic words, *om*, *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ*, and *svar*.' The grammarians[169] say 'they are the four kinds of words, nouns, verbs, prepositions, and particles.' The ceremonialists declare them to be '(1st) the mantras; (2nd) the kalpas (liturgical precepts); (3rd) the brāhmaṇas; and (4th) the current language.'[170] The commentators (nairuktāḥ) explain them as being '(1st) the ṛich; (2nd) the yajush; (3rd) the sāman texts; and (4th) the current language.' Others think they denote the speech '(1st) of serpents; (2nd) of birds; (3rd) of

[169] See the Mahābhāshya, pp. 28, 29.

[170] See Sāyaṇa's commentary on R.V. i. 164, 45. He there defines thus the words *vyāvahārikī vāk: Bhoga-vishayā "gām anaya" ityādi-rūpā vyāvahārikī* | "The common language is that which refers to objects of enjoyment, such as *gām ānaya*, 'bring the cow.'" These words are of course Sanskrit.

small reptiles; and (4th) the current language.' The philosophical school explains the four grades as having reference to 'cattle, musical instruments, wild animals, and soul.' On this point we have also the following text in a Brāhmaṇa: 'Speech, when created, became divided into four parts, of which three abide in these three worlds (earth, the atmosphere, and the sky), and the fourth among the beasts. Terrestrial speech abides in fire and in the Rathantara texts; atmospheric speech abides in the wind, and in the Vāmadevya prayers; celestial speech abides in the sun, in the Bṛihat metre, and in thunder. The [fourth portion of speech was] in the beasts. The speech which was most excellent[171] was placed in the Brāhmans: hence the Brāhmans speak two sorts of language; both that of gods and that of men.'"

The Pariśishṭa appended to the Nirukta is more modern than the time of Yāska, though it is regarded as a part of his work by Durga, the commentator, who refers to the Nirukta as consisting of 14 parts. (See his comment on Nir. i., 20, which is quoted below, pp. 166, ff.) But though itself subsequent in date to the Nirukta, the preceding passage refers to the opinions of various ancient writers, and may, therefore, be held to carry us back to a remoter period. Three of the ancient schools which are quoted assert the current language (*vyāvahārikī vāk*) to be the fourth kind of speech alluded to in the Vedic text as being spoken by men. By this we are perhaps to understand old Sanskrit. It is true that in the Brāhmaṇa which the author of the Pariśishṭa cites a remark is made (connected with what precedes) that the Brāhmans speak two languages, that of the gods and that of men; and this might seem to prove that, as in later times (see above, p. 47), a distinction was drawn, at the time when the Brāhmaṇa was composed, between Sanskrit, the language of the gods, and Prākṛit, the language of men. But the reference may be to the Vedic and the ordinary Sanskrit; or to cultivated and rustic speech, or perhaps to some piece of mysticism.[172] And, in any case, as we are ignorant of the date of the Brāhmaṇa from which the citation is

[171] Benfey, Gött. Gel. Anz. for 1861, p. 134, would render "was the first."

[172] In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 1, and in the S'atap. Br. xiv. 6, 11, 2, it is said, *paroksha-priyāḥ iva hi devāḥ pratyaksha-dvishaḥ*, "for the gods love, as it were, what is mysterious, and hate what is manifest." The first part of this formula is of frequent occurrence in the Brāhmaṇas. The commentator on the Taitt. Br. i. 5, 9, 2, where it occurs, remarks, "Hence also in common life teachers avoid such names as Devadatta, and like to be honoured by such appellations as 'upādhyāya,'

made, no conclusion can be drawn from the passage adverse to the vernacular use of Sanskrit in the Vedic age.

Seventh:—In the Rāmāyana several passages occur in which the colloquial use of Sanskrit is mentioned. These are the following[173]:—

Hanuman, the monkey general, is represented as having found his way into the palace of Rāvaṇa, the Rākshasa king, and as reflecting how he is to address Sītā, who is there confined. He says (Sundara Kāṇḍa, xxx. 17, Bombay edition): *ahaṁ hy atitanuś chaiva vānaraś cha viśeshataḥ | vāchaṁ chodāharishyāmi mānushīm iha saṁskṛitām*[174] | 18 | *yadi vācham pradāsyāmi dvijātir iva saṁskṛitām | Rāvaṇam manyamānā māṁ Sītā bhītā bhavishyati* | 19 | *avaśyam eva vaktavyam mānushaṁ vākyam arthavat | mayā sāntvayituṁ śakyā nānyatheyam aninditā* | "For I am very small, and above all a monkey; I shall now utter polished (*saṁskṛitām*) human speech. If I utter polished speech like a Brāhman, Sītā will think I am Rāvaṇa, and will be frightened. I must certainly speak human and significant language; for thus only can I comfort the blameless lady."

The reading in Gorresio's edition of the Sundara Kāṇḍa, xxix. 16, is somewhat different from the above, and is as follows: *anenāśvāsayishyāmi śokenāpahitendriyām | ahaṁ hy aviditaś chaiva vānaraś cha viśeshataḥ* | 17 | *yadi vāchaṁ vadishyāmi dvijātir iva saṁskṛitām | seyam ālakshya rūpaṁ cha Jānakī bhāshitaṁ cha me | Rāvaṇam manyamānā mām punas trāsam gamishyati | tato jāta-paritrāsā śabdaṁ kuryād*

'Miśra,' and so forth," (*ataḥ eva loke 'pi devadattādi-nāma parityajya āchāryāḥ upādhyāyāḥ miśrāḥ ityādi-nāmabhiḥ pūjyāḥ paritushyanti*). It is well known that, according to Indian custom, Pandits are not named by their pupils, but are referred to as my Guru, etc.

In the Iliad, ii., 813, f., mention is made of an eminence called by men Batieia, and by the gods the tomb of Myrine; on which Faesi remarks in his note that the former was the common, the latter the older, but more distinctive and significant name. (Comp. Iliad i. 403; xiv. 291; xx. 74.) On Iliad ii. 813, Prof. Blackie remarks (Homer, vol. iv. 114), "With regard to the double name—the human and the divine—by which this place was known, I have little doubt that Lobeck (Aglao. p. 858), Nitzsch (Od. x. 305), and Göttling (Hes. intro. xxx.) are right in saying that by the language of men in such cases is understood the popular or vulgar name; by the language of the gods, the sacerdotal, oracular, or poetical designation."

[173] For the references to most of the texts here quoted I am indebted to Weber, Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, for 1854, p. 851, note.

[174] These words are thus explained by the commentator: *mānushīm manushya-śarīra-sādhyām | "saṁskṛitām" vyākaraṇa-saṁskāravatīm |*

manasvinī | "I shall console her, whose senses are overwhelmed with this grief. But I am both unknown, and above all a monkey. If I were to speak in polished language, like a twice-born man, Jānakī (Sītā), perceiving my appearance, and [hearing] my words, would think that I was Rāvaṇa, and would again become terrified; and would scream in consequence of her fright." Considering that this would lead to a discovery, he concludes as follows (verses 33 and 34 of the same section): *Rāmam aklishṭakarmāṇaṁ nimittair anukīrtayan* | *tasmād vakshyāmy ahaṁ vākyaṁ mānushyaḥ iva saṁskṛitam* | *nainām udvejayishyāmi tad-buddhi-gata-mānasām* | "Announcing by signs the undaunted Rāma, I shall address to her such polished language as a man would. [Thus] I shall not occasion her any alarm, as her mind will be fixed on the thoughts of her husband."

As the reason assigned in these passages for not addressing Sītā in Sanskrit such as a Brāhman would use, is not that she would not understand it, but that it would alarm her, and be unsuitable to the speaker, we may take them as indicating that Sanskrit, if not spoken by women of the upper classes at the time when the Rāmāyana was written (whenever that may have been[175]), was at least understood by them,[176] and was commonly spoken by men of the priestly class, and other educated persons. By the Saṁskrit proper to an [ordinary] man, alluded to in the second passage, may perhaps be understood not a language in which words different from those of Brahmanical Sanskrit were used, but the employment of diction correct, but neither formal and elaborate, nor familiar and vulgar. It would be comparatively easy, even for persons who could not speak correct Sanskrit, to understand it when spoken, at the early period here in question, when the contemporary vernacular, if different from Sanskrit, deviated from it so very much less than the modern Indian vernaculars do.

[175] Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. i., pp. 484, ff., does not determine its date.

[176] In the Mṛichhakaṭī, however, written probably at a later period (see above, p. 12, note 4), a woman's pronunciation, when reading or repeating Sanskrit is spoken of as something laughable (p. 44, Stenzler's ed.):—*mama dāva duvehiṁ jjeva hassaṁ jāadi itthiāe sakkadam paḍhantīe maṇussena a kāaliṁ gāantena* | *itthiā dāva sakkadam paḍhantī diṇṇavaṇassā via giṭṭhī adhiam susuāadi*, which is thus translated by Professor Wilson (Theatre of the Hindus, i. 60):—"Now, to me, there are two things at which I cannot choose but laugh, a woman reading Sanskrit, and a man singing a song; the woman snuffles like a young cow, when the rope is first passed through her nostrils."

Again, an expression occurs in the Araṇya Kāṇḍa, xi. 56, from which it seems as if the use of Sanskrit was a characteristic of Brāhmans; and no doubt they were the persons who chiefly spoke it (Bombay edition): *dhārayan brāhmaṇaṁ rūpam Ilvalaḥ saṁskṛitaṁ vadan | āmantrayati viprān sa śrāddham uddiśya nirghṛiṇaḥ* | [177] "Assuming the form of a Brāhman, and speaking Sanskrit, the ruthless Rākshasa Ilvala invited the Brāhmans to a funeral ceremony."

In the Sundara Kāṇḍa, lxxxii. 3 (Gorresio's edition), the discourse of Prahasta, one of the Rākshasas, is characterized as *saṁskṛitaṁ hetu-sampannam arthavach cha* | "polished (*saṁskṛitam*), supported by reasons, and judicious in its purport;" and in the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, (civ. 2) the god Brahmā is said to have addressed to Rāma a discourse which was *saṁskṛitam madhuraṁ ślakshṇam arthavad dharma-saṁhitam* | "polished, sweet, gentle, profitable, and consonant with virtue." But in neither of these two passages does there appear to be any reference to the special meaning of the word *saṁskṛita*.

In the subjoined lines (Sundara Kāṇḍa, xviii. 18, f.), the word *saṁskāra* is employed, if not in a technical signification, corresponding to that of *saṁskṛita*, at all events in a manner which enables us (as Weber observes) to perceive how that technical sense of the word arose: *duḥkhena bubudhe chainām Hanumān Marutātmajaḥ | saṁskāreṇa yathā hīnām vāchaṁ arthāntaraṁ gatām* [178] | *tishṭhantīm analankārām dīpyamānāṁ sva-tejasā* | "Hanumān, Son of the Wind, recognized Sītā with difficulty, standing, as she was, unadorned, radiant only with her own brilliancy: just as a word is not readily understood, when its sense is changed by the want of its correct grammatical form."

[177] The commentator explains the first line thus: "*brāhmaṇa-rūpaṁ*" *brāhmaṇa-sadṛiśa-veshaṁ* | "*saṁskṛitaṁ vadan*" *brāhmaṇa-vad iti śeshaḥ* |

[178] The reading of this line is identical in the Bombay edition, xv. 39; and the commentator there has the following note: *Snānānulepanādir anga-saṁskāraḥ | vācho vyākaraṇa-jñānādi-jaḥ saṁskāraḥ | devyāḥ arthāntara-gatatvaṁ deśāntara-gatatvam | vāchas tu vivakshitārthād anyārtha-bodhakhatvam | vācho 'rtho yathā vyākaraṇādy-abhyāsa-duḥkhena vyutpattiṁ sampādya budhyate tad-vat Sītāṁ kashṭena bubudhe* | "Bathing, anointing, etc., are the decoration (*saṁskāra*) of the body. The decoration (or correctness, *saṁskāra*) of speech is derived from a knowledge of grammar, etc. The phrase *arthāntaragatatva*, when applied to Sītā, signifies her having gone to a foreign country; but when applied to speech, it signifies the denoting of another meaning than the one intended. As the sense of speech is understood after proficiency has been attained with difficulty by the study of grammar, so he (Hanuman) recognized Sītā by hard effort." Professor Aufrecht has furnished

Eighth:—From the researches of Professors Kuhn[179] and Benfey[180] it appears that many words, which in modern Sanskrit are only of one, two, or three, etc., syllables, have, in the Veda, to be read as of two, three, or four, etc., syllables, i.e., as of one syllable longer, in order to make up the full length of the lines required by the metre employed by the Vedic poets. Thus *tvam* has to be read as *tuam; vyushṭau* as *viushṭau; turyam* as *turiyam; martyāya* as *martiāya; vareṇyam* as *vareṇiam; amātyam* as *amātiam; svadhvaram* as *suadhvaram;* and *svastibhiḥ* as *suastibhiḥ*. Now as this mode of lengthening words is common in Prākṛit, it would appear that the Prākṛit pronunciation agrees in this respect with that of the old Sanskrit in contradistinction to the more recent. But as the Prākṛit pronunciation must have been borrowed from a previously existing popular pronunciation, which was at the same time that employed by the Vedic poets, we find here another reason for concluding that the old spoken language of India and the Sanskrit of the Vedas were at one time identical.[181]

me with the following text on the subject of Sanskrit being at one time spoken. He informs me: "The Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa speaks, in the beginning of the second chapter, of the use of the vulgar tongue in poetry, and says in śloka 16: *ke 'bhūvann ādya-rājasya rājye prākṛita-bhāshiṇaḥ | kāle śrī-Sāhasāṅkasya ke na saṁskṛita-vādinaḥ* | According to the author, Sanskrit was universally spoken in the time of Sāhasāṅka, whom we know as the founder of an era. This is an individual view, but it is curious as coming from a Hindu, who lived, say, 1,050 years after Christ." The sense of the verse quoted by Professor Aufrecht is as follows: "During the reign of the first king, who spoke Prākṛit? In the time of Sāhasāṅka (Vikramāditya), who did not speak Sanskrit?"

[179] Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, iii. 80.

[180] Sāma-veda, Introduction, p. liii., ff. See also the articles of Dr. Bollensen in Orient und Occident, ii. 457, ff., and in the Zeitsch. der Deut. Morg. Gesellschaft, xxii. 569, ff., and Prof. Müller's translation of the R.V., vol. i., pref. pp. lxxviii, ff.

[181] I quote some remarks of Benfey, Sāma-veda, Introd. p. liii.:—"The necessity for frequently changing the liquids *y* and *v* into the correspondent vowels *i* and *u*, had been remarked by the Indian writers on prosody, who teach that, wherever the metre requires it, *iy* and *uv* should be read instead of *y* and *v*. In many words the former mode of writing appears to have prevailed; as is rendered probable by the differences of reading between the Sāma-veda and the Rig-veda, the former, for instance, reading *tugriya, subhuvah, sudruvam*, where the latter reads *tugrya, subhvah, sudrvam;* and the latter, on the contrary, reading *samudriya*, where the former reads *samudrya*. . . . . But the necessity of making the change in order to obtain a reading conformable to the metre, is of such ordinary occurrence that we are soon led to conclude that, at the time when the Vedas were composed, the liquids (*y* and *v*), which appear in the Saṅhitās as we now have them, had not yet, for the most part,

SECT. X.—*Various stages of Sanskrit literature, and the different forms in which they exhibit the Sanskrit language: the later Vedic commentators: earlier expounders: the Nirukta: the Brāhmaṇas: the Vedic hymns: imperfect comprehension of them in later times from changes in the language: the hymns composed in the vernacular idiom of their age.*[182]

As I have shown in the preceding section that Sanskrit was once a spoken language, it must, in that its earlier stage, have been exposed to the mutations to which all spoken languages are subject from their very nature. Sanskrit must, in the course of ages, have become very different from what it originally was.[183] And, in fact, we find from the records of Indian literature, that the Sanskrit, as it is brought before us in the different Śāstras, has gone through different phases. The most modern is that in which we find it in the Itihāsas, Purāṇas, and Smṛitis. The Itihāsas and Purāṇas are undoubtedly not to be ranked with the oldest Sanskrit writings, for they all imply that there

begun to be pronounced, but that, in their stead, the corresponding vowels *i* and *u* were employed." On the other hand, *y* and *v* must sometimes be read instead of *iy* and *uv* (p. lvi.). The fifteen verses of the Purusha Sūkta (cited in the first volume of this work, pp. 8, f.), which are composed in the Anushṭup metre, will be generally found to have the proper number of feet, if not in other respects to scan correctly,—if the preceding remarks be attended to. Thus in the first verse, line second, the words *vṛitvā* and *atyatishṭhat* must be read apart, and *not* united by sandhi. *Bhāvyam* (in the first line of the second verse) must be lengthened to *bhāviyam; vyakrāmat* (second line, fourth verse) to *viakrāmat; sādhyā* (second line, seventh verse) to *sādhiyā; ājyam* (first line, eighth verse, though not in second line, sixth verse) to *ājiam; grāmyāścha* (second line, eighth verse) to *grāmiāścha; vyadadhuḥ* and *vyakalpayan* (first line, eleventh verse) to *viadadhuḥ* and *viakalpayan;* and *rājanyaḥ* (first line, twelfth verse) to *rājaniaḥ*.

[182] In revising this section (composed originally in 1858) for the press, I have had the assistance of Professor Müller's work on Ancient Sanskrit Literature, which has enabled me to make a few additions, and to modify some of my previous statements. [Note to first edition.]

[183] I fear that the text of Patanjali (Mabābhāshya, p. 104) may be cited against me here:—*nityāś cha śabdāḥ | nityeshu cha śabdeshu kūṭasthair avichālibhir varṇair bhavitavyam anapāyopajana-vikāribhiḥ |* "Words are eternal; and in the case of eternal words we must have immutable and immovable letters, free from diminution, or increase, or alteration." But the words which Bhāskara Acharyya applied to astronomy are equally applicable to grammar:—*atra gaṇita-skandhe upapattimān eva āgamaḥ pramāṇam |* "In this astronomical department scripture is authoritative only when it is supported by demonstration." This is true, also, of all other matters, which, like Grammar, come within the sphere of science.

were many older records of Hindu antiquity existing when they were compiled, and often quote various ancient verses.[184] The Mahābhārata frequently introduces old legends with the following formula, which, however, may often mean nothing: *atrāpy udāharantīmam itihāsam purātanam* | "Here they adduce this ancient narrative." (See vol. i., p. 127.) In all these different classes of works, which, in their present form, are comparatively recent parts of Indian literature, the Sanskrit language is substantially the same. At the time when even the oldest of these works were reduced into their present form, we must suppose that the Sanskrit had nearly ceased to be a spoken tongue, and had become gradually stereotyped as a polished and learned language, by the precepts of those grammarians who preceded Pāṇini, as well as of that scholar himself and his successors.[185] As the language which had thus been polished, improved, and fixed by precise grammatical rules, ceased to be popularly spoken, it was preserved from any future changes. In this way the Sanskrit language has remained almost unaltered for more than two thousand years, till it has acquired the appearance of immutability; while its antiquity, and the perfection of form which it eventually acquired, and has so long retained, have caused it to be regarded as of divine origin; just as every science which has descended from a remote age, or even from a period comparatively recent, is

[184] That they are not all of one age is held by an enlightened Indian Pandit, Īśvara Chandra Vidyāsāgar, in the Bengalī preface to his Ṛijupāṭha, or Sanskrit selections, as follows:—*sŏkŏl purāṇ ŏṛekhyā Vishṇupurāṇer rŏchŏnā prāchīn bōdh hŏy | yābŏtīyŏ purāṇ Vedŏbyāsproṇīt boliyā prŏsiddhi āchhe | kintu purāṇ sŏkŏler rŏchŏnā pŏrŏspŏr etŏ bibhinn je ek byŏktir rŏchit bŏliyā bōdh hŏy nā | Vishṇupurāṇ Bhāgŏbŏt ō Brŏhmŏbaibŏrttŏpurāṇer ekek ŏṁś pāṭh kŏrile ei tin grŏnth ek lekhŏnīr mukhhŏite vinirgŏt bŏliyā prŏtīti hŏŏyā dushkŏr | Vishṇupurāṇ prŏbhṛitir sŏhit Mŏhābhārŏter rŏchŏnār etŏ bibhinnŏtā je jini Vishṇupurāṇ kimbā Bhāgŏbŏt ŏthŏbā Brŏhmŏbaibŏrttŏpurāṇ rŏchŏnā kŏriyāchhen tāṁhār rŏchit bōdh hŏy nā* |

"The composition of the Vishṇu-purāṇa appears to have preceded that of all the other Purāṇas. It is commonly said that all the Purāṇas were composed by Vedavyāsa. But the style of the different Purāṇas is so various that they cannot be conceived to be the work of one person. After reading a portion of the Vishnu-purāṇa, another of the Bhāgavata, and a third of the Brahmavaivartta-purāṇa, it is difficult to believe them all to have proceeded from one pen. . . . So, too, there is such a discrepancy between the style of the Mahābhārata and that of the Vishnu-purāṇa, and the other works mentioned above, that it cannot be imagined to be the composition of the same person by whom they were written.

[185] See, however, the distinction made by Lassen between the Epic poems (Itihāsas) and the Purāṇas, in the passage cited above, p. 133, note.

regarded by the people of India as supernatural.[186] Prior to this era, however, and as long as it had continued to be commonly spoken by the lower or upper classes, the Sanskrit had been liable to constant fluctuations in the forms of its inflections. Accordingly, in the works which are more ancient than the Smṛitis and Itihāsas, we find various differences of grammatical form, and a style altogether more antique. This is to some extent the case in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, where we encounter a simplicity of syntax and a tautology of style, together with many particles, and some modes of construction and forms, which are foreign to the later works.[187] The Brāhmaṇas, however, are only to be regarded as a middle stage between the Vedic hymns (mantras) and the more modern Sanskrit. It is to the hymns of the Rigveda, most of which are separated by an interval of several centuries, even from the Brāhmaṇas, that we must resort if we would discover how wide are the differences between the Sanskrit in its oldest known form and its most modern shape. In these hymns we find various forms of inflection and conjugation which are not to be traced in more modern writings, and numerous words which either disappear altogether in later authors, or are used by them in a different sense. These hymns are, in fact, by far the oldest parts of Indian literature. That this is the case, is proved by the whole nature and contents of the other portions of that literature which is connected with those hymns. The hymns are the essential part of the Veda; all the other writings which bear the name of Veda are dependent on the hymns, and subservient to their explanation or liturgical use. In the commentary called the Vedārtha-prakāśa, on the Taittirīya Sanhitā, p. 9, it is said: *Yadyapi Mantra-brāhmaṇātmako Vedas tathāpi Brāhmaṇasya mantra-vyākhyāna-rūpatvād mantrāḥ eva ādau samāmnātāḥ* | "Al-

[186] The philosophers Rāmānuja and Mādhvāchāryya are called incarnations of S'esha and Vāyu (Wilson's Hindu Sects, pp. 24 and 87), and S'ankara Āchārya is celebrated in the Vṛihad Dharma-purāṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu.—Colebrooke's Essays, i. 103, 104.

[187] Thus, e.g. any one who is familiar with modern Sanskrit will recognize in the passage cited from the Kaushītakī-brāhmaṇa in the first volume of this work (p. 328), a dissimilarity of style. The separation of the particle *abhi* from the verb *abhavat*, in the phrase *abhi Saudāsān abhavat* | "He became superior to the Saudāsas," is a remnant of the Vedic usage. In modern Sanskrit the preposition would not be thus severed from the verb. In the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 10, and 12, the following ancient forms occur, *tāt* for *tasmāt*, "from that," *vṛiṇāsai*, "Do thou choose," or "thou shalt choose."

though the Veda consists of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, yet, as the Brāhmaṇas have the character of explanations of the Mantras, [it follows that] the latter were the first recorded." And in a verse referred to by Śaṅkara Āchārya in his commentary on the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad (Bib. Ind. ii. 855, ff.) it is said: *Brāhmaṇa-prabhavāḥ mantrāḥ* | "The mantras are the sources of the Brāhmaṇas." This may be made clearer by beginning with the most recent parts of the literature connected with the Vedas, and going gradually back to the oldest parts.

First:—Two of the most recent commentators on the Vedas are Sāyaṇa Āchārya, who lived in the fourteenth century A.D.,[188] and wrote a detailed commentary called Vedārthaprakāśa, on the whole of the Rigveda; and Mahīdhara, who compiled a commentary entitled Vedadīpa on the Vājasaneyī Sanhitā of the Yajur-veda.

Second: In such works as these we find reference made to earlier writers on the Vedas, such as Śaunaka, the author of the Bṛihaddevatā, Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, and many others, with quotations from their works.

Professor Müller[189] divides the Vedic literature, properly so called, into four periods, which, in the inverse order of their antiquity, are the Sūtra period, the Brāhmaṇa period, the Mantra period, and the Chhandas period. The Chhandas period, during which the oldest hymns preserved in the Ṛigveda collection were written, he supposes to have lasted from 1200 to 1000 B.C. Then followed the Mantra period, from 1000 to 800 B.C., in the course of which the more recent of the Vedic hymns were composed, and the whole were gathered together into one Sanhitā (or collection). Next in order was the Brāhmaṇa period, from 800 to 600 B.C., during which the chief theological and liturgical tracts bearing this title were composed and collected.[190] And, lastly, we have the Sūtra period, extending from 600

[188] Professor Wilson's Rigveda Sanhitā, Vol. I. Introduc. p. xlviii. Müller, "Chips," (1st ed.) p. 24. Roth, Introd. to Nirukta, p. liii. refers Mahīdhara (if not Sāyaṇa also) to the sixteenth century.

[189] See his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 70, 244, 249, 313, 445, 497, 572.

[190] Professor Haug thinks all these works are older. In the Introduction to his Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vol. i. p. 47, he writes: "We do not hesitate therefore to assign the composition of the bulk of the Brāhmaṇas to the years 1400–1200 B.C.;

to 200 B.C., in which the ceremonial precepts of the earlier tradition were reduced (by men who, however, were no longer, like their predecessors, regarded as inspired) into a more tangible, precise, and systematic form than they had previously possessed. The works of this period were not all composed in the concise form of Sūtras, but some were in verse and others in prose.

Among the latter is the work of Yāska, who (as we have seen, p. 153) is supposed by Professor Müller ("Chips," p. 74) to have lived in the fifth century B.C. Yāska found an earlier work entitled the Nighaṇṭus, made up of classified lists of Vedic, and partly obsolete, words, existing in his day; to which he alludes in the following passage, at the very commencement of his work (i. 1): *samāmnāyaḥ samāmnātaḥ | sa vyākhātavyaḥ | tam imaṁ samāmnāyaṁ "Nighaṇṭavaḥ" ity ācakshate* | "A sacred record (*samāmnāya*) has been compiled, which is to be expounded. This is called the Nighaṇṭus."[191]

And again (in i. 20): *sākshātkṛita-dharmāṇaḥ ṛishayo babhūvuḥ | te 'varebhyo 'sākshātkṛita-dharmabhyaḥ upadeśena mantrān samprāduḥ | upadesāya glāyanto 'vare bilma-grahaṇāya*[192] *imaṁ granthaṁ samāmnāsishur vedaṁ cha vedāngāni cha | [bilmam bhilmam bhāsanam iti vā]*.[193]

"The ṛishis had an intuitive insight into duty. They, by tuition, handed down the mantras to subsequent preceptors, who were destitute of this intuitive perception. These later teachers, declining in the power of communicating instruction, for facility of comprehension through the division of the subject-matter, arranged this book (the Nighaṇṭus), the Veda, and the Vedāngas. [*Bilma* means *bhilma*,

for the Saṁhitā we require a period of *at least* 500–600 years, with an interval of about 200 years between the end of the proper Brāhmaṇa period. Thus we obtain for the bulk of the Saṁhitā the space from 1400–2000; the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that we would fix the very commencement of Vedic Literature between 2400–2000 B.C." See the first volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 2, ff.

[191] On this the commentator Durgācharya annotates as follows: *sa cha [samāmnāyaḥ] ṛishibhir Mantrārtha-parijñānāya udāharaṇabhūtaḥ panchādhyāyī śāstrasangraha-bhāvena ekasminn āmnāye granthīkṛitaḥ ity arthaḥ*. "The sense is, that 'This sacred record which had been set forth by ṛishis as a specimen of the mode of explaining the sense of the mantras, has been formed into one collection in five chapters.'"

[192] "Das splitterweise Fassen," B. and R.

[193] The words in brackets are regarded by Prof. Roth as spurious (Illust. of Nirukta, p. 14, f.). I quote them, however, as they are commented on by Durga.

division, or *bhāsana*, illustration.]" This passage proves at once the priority of the Nighaṇṭus to the Nirukta, and also the still greater antiquity of the hymns which form the subject of explanation in both.[194]

The following are the remarks of Durgāchārya, the commentator, on this passage (Nir. i. 20):—

Śākshātkṛito yair dharmaḥ sākshād dṛishṭo prativiśishṭena tapasā te imē "sākshātkṛita-dharmāṇaḥ" | ke punas te iti | uchyate | "ṛishayaḥ" ṛishanti amushmāt karmaṇaḥ evam-arthavatā mantrēṇa saṁyuktād amunā prakāreṇa evaṁ-lakshaṇa-phala-viparīnāmo bhavati iti ṛishayaḥ | "ṛishir darśanād" iti vakshyati | tad etat karmaṇaḥ phala-viparihāma-darśanam aupachārikyā vṛittyā uktaṁ "sākshātkṛita-dharmāṇaḥ" iti | na hi dharmasya darśanam asti | atyantāpūrvo hi dharmaḥ | āha | kiṁ teshām iti | uchyate | "te 'varebhyo 'sākshātkṛita-dharmabhyaḥ upadeśena mantrān samprāduḥ" | te ye sākshātkṛita-dharmāṇas te 'varebhyo 'vara-kālīnebhyaḥ śakti-hīnebhyaḥ śrutarshibhyaḥ | teshāṁ hi śrutvā tataḥ paśchād ṛishitvam upajāyate na yathā pūrveshāṁ sākshātkṛitadharmāṇāṁ śravaṇam antarā eva | āha | kiṁ tebhyaḥ iti | te 'varebhyaḥ "upadeśena" śishyopādhyāyikayā vṛittyā mantrān granthato 'rthataś cha "samprāduḥ" samprattavantaḥ | te 'pi cha upadeśena eva jagṛihuḥ | atha te 'py "upadeśāya glāyantaḥ avare bilma-grahaṇāya imaṁ granthaṁ samāmnāsishur vedaṁ cha vedāngāni cha" iti | "upadeśāya" upadeśārtham | kathaṁ nāma upadiśyamānam ete śaknuyur gṛihītum ity evam artham adhikṛitya glāyantaḥ khidyamānāḥ teshv [?] agṛihṇatsu tad-anukampayā teshām āyushaḥ

[194] Professor Roth, in his Introduction to the Nirukta, p. xiii, remarks thus on this passage:—"Here Yāska ascribes the compilation of the small collections of words and names which forms the basis of his explanation, in an undefined way to an ancient tradition, not indeed dating from the earliest period, when faith and doctrine flourished without artificial aids, but from the generations next to that era, which strove by arrangement and writing to preserve the treasures which they had inherited. He further puts the Naighaṇṭuka in one class with the Vedas and Vedāngas. By the composition of the Vedas, which Yāska here places in the second period of Indian history, he cannot mean the production of the hymns transmitted by the ṛishis, which were always esteemed in India as the essential part of the Vedas, and were regarded in the same light by Yāska in the passage before us. All, therefore, that could be done by later generations was to arrange these hymns, and commit them to writing. We find here a recollection of a comparatively late reduction into writing of the mental productions of early ages, an event which has not yet attracted sufficient notice in its bearing upon the history of Indian literature."

sankocham avekshya kālānurūpāṁ cha grahaṇa-śaktim "bilmagrahaṇāya imaṁ grantham" gavādi-devapatny-antaṁ samāmnātavantaḥ | kim matam etena iti | uchyate | "vedaṁ cha vedāngāni cha" itarāṇi iti | katham punaḥ samāmnāsishur iti | āha | śṛiṇu | vedaṁ tāvad ekaṁ santam atimahattvād duradhyeyam aneka-śākhā-bhedena samāmnāsishuḥ sukhagrahaṇāya vyāsena samāmnātavantaḥ | te ekaviṁśatidhā bāhvṛichyam ekaśatadhā ādhvaryavaṁ sahasradhā sāmavedaṁ navadhā āthaṛvaṇam | vedāngāny api | tad yathā | vyākaraṇam ashṭadhā niruktaṁ chaturdaśadhā ityevam-ādi | evaṁ, samāmnāsishur bhedena grahaṇārtham | katham nāma | bhinnāny etāni śākhāntarāṇi laghūni sukhaṁ gṛihṇīyur ete śaktihīnāḥ alpāyusho manushyāḥ ity evam-artham samāmnāsishuḥ | bilma-śabdam bhāshya-vākya-prasaktaṁ nirbravīti | yad etad bilmam ity uktam etad bhilmam vedānām bhedanam | bhedo vyāsaḥ ity arthaḥ | "bhāsanam iti vā" | athavā bhāsanam evam bilma-śabdena uchyate | vedānga-vijnāṅena bhāsate prakāśate vedārthaḥ iti | ataḥ idam uktam bilmam iti | evam bhider bhāsater vā bilma-śabdaḥ | evam idam ṛishibhyo niruktaśāstram āyātam itarāṇi cha angāni iti pariśodhitaḥ āgamaḥ |

"They to whose minds duty was clearly present, i.e., by whom through eminent devotion it was intuitively seen, were the persons described by the term *sākshāt-kṛita-dharmāṇas*. Again, who were they? The ṛishis,[195] who are called so because they flow (*ṛishanti*); because from a particular ceremony accompanied by a mantra of such and such import, in a certain way, such and such a reward results. And the author will afterwards declare that the word 'ṛishi' comes from 'seeing' (*darśanāt*). Here 'those who have an intuitive perception of duty' are spoken of in a metaphorical way, as 'seeing' that a reward results from a ceremony; for duty cannot be seen, being something entirely invisible. He proceeds. But what of these ṛishis? He tells us: 'They handed down the mantras by oral tuition to subsequent men, who had not the same intuitive perception of duty,' i.e. those ṛishis who had an intuitive perception of duty handed down the mantras to subsequent men, i.e. to those who were ṛishis by audition (*śrutarshis*), of a later age, and destitute of power; 'ṛishis,' whose

[195] About the different kinds and races of ṛishis, see vol. i. of this work, p. 400, note, and Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 41, col. 2; as well as the 3rd vol. of this work, passim; see the index.

ṛishihood arose from what they had heard from others, and not without hearing, as was the case with those earlier ṛishis who had an intuitive perception of duty. He proceeds. What did the earliest ṛishis do to these later ones? They handed down the mantras by tuition (viz., by the function of instructing their pupils) according to their text and meaning;[196] and the pupils received them through tuition. Then 'these later men, being grieved,[197] with the view of affording instruction, arranged this book and the Veda, and the Vedāngas, in portions, for facility of comprehension.' 'For the purpose of instruction:' 'grieved,' afflicted by the apprehension that their pupils would not comprehend what was taught them; and when they did not understand, being actuated by compassion towards them, and having regard to the greater shortness of their lives, and to the diminution in their power of comprehension, which was occasioned by the influence of the times, they compiled this book [the Nighaṇṭu], beginning with '*gau*,' and ending with '*devapatnyas*,' in parts, for facility of comprehension by division of the subject-matter. He next tells us what is meant by this: the Vedas, and the other Vedāngas. But how did they compile these works? He tells us, listen: By separation, they arranged the Veda (which being up to that period one, was difficult to study, from its extreme magnitude) in a number of different Śākhās, for the purpose of easier comprehension. The Rigveda was arranged in 21 śākhās, the Yajush in 101, the Sāma in 1,000, the Ātharvaṇa in 9: and similarly the Vedāngas; grammar in 8 books, the Nirukta in 14, and so on, in order that they might be apprehended in a divided state; i.e. that powerless and shortlived men might easily be able to understand these several Śākhās, when divided and of limited extent. He now explains the word '*bilma*.' . . . . *Bilma* = *bhilma*, means the division of the Vedas, and division stands for separate arrangement. Or it means *bhāsanam*, elucidation; i.e. the sense of the Vedas becomes clear from a knowledge of the vedāngas, or supplements to the Veda. Thus *bilma* is from the root *bhid*, or the root *bhās*. In this way this

[196] So Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 522) renders *granthato arthataścha*, denying to the word "grantha" the sense of *written book*. This rendering is approved by Prof. Goldstücker (Pāṇini, p. 32), though he holds that "grantha" properly means a written book (*ibid.* p. 27).

[197] It will be seen that in p. 165, I have understood the word *glāyantaḥ* in the sense of "declining."

Nirukta Śāstra, and the other Vedāngas have descended from the ṛishis. Thus the scripture has been elucidated."

The Nighaṇṭus, the lists of words which form the subject of the preceding remarks, were prefixed by Yāska to his own work, the Nirukta, in which, by commenting on them, he endeavours to throw light on the obscurities of the Veda.[198] When this work of Yāska was written, and even at a much earlier period, it is evident that the sense of many of the Vedic words had been commonly forgotten. This appears from the very fact of such works as the Nighaṇṭus and Nirukta being composed at all. For what occasion was there for compiling vocabularies of Vedic words, if the sense of these words had continued all along familiar to the students of the Vedas? The necessity for works like his own is argued by Yāska in the following passage (Nir. i. 15):

Athāpi idam antareṇa mantreshv artha-pratyayo na vidyate | artham apratiyato nātyantaṁ svara-saṁskāroddeśaḥ | tad idaṁ vidyā-sthānaṁ vyākaraṇasya kārtsnyaṁ svārtha-sādhakaṁ cha |

"Now without this work the meaning of the hymns cannot be understood; but he who does not comprehend their meaning cannot thoroughly know their accentuation and grammatical forms. Therefore, this department of science is the complement of grammar, and an instrument for gaining one's own object."[199]

The same thing is also clear from many passages in his work, in which he attempts to explain Vedic words by their etymologies[200]

[198] "The Naighaṇṭuka," says Professor Roth (Introd. to Nirukta, p. lii.), "especially the second portion of it, was a collection of difficult and obsolete words, which formed a basis for instruction in the mode of expounding the Veda, such as was usually given in the schools of the Brahmans. At that period no need was felt of continuous commentaries; and in fact learning had not then become separated into so many branches. A memorandum of the terms denoting the ideas of most frequent occurrence in the Veda, and of the principal passages which required elucidation; a simple list of the gods and the objects of worship, such as we find in the Naighaṇṭuka, sufficed as a manual for oral instruction. At a later era this manual became the subject of formal and written explanation. To this period belongs the Nirukta."

[199] This passage is translated by Roth, Nirukta, Erläuterungen, p. 11. And Sāyaṇa says in the Introd. to his Commentary on the Rigveda, vol. i. p. 39, *tasmād vedārthāvabodhāya upayuktaṁ niruktam* | "Hence the Nirukta is serviceable for the understanding of the meaning of the Veda."

[200] See Roth's Erläuterungen to Nirukta, p. 219, ff. "Vedic interpretation could impose on itself no greater obstruction than to imagine that the Indian commentators were infallible, or that they had inherited traditions which were of any value. Even a superficial examination shows that their plan of interpretation is the very opposite

(a process, often tentative, which would have been unnecessary if their meanings had been perfectly known), or in which he cites the opinions of different classes of interpreters who had preceded him, and who had severally propounded different explanations. This further shows that in Yāska's time the signification of the hymns had formed the subject of investigation by learned men of different schools for many ages preceding. The following passage will illustrate this, as well as afford some insight into the subjects and manner of discussion at the period when he lived. "In the Nirukta, i. 15, 16, he thus (in continuation of the passage last cited) alludes to the opinion entertained by one of his predecessors, Kautsa,[201] regarding the value

of traditional, that it is in reality a grammatical and etymological one, which only agrees with the former method in the erroneous system of explaining every verse, every line, every word by itself, without inquiring if the results so obtained harmonize with those derived from other quarters. If the fact that none of the commentators are in possession of anything more than a very simple set of conceptions regarding, e.g., the functions of a particular god, or even the entire contents of the hymns, which they are continually intruding into their interpretations, be regarded as a proof of their having inherited a tradition, it will at least be admitted that this poverty of ideas is not a thing which we have any reason to covet. In this set of conceptions are included those scholastic ideas which were introduced at an early period indeed, but not until the hymns had already become the subject of learned study, and the religious views and social circumstances on which they are based had lost all living reality. . . . "What is true of Sāyaṇa, or any of the other later commentators, applies essentially to Yāska also. He, too, is a learned interpreter, who works with the materials which his predecessors had collected, but he possesses an incalculable advantage, in point of time, over those compilers of detailed and continuous commentaries, and belongs to a quite different literary period; viz., to that when Sanskrit was still undergoing a process of natural growth." Compare Benfey's remarks on the Vedic scholiasts, in the Introduction to his Sāmaveda, pp. lxv, f., where he observes: "How high soever may be the antiquity assigned to the oldest grammatical and hermeneutical treatises on the Vedas, a long period appears to have intervened between these and the composition of the greater portion of the hymns, during which very much that was peculiar to the Vedas was forgotten. Their interpretations rest essentially (as is shown not merely by the commentaries which have been alluded to, but also by Yāska's Nirukta) on etymology, on conclusions drawn from the context, and the comparison of similar passages. The oldest attempts at interpretation seem to be contained in Brāhmaṇas, in collections of passages (*nigama*), in collections of words (*nighaṇṭu*) and in explanations (*nirukta*), of which last, two are mentioned by Sāyaṇa (R.V. vol. i. p. 45, lines 16 and 18), viz., one by Śākapūṇi and another by Sthaulāshṭhīvi, in addition to that of Yāska."

[201] See Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, p. 21, f. where he writes: "The rationalistic Kautsa could regard the Veda as devoid of meaning, and the Brāhmaṇas as false interpretations."

of the Vedic interpretation:

"Yadi mantrārtha-pratyayāya anarthakam bhavati" iti Kautsaḥ | "anarthakāḥ hi mantrāḥ | tad etena upekshitavyam | niyata-vācho yuktayo niyatānupūrvyāḥ bhavanti | athāpi brāhmaṇena rūpa-sampannāḥ vidhīyante | 'uru prathasva' iti prathayati | 'prohāṇi' iti prohati | athāpi aṇupapannārthāḥ bhavanti | 'oshadhe trāyasva enam' | 'svadhite mā enaṁ himsīr' [Taitt. S., i. 2, 1] *ity āha himsan | athāpi pratishiddhārthāḥ bhavanti | 'ekaḥ eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitīyaḥ' | 'asaṁkhyātā sahasrāṇi ye Rudrāḥ adhi bhūmyām' | 'aśatrur Indra jajnishe' | 'śataṁ senāḥ ajayat sākam Indraḥ' | iti | athāpi jānantam sampreshyati 'Agnaye samidhyamānāya anubrūhi' iti | athāpy āha 'Aditiḥ sarvam' iti 'Aditir dyaur Aditir antarikshaṁ' iti" | tad uparishṭhād vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | "athāpy avispashṭhārthāḥ bhavanti | 'amyak' | 'yādṛiśmin' | 'jārayāyi' | 'kāṇukā' iti" | arthavantaḥ śabda-sāmānyāt | "etad vai yajnasya samṛiddham yad rūpa-samṛiddham yat karma kriyamāṇam ṛig yajur vā 'bhivadati"* (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i. 4) *iti cha brāhmaṇam | "krīlantau putrair naptṛibhir" iti | yatho etad "niyatavācho yuktayo niyatanupūrvyāḥ bhavanti" iti laukikeshv apy etad yathā "Indrāgnī" "pitāputrāv" iti | yatho etad "brāhmaṇena rūpa-sampannāḥ vidhīyante" ity uditānuvādaḥ sa bhavati | yatho etaj "anupapannārthāḥ bhavanti" ity āmnāyavachanād ahiṁsā pratīyeta | yatho etad "vipratishiddhārthāḥ bhavanti" iti | laukikeshv apy etad yathā "asapatno 'yam brāhmaṇaḥ" "anamitro 'yaṁ rājā" iti | yatho etaj "jānantaṁ sampreshyati" iti jānantam abhivādayate jānate madhuparkam prāha iti | yatho etad "Aditiḥ sarvam" iti laukikeshv apy etad yathā "sarvarasāḥ anuprāptāḥ pānīyam" iti | yatho etad "avispashṭhārthāḥ bhavanti" iti | na esha sthāṇor aparādho yad enam andho na paśyati purushāparādhaḥ sa bhavati | yathā jānapadīshu vidyātaḥ purusha-viśesho bhavati | pārovarya-vitsu tu khalu veditṛishu bhūyo-vidyaḥ praśasto bhavati |*

I will, in my translation, place the answers of Yāska opposite to the objections of Kautsa (though they are separated in the text), and thus economize space, as well as make the discussion clearer.[202]

[202] See Dr. Roth's translation of this passage in the first of his Abhandlungen, p. 21, and in his Erläuterungen to the Nirukta, pp. 11–13. There are, however, some parts of the passage of which I do not clearly understand the bearing.

Kautsa objects.	*Yāska replies.*
1. "If the science of interpretation is intended to make the sense of the mantras clear, it is useless, for the mantras have no sense. This is to be seen as follows."	1. "The mantras have a sense, for their words are the same (as those in the ordinary language). A Brāhmaṇa (the Aitareya, i. 4) says, 'What is appropriate in its form, is successful in the sacrifice; that is to say, when the verse [*ṛich* or *yajush*] which is recited refers to the ceremony which is being performed.'[203] An example of the identity of the Vedic language with the ordinary speech is this, '*kṛīlantau*,' etc. ('sporting with sons and grandsons')."
2. "The propositions [in the hymns and texts] have certain fixed words, and a certain fixed arrangement;" [and so require no interpretation?]	2. "This is the case in ordinary language also, e.g. *Indrāgnī, pitāputrau* ('Indra and Agni,' father and son')."
3. "The mantras have the ritual forms to which they refer fixed and enjoined by the Brāhmaṇas [and, therefore, need no further explanation]: thus 'Spread thyself widely out,' [Vāj. S., i. 22] and so he spreads; 'Let me pour out,' and so he pours."	3. "This is a mere repetition of what had been already said [and consequently calls for no further answer?]."
4. "They prescribe what is impracticable: thus, 'deliver him, O plant:' 'Axe, do not injure him,' thus he speaks while striking." [Taitt. Saṅh., i. 2, 1; see also Vāj. S., iv. 1; vi. 15.]	4. "According to the sacred tradition it must be understood that no injury is to be inflicted."
5. "Their contents are at variance with each other: thus, 'There exists but one Rudra, and no second;' and again, 'There are innumerable thousands of Rudras over the earth' [Vāj. S., xvi. 54]; and, 'Indra, thou hast been born without a foe' [R. V., x. 133, 2]; and again, 'Indra vanquished a hundred armies at once.'" [R. V., x. 103, 1.]	5. "The same thing occurs in ordinary language: thus, 'This Brāhman is without a rival;' 'The king has no enemies.'"

[203] This version is borrowed from Prof. Haug's translation, p. 11. The words quoted in the Nirukta occur in Ait. Br. i. 4, with the exception of "*yajur vā*."

6. "A person is enjoined to do an act with which he is already acquainted: thus, 'Address the hymn to the fire which is being kindled' [Śatap. Br., i. 3, 5, 2. This is said by the adhvaryu priest to the hotṛi. Roth.]"[204]

7. "Again it is said: 'Aditi is everything;' 'Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the atmosphere;'" [R. V., i. 89, 10].

8. "The signification of the mantras is indistinct, as in the case of such words as *amīvak* [R. V., i. 169, 3], *yādṛiśmin* [R. V., v. 44, 8], *jārayāyi* [R. V., vi. 12, 4], *kāṉukā*." [R. V., viii. 66, 4].[205]

6. "In the same way people are saluted by their names, though they already know them; and the *madhuparka* (a dish of curds, ghee and honey) is mentioned to those who are well acquainted with the custom."

7. "This will be explained further on [see Nir., iv. 23]. The same thing is said in common language: thus, 'All fluids (or flavours) reside in water.'"[205]

8. "It is not the fault of the post, that the blind man does not see it. It is the man's fault. Just as in respect of local usages men are distinguished by superior knowledge; so too, among those learned men who are skilled in tradition, he who knows most is worthy of approbation."

Durga, the commentator, does not enter on a detailed explanation of this passage. He merely refers as follows to its general scope:—

Athāpi idam antareṉa pada-vibhāgo na vidyate | śāstrārambha-prayojanādhikāre varttamāne atha idam antareṉa mantreshv arthāvadhāraṇaṁ nāsti ity ukte yadi mantretyādinā ānarthakya-hetubhir bahubhir ānarthakye upapādite nirukta-śāstrasya Kautsena mantrāṉām arthavattaṁ sthāpayitvā para-paksha-hetavaḥ pratyuktāḥ | teshu sthitam arthavatvam mantrāṉām | teshām arthanirvachanāya idam ārabhyamāṇam arthavad ity upapannam arthavattvaṁ nirukta-śāstrasya | tad etat sarvam api chodaka-śāstrakāra-vyājena prasaktānuprasaktam uktam prajnāyāḥ vivriddhaye śishyasya | kathaṁ nāma asāv avivriddha-prajnaḥ śabdārtha-nyāya-sankaṭeshu hetu-samayānabhijnaḥ paraiḥ pratibadhyamāno 'pi padārthān vākyārthāṁś cha asammohenā nirbrūyād iti.

"The student being supposed to have an occasion and a right to

[204] See Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 472, note 1.

[205] Compare Raghuvansa, x. 16, *rasāntarāṉy ekarasaṁ yathā divyam payo 'śnute*| "As rain water, which has but one flavour, [when it has fallen] imbibes other flavours," etc.

[206] See my article on the interpretation of the Veda in the Journal of the Roy. As. Society, vol. ii. new series, p. 329, 334, 337; and Böhtlingk and Roth, s. vv. *myaksh*, *yādṛiśa*, (3) *jar*, and *kāṉukā*; as well as Roth's dissertation on the Atharva-veda, p. 21.

enter on the study of this Śāstra, and the proposition having been laid down that, without the Nirukta, the sense of the mantras cannot be understood, Kautsa, in the words, "if the science," etc., adduces many reasons for declaring the mantras to have no meaning, and on these he grounds an assertion that the Nirukta is useless. Yāska in reply states the reasons on the other side in support of the mantras having a meaning, which point he accordingly establishes. And as this work (the Nirukta), which is being commenced, is useful for the explanation of their meaning, its utility is demonstrated. Thus, under the guise of an objector[207] [who is answered by] the author of the treatise, an opportunity is taken of stating the arguments on both sides, with the view of increasing the student's intelligence. For how is that student, of immature understanding, ignorant too of reasons and conclusions, when he encounters difficulties connected with the proper explication of words, and is even hindered by other persons, to explain without perplexity the meaning of words and sentences?"

It would seem from this that Durgācharya looked upon Kautsa as being merely a man of straw, into whose mouth objections against the significance of the Vedas were put by Yāska, in order that he might himself refute them. It does not, however, appear why Kautsa, whose name appears in the old genealogical lists of teachers in one of the Brāhmaṇas (Müller, Ancient Sansk. Lit., pp. 181, 442), should be viewed in the light of a fictitious "Devadatta," any more than any other of the numerous earlier writers referred to in the Nirukta. There seems to be no other reason than this, that Durga did not, perhaps, wish his contemporaries to believe that there had been in early times any old grammarian who either rejected the authority of the Vedas, or differed from the customary methods of treating and interpreting them.

In Nirukta ii. 16, Yāska refers to the opinions of various former schools regarding the meaning of the word Vṛitra:—

Tat ko Vṛittraḥ | "meghaḥ" iti nairuktāḥ | "Tvāshṭro 'suraḥ" ity aitihāsikāḥ | apāṁ cha jyotishaś cha miśrībhāva-karmaṇo varsha-karma jāyate | tatra upamārthena yuddha-varṇāḥ bhavanti | ahi-vat tu khalu

[207] I am indebted to the late Dr. Ballantyne and Professor Cowell for a correction of the sense I formerly assigned to the word *chodaka*.

mantra-varṇāḥ brāhmaṇa-vādāś cha | vivṛiddhyā śarīrasya srotāṁsi nivārayānchakāra | tasmin hate prasasyandire āpaḥ |

"Who was Vṛitra? 'A cloud,' says the Nairuktas (etymologists): 'an Asura, son of Tvashṭṛi,' say the Aitihāsikas (story-tellers). The fall of rain arises from the mingling of the waters and of light. This is figuratively depicted as a conflict. The hymns and Brāhmaṇas describe Vṛitra as a serpent. By the expansion of his body, he blocked up the streams. When he was destroyed, the waters flowed forth."

In Nir. iii. 8, he alludes to the views of older writers regarding the Vedic word *panchajana*:—"*Panchajanāḥ mama hotraṁ jushadhvam*" | (R.V., x. 53, 4). "*Gandharvāḥ pitaro devāḥ asurāḥ rakshāṁsi*" *ity eke* | "*chatvāro varṇāḥ nishādaḥ panchamaḥ*" *ity Aupamanyavaḥ* | "'Ye five' classes of beings, frequent my sacrifice.' These five classes of beings are the 'Gandharvas, Pitṛis, Devas, Asuras, and Rakshases,' say some: They are 'the four castes with the Nishādas for a fifth,' says Aupamanyava."

In Nir. viii. 21, f., Yāska thus speculates on the feelings which had led some of his predecessors to regard the introductory and concluding portions of the ritual of sacrifice, styled *prayāja* and *anuyāja*, as addressed to other deities than Agni:—

"*Atha kiṁ-devatāḥ prayājānuyājāḥ | āgneyāḥ*" *ity eke* | . . "*Agneyāḥ vai prayājāḥ āgneyāḥ anuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | "*chhando-devatāḥ*" *ity aparam* | "*chhandāṁsi vai prayājāś chhandāṁsy anuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | "*ṛitu-devatāḥ*" *ity aparam* | "*ṛitavo vai prayājāḥ ṛitavo 'nuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | "*paśu-devatāḥ*" *ity aparam* | "*paśavo vai prayājāḥ paśavo 'nuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | "*prāṇa-devatāḥ*" *ity aparam* | "*prāṇāḥ vai prayājāḥ prāṇāḥ vai anuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | "*ātma-devatāḥ*" *ity aparam* | "*ātmā vai prayājāḥ atmā vai anuyājāḥ*" *iti cha brāhmaṇam* | *āgneyāḥ iti tu sthitiḥ | bhakti-mātram itarat | kimartham punar iti | uchyate | yasyai devatāyai havir gṛihītaṁ syāt tām manasā dhyāyed vashaṭkarishyann iti ha vijnāyate |*

"Now, who is the god to whom the *prayājas* and the *anuyājas* (introductory and concluding sacrificial acts) are addressed? 'Agni,' say some. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* belong to Agni.' Another opinion is that they have *chhandas* (metre) for their deity. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* are metres.' A third view is that they have the seasons for their deities.

For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* are seasons.' A fourth view is that they have sacrificial victims for their deities. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* are victims?' A fifth view is that they have the vital airs for their deities. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* are the vital airs.' A sixth view is that they have soul for their deity. For a Brāhmaṇa says, 'the *prayājas* and *anuyājas* are soul.' I maintain the opinion that the hymns have Agni for their deity. The other views arise from mere devotion [to particular gods]. But why are these various views put forward? Because it is well known to be a precept that the person who is about to offer an oblation should meditate on the particular deity for whom it is intended."

In Nirukta xii. 1, he states the different views which had been put forward regarding the gods called Aśvins:—*Aśvair aśvināv·ity Aurṇavabhaḥ | tat kāv aśvinau | "dyāvā-pṛithivyāv" ity eke | "ahorātrāv" ity eke | "sūrya-chandramasāv" ity eke | "rājānāu puṇyakṛitāv" ity aitihāsikāḥ |* "'The Aśvins are so called from their horses (*aśvais*),' says Aurṇavābha. But who are the Aśvins? 'Heaven and earth,' say some; 'day and night,' say others: while others again say, 'the sun and moon.' 'They were virtuous kings,' say the Aitihāsikas." [208]

In Nirukta xii. 19, he states the various expositions given of a passage regarding Vishṇu:—*Yad idaṁ kincha tad vichakrame Vishṇuḥ | tridhā nidhatte padaṁ tredhābhāvāya pṛithivyām antarikshe divi iti*

[208] See Roth's Erläut. pp. 220-221, for some remarks on these old interpreters of the Veda. "Older expounders of the Vedas in general are," he says, "called by Yāska simply Nairuktas; and when he notices any difference in the conception of the Vedic gods, those interpreters who take the euhemeristic view are called Aitihāsikas. In addition to the exposition of the Veda in the stricter sense, there existed also liturgical interpretations of numerous passages, such as we find in the Brāhmaṇas and other kindred treatises, in which it was attempted to bring the letter of the received text into harmony with the existing ceremonial. Such liturgical interpretations are called by Yāska those of the Yājnikas, or 'persons skilled in sacrificial rites.' Akin to theirs appears to have been the mode of interpretation adopted by the Naidānas. . . . Under this head we must probably understand that method of explanation which, differing from the grammatical etymologies, referred the origin of the words and conceptions to occasions which were in a certain sense historical. The Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads abound in such historical or mythological etymologies, which are to be found in all ages and among all nations; etymologies which their own inventors do not regard as serious, but which, from their connexion with other ideas, obtain a certain importance in the religious system."

Śākapūṇiḥ | samārohaṇe vishṇupade gayaśirasi ity Aurṇavābhaḥ | "Vishṇu strode over all this universe: thrice he plants his foot. This he does in order to his threefold existence, 'on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' says Śākapūṇi: 'At his rising, in the zenith, and at his setting,' says Aurṇavābha."

In Nir. xii. 41, we have another reference to the Brāhmaṇas:—*Agninā Agnim ayajanta devāḥ | "Agniḥ paśur āsīt | tam ālabhanta tena ayajanta" iti cha brāhmaṇam |* "The gods sacrificed Agni (fire), with fire. 'Agni was the victim; him they immolated, with him they sacrificed;' so says a Brāhmaṇa."

We thus see that in various passages of his work Yāska refers also to the Brāhmaṇas; they must therefore have been older than his time.

The following is a list of the writers whom Yāska quotes as having preceded him in the interpretation of the Vedas:—Agrāyaṇa, Audumbarāyaṇa, Aurṇavābha, Kāṭthakya, Kautsa, Kraushṭuki, Gārgya, Gālava, Charmaśirās, Taiṭīki, Vārshyāyaṇi, Śatabalāksha the Maudgalya, Śākaṭāyana, Śākapūṇi, Śākalya, and Sthaulāshṭhīvi.[209]

The subjoined passage from the twelfth section of the first Pariśishṭa or supplement to the Nirukta (considered by Professor Roth, Nir. ii. p. 208, to be the work of some author subsequent to Yāska), relating to the antiquity of the Mantras, and the qualifications necessary for expounding them, is of considerable interest:—

Ayam mantrārtha-chintābhyūho abhyūḍho 'pi śrutito 'pi tarkataḥ | na tu pṛithaktvena mantrāḥ nirvaktavyāḥ prakaraṇaśaḥ eva nirvaktavyāḥ | na hy eshu pratyaksham asty anṛisheḥ atapaso vā | "pārovarya-vitsu tu khalu veditṛishu bhūyo-vidyaḥ praśasyo bhavati," ity uktam purastāt | manushyāḥ vai ṛishishu utkrāmatsu devān abruvan "ko nah ṛishir bhavishyati," iti | tebhyaḥ etaṁ tarkam ṛishim prāyachhan mantrārtha-chintābhyūham abhyūḍham | tasmād yad eva kincha anūchāno 'bhyūhaty ārshaṁ tad bhavati |

"This reflective deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of sacred tradition and reasoning. The texts are not to be interpreted as isolated, but according to their context. For a person who is not a ṛishi or a devotee has no intuitive insight[210] into their

[209] Roth, Erläuter., pp. 221, 222.

[210] See the passage above quoted (p. 165) from Nirukta i. 20; and the third volume of this work, pp. 125, ff., 183.

meaning. We have said before that 'among those men who are versed in tradition, he who is most learned deserves especial commendation.' When the ṛishis were ascending [from the earth], men inquired of the gods, 'Who shall be our ṛishi?' The gods gave them for a ṛishi this science of reasoning, this art of deducing by reflection the sense of the hymns. Therefore, whatever meaning any learned man deduces by reasoning, that possesses authority equal to a ṛishi's."

Here there is to be remarked a recognition of the necessity of reason as a co-factor, in the ascertainment of religious truth, or the definition of ceremonial practice. With this may be compared the whole tendency of the Sānkhya doctrine, which is virtually, if not avowedly, founded on reasoning; and the assertion of Bhāskara (see above, p. 161, note 182), that in the mathematical sciences, scripture, if unsupported by demonstration, is of no authority.

The same confidence in the inherent force of the human intellect is exhibited by Bhāskara in another place, in these memorable words:—*Yadā punar mahatā kālena mahad antaram bhavishyati tadā matimanto Brahmaguptādināṁ samāna-dharmiṇaḥ eva utpatsyante | ye tad-upalabdhy-anusāriṇīṁ gatim ururīkṛitya śāstrāṇi vyākarishyanti | ataḥ eva gaṇita-skandho mahāmatimadbhir dhṛitaḥ sann anādy-anante 'pi kāle khiṭatvaṁ na yāti |* "When, again, after a long period, there shall be a great distance [observable in the position of the stars], then intelligent men of like character with Brahmagupta and other mathematicians will arise, who, admitting a movement in consonance with observation, will compose treatises accordingly. Hence the science of astronomy, being maintained by men of great ability, shall never fail in time, though it has no beginning nor end." See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, ii. 381.

In the first volume of this work some passages have been already adduced from Yāska regarding the origin of particular Vedic hymns of which he explains verses. One of these texts relates to the Ṛishi Viśvāmitra, and another to the Ṛishi Devāpi. See vol. i., pp. 269, and 338.

Third:—I now proceed to the Brāhmaṇas, to which we have been led back through the ascending series of more recent works, as the oldest expository writings on the Vedic hymns. They are consequently later than the hymns, the most ancient portion of Indian

literature. But while the other explanatory and prescriptive books connected with the Vedas, such as the grammatical and ceremonial Sūtras, etc., are not regarded as having any independent divine authority, the Brāhmaṇas, on the contrary, are considered as a part of the Veda itself. This will appear from the following passages from Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Rigveda: *Mantra-brāhmaṇātmakaṁ tāvad adushṭaṁ lakshaṇam | ataḥ eva Āpastambo yajna-paribhāshāyām eva āha "mantra-brāhmaṇayor veda-nāmadheyam" iti |* [211] "The definition of the Veda, as consisting of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, is unobjectionable. Hence Āpastamba says, in the Yajna paribhāshā, 'Veda is the name applied to Mantra and Brāhmaṇa.'" Again: *Mantra-brāhmaṇa-rūpau dvāv eva veda-bhāgāv ity āṅgīkārād mantra-lakshaṇasya pūrvam abhihitatvād avaśishṭo veda-bhāgo brāhmaṇam ity etal lakshaṇam bhavishyati |* [212] "It being admitted that there are two parts of the Veda, viz., Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, as the Mantra has been already defined, the definition of Brāhmaṇa will be, that it is the remaining portion of the Veda."

In regard to the Sūtras and Smṛitis, the author of the Nyāyamālā-vistara says, i. 3, 24:—

Baudhāyanāpastambāśvalāyaṇa-kātyāyanādi-nāmānkitāḥ kalpa-sūtrādigranthāḥ nigama-nirukta-shaḍaṅga-granthāḥ Manv-ādi-smṛitayaś cha apaurusheyāḥ dharma-buddhi-janakatvād veda-vat | na cha mūla-pramāṇa-sāpekshatvena veda-vaishamyam iti śaṅkanīyam | utpannāyāḥ buddheḥ svataḥ prāmāṇyāṅgīkāreṇa nirapekshatvāt | mā evam | uktānumānasya kālatyayāpadishṭatvāt | Baudhāyana-sūtram Āpastamba-sūtram ity evam purusha-nāmnā te granthāḥ uchyante | na cha Kāṭhakādi-samākhyā-vat pravachana-nimittatvaṁ yuktaṁ tad-grantha-nirmāṇa-kāle tadānīntanaiḥ kaiśchid upalabdhatvāt | tach cha avichhinna-pāramparyeṇa anuvarttate | tataḥ Kālidāsādi-grantha-vat paurusheyāḥ | tathāpi veda-mūlatvāt pramāṇam | . . . . maivam | kalpasya vedatvaṁ na adyāpi siddham | kintu prayatnena sādhanīyam | na cha tat sādhayituṁ śakyam paurusheyatvasya samākhyayā tat-kartur upalambhena cha sādhitatvāt |

"Some persons have asserted that the Kalpa-sūtras and other works designated by the names of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Kātyāyana, etc., and the Nigama, Nirukta, and six Vedāngas, together

[211] Rigveda, Müller's edition, vol. i. p. 4.
[212] Rigveda, Müller's edition, vol. i. p. 22.

with the Smṛitis of Manu and others, are superhuman, because they impart to men a comprehension of duty, like the Vedas; and that they are not to be suspected of dissimilarity to the Vedas, from the fact of their appealing to the authority of the original text; for the knowledge of duty which they impart is independent, because it is admitted to be self-evidencing. But this view is incorrect; for the inference in question proceeds upon an erroneous generalization.[213] These works are called by the names of men; as, 'the Sūtras of Baudhāyana,' 'the Sūtras of Āpastamba,' etc.; and these designations cannot properly be derived from the fact that these works were studied by those whose names they bear, as is actually the case in regard to the Kāṭhaka and other parts of the Veda; for it was known to some of their contemporaries at the time of the composition of these Sūtras and Smṛitis, etc., that they were then being composed: and this knowledge has come down by unbroken tradition. Hence, like the works of Kālidāsa and others, the books in question are of human origin. Nevertheless, from being founded on the Veda, they are authoritative." . . . And again: "It is not yet proved that the Kalpa-sūtras are part of the Veda; and it would require great labour to prove it; and, in fact, it is impossible to prove it. For the human origin of this book is established by its name, and by its being observed to have had an author."[214]

The Brāhmaṇas, however, as I have said, notwithstanding their antiquity, and the authority which is ascribed to them as a constituent part of the Veda, are far from being so old as the hymns. On the subject of these works Professor Roth makes some remarks in his Introduction to the Nirukta, p. xxiv. ff.; which I translate with some abridgments.[215]

"The difference in contents between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kalpa-books, if judged according to detached passages, might appear to be very small and indeterminate, though even at first sight it is undeniable that the two classes of writings are easily distinguishable as regards their position and estimation in the whole body of religious

[213] See the third volume of this work, pp. 84, note 89, 179, f., 290, and 312.

[214] On the difference in authority between the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras, etc., see Müller's "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 75-107.

[215] I refer for further information to Prof. Müller's section on the Brāhmaṇas in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," particularly to pp. 342, ff., 389, 428, 429, 431–435.

literature. In fact, the difference between them is most essential. Though both treat of divine worship in its widest extent, yet in the Brāhmaṇa it is the subject of description in quite a different sense from what it is in the Kalpa-śāstra. The object of the latter is to represent the whole course of the sacred rites which have a place in any particular department of worship, e.g. it defines exactly which of the priests present at a ceremony has to perform a part at each point of the sacred rite. This is a very essential matter in Indian sacrifices. . . . It is further prescribed in these works what hymns and invocations are to be uttered, and how. As a rule, however, the strophes are indicated only by the initial words, and pre-suppose other collections in which they must have been put together according to the order of their employment in worship. . . . Finally, these works prescribe the time, the place, the forms, of the rites of worship, with all the preceding and following practices. In short, the Kalpa-books are complete systems of ritual prescription, which have no other object than to designate the entire course of the sacred ceremonial with all that accuracy which is demanded for acts done in the presence of the gods, and to their honour.

"The aim of a Brāhmaṇa is something very different. As its name indicates, its subject is the 'brahma,' the sacred element in the rite, not the rite itself. Something holy, the conception of the divine, lies veiled beneath the ceremony. It has now obtained a sensible form, which must, however, remain a mystery for those to whom that conception is unknown. He only who knows the divinity, its manifestation and its relation to men, can explain the signification of the symbol. Such an explanation the Brāhmaṇa aims at giving; it proposes to unfold the essence of theological wisdom, which is hidden under the mode of worship inherited from ancient times. From this cause arises the mysterious, concise, often dark, style of the language which we find in these books. They are, indeed, the oldest prose which is preserved to us in Indian literature.

"An example of these symbolical explanations is subjoined, from the beginning of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa:—At the commencement of certain sacrifices, clarified butter is offered to Agni and Vishṇu in eleven platters. This is done by preference to these two deities, the Brāhmaṇa explains, because they embrace the whole pantheon, Agni

as the lowest of the gods (the fire of the hearth and altar), and Vishṇu as the highest (the sun in the zenith); and thus sacrifice is offered to all the gods in the persons of these two. Eleven platters are presented, though there are only two gods; eight of the platters are claimed by Agni, because the gāyatrī, the metre sacred to him, has eight syllables; three platters belong to Vishṇu, because he traverses the heavens in three strides (the three stations of his rising, his culmination, and his setting).

"Such explanations may as frequently be the mere inventions of a religious philosophy (encountered by us here in its oldest form), which delights in bold parallels, and a pretentious exegesis, as actual recollections of the beginnings of the liturgy, in which, among a people like the Indians, we may reasonably expect to find delicate and thoughtful references. These books will always continue to be to us the most valuable sources for tracing the beginnings of thought on divine things; and, at the same time, sources from which we may draw the most varied information regarding the conceptions on which the entire system of worship, as well as the social and hierarchical order, of India, are founded. In proof of this, I will only refer to the lights which may be derived from the seventh and eighth books of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa on the position of the castes, and on the regal and sacerdotal dignities. The Brāhmaṇas are the dogmatical books of the Brāhmans; not a scientifically marshalled system of tenets, but a collection of dogmas, as they result from religious practice. They were not written as a complete exposition of the principles of belief; but they are necessary towards such an exposition, because they were meant to explain and establish the whole customary ceremonial of worship.

"It is impossible not to perceive that the Brāhmaṇas are based upon a pre-existing, widely-ramified, and highly-developed system of worship. The further the practice of sacred institutions has advanced, the less distinctly are those who practise them conscious of their meaning. Gradually, around the central portion of the ceremony, which in its origin was perfectly transparent and intelligible, there grows up a mass of subordinate observances, which in proportion as they are developed in detail, become more loosely connected with the fundamental thought. The form, becoming more independent, loses its

symbolical purport. The Indian worship had already reached such a stage, when the religious reflection exhibited in the Brāhmaṇas began to work upon it. Here, as in all the other religious systems of antiquity, the observation is verified that it is not religious dogmas, and reflection upon these, that give birth to forms of worship, but that it is religious worship, which (itself the product of religious feeling, inspired by, and become subservient to, a conception of the divine) becomes, in its turn, the parent of a more developed and firmly defined theology. Such was the relation of the Brāhmaṇas to the current worship. The Brāhmaṇa does not appeal to the dicta of the sacred hymns as its own first and most immediate source, but rather rests upon the customary ceremonial, and upon the earlier conceptions of that ceremonial. The Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, for instance, from which I borrow details, appeals not only to authorities (to whom written compositions are never ascribed), such as the Ṛishi Śrauta (vii. 1); Saujāta, son of Arāḷha (vii. 22); Rāma, son of Mṛigū (vii. 34); Maitreya, son of Kushāru (viii. 38), etc., or to preceding sacrificial ceremonials of the same kind; but further, the whole form of its representation is based upon the tradition of earlier custom. Its customary formula for this, which is continually recurring at the head of a new passage, is *tadā "hus*, 'it is further said,' or *atho khalv āhus*, 'it is moreover said;' and frequent reference is made to difference of opinions; 'so do or say the one set of persons, and the others otherwise.' But I have never met with a citation of an older writing.

"Taking all this into consideration, we may conclude that the Brāhmaṇas belong to a stage in the religious development of India when the Brahmanical faith was full-blown. Those religious conceptions and sacred usages, which, even in the hymns of the Rigveda, we can see advancing from a simple and unconnected form to compact and multiform shapes, have now spread themselves over the entire life of the people, and in the hands of the priests have become a power predominant over everything else."

It thus appears that the Brāhmaṇas, though they have come to be regarded as parts of the Veda, are yet in time far posterior to the hymns, from which, further, they differ entirely in character, and to a great extent in language, but which they constantly presuppose, and to which they allude in every page. Thus in the Brāhmaṇas we have

such expressions continually recurring as, "Thus did the ṛishi say."[216] "Hence this has been declared by the ṛishi."[217] "Ṛishis of the Rigveda have uttered this hymn of fifteen verses."[218] And in Sāyaṇa's Introduction to the Rigveda it is stated as follows (Comment. on R.V., vol. i. p. 2):—*Tathā cha sarva-veda-gatāni brāhmaṇāni svābhihite 'rthe viśvāsa-dāḍhyāya "tad etad ṛichā 'bhyanūktam" iti ṛicham eva udāharanti* | "And so the Brāhmaṇas connected with all the Vedas, in order to strengthen belief in their assertions, refer to the Rigveda, saying, 'This is declared by the Ṛich.'"

The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, in a passage at p. 1052 of Weber's edition (corresponding with the Bṛihadāraṇyaka-upanishad, p. 213), refers as follows to a hymn of Vāmadeva in the fourth maṇḍala of the Rigveda:—*Tad ha etat paśyann ṛishir Vāmadevaḥ pratipede "aham Manur abhavaṁ sūryaś cha" iti* | "Wherefore the ṛishi Vāmadeva in vision obtained this text, 'I was Manu and the sun.'" Again, the Taittirīya Sanhitā, and the Kaushītakī, Śāṭyāyana, and Tāṇḍaka Brāhmaṇas refer to Vasishṭha, in passages already quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 328. Now, as Vasishṭha was a Vedic ṛishi, the author of numerous hymns, these Brāhmaṇas must have been later than those hymns.

To illustrate the manner in which the hymns are quoted in the Brāhmaṇas, I will only cite further a portion of the passage from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, vii. 13–18, relating the story of Śunaśśepa, which was first given in original in the Appendix to Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 581, 582, and afterwards appeared in Prof. Haug's edition of that Brāhmaṇa:—*Atha ha Śunaśśepaḥ ikshāṅchakre "amānusham iva vai mā viśasishyanti* | *hanta aham devatāḥ upadhāvāmi" iti* | *sa Prajāpatim eva prathamaṁ devatānām upasasāra "kasya nūnaṁ katamasya amṛitānām" ity etayā ṛichā* | *tam Prajāpatir uvācha "Agnir vai devānāṁ nedishṭhaḥ* | *tam eva upadhāva" iti* | *so 'gnim upasasāra "Agner vayam prathamasya amṛitānām" ity etayā ṛichā* | [When he saw the preparations made for his immolation], "Śunaśśepa reflected, 'They are about to slay me, as if I were not a man. I shall resort to the gods.' He accordingly addressed him-

[216] *Iti ha sma āha ṛishiḥ* |

[217] Śatap.-br. xiii., 5, 4, 5:—*Tasmād etad ṛishiṇā abhyanūktam* |

[218] Weber's Hist. of Ind. Lit., p. 118. Böht. and Roth's Dict., *sub voce* Ṛishi, *Tad etad bahvṛichaḥ panchadaśarcham prāhuḥ* |

self to Prajāpati, the first of the gods, with this 'ṛich' (Rigveda, i. 24, 1), 'Of whom now, of which of all the immortals,' etc. Prajāpati said to him, 'Agni is the nearest of the gods, resort to him.' He addressed himself to Agni with this 'ṛich' (Rigveda i. 24, 2), 'Of Agni, the first of the immortals,' etc." In the same way he is represented as addressing to various deities in succession the verses composing the remainder of the 24th, and the whole of the 25th, 26th and 27th hymns of the first book of the Rigveda, ending with the last verse of the 27th sūkta; "Salutation to the great! Salutation to the little!" addressed to the Viśve-devāḥ.[219]

That the Brāhmaṇas were separated from the hymns by a considerable interval of time is manifest from the various considerations which are urged in the passage just quoted (pp. 180, ff.) from Professor Roth; who informs us, for instance, that the Brāhmaṇas, besides alluding to texts in the hymns, appeal on the subject of the ritual to various preceding unwritten authorities; and states his opinion, that the "Brāhmaṇas belong to a stage in the religious development of India, when the Brahmanical faith was full-blown;" and that "those religious conceptions and sacred usages, which, even in the hymns of the Rigveda, can be seen advancing from a simple and unconnected form to compact and manifold shapes, have now [in the Brāhmaṇas] extended themselves over the entire life of the people." This process was no doubt one which required several centuries for its accomplishment.

And Professor Müller says (Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 432, 434), "There is throughout the Brāhmaṇas such a complete misunderstanding of the original intention of the Vedic hymns, that we can hardly understand how such an estrangement could have taken place, unless there had been at some time or other a sudden and violent break in the chain of tradition." And again: "Every page of the Brāhmaṇas contains the clearest proof that the spirit of the ancient Vedic poetry, and the purport of the original Vedic sacrifices were both beyond the comprehen-

[219] *Namo mahadbhyo namo arbhakebhyaḥ*| See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 413, ff.; Prof. Roth's article in Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 461; Prof. Wilson's article in Jour. R. A. S. vol. xiii., p. 100, and translation of the Rigveda, i. pp. 59–71; Prof. Haug's translation of the Ait. Br. pp. 460, ff.; Dr. Streiter's Diss. de Sunahsepo; and the first volume of this work, pp. 355, ff.

sion of the authors of the Brāhmaṇas. . . . . We thus perceive the wide chasm between the Brāhmaṇa period and that period by which it is preceded." The Brāhmaṇa period, we have already seen (p. 164 above), is placed by him in the 200 years following the second Vedic period, that of the Mantras.

As time still passed on, and a further development of language and institutions took place, the Vedic hymns became less and less intelligible; and owing to the growth of formal and scrupulous ceremonial prescriptions, the application of the sacred texts to public worship became more and more difficult. As a natural consequence, the literature connected with the explanation of the Mantras, their pronunciation and their ritual uses, continued to augment. Then the different grammatical Prātiśākhya aphorisms, the Śrauta and Gṛihya ritual Sūtras, the Nighaṇṭus and Nirukta were composed. These works, as we have already seen, were the growth of several successive ages subsequent to the date of the oldest Brāhmaṇas.[220]

[220] On this subject Professor Roth remarks (Introd. to Nirukta, p. lii.) as follows:—"In Greece a similar state of things prevailed. There, with the exception of Hesiod (who never rose to the same degree of consideration), Homer was the only source of the highest knowledge, and preeminently the book of the schools; the book which gave the first occasion to grammatical, and almost every other sort of science to develope itself. In India the Veda occupies the place of Homer. It was to the Veda that the Brahmanical people looked as the sole repository of intellectual culture. As a sacred book it was the more naturally a subject of research to the learned man, as he was at the same time a priest, and it became the first problem to be solved by grammar,—a science which was far more commonly studied, and at an earlier period attained a far higher stage, in India than in Greece. At the same time, the Veda, both as regards its language and its subject-matter, stood far further removed from the Indian of the two centuries immediately preceding Buddha (700 and 600 B.C.)—in which the sacerdotal system reached its climax—than Homer did from the Greek of the Periclean era. At that period, or even earlier, were formed the collection of Homeric words which had become obsolete,—the γλωσσαι; while in India, the 'nighaṇṭavas' (a word which I conceive to be identical in meaning with γλωσσαι) had been compiled to illustrate the Veda. In both cases the collections had the same origin; but in the short interval from Pericles to the end of the Alexandrian era, the Greeks had done more for the explanation of Homer than the Indians could accomplish for the comprehension of the Veda, in the long series of ages down to the times of Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara, in the sixteenth century A.D. The task of the Indians was, in truth, by far the more difficult; and besides, Indian scholarship lay under an incapacity of unfettered movement. It was necessary for orthodoxy to deny the facts of history, and to discover only the circumstances of the present in the monuments of antiquity; for the present was both unable and unwilling to rest on any other foundation than the traditions of an earlier age,

Fourth:—When at length we ascend above the oldest of the Brāhmaṇas, and arrive at the still more ancient collections ("Sanhitās," as they are called in Sanskrit) of the Vedic hymns themselves, we shall find even here distinct proofs of a difference of age not only between the several collections viewed as aggregates, but also between different component parts of the same compilations. Of the four Vedic Sanhitās, the Ṛik, Yajush, Sāman, and Atharvan, the Ṛigveda is by far the most complete and important collection. Before, however, proceeding to give some account of its contents, I must premise a few words about the other Sanhitās.

(i.) Although the Vedas were sometimes considered to be only three in number, and the Atharvan was not always denominated a Veda, yet many of the hymns or incantations of which it is made up appear to be of great antiquity.[221]

That the title of the Atharvan to be reckoned as one of the Vedas is not so incontestable as that of the three others, will appear from the following considerations. The knowledge of the Indian Scriptures is frequently designated as the triple science *trayī vidyā*,[221*] a phrase which is thus explained in Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon: "The threefold science was originally the knowledge of the sacred word in its triple form of hymn, sacrificial formula, and song: out of this sense subsequently arose another, viz., the knowledge of the three Vedas, which represent that threefold form." In illustration of this the writers proceed to quote or refer to the following and other texts from the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas, etc. Śatap. Br. iv. 6, 7, 1: *Trayī vai vidyā ṛicho yajūṁshi sāmāni iyam eva* | "The Ṛich-, Yajush-, and Sāman-verses are the threefold science." Śatap. Br. vi. 3, 1, 10; x. 4, 2, 21;

surrounded as these were with a halo of glory, and only half understood. The priesthood supplied the required authentic explanation, without which the reader of those ancient books would never have found in them that which he so easily discovered with that assistance. The spirit of the nation, which had been so injuriously treated, became accustomed to the yoke, and henceforward walked onwards in the track which had been marked out for it; men's feeling for history became irrecoverably lost, and they consoled themselves with the harmless enjoyment, which was still allowed them, of solving grammatical questions. We can therefore, at least, boast, by way of compensation, on behalf of the Indians, that they have far outstripped the Greeks in the department of grammar."

221 See, on the subject of this Veda, Müller's Anc. Sans. Lit., pp. 38, 446, ff., Weber's Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 10., and Mr. Whitney's papers in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 305, ff., and iv. 254, ff. 221* See Appendix, note A.

xi. 5, 4, 18; Ait. Br. v. 32: *Tebhyo 'bhitaptebhyo trayo vedāḥ ajāyanta ṛigvedaḥ eva Agner ajāyata yajurvedo Vāyoḥ sāmavedaḥ ādityāt | tān vedān abhyatapat | tebhyo 'bhitaptebhyas trīṇi śukrāṇy ajāyanta bhūr ity eva ṛigvedād ajāyata bhuvaḥ iti yajurvedāt svar iti sāmavedāt | . . . Sa Prajāpatir yajnam atanuta | tam āharat tena ayajata | sa ṛichā eva hotram akarod yajushā ādhvaryavaṁ sāmnā udgītham | yad etat trayyai vidyāyai śukraṁ tena brahmatvam akarot |* "From these (lights), when heated, the three Vedas arose, the Ṛigveda from Agni, the Yajurveda from Vāyu, and the Sāmaveda from Āditya (the sun). He infused warmth into these Vedas. From them, when so heated, three essences arose. 'Bhūr,' from the Rigveda, 'Bhuvaḥ' from the Yajurveda, 'Svar,' from the Sāmaveda. . . . . This Prajāpati prepared sacrifice. He took it and worshipped with it. With the Ṛich he performed the function of the hotṛi priest, with the Yajush that of the adhvaryu, with the Sāman that of the udgātṛi, and with the essence of this triple science he executed the brāhmaṇ's function." In the same way three Vedas only are mentioned in the following passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad[222] (iv. 17, 1), etc.:—*Prajāpatir lokān abhyatapat | teshāṁ tapyamānānāṁ rasān prābṛihad Agnim pṛithivyāḥ Vāyum antarikshād Ādityaṁ divaḥ | Sa etās tisro devatāḥ abhyatapat | tāsāṁ tapyamānānāṁ rasān prābṛihad Agner ṛicho vāyor yajūṁshi Sāma Ādityāt | sa etāṁ trayīṁ vidyām abhyatapat | tasyās tapyamānāyāḥ rasān prābṛihad bhūr ity ṛigbhyo bhuvar iti yajurbhyaḥ svar iti sāmabhyaḥ |* "Prajāpati infused warmth into the worlds; and from them, so heated, he drew forth their essences, Agni from the earth, Vāyu from the atmosphere, and Āditya from the sky. He infused warmth into these three deities; and from them, so heated, he drew forth their essences: Rik-texts from Agni, Yajush-texts from Vāyu, and Sāma-texts from Āditya. He infused warmth into this triplé science; and from it, so heated, he drew forth its essences, the particle Bhūr from the Rik-texts, Bhuvaḥ from the Yajush-texts, and Svar from the Sāma-texts."

In the following verse (i. 23), Manu repeats the account given in the Brāhmaṇas and the Chhāndogya Upanishad: *Agni-vāyu-ravibhyas*

[222] See Biblioth. Ind. vol. iii. (1850) p. 288. This passage is also quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 5. See also the passage from the S'atap. Br. xi. 5, 8, 1, ff., quoted in pp. 14, f. of the same volume, where, in like manner, only three Vedas are mentioned.

tu trayam brahma sanātanam | dudoha yajna-siddhy-artham ṛig-yajuḥ-sāma-lakshaṇam | "From Agni, Vāyu, and the Sun (Ravi), he drew forth (milked) for the accomplishment of sacrifice the eternal triple Veda, distinguished as Rik, Yajush, and Sāman."

The Atharvaveda may, however, be referred to under the appellation of "chhandas," in the following passages, according to the indication of the St. Petersburg Lexicon, where the second sense of the word chhandas is thus defined: "A sacred hymn, and according to the first three texts about to be quoted, especially that sort which is neither Ṛich, Sāman, nor Yajush: hence, perhaps, originally, an incantation." The texts referred to are A.V. xi. 7, 24: *Ṛichaḥ sāmāni chhandāṁsi purāṇaṁ yajushā saha | uchchhishṭāj jajnire |* "The Ṛich-, Sāman-, and Chhandas-, verses, and the Purāṇa with the Yajush, sprang from the Uchchishṭa (remnant of the sacrifice)." R.V. x. 90, 9: *Tasmād yajnāt sarvahutaḥ richaḥ sāmāni jajnire | chandāṁsi jajnire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata |* "From that universal sacrifice sprang the Ṛich-, Sāman-, and Chhandas-, verses: from it sprang the Yajush." The third text is from the Harivaṁśa v. 9491: *Ṛicho yajūṁshi sāmāni chhandāṁsy Ātharvaṇāni cha | chatvāro sakhilāḥ vedāḥ sarahasyāḥ savistarāḥ |* "(May) the Ṛich-, Yajush-, and Sāman-, verses, and the texts of the Atharvan, the four Vedas with their Khilas (later appendages), their esoteric doctrines, and their details (preserve me)."

In the Atharvaveda itself, x. 7, 20, it is thus alluded to as one of the Vedas under the title of the Atharvans and Angirases: *Yasmād richo apātakshan yajur yasmād apākashan | sāmāni yasyo lomāni Atharvāngiraso mukham | Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ |* "Tell us who is that Skambha from whom they cut off the Ṛich-verses, from whom they scraped off the Yajush-verses, of whom the Sāman-verses are the hairs, and of whom the Atharvans and Angirases form the mouth." [223]

The Atharvan is similarly mentioned in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, xiii. 4, 3, 7, *Tān upadiśati "Atharvāṇo vedaḥ so 'yam" iti. . . . |8| "Angiraso vedaḥ so 'yam" iti |* "He teaches them thus, 'The Atharvans are a veda; it is this.' . . . (8) The Angirases are a veda; it is this." [224] Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, author of the Prasthāna-bheda,

[223] In verse 14 of the same hymn, however, the other three Vedas only are named.

[224] See Muller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 38.

while he calls it a Veda, notices at the same time its difference in character from the other three:—*Sa cha (vedaḥ) prayoga-trayeṇa yajna-nirvāhārthaṁ rig-yajuḥ-sāma-bhedena bhinnaḥ* | . . . . *Atharva-vedas tu yajnānupayuktaḥ śānti-paushṭikābhichārādi-karma-pratipādakatvena atyanta-vilakshaṇaḥ eva* | "The Veda is divided into Ṛik, Yajush, and Sāman, for the purpose of carrying out the sacrifice under its three different forms. . . . The Atharvaveda, on the contrary, is totally different. It is not suitable for the sacrifice, but only teaches how to appease, to bless, to curse, etc." (Müller, Sansk. Lit. p. 445). In regard to this Veda, Mr. Whitney remarks: "The Atharva is, like the Ṛik, a historical and not a liturgical collection." It was, he thinks, originally composed of only eighteen books. A sixth of the matter of which these books consist is not metrical. "Of the remainder, or metrical portion, about one-sixth is also found among the hymns of the Ṛik, and mostly in the tenth book of the latter; the rest is peculiar to the Atharva. . . . The greater portion of them are plainly shown, both by their language and internal character, to be of much later date than the general contents of the other historic Veda, and even than its tenth book, with which they yet stand nearly connected in import and origin. The condition of the text also in those passages found likewise in the Ṛik, points as distinctly to a more recent period as that of their collection. This, however, would not necessarily imply that the main body of the Atharva hymns were not already in existence when the compilation of the Ṛik took place. Their character would be ground enough for their rejection and exclusion from the canon, until other and less scrupulous hands were found to undertake their separate gathering into an independent collection. The nineteenth book is . . . made up of matter of a like nature which had either been left out when they were compiled, or had been since produced." (Journal of the American Oriental Society, iv. 253, 255.) The priority of the Rigveda to the Atharva may also be argued from the fact that the ṛishis of the hymns in the Rigveda are referred to in the Atharvaveda as men of an earlier period; in proof of which I may refer to the passages quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 330. It is true that the same thing is noticeable to some degree in the Rigveda itself, in some later hymns of which the ṛishis of earlier hymns are referred to by name. In the Atharvaveda, how-

ever, the names so specified are chiefly those of the more recent ṛishis, while many of the personages referred to in the Rigveda appear to belong to a more primitive age. (See Roth's Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 13.) In the former Veda, too, the Indian institutions appear in a somewhat more developed state than in the Rigveda. There is one point at least in which this development seems to be visible, viz. in the caste system, see the first volume of this work, pp. 280-289. The following extract from Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 10, will exhibit his opinion of the general difference which exists between the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda: "The origin of the Atharva-sanhitā falls within the period when Brahmanism had become dominant. . . . . Many of the hymns which it contains are to be found also in the Rik-sanhitā, but there they are recent interpolations originating in the period when its compilation took place; while in the Atharva collection they are the just and proper expression of the present. The spirit of the two collections is entirely different. In the Rik there breathes a lively natural feeling, a warm love for nature; while in the Atharva, on the contrary, there predominates an anxious apprehension of evil spirits and their magical powers. In the Rik we see the people in the exercise of perfect freedom and voluntary activity; while in the Atharva we observe them bound in the fetters of the hierarchy and of superstition."[224*]

(ii.) The Sāmaveda is a collection of separate texts to be chanted at particular parts of the sacrifice;[225] which, with the exception of a few, are all to be found in different parts of the Rigveda, especially the 8th and 9th maṇḍalas. In the Rigveda we find the entire hymns: in the first part of the Sāmaveda we find only isolated verses of those hymns, dislocated from their natural connexion; though in the second part the extracts are connected, and of greater length. It is not, however, quite clear whether the Sāma collection or the Rik collection may have been first made. Weber remarks (Hist. of Ind. Lit., pp. 9, 62), that the texts of the Sāmaveda frequently exhibit more ancient grammatical forms than those of the Rigveda, and suggests that as the former contains no extracts from any of the later hymns of the latter, it may have been compiled before these later pieces had

[224*] See Appendix, Note B.

[225] See Muller, pp. 472-3.

been composed; but adds that this point has not been yet investigated.[226] Whitney also leaves the question undecided (Journ. Am. Or. Society, iv. 253, 254).

Müller, on the other hand, says (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 457):—"The other two Saṁhitās were more likely the production of the Brāhmaṇa period. These two Vedas, the Yajurveda and the Sāmaveda, were, in truth, what they are called in the Kaushītakī-brāhmaṇa, the attendants of the Rigveda."[227] He supposes that the hymns found in the three Vedas were not "collected at three times by three independent collectors. If so, their differences would have been greater than they are." Their actual differences are rather those of Śākhās or branches, he thinks, than of independent Saṁhitās or collections.

(iii.) Both the Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda are collections of sacrificial formulas in prose, as well as of verses which are partly extracted

[226] In his Ind. Stud. i. 63, f. the same author writes as follows:—"As regards the relation of the Sāmaveda to the Rigveda, we must clearly represent to ourselves the manner in which in general these hymns arose, how they were then carried to a distance by the tribes when they migrated further, and were then regarded as sacred; whilst in the country where they were produced, they either, as living in the immediate popular consciousness, underwent alterations, or made way for new hymns, and were thus displaced and fell into oblivion. It is only a foreign country which surrounds what was produced at home with a sacred enchantment. The emigrants remain at the old stage, preserving what is ancient with painful exactness; whilst at home life opens out for itself new paths. New emigrants follow the first from their home, join those already settled in the new seats; and now the old and the new songs and rites are blended together, and exactly, but uncritically, learned by travelling scholars from different masters, and then inculcated (on this point several stories of the Bṛihad Āranyaka are especially instructive), so that a varied intermixture arises. Others again, more learned, endeavour to introduce arrangement, to bring together things which are related, to separate what is diverse; and thus a theological intolerance is generated, without which the fixation of a text or a canon is impossible. We should not overlook the influence of courts in this process, e.g. of Janaka, King of Videha, who had found in Yājnavalkya his Homer. Neither the Purāṇas nor the Charanavyūha afford us the means of arriving at an approximately clear insight into the mutual relations of the different schools, which could only be attained by a comparison of the different teachers named in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras with one another, as well as with the text of Pāṇini and the Gaṇapāṭha and Scholium thereto belonging. . . . Further, the relation between the Rigveda and the Sāmaveda presents a certain analogy to that between the white and the black Yajush; and as we frequently see the teachers who represent the latter abused in the Brāhmaṇa of the former, it cannot surprise us if the Panigins and Kaushītakins [teachers connected with the Rigveda] are similarly treated in the Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇa."

[227] *Tat-paricharaṇāv itarau vedau* | vi. 11.

from the Rigveda. There is, however, this difference between the white (or Vājasaneyi) and black (or Taittirīya) Yajurveda Sanhitās, that the latter has partly the character of a Brāhmaṇa, although there is also a separate Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. Many parts of the Yajurveda exhibit a more advanced development of religious institutions and observances than the Rigveda. Professor Weber, the editor of this Veda,[228] considers (Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 10), that it "belongs to a period when the Brahmanical element had already become predominant, though it was still exposed to strenuous opposition; and when, at all events, the Brahmanical hierarchy and the system of castes had been completely formed." The same writer tells us (pp. 106, 107), that "the 30th book of the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yajurveda, in enumerating the different classes of men who are to be consecrated at the Purushamedha, or Human sacrifice, refers to the names of most of the Indian mixed castes, so that we may thence conclude that a complete consolidation of the Brahmanical system had taken place." The Vājasaneyi-sanhitā is divided into forty Adhyāyas or sections, of which Weber thinks (Hist. of Ind. Lit. pp. 103, 104), that those from the 19th to the 25th may be later than the first eighteen; while there is, he remarks, no doubt that the last fifteen adhyāyas are later, and perhaps much later, than the rest of the collection. This is proved by this portion of the Sanhitā being called a Khila, or supplement, both in the anukramaṇī or index, which is ascribed to Kātyāyana, and also in Mahīdhara's Commentary on the Veda.[229] A further proof of the posteriority in date of the last parts of the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā is, Weber

[228] In his Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 140, Weber tells us that "in the Anukramaṇī of Kātyāyana to the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yajurveda, the authors (rishis) assigned to the particular verses (ṛich) usually coincide with the authors assigned to the same verses in the Anukramaṇī of the Rigveda; but that there are many exceptions to this remark. In particular (as happens also in the Rig-anukramaṇī) the name of the author appears often to be borrowed from some word occurring in the verse. And in the case (a very frequent one) of a verse being repeated in another part of the Vāj.-san., it is often assigned to an author different from the one to whom it had previously been ascribed. Many of the ṛishis here referred to do not occur among those of the Rigveda, and belong to a later stage than the latter; and among these ṛishis peculiar to the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā there are several who are named in the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa as teachers."

[229] The words of Mahīdhara at the commencement of the 26th adhyāya are as follows: *Idānīm khilāny uchyante* | "The Khilas are now to be explained." See also Müller's Sansk. Lit., p. 358.

observes, derived from the fact that they are not found in the Sanhitá of the Black Yajurveda, but only in its Brâhmaṇa or in its Âraṇyaka parts, which by their very character are in date subsequent to the Sanhitá (p. 104). Weber is further of opinion (pp. 44, 105 and 106), that the names (Îśâna and Mahâdeva) assigned to the god Rudra in adhyâya 39, in addition to those by which he is designated in adhyâya 16 (where he is regarded as the divinity of fire, though addressed by many of the epithets which were subsequently applied to the god Śiva), indicate a more advanced stage in the worship of the deity in question at the time when adhyâya 39 was composed, than at the period when adhyâya 16 was written. Professor Müller thinks that "there is nothing to prove that the hymn book of the Vâjasaneyins [the Vâjasaneyi-sanhitá] existed previous to their Brâhmaṇa" [the Śatapatha]. Sansk. Lit. p. 360.

(iv.) We come now to the Rigveda-sanhitá, which contains the most extensive collection of the most ancient Vedic hymns in their complete form. It is divided into ten maṇḍalas, and contains in all 1017 hymns (Müller, p. 497). "The Vedas," says Mr. Whitney (Journ. Am. Or. Soc., iii. 295), "contain the songs in which the first ancestors of the Hindû people, at the very dawn of their existence as a separate nation, while they were still only on the threshold of the great country which they were afterwards to fill with their civilization, praised the gods, extolled heroic deeds, and sang of other matters which kindled their poetical fervour.[230] . . . The mass, as it lies before us, is almost exclusively of a religious character; this may have had its ground partly in the end for which the collections were afterwards made, but it is probably in a far higher degree due to the character of the people itself, which thus shows itself to have been at the beginning what it continued to be throughout its whole history, an essentially religious one. . . . Hymns of a very different character are not entirely wanting, and this might be taken as an indication that, had they been more numerous, more would have been preserved to us."[231]

[230] See also, for an account of the contents of the hymns, Professor Wilson's Introduction to his translation of the Rigveda, p. xxiv. ff.; and for numerous specimens, the other volumes of this work, passim.

[231] See my art. "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig and Atharva Vedas," in the Journal of the Royal As. Soc., vol. ii. (new series) pp. 26, ff. and the fifth volume

These hymns are said, by later Indian writers, to have been "seen" by the ancient ṛishis or bards. Thus the Nirukta says (ii. 11): *Ṛishir darśanāt | "stomān dadarśa" ity Aupamanyavaḥ | tad yad enāṁs "tapasyamānān Brahma svayambhv abhy-ānarshat te ṛishayo 'bhavan | tad ṛishīṇām ṛishitvam" iti vijnāyate |* "'A rishi is so called from seeing. He saw the hymns:'—This is Aupamanyava's explanation. They became ṛishis, because Brahma, the self-existent, manifested himself to them when they were sunk in devotion. From this, as is generally understood, they acquired their character of ṛishis." There is, however, no doubt that the ṛishis were themselves the authors of these ancient songs, which they addressed to the gods when they were solicitous to obtain any blessing; or composed on other occasions. The scope of these hymns or mantras is well summed up in the following passage from the Anukramaṇī (index) to the Rigveda, quoted by Colebrooke (Misc. Essays, i. p. 26):—*Arthepsavaḥ ṛishayo devatāś chhandobhir abhyadhāvan |* "The ṛishis, desiring [various] objects, hastened to the gods with metrical prayers." It is also said in the Nirukta, vii. 1:—*Yat-kāmaḥ ṛishir yasyāṁ devatāyām arthapatyam ichhan stutim prayunkte tad-devataḥ sa mantro bhavati |* "The hymn has for its deity the particular god to whom the ṛishi, seeking to obtain any particular object which he longs for, addresses his praises." The compositions of one of the ṛishis, Paruchhepa,[232] are distinguished by the repetition of some of the preceding words at the close of the lines. This peculiarity is thus noticed in the Nirukta, x. 42:—*Abhyāse bhūyāṁsam artham manyante yathā, "aho darśanīya, aho darśanīya." Tat Paruchhepasya śīlam: Paruchhepaḥ ṛishiḥ.* "Some consider that greater force is added to a sentiment by repetition, as in the expression, 'O beautiful, O beautiful.' This was Paruchhepa's turn of mind. He was a ṛishi." Here Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, speaks of a particular mode of composition as peculiar to Paruchhepa, one of the Vedic ṛishis. But if the form of the composition was the result of the ṛishi's own particular genius (*śīlam*), he must have done more than "see" the hymn; he must himself

of this work, pp. 421, ff. Professor Aufrecht remarks (Ind. Studien, iv. 8), that "possibly only a small portion of the Vedic poems may have been preserved to us in the Ṛik-sanhitā."

[232] See the third volume of this work, p. 212.

have determined its particular form. The hymn could not therefore have existed eternally,[233] expressed in its present words. Yāska, therefore, appears to be inconsistent with himself, when he states this doctrine in other passages, as x. 10, 46, where he says, *ṛisher dṛishṭārthasya prītir ākhyāna-saṁyuktā:* "Here the ṛishi, after he had beheld the contents [of a hymn], expresses his pleasure in narration." If, indeed, we are to understand by the word *artha*, "contents," that the matter of the hymn only, without the words, was revealed, there will be no inconsistency. See, in addition to the passages quoted here, those adduced in the third volume of this work, pp. 211, f.

For many ages the successive generations of these ancient ṛishis continued to make new contributions to the stock of hymns, while they carefully preserved those which had been handed down to them by their forefathers.[234] The fact of this successive composition of the

[233] See the third volume of this work, pp. 71, ff., 91, f., and 208.

[234] "The Indian Āryas were disposed to piety, both by their natural character and by the institutions of Manu. They were sustained in these sentiments by the chiefs of certain families in which their religious traditions had been more especially preserved. In those primitive ages the political system was precisely the same as that which Homer depicts;—kings the veritable shepherds of their people; cultivators or herdsmen united around their chiefs, and prepared, whenever necessity arose, to transform themselves into warriors; numerous flocks and a profusion of rural wealth; towns which were only large villages. Some of these villages served as retreats to renowned sages, who, while their dependents were tending their fields and flocks, were themselves engaged in the cultivation of sacred science, in the company of their sons, or their pupils, and fulfilled the functions of a Calchas or a Tiresias to some Indian Agamemnon or Œdipus in their neighbourhood. Invited by the chiefs to perform sacrifice, they arrived with their sacred retinue; they ascended the mountain where an inclosure of lattice-work had been constructed; for temples were then unknown. There, beneath the vault of heaven, they recited their hereditary songs, or a newly-composed hymn; they invoked the grand agents in nature to grant success to the labours of the field, increase to the flocks, and a succession of brave and virtuous descendants. They implored, they threatened their gods; and when the sacred rites had been scrupulously performed, they retired loaded with gifts, carrying away cows, horses, and cars filled with provisions, gold, and precious stuffs. We see thus by what fortune these hymns have been preserved, forming as they did, a patrimony to certain families, a species of productive capital, which it was their interest to turn to the very best account. Composed on certain recognized and venerable themes, and sometimes retouched and renovated by the imagination of a new bard, they grew old, as they were transmitted from age to age, bearing on them, sometimes, the date of their composition, which was indicated by the name of the inspired author, or of some generous prince." Langlois, French translation of Rigveda, vol. i., pref. pp. x, xi. See also Mr. Whitney's remarks in the Journal of the Am. Or. Soc., iv. 249.

hymns is evident from the ancient index (*anukramaṇī*) to the Rigveda, as continually quoted in the commentary of Sāyaṇa, which shows that these compositions are ascribed to different generations of the same families, as their "seers." For example, some of the hymns of the 3rd maṇḍala are assigned to Gāthin, the father of Viśvāmitra, others to Viśvāmitra himself, others to Ṛishabha, his son, others again to Kaṭa, his descendant, and others to Utkila, of the race of Kaṭa. Here we have the "seers" of hymns extending over five generations or more. The same fact, viz. that a long interval elapsed between the composition of the different hymns, is manifest from various passages in these compositions themselves.[235] Thus the second verse of the first hymn of the 1st maṇḍala of the Rigveda is to the following effect: *Agniḥ pūrvebhir ṛishibhir īḍyo nūtanair uta | sa devān ā iha vakshati |* "Let Agni, who is to be worshipped by the former ṛishis, and by the recent ones, bring hither the gods."[236] There are many other verses alluding to a difference of antiquity in the hymns and their authors. Such are the following (R.V. i. 48, 14):—*Ye chid hi tvām ṛishayaḥ pūrve ūtaye juhūre |* "The former ṛishis who invoked thee for succour," etc. (R.V. i. 62, 13) *Sanāyate Gotamaḥ Indra navyam atakshad brahma hari-yojanāya |* "Nodhas, a Gotama, has fabricated this new prayer to thee, O Indra, who art from of old, that thou mayest yoke thy coursers," etc.[237] (R.V. iii. 32, 13) *Yaḥ stomebhir vavṛidhe pūrvyebhir yo madhyamebhir uta nūtanebhiḥ |* "Who [Indra] has grown through praises, ancient, middle, and modern."[238] (R.V. vi. 44, 13) *Yaḥ*

[235] This subject is more fully treated in the third volume of this work, pp. 217, ff.

[236] The comment of Yāska on this passage (Nirukta vii. 16) is as follows: *Agnir yaḥ pūrvair ṛishibhir īlitavyo vanditavyaḥ asmābhiś navataraiḥ sa devān iha āvahatv iti |* "Let Agni, who is to be worshipped, reverenced, by the former ṛishis, and by us the more modern ones, bring the gods hither." Sāyaṇa annotates thus on the passage: *Ayam Agniḥ "pūrvebhiḥ" purātanair Bhṛigv-angiraḥ-prabhṛitibhir "īḍyaḥ" stutyo "nūtanair uta" idānīntanair asmābhir api stutyaḥ |* "This Agni, who is to be worshipped, i.e. celebrated, by the former, i.e. the ancient ṛishis, Bhṛigu, Angiras, and the rest, and by the recent, i.e. the present [ṛishis], ourselves also," etc.

[237] "*Navyam*" *nūtanam* "*brahma*" *etat sūkta-rūpaṁ stotraṁ* "*no*" *asmad-artham* "*atakshad*" *akarot |* Sāyaṇa. "Fabricated, i.e. made for us this new *brahma*, i.e. praise in the form of this *sūkta*." The same verb *taksh* is also applied to the composition of hymns in R.V. i. 109, 1; ii. 19, 8; and vi. 32, 1.

[238] *Purātanaiḥ | madhye bhavaiḥ | asmābhiḥ kriyamānair adhunātanaiḥ stotraiḥ |* "Praises ancient, intermediate, and formed by us at present." This verse is referred to by Müller, p. 482.

pūrvyābhir uta nūtanābhir gīrbhir vavṛidhe gṛiṇatām ṛishīṇām | "He [Indra] who has grown by the ancient and modern hymns of the ṛishis who praised him." (R.V. vii. 22, 9) *Ye cha pūrve ṛishayo ye cha nūtnāḥ Indra brahmāṇi janayanta viprāḥ* | "O Indra, the wise ṛishis, both ancient and modern, have generated prayers." (R.V. x. 23, 6) *Stomaṁ te Indra Vimadāḥ ajīījanan apūrvyam purutamaṁ sudānave* | "The Vimadas have generated,[239] O Indra, for thee, the beneficent, a copious hymn, before unheard."

In the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā of the Yajurveda (xviii. 52), we meet with the following text: *Imau tu pakshāv ajarau patatriṇau yābhyāṁ rakshāṁsi apahaṁsi Agne* | *tābhyām patema sukṛitām u lokaṁ yatra ṛishayo jagmuḥ prathamajāḥ purāṇāḥ* | "But these undecaying feathered pinions, with which, O Agni, thou slayest the Rakshases,—with them let us ascend to the world of the righteous, whither the earliest-born ancient ṛishis have gone."[240] The writer of this verse was himself a ṛishi, and it is clear, according to his statement, that long before his time other ṛishis had gone to the regions of the blessed.

And in the Rigveda we find reference made in numerous hymns to earlier ṛishis (who themselves are yet declared by later writers to have been authors of hymns included in the same Veda) having been delivered by the gods in ancient times. Thus Atri, the author of several Vedic hymns (37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 85, and 86, of the 5th maṇḍala), Kaṇva, the author of hymns 37–43 of the 1st maṇḍala, and Vasishṭha, the author of the greater part of the 7th maṇḍala, are spoken of in several other hymns, e.g. in maṇḍala i. 112, 7, 9, 16; i. 117, 3, 8; i. 118, 7, as if they belonged to an earlier age.

The descendants of the most celebrated ṛishis would, no doubt, form complete collections of the hymns which had been composed by their respective ancestors. After being thus handed down, with little alteration, in the families of the original authors for several centuries, during which many of them were continually applied to the purposes

[239] The verb *ajīījanan*, "generated," as applied to hymns, also occurs in R.V. viii. 77, 4, and viii. 84, 5. See also Sāmaveda, ii. 108, 109, and 1059, with Benfey's translation and note, p. 245.

[240] On the last words the commentator on v. 58 annotates: "*Prathamajāḥ*" *pūrvotpannāḥ* | "*purāṇāḥ*" *purā 'pi navāḥ ajarāmarāḥ ṛishayo yatra loke jagmuḥ* | "The world whither the ṛishis, first-born, i.e. earliest-produced, ancient, i.e. in former times, also, young, imperishable, and immortal, have gone."

of religious worship, these hymns, which had been gathering an accumulated sanctity throughout all this period, were at length collected in one great body of sacred literature, styled the Sanhitā of the Rigveda—a work which in the Purāṇas is assigned to Vedavyāsa, and one of his pupils.[241]

As the process of hymn composition continued thus to go on for many centuries, it was likely that the collection, when finally completed, would contain many comparatively new hymns, written just before the canon was closed. Even after this latter event took place, we find that some hymns were composed which must have had some pretensions to a sacred character, as, though not admitted into the canon of the Rigveda, they are found copied as Khilas or later additions, at the end of some of the sections in the manuscripts of that work; and some passages from them are, as Professor Müller informs me, inserted in the other three Vedas, and are enjoined by Āśvalāyana to be employed on particular occasions, in the ceremonial of sacrifice. Whether or not these Khilas are the oldest extant compositions after those included in the Vedic collections (and their style shows them not to be all so), they must at least, from the position which they have gained of the Vedic apocrypha, be regarded as a link connecting the Vedic hymns with the later parts of Indian literature.

The hymns in the Rik-sanhitā which bear the most modern character, and which from their age stand chronologically nearest to the Khilas just alluded to, are (according to Professor Müller, p. 484) those in which reference is made to a complicated ceremonial, to a great variety of priests with different functions and appellations, or in which the liberality of royal patrons to the sacerdotal class is the theme of celebration. One composition, of which the modern character is acknowledged by most critics,[242] is the so-called Purusha Sūkta, the 90th hymn of the 10th mandala (quoted in pp. 6–11 of the first volume

[241] "I suppose that at different and unknown epochs, on the invitation of some prince, learned and pious persons must have been charged to collect the hymns composed for the use of the several sacerdotal families, and to arrange them in a certain order consistent with the maintenance of the texts. When we observe the spirit which has directed these collectors, we can comprehend how there should be so many repetitions both in the ideas and the words. The ancient bards had borrowed from each other many thoughts which the compilers of different eras have scrupulously reproduced." Langlois, French translation of Rigveda, vol. i., pref. p. xiii.

[242] Prof. Haug is an exception. See the first volume of this work, p. 11.

of this work), which Mr. Colebrooke[243] characterizes in the following terms:—

"That remarkable hymn is in language, metre, and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone; and must have been composed after the Sanskrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected. The internal evidence which it furnishes, serves to demonstrate the important fact that the compilation of the Vedas, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanskrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Vedas was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and profane (*purāṇas* and *cāvyas*), have been written." (See also the remarks made on this hymn by Prof. Müller, Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 571.) The last-named author thinks it is a mistake to regard any hymn as modern, merely from the presence in it of philosophical ideas. But I must refer to his own work, pp. 556, ff., for a statement of his views on this point.

The sketch which I have now given of Sanskrit literature shows that we can trace it back, by a series of almost continuous links up to the period of its rise.[244] If the Vedic hymns cannot be connected immediately with the literature which follows next after them, they are at least separated from it by no very distant interval; and they are evidently the natural product of the same fertile Indian mind which afterwards gave birth to the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, the Darśanas, and the different epic and mythological poems.

In the Rigveda we possess, as has been already remarked, a collection of hymns which were composed during many successive generations, but its most ancient portions constitute the earliest of all the extant remains of Indian authorship, and not only display to us the Sanskrit language in the oldest phase in which we can ever see it

[243] Misc. Ess., i. 309, note.

[244] It may, perhaps, be thought that this subject has been treated at a length disproportioned to the purpose which I have immediately in view, viz., to trace the mutations of the Sanskrit language. But a full exhibition of the character and antiquity of the Vedic hymns, and of the relation in which they stand to the other parts of Indian literature, will be found to form a necessary basis for various other discussions which will appear in the sequel of this work, and I have deemed the present a convenient opportunity for its introduction.

exhibited, but also afford us some of the most authentic materials which we can ever obtain for our researches into the earliest history, religious and political, of the Indian people, and into their pre-historical relations with the other branches of the Indo-European family.

Fifth:—If any further proof be wanted of the greater antiquity of the Vedic hymns, as compared with the other books esteemed more or less sacred by the Hindus, as, for instance, the epic poems and the Purāṇas, it may be found in the great difference between the mythological systems which are discoverable in these two classes of works respectively. As I return to this subject in another volume of this work (the fourth), I may content myself with a very summary notice of it at present. The following extracts from Professor H. H. Wilson's introduction to the first volume of his translation of the Rigveda, pp. xxiv, xxvii, will give some idea of the difference to which I allude:—

"The next question is, who are the gods to whom the praises and prayers [in the Rigveda] are addressed? And here we find also a striking difference between the mythology of the Rigveda and that of the heroic poems and Purāṇas. The divinities worshipped are not unknown to later systems, but they there perform very subordinate parts, whilst those deities who are the great gods—the *Dii majores*—of the subsequent period, are either wholly unnamed in the Veda, or are noticed in an inferior and different capacity. The names of Śiva, of Mahādeva, of Durgā, of Kālī, of Rāma, of Kṛishṇa, never occur, as far as we are yet aware; we have a Rudra, who, in after times, is identified with Śiva, but who, even in the Purāṇas, is of very doubtful origin and identification, whilst in the Veda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra; the epithet Kaparddin,[245] which is applied to him, appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of Śiva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the Veda a

[245] [This epithet occurs in the following passage, verse i. of Sūkta 114, Maṇḍala 1st:—*Imāh Rudrāya tavase kapardine kshayadvīrāya prabharāmahe matīḥ | yathā śam asad dvipade chatushpade viśvam pushṭaṁ grāme asminn anāturam* | i.e. "We offer these praises to the strong Rudra, with the braided hair, the destroyer of heroes, in order that health may be enjoyed by bipeds and quadrupeds, and that all beings in this village may be well nourished, and exempt from disease." The same epithet *kapardin* is also applied to Pūshan in R.V. vi. 55, 2, and ix. 67, 11. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 177 and 462.—J.M]

different signification — one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in aftertime the appearance of Śiva in such a head-dress, as identified with Agni; for instance, Kaparddin may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to Śiva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India—that of the Linga or Phallus; neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism, the Trimūrtti, or Tri-une combination of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva, as typified by the mystical syllable Om, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the Trimūrtti was the first element in the faith of the Hindus, and the second was the Lingam. —Creuzer, 'Religions de l'Antiquité,' book i. chap. i. p. 140."

Even so late as the time when the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa was composed, the names afterwards appropriated to Mahādeva were applied to Agni, as appears from the following passage, i. 7, 3, 8, p. 70 :—*Agnir vai devaḥ | tasya etāni nāmāni "S'arvaḥ" iti yathā Prāchyāḥ ākhakshate "Bhavaḥ" iti yathā Bāhīkāḥ "Paśūnām patiḥ" "Rudraḥ" "Agnir" iti | tāny asya aśāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāni | "Agnir" ity eva śāntatamaṃ |* "Agni is a god. These are his names, viz., 'Sarva,' as the eastern people call him; 'Bhava,' as the Bāhīkas; 'Paśūnām pati,' 'the lord of animals'; 'Rudra;' and 'Agni.' These others are his ill-omened names. Agni is his mildest appellation." (See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 189, ii. 19-22, 37, 302; the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 3, 10-17, ix. 1, 1, 1, 2, quoted in pp. 283, ff. and 289, f., of the fourth volume of this work; and Jour. Am. Or. Soc. iii. 319.)[246]

[246] I add here some passages not adduced in my fourth volume. The Taittirīya Sanhitā, i. 5, 1, 1, has the following "ākhyāyikā" (little story): *Devāsurāḥ saṁyattāḥ āsan | te devāḥ vijayam upayanto 'gnau vāmaṁ vasu sannyadadhata "idam u no bhavishyati yadi no jeshyanti" iti | tad Agnir nyakāmayata | tena apākrāmat | tad devāḥ vijitya avarurutsamānāḥ anvāyan | tad asya sahasā āditsanta | so 'rodīt | yad arodīt tad Rudrasya rudratvam |* "The Gods and Asuras contended. The Gods, on the eve of gaining a victory, deposited their desirable property with Agni, in order that, as they said, they might retain it in case their enemies should vanquish them. Agni coveted this property, and absconded with it. Then the gods, having conquered their enemies, desired to recover their property, followed Agni, and sought to take it from him by force. He wept. From the fact that 'he wept' (*arodīt*, from the root *rud*), he derives his name and character of 'Rudra.'" In the same Sanhitā, book v., p. 466 of India Office MS., we find the words: *Rudro vai esha*

Again, in p. xxxiv. of his Introduction, Professor Wilson says, in regard to Vishṇu:—"There is no separate hymn to Vishṇu, but he is mentioned as Trivikrama, or he who took three steps or paces, which Colebrooke thought might have formed the groundwork of the Paurāṇik legend of the dwarf Avatār. It may have been suggestive of the fiction; but no allusion to the notion of Avatārs occurs in the Veda, and there can be little doubt that the three steps here referred to are the three periods of the sun's course—his rise, culmination, and setting."[247] The passage here alluded to by Professor Wilson is as follows: Rigveda i. 22, 16-21:—(16) *Ato devāḥ avantu no yato Vishṇur vichakrame | pṛithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ*[248] | (17) *Idaṁ Vishṇur vichakrame tredhā nidadhe padam | samūḷham asya pāṁsure* | (18) *Trīṇi padā vichakrame Vishṇur gopāḥ adābhyaḥ | ato dharmāṇi dhārayan* | (19) *Vishṇoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāni paśpase | Indrasya yujyaḥ sakhā* | (20) *Tad Vishṇoḥ paramam padaṁ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ | divīva chakshur ātatam* | (21) *Tad viprāso vipanyavo jāgṛivāṁsaḥ samindhate | Vishṇor yat paramam padam* |

"(16) May the gods preserve us from that (place) whence Vishṇu strode across the seven regions of the earth [or, according to the Sāmaveda, over the surface of the earth]. (17) Vishṇu traversed this (universe): in three places he planted his foot, and [the world] was enveloped in his dust. (18) Vishṇu, the preserver, the uninjurable, stepped three steps, upholding thereby fixed ordinances. (19) Behold the deeds of Vishṇu, through which this intimate friend of Indra has perceived the established laws. (20) The wise ever contemplate that supreme station of Vishṇu, placed like an eye in the sky. (21) The wise, ever vigilant and offering praise, kindle that which is the supreme station of Vishṇu."—(See Wilson's translation, pp. 53, 54; Benfey's translation of the Sāmaveda, pp. 223 and 287; his Glossary, p. 191, under the word *sapta*, and his translation of the

yad Agniḥ | "This Agni is Rudra." And in v. 5, 7, 3: *Rudro vai esha yad Agniḥ | sa yathā vyāghraḥ kruddhas tishṭhaty eva vai esha | tarhi sachitam etair upatishṭhate namaskārair eva taṁ śamayati* | "This Agni is Rudra. He stands enraged like a tiger. Then he approaches him when kindled, and quiets him with these prostrations."

[247] "It is expressly so stated by Durgāchārya, in his commentary on the Nirukta. See Burnouf, Introduction to the third volume of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, p. xxii."

[248] Instead of *sapta dhāmabhis*, the Sāmaveda, ii. 1024, reads *adhi sānavi*, "over the surface."

R.V. in Orient und Occident, p. 30: see, also, the fourth volume of this work, pp. 54, ff.)[249]

The remarks of Yāska on this passage have been already quoted above (p. 176). The following is the note of the commentator, Durgāchārya, on Yāska's explanation of the above passage of the Ṛigveda (see above, note 247, p. 203):—*Vishṇur ādityaḥ | katham iti | yataḥ āha "tredhā nidadhe padam" nidhatte padaṁ nidhānam padaiḥ*[?] *| Kva tatra tāvat | "pṛithivyām antarikshe divi" iti Śākapūṇiḥ | pārthivo 'gnir bhūtvā "pṛithivyāṁ" yat kiṁchid asti tad vikramate tad adhitishṭhati "antarikshe" vaidyutātmanā "divi" sūryātmanā | yad uktam "tam ū akṛiṇvan tredhā bhuve kam"* (R.V. x. 88, 10) *| "Samārohaṇe udayagirāv udyan padam ekaṁ nidhatte vishṇupade madhyaṁdine antarikshe gayaśirasy astangirāv" ity Aurṇavābhaḥ āchāryo manyate |*

"Vishṇu is the Sun. How? Because he says, 'thrice he planted his foot.' Where did he do so? 'On the earth, in the firmament, and in the heaven,' says Śākapūṇi. Becoming terrestrial fire, he paces or resides a little upon the earth, in the shape of lightning in the firmament, and in the form of the sun in heaven. As it is said, 'they made him to exist in a threefold form' (R.V. x. 88, 10). Aurṇavābha Āchārya thinks the meaning is, 'He plants one step on the 'Samārohaṇa' (point of ascension), when rising over the eastern mountain, (another) at noon on the Vishṇupada, the meridian sky, (a third) on Gayaśiras, when setting beneath the western hill.'"

Any one who has the slightest acquaintance with the later Hindu mythology will perceive at once how different these Vedic representations are from the Puranic accounts of Śiva and Vishṇu.[250] Such changes as these, in the conception of the gods, must have been the work of time. Here, therefore, we have another proof of the antiquity of the Vedic hymns as compared with the other portions of Indian literature.

[249] Under the word *dharman*, Böhtlingk and Roth quote Vālakhilya iv. 3, where it is said, *Yasmai Vishṇus trīṇi padā vichakrame upa mitrasya dharmabhiḥ |* "For whom (for Indra) Vishṇu strode three paces in the quality of a friend, or according to the custom of a friend." The explanation of the last words of the line are from B. and R.

[250] The modifications which have taken place in the conceptions of these two deities are fully exhibited in the fourth volume of this work, to which I refer for further particulars.

Sixth: Another proof of the greater antiquity of the Vedic hymns as compared with the later Sāstras may be found in the fact that the former represent to us a considerable difference in the religious institutions of the Indian people at the time when they were composed as compared with the usages of later periods. For information on this subject I may refer to the first volume of this work, passim.

Seventh: How different the Sanskrit of the Vedic age was in many of its forms from those which the later Sanskrit assumed, and still retains, may be seen from the subjoined specimens taken from the Rigveda:

Rigveda, i. 2, 1, with modern Sanskrit interpretation underneath:

Vedic Text.	*Vāyav āyāhi darśata ime somāḥ aran-kṛitāḥ | teshām pāhi śrudhi havam |*	"Come, O Vāyu, these somas are prepared.[251] Drink of them; hear our invocation."
Mod. Sans.	*Vāyav āyāhi darśanīya ime somāḥ alan-kṛitāḥ | teshām piba śṛiṇu havam |*	

Here it will be observed that four Vedic words, *darśata*, *arankṛitāḥ*, *pāhi*, *śrudhi*, differ from the modern Sanskrit forms.

Rigveda, i. 3, 7:

Vedic Text.	*Omāsaś charshaṇīdhṛito viśve devāsaḥ āgata | dāśvāṁso daśushaḥ sutam |*	"O Viśve devas, preservers of men, bestowers [of rewards], come to the libation of him who gives you [oblations].
Mod. Sans.	*Omāḥ [rakshakāḥ] charshaṇidhṛito viśvedevāḥ āgachchhata | dātāro dātuḥ sutam |*	

Here the Vedic forms *omāsaḥ*, *devāsaḥ*, and *āgata*, stand for *omāḥ*, *devāḥ*, and *āgachchhata*.

Rigveda, vii. 33, 5:

Vedic Text.	*Vasishṭhasya stuvataḥ Indro aśrod urum̃ tṛitsubhyo akṛiṇod u lokam |*	"Indra heard Vasishṭha when he uttered praise, and opened up a wide space to the Tṛitsus." (See vol. i. p. 320.)
Mod. Sans.	*Vasishṭhasya stuvataḥ Indro aśriṇod urum tṛitsubhyo akarod u lokam |*	

Here we have the Vedic forms *aśrot* and *akṛinot*, for the modern *aśriṇot* and *akarot*.

[251] Prof. Aufrecht suggests that the word *alankṛita* has not the sense of "prepared" in later Sanskrit; that the construction *teshām piba* would be improper there; and that *charshaṇidhṛit* would not be understood in modern times.

This fact of the frequent diversity between the Vedic and ordinary Sanskrit is recognized in every page of his work by the great grammarian Pāṇini. I will quote one of the Sūtras, in which he refers to some instances of this, together with the illustrations given in the Vārttika (vii. 2, 64):—*Babhūtha ātatantha jagṛibhma vavartha iti nigame || ity etāni vede nipātyante | bhū | "hotā prathamo babhūtha" | "babhūvitha" iti loke | tanu | "yena antarikṣham uru ātatantha" | "ātenitha" iti loke | graha | "jagṛibhma te dakshiṇam Indra hastam" | "jagṛihiṣma" iti loke | vṛiñ | "vavartha tvañ hi jyotishā" | "vavaritha" iti loke|* "The exceptional forms *babhūtha, ātatantha, jagṛibhma* and *vavartha* are employed in the Veda instead of the ordinary forms, *babhūvitha, ātenitha, jagṛihima*, and *vavaritha;* as in the texts, 'thou wast the first priest,' 'whereby thou didst stretch out the wide firmament,' 'we have seized, O Indra, thy right hand,' 'thou didst envelope with light.'"

In Sutra vi. 4, 102, other instances are alluded to of grammatical forms which are peculiar to the Veda, viz., the imperatives *śrudhi* for *śriṇu*, 'hear'; *kṛidhi* for *kuru*, 'do'; *vṛidhi* for *vṛiṇu*, 'cover'; *pūrdhi* for *pṛiṇīhi*, 'fill.'

In the Vivaraṇa of Nāgesa Bhaṭṭa on the Mahābhāshya, the following reference is made to certain forms which are employed in the Veda only: *Evañ cha veda-mātrāntargata-"karṇebhir-devāso-gṛibhṇāmi"-ity-ādy-atirikta-paratā laukika-śabdasya tais tad-vyavahārādarśanāt |* "The term 'secular' (*laukika*) refers to words different from such as *karṇebhiḥ* (for *karṇaiḥ*), *devāsaḥ* (for *devāḥ*), and *gṛibhṇāmi* (for *gṛihṇāmi*), which are to be found in the Veda alone, for we never see them employed by secular people."

Neuter plurals in *ī* and *ā* are also of frequent occurrence in the Vedic hymns, as *trī* and *pūrṇā* for *trīṇi* and *pūrṇāni*. So too the final *i* in nouns ending in *n*, is often left out in the locative, as in *ajman, adhvan, karman, charman, janman, dhanvan, śarman, vyoman*, for *ajmani, adhvani*, etc. So also *ā* is substituted for *au* in the nom. and accus. dual, as in *yā surathā* for *yau surathau*, etc.

In nouns in *i* the instrumental singular is often formed by *ī*, instead of *yā*, as *śaktī* for *śaktyā*, and the locative by *ā* instead of *au*, as *nābhā* for *nābhau*. Nouns in *u* frequently form the instrumental case in *vā* instead of *unā*, as *kratvā, madhvā, śarvā*, for *kratunā*, etc.; the dative

in *ve*, instead of *ave*, as *kratve*, *śiśve*, for *kratave*, etc.; the genitive in *vaḥ* for *oḥ* or *unaḥ*, as *paśvaḥ* for *paśoḥ*, *madhvaḥ* and *vasvaḥ* for *madhunaḥ*, etc.; and the locative in *avi* instead of *au*, as *anavi*, *trasadasyavi*, *dasyavi*, *druhyavi*, *sānavi*, for *anau*, etc. Words in ī make in the nominative singular *īḥ* instead of ī, as *adurmangulīḥ*, *kṛishṇīḥ*, *gāndharvīḥ*, *kalyāṇīḥ*, for *adurmangalī*, etc. In adjectives the form *yas* is frequently substituted for *īyas*, as in *ahanyas*, *navyas*, *rabhyas*, *vasyas*, *sahyas*, for *ahanīyas*, etc. The second personal pronoun sometimes takes in the instr. sing. the form *tvā* instead of *tvayā*, and in the loc. *tve* for *tvayi*. According to Yāska (Nir. vi. 7), the plural form *asme* of the first personal pronoun can be used in all the seven cases. The dem. pronoun *idam* makes in the instr. sing. m. and n. *enā*, f. *ayā*, for *anena* and *anayā*, and along with *kim* we find also *kad*. The two words, *nākis*, "never," "no one," and *mākis*, "let not," and "let no one," are peculiar to the hymns, as are also the adverbs *kuha*,[252] "where?" *kathā*, "how?" "whence?" and the preposition *sadha* for *saha*, "with," in the words *sadhastha*, *sadhamā*, *sadhamāda*, and *sadhastuti*. The form *tman* for *ātman*, "self," is found almost exclusively in the hymns. *Na* in the hymns has frequently the sense of "as," as well as of "not" (see Nir. i. 4, quoted above, p. 151).

To the conjugational forms specified above as found in the Vedic hymns, but not in later Sanskrit, may be added the following, viz., *smasi*, *imasi*, *gṛiṇīmasi*, *bharāmasi*, *vadāmasi*, *uśmaśi*, *nāśayāmasi*, etc., for *smaḥ* or *smas*, etc. The past participle in *tvā* takes also the forms *tvī*, and *tvāya*, as in *hatvī*, *pītvī*; *kṛitvī*, *kṛitvāya*; *gatvī*, *gatvāya*; *dṛishṭvāya*, etc. In the infinitive, besides the form in *tum*, we frequently meet with the forms *tave*, *tavai*, *toḥ* (or *tos*), and *adhyai*, as *etave*, *etavai*, *etoḥ*; *kartave*, *kartavai*, *kartoḥ*; *gantave*, *gantavai*, *gamadhyai*; *dhātave* and *dhiyadhyai*; *bhartave*, *apabhartavai*, *bharadhyai* (R.V. vi. 66, 3); *hantavai*, *jīvitavai*, *pṛiṇadhyai*, *paritaṁsayadhyai*; and an infinitive form *āyai*, "to come," is found in R.V. ii. 18, 3. So also *jīvase*[253] and *chakshase* are used in the sense of the infinitive, as are also *dṛiśe* and *vishkabhe* (R.V. viii. 89, 12), and *vidmane* (R.V. i. 164, 6).

[252] As we have seen above, p. 91, *kuhiṁ* and *kuhaṁ* are employed in Pāli, and *kahiṁ* in the Gāthā dialect, and in Prākṛit, for "where?"

[253] This word is also used in the same way in the Mahābhārata, i. 732, as quoted in B. and R's. Lexicon, *s.v.*

So too the hymns have some moods called by grammarians *leṭ*, which, according to Prof. Wilson (Grammar, 2nd ed., p. 463), have all the significations of the potential and imperative, as well as of the conditional and impersonal. Such are the forms, *patāti*, "may it fall," *āvahāsi*, "mayest thou bring," *jīvāti*, *vardhān*, *yajāti*, *pachāti*, *vanāti*, *bravāma*; *asat*, "it must be," *bhuvat*, *sunavat*, *dṛiśat*, *śṛiṇavat*, *śravat*, *nindāt*, *niṅitsāt*, *yajātai*, *pṛiṇaithe*. In some verbs, the syllable *na* is added to the second person plural imperative, as *pipartana*, *vivaktana*, *tiretana*, *didiśhṭana*, etc. The pass. fut. participle in *tavya* appears in some verbs in the form *tva*, as in *kartva*, *jantva*, and *sotva* (R.V. x. 160, 2).

The following are some of the variations exhibited in the conjugation of different verbs of common occurrence; *av* makes *aviḍḍhi* instead of *ava* in the imperative; *kṛi*, "to make," takes in the present *karshi*, *karási*, and *kṛiṇoshi*, for *karoshi*; *akar*, *akaraḥ*, and *akṛiṇoḥ* for *akaroḥ*; *akran* and *akṛiṇvan* for *akurvan*; *akṛinuta* and *akṛinotana* for *akuruta*; *kṛidhi*, *kara*, *kṛiṇu* and *kṛiṇuhi* for *kuru*, etc.; *gam*, "to go," takes the forms *gamati*, *ganti*, *jaganti*, in place of *gachhati*; *gameyam*, and *jagamyām*, for *gachcheyam*; *āgamyāt* for *āgachhet*; *āgatha* for *āgachhatha*; *agan* and *gan* for *agachhat*; *aganma* for *agachhāma*; *agman* and *gman* for *agachhan*; *āgahi* and *āgantu* for *āgachha* and *āgachhatu*; *ganta* and *gantana* for *gachhata*. In the reduplicated perfect the root *tyaj* becomes *tityāja*, instead of *tatyāja*; in the aorist *tan* makes *atān* for *atānīt*. *Dṛiś* makes *adrāk* for *adrākshīt*, and has *dṛiśeyam* where later Sanskrit has *paśyeyam*; *adṛiśran* for *apaśyan*; *dadṛiśre* for *dadṛiśire*, etc. The root *tar* frequently becomes *tir* when prepositions are prefixed, as in *ātirat*, *pratira*, *vitiranti*. *Duh* makes *aduhra*, instead of *aduhata*, "they milked." *Dhā*, "to hold," makes *dhita*, instead of *hita* (though an instance of the same archaic form in the Harivaṁśa 7799 is cited by B. and R., as is also *dhitvā* in the Śatap. Br.). *Dah*, "to burn," makes in the aorist *adhāk* and *dhāk*, instead of *adhākshīt*. *Dā*, "to give," makes *dāti* and *dātu* for *dadāti* and *dadātu*, and *daddhi* for *dehi*. The root *bhū* has in the imperative *bhūtu* for *bhavatu*; and *bhṛi*, to "nourish," or "carry," makes in the reduplicated perfect *jabhāra*, instead of *babhāra*. *Much*, "to free," makes *mumugdhi* and *mumoktu*, instead of *muncha* and *munchatu*. *Yam*, "to hold," "to give," makes *yamati*, *yaṁsi*, *yandhi*, *yanta*, for *yachhati*, *yachhasi*, *yachha*, *yachhata*. *Vṛit* takes the forms *avart* + *ā* = *āvart*, etc., instead

of *āvarttata* (R.V. vii. 59, 4), *āvavarttati* for the intensive (R.V. viii. 77, 4). *Vid* makes *vidre* (R.V. vii. 56, 2) for *viduḥ* (?), and *vividḍhi* for *viddhi* (?). *S'ru*, "to hear," makes in the imperative (besides *śrudhi*, the form given above) *śriṇuhi*, *śriṇudhi*, for *śriṇu;* and *śriṇota* and *śrota* (R.V. v. 87, 8) for *śriṇuta.* *Spardh*, "to vie," makes *paspṛidhre* for *paspṛidhire.* *Hu*, "to invoke," makes *juhūre* for *juhvire.* In R.V. x. 125, 4, a form *śraddhivam* "deserving belief," is found, which appears to be peculiar to the R.V. (In the Atharvaveda iv. 30, 4, *śraddheyam* is substituted for it.) In future participles the R.V. frequently substitutes *enya* for *anīya*, as in *īḍenya*, *kīrtenya*, *dṛiśenya*, *yudhenya*, *vareṇya*, for *īḍanīya*, etc. Other forms peculiar to the Veda are *gṛibhāyati* (as well as *gṛibhṇāti*), *dabhāyati*, *mathāyati*, *mushāyati*, *stabhāyati*, for *gṛihṇāti*, etc.; and so also are such forms derived from the perfect tense, as *jakshīyāt* from *ghas*, *papatyāt*, *papīyāt*, *mamanyāt;* and the curtailed forms of the first person of the imperative, as *nirayā* (R.V., iv. 18, 2), *pracharā* (viii. 47, 6), and *prabravā* (x. 39, 5), for *nirayāni*, etc.

Other Vedic peculiarities are (*a*) the manner in which adjectives are employed, like the verbs with which they are connected, to govern an accusative, as in the cases *yaṁ yajnam paribhūr asi*, "the sacrifice which thou encompassest" (R.V., i. 1, 4): *vīḷu chid ārujatnubhiḥ*, "who break down even what is firm" (i. 6, 5); *tā somaṁ somapātamā* | "they are great drinkers of soma" (i. 21, 1); *chakrir yo viśvā* | "who made all things" (iii. 16, 4); *babhrir vajram papiḥ somaṁ dadir gāḥ* | "who holds the thunderbolt, drinks soma, and gives cows" (vi. 23, 4); *dadiḥ rekṇas tanve dadir vasu*, "giving property, giving wealth to the poor" (viii. 46, 15; ii. 14, 1; vi. 72, 3): (*b*) compounds formed with present participles, as *ābharad-vasu*, *ṛidhad-ri*, *dhārayat-kavi*, *kshayad-vīra*, *śravayat-sakhā:* and (*c*) the separation of prepositions from verbs, which so frequently occurs, as in the cases *upa tvā emasi* | "we approach thee" (i. 1, 7); *gamad vājebhir ā sa naḥ* | "let him come to us with riches" (i. 5, 3); *ā tvā viśantu āśavaḥ somāsaḥ* | "may the quickly-flowing soma-juices enter thee" (i. 5, 7); *ā tvā vahantu*, "let them bring thee" (i. 16, 3); *ni cha dhīmahi*, "we put down" (i. 17, 6).

It must not, however, be supposed, from these differences in form which we discover to exist between the Vedic and the later Sanskrit, that the two languages are not essentially alike. A great portion of

the substance, and much of the form of the language, was the same at both periods: a part of the Vedic roots and nouns only have in later times fallen into disuse; and the peculiar Vedic varieties of form are merely the ancient modes of inflection which were in common currency at the time when the hymns were composed, and which gradually became obsolete in the course of ages.[254] Some of them, however, continued for a long time in popular use, as we find in the case of the form of the instr. pl. *ebhis* for *ais*, which we meet with unchanged in the Gāthās of the Lalita-vistara (see the instances given above, in p. 120), and somewhat modified in the Pāli forms *ebhi* and *ehi*.

A further proof of the antiquity of the Vedic hymns is to be found in the fact, already alluded to, p. 169, f., that many words in use in the Veda afterwards became obsolete, as they do not occur in the later Sanskrit literature. The meaning of these words is often extremely difficult to ascertain, as no tradition of their signification seems to have been preserved, and even the oldest interpreters, as Yāska, are obliged to have recourse to etymology in order to arrive at their sense. (See on this subject my article "On the Interpretation of the Veda," in the Journal of the Royal As. Soc., vol. ii., new series, pp. 303, ff.)

As the hymns of the Veda were the compositions of the ancient

[254] The following is Professor Whitney's account of the differences between the Vedic and the modern Sanskrit:—

"The language of the Vedas is an older dialect, varying very considerably, both in its grammatical and lexical character, from the classical Sanskrit. Its grammatical peculiarities run through all departments: euphonic rules, word-formation and composition, declension, conjugation, syntax. . . . . [These peculiarities] are partly such as characterize an older language, consisting in a greater originality of forms, and the like, and partly such as characterize a language which is still in the bloom and vigour of life, its freedom untrammelled by other rules than those of common usage, and which has not, like the Sanskrit, passed into oblivion as a native spoken dialect, become merely a conventional medium of communication among the learned, being forced, as, it were, into a mould of regularity by long and exhausting grammatical treatment. . . . The dissimilarity existing between the two, in respect of the stock of words of which each is made up, is, to say the least, not less marked. Not single words alone, but whole classes of derivations and roots, with the families that are formed from them, which the Veda exhibits in frequent and familiar use, are wholly wanting, or have left but faint traces, in the classical dialect; and this to such an extent as seems to demand, if the two be actually related to one another directly as mother and daughter, a longer interval between them than we should be inclined to assume, from the character and degree of the grammatical, and more especially the phonetic, differences."—Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc. iii. 296, 297.

Indian ṛishis or bards, who, as we have seen above (p. 197, f.), frequently speak of having "made," "fashioned," or "generated"[255] them, they could not possibly have been composed in any other language than that which these ṛishis and their contemporaries were in the habit of using for every-day conversation.

There are, no doubt, in the hymns some apparent traces of an idea that the authors were inspired;[256] as in the following texts: R.V., i. 37, 4: *devattam brahma gāyata* | "Sing the god-given prayer." In R.V. x. 71, 3, it is said of the goddess Vāch: *Yajnena Vāchaḥ padavīyam āyan tām anvavindann ṛishishu pravishṭām* | "By sacrifice they followed the track of Vāch: they found her residing in the ṛishis."

In R.V. x. 125, 5, again, Vāch[257] is made to say: *Yaṁ kāmaye taṁ tam ugraṁ kṛiṇomi tam brahmāṇam tam ṛishiṁ taṁ sumedhām* | "Every man whom I love, I make him terrible; [I make] him a priest; [I make] him a ṛishi; [I make] him intelligent."[258]

In a Vālakhilya (or apocryphal hymn), which, with others, is to be found inserted between the 48th and 49th hymns of the 8th maṇḍala of the Rigveda, the following verse occurs, xi. 6:

Indrā-Varuṇā yad ṛishibhyo manīshāṁ vācho matiṁ śrutam adattam agre | *yāni sthānāny asṛijanta dhīrāḥ yajnaṁ tanvānās tapasā 'bhyapaśyam* |

For the complete text of this verse I was first indebted to Professor Müller, who supplied also the following version of it: "Indra and Varuṇa, I have seen through devotion that which, after it was heard

[255] See numerous passages to this effect adduced in the third volume of this work, p. 232, ff.

[256] This subject is treated more at length in the third volume of this work, p. 245, ff. In his illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 85, Roth observes in regard to the fifth hymn of the fourth book of the R.V.: "The author of the hymn, Vāmadeva, himself professes to make known a mysterious and recondite wisdom, which had been revealed to him by Agni (verses 3 and 6)." The third verse is as follows: *Sāma dvibarhāḥ mahi tigmabhṛishṭiḥ sahasraretāḥ vṛishabhas tuvishmān* | *Padam na gor apagūḷham vividvān Agnir mahyam predu vochad manīshām* || "Agni, the transcently strong, the fierce-flaming, the prolific, the showerer of benefits, the powerful, who knows the venerable hymn, mysterious as the track of a [missing] cow, hath declared to me its knowledge."

[257] See, however, note 27, p. 258, of the third volume of this work.

[258] Vāch thus appears partly, though not entirely, in the character of a Muse. Compare what Homer says of Demodocus, Odyssey viii. 63, 64:

Τὸν πέρι Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε,
'οφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν.

in the beginning, you gave to the poets—wisdom, understanding of speech; and I have seen the (sacred) places which the sages created in performing the sacrifice."[259]

Though, however, some traces of an idea that the ṛishis were inspired by the gods, by Vāch, or Indra and Agni, or Indra and Varuṇa (but not, in any of the passages which I have here quoted, by Brahma, who in later times was regarded as the source of inspiration: see above, p. 195), may thus be detected in the Ṛigveda, there is no doubt, on the other hand, that these ancient bards often or generally speak of the hymns as the creation of their own minds; and there is no reason to suppose that they were anything else. But as even an inspired composition, to be generally intelligible, must be delivered in the language current among the people to whom it is first promulgated, there is no pretence for supposing that the Sanskrit of the Vedas was not the vernacular language of the age in which they were first recited.

At that early period there was no language current among the Āryas but the Vedic Sanskrit. A learned language, different from the spoken tongue, was a thing then unknown; and the refinements of grammar had no existence. This accords with the purport of the following curious passage of an ancient Brāhmaṇa,[260] referred to by Sāyaṇa in the introduction to his commentary on the Ṛigveda, p. 35: *Vyākaraṇam api prakṛiti-pratyayādy-upadeśena pāda-svarūpa-tad-artha-niśchayāya upayujyate | Tathā cha Aindra-vāyava-graha-brāhmaṇe samāmnāyate | "Vāg vai parāchī avyākṛitā 'bhavat | te devāḥ Indram abruvann 'imāṁ no Vāchaṁ vyākuru' iti | so 'bravīd 'varaṁ vṛiṇai | mahyaṁ cha eva esha Vāyave cha saha gṛihyātai' iti | tasmād Aindravāyavaḥ saha pragṛihyate*[261] *| tām Indro madhyato 'vakramya vyākarot | tasmād iyaṁ vyākṛitā vāg udyate" iti | "Agnim īḷe purohitam" ityādi-vāk pūrvasmin kāle parāchī samudrādi-dhvani-vad ekātmikā satī avyākṛitā prakṛitiḥ pratyayaḥ padaṁ vākyam, ityādi-vibhāga-kāri-grantha-rahitā āsīt |*

[259] In the third volume of this work, p. 263, the verse is translated thus: "Indra and Varuṇa, I have seen through austere fervour that which ye formerly gave to the ṛishis, wisdom, understanding of speech, sacred lore, and all the places which the sages created, when performing sacrifice."

[260] This passage is found in the Taitt. S. vi. 4, 7, 3, in the very same words, with the addition after "udyate" of the following: *tasmāt sakṛid Indrāya madhyato gṛihyate dvir Vāyave dvau hi sa varāv avṛiṇīta |*

[261] "Pra" omitted in Taitt. S.

tadānīm devaiḥ prārthitaḥ Indraḥ ekasminn eva pātre Vāyoḥ svasya cha soma-rasasya grahaṇa-rūpeṇa vareṇa tushṭas tām akhaṇḍāṁ Vācham madhye vichhidya prakṛiti-pratyayādi-bhāgaṁ sarvatra akarot | tasmād iyaṁ vāg idānīm api Pāṇinyādi-maharshibhir vyākṛitā sarvaiḥ paṭhyate ity arthaḥ | "Grammar, also, by indicating the crude forms and the affixes, is useful for determining the character of words, and their signification. And accordingly it is thus related in the Aindra-Vāyava-graha-brāhmaṇa (a section, so called, either of the Taittirīya Sanhitā, or of some Brāhmaṇa): 'Vāch (Speech) spoke confusedly, and without articulation. The gods said to Indra, Make this Vāch to become articulate to us. Indra replied, Let me choose a boon; let the soma be given to me and Vāyu together. Hence the soma of Indra and Vāyu is taken together. Indra then, dividing Speech in sunder in the middle, rendered her articulate. Hence she is spoken articulately.' The sense of this quotation, says Sāyaṇa, is this: Speech, such as in the verse *Agnim īḷe purohitam*, etc. (the first verse of the Rigveda), was originally confused, i.e. unvaried like the roar of the sea, etc., and undistinguished, i.e. without articulation to denote crude forms, inflections, words, and sentences, etc. Then Indra, being solicited by the gods, and gratified by the permission to take the soma-juice in the same vessel with Vāyu, divided in the middle Speech, which had previously been without division, and introduced everywhere the distinction of crude forms, inflections, etc. In consequence, this Speech, being now distinguished in its parts by Pāṇini and other great sages, is pronounced by all men."

It may be asked, however, If the Vedic Sanskrit was once the spoken language of India, how did it ever cease to be spoken? To this I reply as follows:—

By the time when the collections of the Vedic hymns were formed, the Sanskrit, the vernacular speech of the ṛishis and their descendants, had undergone a considerable alteration, which had gradually resulted, as we have already seen (compare pp. 36, 68, ff.), both from the general laws of change to which all language is subject (as exemplified in various other ancient tongues), and also from the action of local causes, such as the intercourse of the Āryas, or Sanskrit-speaking race, with the Dasyus, or Mlechhas, who spoke a quite different tongue. In this way, words which had formerly been commonly employed in Sanskrit

became obsolete, or acquired new meanings, while other new words, borrowed from the dialects of the Mlechhas, were introduced into currency; and forms of inflection which were once current got gradually into disuse, and made way for other novel forms. Thus a twofold alteration was produced in the ancient Indian language (the Sanskrit of the Vedas). First, the Pāli and the Prākṛit, or vernacular dialects, were formed out of it in the manner which has already been described (pp. 33, 68, f., 134, 146); and secondly, a learned language, based upon the Sanskrit of the Vedas, but variously modified (see pp. 138, f.), and polished, was gradually constructed by grammarians, which being removed from the corrupting influences of popular use, has thenceforward continued unchanged (p. 162).

When the process of change had been going on for many generations, the Vedic hymns became exceedingly difficult to understand. The obstacles to comprehension, arising from these intermediate changes of language, were greatly augmented by the obscure and elliptical style in which the hymns were originally composed, which rendered it hard for the men of subsequent ages to understand the brief allusions to ancient ideas, practices, and events with which they abound.

These considerations will sufficiently account for the difficulty which was experienced in the comprehension of the Vedic hymns in later ages, without there being the least necessity for our supposing that they were composed in a language at all different from that which was ordinarily current in India, among the common people of the Āryan race, at the time of their composition.

CHAPTER II.

AFFINITIES OF THE INDIANS WITH THE PERSIANS, GREEKS, AND ROMANS, AND DERIVATION OF ALL THESE NATIONS FROM CENTRAL ASIA.

From the preceding review it is clear that the Sanskrit language has been undergoing a continual change, from the very earliest times up to which we can follow its course. But if this be the case, it would be contrary to all analogy to suppose that that language had remained unaltered in those yet earlier ages before the Vedas were composed. It must, therefore, now become my object to inquire, whether we can discover any means of following it back to its origin. We are not, it must be confessed, in a position to do this in any other way than that of reasoning and inference; for, in the absence of any Sanskrit writings anterior to the Vedas, we possess no direct means of tracing the history of the Sanskrit language and its mutations any further back than the date of the composition of those hymns. There is, however, another way in which we can arrive at some conception of that history. From facts which are established and evident, we must reason to the unapparent causes which they presuppose, and out of which they have arisen.[1]

Learned men have remarked, that there is a great resemblance between the Sanskrit and other languages, some of which, like it, are now no longer spoken, but were formerly the current and popular speech of ancient nations, and are preserved in written records which

[1] Ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος, "As I conjecture, inferring things unknown from things that are manifest," says Herodotus, ii. 33. Compare Euripides, fragment 5 of the Phœnix, τἀφανῆ τεκμηρίοισιν εἰκότως ἁλίσκεται, "A probable conclusion regarding things unapparent is reached by proofs."

have descended to us from a remote antiquity. These are 1st, the Zend and other varieties of the ancient Persic; 2nd, the Greek; and 3rd, the Latin.[2] The Zend language is preserved in the Zend Avesta, a collection of writings connected with the ancient religion of Persia. The poems of Homer, which form the oldest relic of the extensive literature of ancient Greece, are supposed to have been written about 2,700 years ago. And there are many Latin books which are 2,000 years old. From the great similarity which exists between these languages and the Sanskrit, of which proofs and instances will be presently adduced, learned men have inferred: 1st, That these forms of speech have all one common origin, i.e., that Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin are all, as it were, sisters,[3] the daughters (some perhaps older and some younger, but still all daughters) of one mother who died in giving them birth, or, to speak without a figure, that they are derivatives from, and the surviving representatives of, one older language, which now no longer exists;[4] and 2ndly, That the races of men who spoke these several languages are also all descended from one stock, and that their ancestors at a very early period all lived together in some country (situated out of Hindustan), speaking one language; but afterwards separated, to travel away from their primeval abodes, at different times and in different directions; the forefathers of the

[2] It is not necessary for my purpose to insist much on the affinities of the Sanskrit to any other languages besides those I have named.

[3] Facies non omnibus una, nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.

[4] From a comparison of the various forms which words of identical signification have assumed in the different derivative tongues, and of the laws which in each case must have governed the mutations which they have undergone, it becomes possible to ascertain, in many cases with certainty, or with high probability, the form which the words had at first in the mother-language, the original Indo-European speech. In the work of the late August Schleicher, entitled "Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen" (i.e. "Compendium of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages") 3rd ed., 1871, the letters of the mother-language which continue unaltered in the derivative tongues, and those which have been replaced by others, are specified, and the original forms of inflection and conjugation, as well as of numerous words, are stated. And in August Fick's "Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen," (i.e. "Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages"), 2nd ed., 1870, the words of the original language are given according to the author's conception of their form. These writers, however, though generally, are not always, at one as to the original forms. Thus Schleicher thinks the word for "five" was *kankan*, whilst Fick makes it *pankan*. The former takes *svastars* to have been at first the word for "sister," whilst the latter makes it *svasar*.

Hindus southward or south-eastward to India; the ancestors of the Persians to the south; and those of the Greeks and Romans to the west.[5] The languages of those branches of this great Indo-European stock which remained longest together in their earliest home, viz., the Persians and the Indians, continued to bear the closest resemblance to each other; while the tongues of those offshoots which separated earliest from the parent stock exhibit in later times the least amount of resemblance, the divergencies of dialect becoming wider and wider in proportion to the length of time which had elapsed since the separation.[6]

Sect. I.—*Introductory Remarks on Comparative Philology: affinities of the Sanskrit and Persian with each other.*

I shall proceed to establish these assertions as to the resemblance of the Sanskrit to the Zend, Greek and Latin; after first premising a few simple remarks on comparative philology in general.

A comparison of the various languages which are spoken in different countries of Europe and Asia, has brought to light the fact that they belong to different families or classes; and that the different members of the same family, while they exhibit a more or less close resemblance to each other, have either no resemblance, or a very remote one, to those belonging to any of the other families. It will be sufficient for the purpose of illustration, if I refer to the two great families of speech, universally recognized as distinct, the Semitic and the Indo-European.

[5] For an account of the Greeks and Romans, I refer the Indian student to any of the ordinary historical manuals.

[6] "A comparison of the grammatical structure of the Sanskrit, especially in its oldest form as represented in the Veda, with the Celtic, Greek, Latin, German, Letto-Slavonian, and Persian, etc., teaches us that all these languages have a common basis, or in other words that they are derived from one common original speech; and the gradation of sounds and forms points to the Sanskrit as the language which in general still preserves the most original form, and has departed least from the original tongue, This existence of one common original language necessarily leads us to conclude that at the period when it was still a living and spoken tongue, the people also which employed it formed one nation; and it results that the individual nations as well as their languages were formed by a gradual separation from the Indo-European people, and its language. And, moreover, the greater or less similarity of the several languages among each other, and particularly in reference to the Sanskrit, enables us to conclude whether the separation from the original stock took place in each case at an earlier or a later period."—Weber, Indian Sketches, p. 7.

The languages which belong to the Semitic branch are the Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, etc. Now all who have studied these languages are well aware that they closely resemble each other in respect of their roots and general character; while they have scarcely any affinity at all in any respect with the languages of the Indo-European stock, in which are included Sanskrit, Zend, the later forms of pure Persian, Greek, Latin, and the Teutonic and Sclavonic languages. Any person who knows both Arabic and Sanskrit is perfectly aware that they have little resemblance to each other either in verbal roots, or nouns, and none in the forms of conjugation and declension.[7]

Now, here we discover the very remarkable fact that two languages,

[7] The question of the difference between the Semitic and Indo-European languages, in point of structure, with their partial correspondence in respect of roots, is ably treated by Renan, "Histoire des Langues Sémitiques," 2nd ed. p. 434, ff. He observes that the criterion of the distinctness of families in languages is to be found in the impossibility of deriving one from another. Thus, he says, it is quite intelligible how, notwithstanding their differences, all the Indo-European tongues may be related to the same type, and have sprung from the same primitive idiom; while it is impossible to explain how, by any series of corruptions, the Zend or the Sanskrit could have become Hebrew, or how the Hebrew could have become changed to Sanskrit or Chinese (p. 434). It is generally recognized that there is a wide distinction between the grammatical system of the Semitic languages and that of the Indo-European tongues, and that the one system could not be derived from the other by any procedure known to comparative philology. If we except the principles common to all, or to most, languages (which are nothing else than an expression of the laws of the human mind), there is scarcely any grammatical mechanism of importance which is common to the two families (p. 444). But in the classification of languages, grammatical are much more important than lexicographical considerations [i.e. the inflections of a language are of much more consequence than the words of which it is composed]. Many languages could be quoted which have enriched or renewed their vocabulary, but very few which have corrected their grammar. Grammar is, therefore, the essential form of language, that which constitutes its individuality (pp. 447, 448). On the other hand, M. Renan admits that the Semitic and Indo-European languages have a considerable number of roots which are common to both, independently of such as they have borrowed from each other within the historical period. But he doubts whether this circumstance is sufficient to prove the primitive unity of the two families, and scarcely ventures to hope that a demonstrative result will ever be attained on this point. The greater part of the roots common to the two families owe their similarity, he considers, to natural causes, as they belong to the class of biliteral and mônosyllabic onomatopœias, which reappear in the triliteral radicals actually existing, and in which original sensations appear to have left their traces. Is it at all strange, he asks, that in order to express outward action, the primitive man, still sympathizing so closely with nature, and scarcely separated from her, should have sought to imitate her, and that the same objects should have been universally imitated by the same sounds? (pp. 449, 450.) M. Renan illustrates these remarks by a number of instances, but admits that,

both very perfect and polished in their forms and structure, and both of which are spoken by learned men, of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions respectively, living together, side by side, in the same cities of India, are totally different from each other in almost every respect in which one elaborate and complicated language can be distinguished from another language of the same character. And what is the explanation of this, at first sight, so startling phenomenon? It is, of course, that Arabic is (as its name implies) the language of the Arabs, a Semitic tribe; and was introduced into India by the Mahomedan invaders of that country, who, though not Arabians by descent, have yet, as their designation imports, been converted to the faith of the Arabian conqueror Mahomed, and have learned the language in which their sacred volume, the Koran, is written: while Sanskrit, on the other hand, is the language of the Brāhmans, who are descended, more or less purely, from a race which has no affinity (unless it be a primordial one) with the Semitic, viz., the Arian. It is not, therefore, wonderful that the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, which, though they meet in India, have been introduced into that country from quarters so perfectly distinct, should be totally different from each other.

But the Musulmans of India are not only acquainted with the Arabic tongue, but with the Persian also, which is the living dialect of Persia, one of the countries which lie intermediate between Arabia and India. The Persian language, which the Persians now speak, and which the learned Musulmans of India write, is a composite form of speech, i.e. one chiefly made up of a mixture of Arabic with the ancient Persic, which was originally devoid of Arabic words. Now in that portion of the modern Persian language which has not been borrowed from Arabic, but inherited from the ancient Persic, we find many words

among the roots which appear to be common to the Semitic and the Indo-European languages, there are a certain number in which the reason of the onomatopœia is more difficult to seize (p. 452). He concludes that in the present state of philological science, a sound method of theorizing requires us to regard the Semitic and Indo-European families of language as distinct (p. 457); while at the same time he remarks that nothing which he has adduced invalidates the hypothesis of a primordial affinity between the races by whom the Semitic and the Indo-European languages respectively were spoken (p. 451). For details I must refer to his work itself. Much has been written on the same subject by other scholars, which it is unnecessary to specify. I refer only to Dr. Nöldeke's paper in Benfey's Orient. und Occident, vol. ii., p. 375, ff.

which are manifestly of the same origin as the Sanskrit nouns or verbs of the same signification.

The following list of words may suffice to prove the assertion just made, that the Persian language has, in its purely Persic element, an affinity with Sanskrit, while Arabic has no such affinity:—

TABLE No. IX.

Comparative Table of Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic Words.

SANSKRIT.	PERSIAN.	ARABIC.	ENGLISH.
pitar	*padar*[8]	*ăbū*	father.
mātar	*mādar*	*ămm*	mother.
duhitar	*dukhtar*	*bint*	daughter.
jāmātar	*dāmād*	*hāfid*	son-in-law.
yuvăn	*jawān*	*shābb*	young man.
năra	*nar*	*zhākăr*	male.
gharma	*garm*	*hārr*	heat.
ăśva	*ăsp*	*fărăs*	horse.
ăp	*āb*	*mā*	water.
nāman	*nām*	*ism*	name.
śushka	*khushk*	*yābis*	dry.
pāda	*pā*	*qădăm*	foot.
bāhu	*bāhū, bāzū*	*sā'id*	arm.
năvă	*nau*	*jădīd*	new.
eka	*yak*	*ăḥăd*	one.
dvi	*do*	*ithnăn*	two.
chătur	*chăhār*	*ărbă'a*	four.
păncheăn	*păng*	*khams*	five.
shăṭ	*shăsh*	*sătt*[9]	six.
săptăn	*hăft*	*saba'a*	seven.
ăshṭăn	*hăsht*	*thămăniyat*	eight.
navan	*nuh*	*tasa'a*	nine.
dăśăn	*dăh*	*'ashar*	ten.
viṁśati	*bist*	*'ashrūn*	twenty.
śatam	*ṣad, sad*	*māyat*	hundred.
sahasra	*hāzār*	*alaf*	thousand.

I subjoin many additional instances of affinity between Persian and Sanskrit words, adding the equivalents in the Zend, one of the earliest forms of the Iranian language, but omitting all reference to the Arabic.[10]

[8] See p. 18, note 23.

[9] In this case the Arabic word does resemble the Sanskrit.

[10] In the preparation of these lists I have had the advantage of drawing from the Etymological Persian and Latin Lexicon of Dr. J. A. Vullers, including the supplement containing the Persian roots illustrated by reference to the older Persic dialects, the Sanskrit, etc.; the Persian Grammar of the same author (1st edition, 1840, 2nd edition, 1870); and Dr. Justi's Zend Dictionary. Dr. Vullers's Grammar, in which the Persian is compared with the ancient Persic dialects and with Sanskrit, might, if translated from Latin into English, form a useful handbook for Indian students desirous of learning the history and affinities of the Persian language.

I. VERBS AND PARTICIPLES.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
dar	. . .	*darīdan*	to tear.
kar	*kar*	*kardan*	to do.
kṛiṇu (imperat. vedic)	. . .	*kun*	do thou.
dā	*dā*	*dādan*	to give.
grabh (vedic)[11]	*garew, garefsh*	*giriftan*	to take.
bhar	*bar*	*burdan*	to bear.
bandh	*baṇd*	*bastan, bandad* (3rd pers. sing. pres.)	to bind.
āp	*ap, āf*	*yāftan*	to obtain.
śru (*śṛiṇoti*)	*śru*	*shanūdan*	to hear.
sthā	*śtā*	*istādan*	to stand.
jīv	*ji, jish, jīv*	*zīstan*	to live.
mar	*mar*	*murdan*	to die.
svap	*qap, qafś*	*khuftan*	to sleep.
svapna	*qafna*	*khwāb*	sleep.
char	*char*	*charīdan*	to wander, graze.
dhāv	. . .	*davīdan*	to run.
pach	*pach*	*pukhtan*	to cook.
duh	. . .	*dokhtan*, *doshīdan*	to milk.
jnā	*zā*	*dānistan*	to know.
jānāti	. . .	[*mī*] *dānad*	he knows.
jānāmi	. . .	[*mī*] *dānam*	I know.
sṛij	. . .	*sirishtan*	to create.
sṛishṭi	. . .	*sirisht*	creation, nature.
han	*jan*	*zadan* (*zanad* 3rd pers. sing.)	to strike.
tras	*tareś*	*tarsīdan*	to fear.
trāsa	*tarsti*	*tars*	fear, trembling.
mih	*miz*	*mekhtan*	to make water.
jaj, janj	. . .	*jangīdan*	to fight.
tapas	*tafnu*	*tap, tāb*	heat, fever.
ruh	*rud*	*rustan, royīdan*	to grow.
prachh (*prichhati*)	*pareś*	*pursīdan*	to ask.
ve, vabh[12]	. . .	*bāftan*	to weave.
khan	. . .	*kandan*	to dig.
karsh	*karesh, kash*	*kashīdan*	to draw.
krī	. . .	*kharīdan*	to buy.
dham	*dam*	*damīdan*	to blow (as wind or breath).
jan	*zan*	*zādan*	be born, beget.
jāta	*zāta*	*zādah*	born.
tan (*tanoti*)	*tan*	*tanīdan, tanūdan*	to extend.
śuch	*śuch*	*sokhtan*	to shine, burn.
varsh, vār, vāri (water)	*vār*	*bārīdan*	to rain.
ni+dhā	*ni+dā*	*nihādan*	to place.

[11] The later form *grah* is one of the early instances of the same process by which in Prākṛit *h* was substituted for *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, *ph*, and *bh*.

[12] The existence of this root may be inferred from the presence of a derivative from it in the word *ūrṇavābhi*, "spider."

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
gam	. . .	*chamīdan*	to go, walk.
jam	. . .	*zamīdan*	to eat.
chi	. . .	*chīdan*	to collect.
pra+sthā	*fra+stā*	*feristādan*	to send, go forward.
nam	*nam*	*namīdan*	to bend, be disposed
pat	*paṭ*	*uftādan, fitādan*	to fall. [to.
dhi (vedic)	*dī*	*dīdan*	to perceive, see.
bhū	*bū*	*būdan*	to be.
bhavāmi	. . .	[*mī*] *buvam*	I am.
bhavati	. . .	[*mī*] *buvad*	he is.
abhūvam	. . .	*būdam*	I was.
abhūt	. . .	*būd*	he was.
abhūvan	. . .	*būdand*	they were.
asmi	*ahmi*	*am, hastam*	I am.
asti	*aśti*	*hast, ast*	he is.
santi	*heñti*	*and*	they are.
stu	*śtu*	*sitūdan*	to praise.
śudh	*śud*	*shustan*	to cleanse, wash.
mard	*mared*	*mālīdan* [13]	to grind, rub, etc.
nard	. . .	*nālīdan*	to sound, lament.
dhăr	*dăr*	*dāshtan* (imperat. *dār*)	to hold.
karsh	*karesh*	*kāshtan* (imperat. *kār*)	to cultivate.
tap	*tap*	*tapīdan, tāftan* (imperat. *tāb*)	to be hot, to heat.
vah	*vaz*	*wazīdan*	to carry, blow (as
bhraj	. . .	*birishtan*	to roast. [wind).
kshar	*khshar*	*shārīdan*	to flow.
chhid	*śkeñd, śchiñd*	*shikastan*	to cut, break.
svan	*qan*	*khwāndan*	to sound, call, read.
śak (*śaktum*, infin.)	*śach* (to give, learn)	*sākhtan* (imperat. *sāz*)	to be able, make.
kush (to tear, tear out)	. . .	*kushtan*	to kill.

II. NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, PRONOUNS, PARTICLES, ETC. [14]

bhrātar	*brātar*	*birādar*	brother.
svasar	*qañhar*	*khwāhar*	sister.
putra	*puthra*	*pisar, pusar*	son.
śvasura	*qaśura*	*khusr*	father-in-law.
śvaśrū	. . .	*khusrū*, or *khusrah*	mother-in-law.
vidhavā	. . .	*bewah*	widow.
jani, gnā	*jēni, ghěna*	*zan*	woman, wife.
martya	*marĕta*	*mard*	mortal, man.
vatsa	. . .	*bachah* [15]	child.
jīva, jīvita	*jīti, jīsti*	*zī, zīst, zindagī*	life.

[13] See p. 23 above, note 41, and the line to which it refers.

[14] It is possible that in some of the instances of similarity here adduced, the Persian word may have been borrowed at a comparatively recent period from the Sanskrit, or vice versâ; but this cannot well be the case when an ancient Zend equivalent also is forthcoming.

[15] See page 16, note 10.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
tanu	*tanu, tanus*	*tan*	body.
majjā	*mazga*	*maghz*	brain.
śiras	*śara*	*sar*	head.
asthi	*aśti, aśta*	*astah, ustukhān*	bone.
pārshṇi	*pāshna*	*pāshnah*	heel.
chakshu	*chashman*	*chashm*	eye.
aśru	*aśru*	*ars*	tear.
dant	*daṅtan*	*dandān*	tooth.
jihvā	*hizva*	*zabān*	tongue.
dos	. . .	*dosh*	shoulder.
aratni	. . .	*āranj*	elbow.
hasta[16]	*zaśta*	*dast*	hand.
mushṭi	*muśti*	*musht*	fist, handful.
angushṭha	*añgusta*	*angusht*	thumb, finger.
nakha	. . .	*nākhūn*	nail.
rom	. . .	*roman*	hair.
stana	*fstāna*	*pastān*	female breast.
yakṛit	. . .	*jigar*	liver.
jānu	*zhnu*	*zānu*	knee.
pād	*pādha*	*pā*	foot.
keśa	. . .	*ges, geso*	hair, ringlet.
pṛishṭha	*parsti*	*pusht*	back.
ushṭra	*ustra*	*ushtar, shutr*	camel.
kapi	. . .	*kabī, kapī*	ape.
go	*gāo*	*gāo*	ox, or cow.
śūkara	*hu*	*khūk*	boar.
khara	*khara*	*khar*	ass, or wild ass.
aśvatara	. . .	*astar*	mule.
mesha	*maēsha*	*mesh*	sheep, ram.
mūsha	. . .	*mūsh*	mouse.
parṇa	*parĕna*	*par*	feather, wing.
parṇin	*perenin*	*parindah*	winged, a bird.
chanchu	. . .	*chang*	beak of a bird.
kapota	. . .	*kabūtar*	pigeon.
gṛidhra	. . .	*gīd*	a vulture.
śṛigāla	. . .	*shaghāl*	jackal.
kurankara	. . .	*ḳulang*	crane.
makshikā	*makshi*	*magas*	fly.
kṛimi	*kerema*	*kirm*	worm.
kaśyapa / *kachhapa*	*kaśyapa*	*kashaf*	tortoise.
karka	. . .	*kark, kharchang*	crab.
gūtha	. . .	*gūh*	excrement.
matsya	*maśya*	*māhī*	fish.
kshīra	*kshīra*	*shīr*	milk.
hiraṇya	*zaranya*	*zar*	gold.
ayas	*ayañh*	*āhan*	iron.
charman	. . .	*charm*	skin.
āhāra	. . .	*āḥār*	food.
nirāhāra, anāhāra	. . .	*nāhār*	fasting.
kṛishi (*kṛishṭa*)	*karsti*	*kisht*	cultivation, ploughed field.
vrīhi	*berejya*[17]	*birinj*	rice.

[16] Could the original form of this word have been *dhasta*?

[17] See Vullers's Persian Grammar, 2nd edition, pp. 50, 56. In Justi's Lexicon *berejya* is said to be the name of a deity who protects crops.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
godhūma	. . .	*gandum*	wheat.
yava	*yava*	*jau*	barley.
dhānya	*dāna*	*dānah*	grain.
jangala	. . .	*jangal*	thicket.
kshupa	. . .	*chob*	a bush, wood.
dāru	*dāuru*	*darod*	wood.
śākhā	. . .	*shākh, shākhchah*	branch.
ārā	. . .	*ărăh*	saw.
yuga	. . .	*jugh*	yoke.
jāla	. . .	*jāl*	net.
bhāra	. . .	*bār*	weight.
yāra	. . .	*bār*	time.
ekavāra	. . .	*yakbār*	once.
dvāra	*dvără*	*dar*	door.
panjara	. . .	*pinjarah, panjarah*	cage.
dāman	. . .	*dām*	net, bond.
chakra	*chakhra*	*charkh*	wheel.
deva	*daēva*	*dev*	god, demon.
áśman	*aśman*	*āsmān*	stone, heaven.
jagat	. . .	*jahān*	the world.
bhūmi	*būmi*	*būm*	ground, earth.
jmā, gmā	*zem*	*zamīn*	earth.
svar, sūrya	*hvare*	*khūr*	heaven, sun.
mitra, mihira[18]	*mithra*	*mihr*	name of a god, sun, friend, friendship.
vasishṭha	*aŵhu vahista*	*behisht*	best, paradise.
mās	*māoñh*	*māh*	moon, month.
stăr (vedic)	*ştăre*	*sitārah*	star.
abhra	*awra*	*abr*	cloud.
megha	*maegha*	*mégh*	cloud.
kshapā	*kshap*	*shab*	night.
gharma	*garĕma*	*garmā*	heat, summer.
hima	*zima*	*zam*	winter, cold.
vāta	*vāta*	*bād*	wind.
chhāyā	. . .	*sāyah*	shade.
chhatra	. . .	*chatar*	umbrella.
ranga	. . .	*rang*	colour.
gandha	*gaiñti*	*gand*	smell, bad smell.
karpūra	. . .	*kāfur*	camphor.
soma	*haoma*	*hom*	soma plant.
atharvan	*ātharvan*	*āturbān*	priest, fire-priest, saint.
namas	*nĕmañh*	*namāz*	adoration, prayers.
manas	*manañh*	*mansh*	mind, disposition.
guṇa	*gaona*	*gūnah*	quality, colour.
drugdha	*draogha*	*darogh*	injury, lie.
tṛishṇā	*tarshna*	*tishnagī*	thirst.
tṛishita, tṛishṇaj	. . .	*tishnah*	thirsty.
śoka	. . .	*sog*	grief.
bhī, bhīma	. . .	*bīm*	fear, terrible.
kāma	. . .	*kām*	wish, desire.
rahas	. . .	*rāz*	secret.
kārya	*kāra*	*kār*	work.

[18] *Mihira* is mentioned by Böhtlingk and Roth as occurring in the Mahābhārata iii. 191, as a name of the sun. Mitra occurs in the same sense in the same line.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
bhishaj	*bhaēshaza*	*bĕchashk, bijishk*	physician.
kulāla	. . .	*kulāl*	potter.
ishṭikā (?)	*istya*	*khisht*	brick.
yātu	*yātu*	*jādū*	sorcerer, sorcery.
gola	. . .	*golah*	a ball.
tāra	. . .	*tār*	wire, chord, musical note.
jyā	. . .	*zih, zĕh*	a bowstring.
tīra	. . .	*tīr*	arrow.
vistara	. . .	*bistar*	bed.
paryanka, palyanka	. . .	*palang*[19]	bed.
rathyā	*raithya*	*rāh*	road.
kumbha	. . .	*khumb*	jar.
sthūṇā	. . .	*sitūn*	pillar.
sthāna	*śtāna*	*āstān*	place, threshold.
dāha	*dăgha*	*dāgh*	burning, a mark from burning.
ārāma	*rāman*	*ārām*	rest, pleasure, garden.
kunja	. . .	*kunj*	corner, arbour.
drapsa	*drafsha*	*dirafsh*	drop, spark, banner, lightning.
tokman	*taokhman*	*tukhm*	a blade of grain, seed.
sangama	*hañjamana*	*anjuman*	an assemblage.
pratāpa	. . .	*parto*	lustre.
śakuna	. . .	*shagūn*	bird, omen.
chaturanga	. . .	*shatrang*	chess.
dūra	*dūra*	*dūr*	far.
nedishṭha	*nazda*	*nizd*	near.
mahat	*maz, mazañt*	*mih*	great.
mahattara	. . .	*mihtar*	greater, chief.
guru, garīyas	. . .	*girāñ*	heavy.
tanu	. . .	*tanuk*	slender.
sama	. . .	*hamah*	all.
sam	. . .	*hum*	together.
sarva	*haurva*	*har*	all.
nema	*naēma*	*nīm*	half.
śukra (bright)	*śukhra*	*surkh*	red.
śubha	. . .	*khūb*	fair.
savya	*havya*	*chap*	left.
rajishṭha (vedic)	*razista*	*rāst*	straight.
śveta	*śpaēta*	*saped, safed*	white.
śyāma, śyāva	*śyāva*	*siyāh*	black, brown.
pūrṇa	*pĕrĕna*	*pur*	full.
tigma, tīkshṇa, tejas, tij (to sharpen)	*tighra, tizhin*	*tej*	sharp, sharpness.
dīrgha	*darĕgha*	*darāz*	long.
rāma	*rāma*	*rām*	pleasant, pleasantness, happy.
nashṭa	. . .	*nashat*	destroyed.
sthāvara	*śtawra*	*ustuwār*	firm
matta	. . .	*mast*	intoxicated.

[19] See p. 19, note 26.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	PERSIAN.	ENGLISH.
durnāman	. . .	*dushnām*	bad name, abuse.
durmanas	. . .	*dujmanish*, *dushman*	hostile, disturbed in mind.
kva, *kutra*, *kuha* (vedic)	*kuthra*	*ku*[*jā*]	where?
na	*na*	*nah*	not.
tvam	*tūm*	*tū*	thou.
yushmat	. . .	*shumā*	you.
sva	*qa*, *hava*, *hva*,	*khūd*	you, own, self.
katama	. . .	*kadām*	who?
tara	*tara*	*tar*	sign of comp. degree.
antar	*añtare*	*andar*	within.
upari	*upairi*	*bar*	above.
paśchāt, *paścha*	*paśkāt*, *paścha*	*pas*	after.
idānīm	. . .	*īdūn*	now.
viṁśati	*vīśaiti*	*bīst*	twenty.
panchāśat	. . .	*panjāh*	fifty.
shashṭi	*khshasti*	*shast*	sixty.
saptati	*haptāiti*	*haftād*	seventy.
aśīti	*aśtāiti*	*hashtād*	eighty.
navati	*navaiti*	*navad*	ninety.
śata	*śata*	*ṣad*	a hundred.
sahasra	*hazañra*	*hazār*	a thousand.
durvāra	. . .	*dushwār*[20]	difficult to stop, difficult.

NOTE.—On the other hand, I may specify the instance of *āfat* (Ar.) and *āpad* (Sans.), in which a word of similar sound has the same sense of "calamity" in Arabic and Sanskrit.

Now the old language of Bactria or Persia, from which the words in the above list, still forming part of the modern Persian, must be derived, was a language closely connected with the Sanskrit. That language, in one of its branches, and at a certain stage of its progress, was the Zend, which we find employed in the Zendavesta, or sacred volume of the Zoroastrians, or Parsīs, a work which still exists, and is studied with increasing success by European scholars.

In the same way, if we compare Sanskrit with the language of the ancient Greeks (who lived to the north-west of Persia, on the eastern and western shores of the Ægean Sea), and with that of the Romans, who inhabited Italy, we shall find a close resemblance, and frequently an almost perfect identity in very many words, both as regards the roots and the inflection.

[20] *Wār* is a Persian suffix, perhaps unconnected with the Sanskrit *vāra;* but there is no doubt of the identity of the Persian particle *dush* and the Sanskrit *dus*.

The resemblances between languages may be twofold. First, as regards the roots of the words. For instance, in Sanskrit we have the word *nāman*, "name," and we find the same word *nām* in the same sense both in Persian and Hindī. The second resemblance is in the mode of inflection. Here we do not find any resemblance in regard to the way in which this word *nāman* is declined between the Sanskrit and the Persian and Hindī languages. The Sanskrit has three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, and seven cases (besides the vocative) in each number, whereas the Persian and Hindī have only two numbers, singular and plural, and the cases are formed in quite a different way from those of the Sanskrit. To prove this it will be sufficient to give the different cases of the singular number of this word in each of the languages.

SANSKRIT.		PERSIAN.	HINDĪ.
Nom.	nāma	nām	nām
Acc.	nāma	nāmrā	nāmko
Inst.	nāmnā	wanting, and supplied by prepositions.	nām se, nām karke
Dat.	nāmne		nāmko
Abl.	nāmnas		nām se
Gen.	nāmnas		nāmkā
Loc.	nāmni		nām meñ
Voc.	nāma	nām	nām

If now we compare the Latin word for "name" with the Sanskrit, we shall find not only that the root is the same, but also that the mode of inflection is very similar: thus,—

Singular.

SAKSKRIT.		LATIN.
Nom.	nāma (from crude form nāman)	nomen
Acc.	nāma	nomen
Inst.	nāmnā	nomine
Dat.	nāmne	nomini
Abl.	nāmnas	nomine
Gen.	nāmnas	nominis
Loc.	nāmni	nomine
Voc.	nāma	nomen

Plural.

SANSKRIT.		LATIN.
Nom.	nāmāni	nomina
Acc.	nāmāni	nomina
Inst.	nāmabhis	nominibus
Dat.	nāmabhyas	nominibus
Abl.	nāmabhyas	nominibus
Gen.	nāmnām	nominum
Loc.	nāmāsu	nominibus
Voc.	nāmāni	nomina

The Latin language has no dual.

We see here that while the same root expressing the word "name" is common to all these languages, the Persian and Hindī have lost the ancient forms of inflection, while the Sanskrit and Latin have preserved them. There thus exists a double resemblance, viz.; first of roots, and second of inflections, between the Latin and the Sanskrit, and the same remark is equally true of the Greek and the Zend.

Now, when we find that a multitude of roots coincide in any two languages, of which the one does not derive them from the other, we may be sure (even though the one may have no complex system of inflections, while the other has), that those two languages have a common origin, especially if we can show that the one which is deficient in inflections has gradually lost them by a particular process of alteration which can still be traced. But if any two languages resemble one another both in roots and inflections, the proof of their affinity is then greatly strengthened.

SECT. II.—*Detailed illustrations of the affinities of Sanskrit with the Zend, Greek, and Latin languages.*

I proceed now to furnish, first, some specimens of words which as roots correspond to each other in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin; and I shall afterwards exhibit the mutual resemblances of these four languages in point of inflection also.

The following is a list of words (derived from the publications of Bopp, Benfey, Aufrecht, Curtius, Fick, Justi, and others) which correspond both in sound and sense in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin.

In many of these words the resemblance is so close that no doubt can be entertained of their affinity, that they are all the representatives (more or less changed) of some one particular word in the original language from which they have all been derived. In other cases where the resemblance is not so apparent, the affinity can nevertheless be satisfactorily proved by observation of the fact that one or more of the letters of words having the same signification in the different languages always or generally vary from one another in a uniform manner in the different languages. It will be necessary to illustrate this point in detail.

I should first remark that the original forms of the cognate words in question, as they existed in their assumed mother-language, cannot in all cases be determined with certainty, but in most instances they can be fixed with an approach to precision. Thus, from a comparison of the Sanskrit *ahi* with the Greek *ekhis*, and the Latin *anguis*, we may gather with probability that the original form was *aghi*, or *anghi*. Similarly the Sanskrit *duhitar* and the Greek *thugatēr* seem to come from *dughatar* or *dhughatar*; *aśva* and *equus* from *akva*; *śvan* and *kuon*

from *kvan; jānu* and *gonu* from *gānu; jnā, gignosko* and *nosco* (*cognosco*) from *gnā*, etc. Some of the consonants found in Sanskrit do not appear to have existed in the original Indo-European tongue, such as *cha, chha, ja, jha*, which are considered to have been developed out of *k* and *g*. From a comparison of the different cognate words, it results that certain consonants of the original language remain uniform in all the derivative tongues, whilst others vary in one or more of the latter. This is shown in the following table, abridged from that given in Schleicher's Compendium der vergl. Grammatik (3rd ed.), p. 328.

Indo-European.	Sanskrit (or old Indian).	Zend (or old Bactrian).	Greek.	Latin.
k	k (kh), ch ś, ṗ	k (x̌), ch ś, p	k (κ), g (γ) p (π), t (τ)	c, qv
g	g, j	g (gh), j ž, z	g (γ), b (b)	g, gv, v.
gh	gh, h	g, gh, ž, z	kh (χ)	g, gv, v, h, f.
t	t, th	t (th, ṭ)	t (τ)	t
d	d	d (dh)	d (δ)	d, l.
dh	dh	d (dh)	th (θ)	d, f, b.
p	p, ph	p (f)	p (π)	p.
b [21]	b	b [17]	b (β)	b.
bh	bh	b (w)	ph (φ)	b, f.
n	n	n	n (ν)	n.
m	m	m	m (μ)	m.
r	r, l, (r, ṛ, & l as vowels)	r	r (ρ), l (λ)	r, l.
y	y	y	i (ι), ĕ (ε), ds (ζ), h (῾)	j, i.
s	s, sh	s, sh, ś, h, ńh, n'h, qh	s (σ), h (῾)	s, r.
v	v	v, (w), p, b	u (υ) *F*	v, u.
sk	chh	. . .	. . .	. . .
sv	. . .	qh	. . .	. . .

In Sanskrit the dental letters (t, th, d, dh, s) sometimes become linguals (or cerebrals *ṭ, ḍ*, etc.), and the nasals n and m become ṅ, ń, and ñ, in consequence of certain phonetic laws. In Greek ky, khy, ty, thy = ss; dy, gy = ζ (ds).

These laws and variations are exemplified in such words as the following:—

(*a*) where k remains common to Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin—as in aksha, axon(=aksōn); axis(=aksis) or dakshina, dexios (=deksios), dexter (=dekster); or kshura = xuron (=kshuron).

(*b*) where k in Greek and c (=k) in Latin are represented by ś (श) in

[21] Schleicher places a mark of interrogation (?) after the b, and in the Zend column omits the b and puts only a mark of interrogation.

Sanskrit—as in deka, decem = daśan; ekaton, centum = śatam; kuōn, canis = śvan; derk = darś. According to Bopp, (Comp. Gram., 2nd ed.) sec. 21*a*, the Sanskrit ś is almost always the corruption of an original k. Schleicher (p. 165) says it was originally a k, and ought perhaps properly to be pronounced as the German ch, which is in sound not unlike the Persian and Arabic khe (خ).

(*c*) G in Greek and Latin is in Sanskrit frequently represented by j, as in ago, ago = ajāmi; in gignosko, nosco = jānāmi; gennao, gigno = jajanmi; agros, ager = ajra.

(*d*) Kh (χ) in Greek is represented by gh, and h in Sanskrit, and by h and g in Latin, as in elakhus = laghus, ekhis = ahi and anguis, kheima = hima and hiems.

(*e*) Th (θ) in Greek is represented by dh in Sanskrit, and by f or d in Latin, as in tithēmi = dadhāmi; měthu = madhu; thumos = dhūma, fumus.

(*f*) Ph (φ) in Greek is represented in Sanskrit by bh, and in Latin by f and b, as in phuo = bhavāmi and fui; ophrus = bhrū; phero = bharāmi and fero; phratria = bhratār, frater.

(*g*) G in Sanskrit is sometimes represented by b in Greek and Latin, as in go = būs, bos.

Numerous other illustrations will be found in the tables which follow.

Table No. X.

I. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
pitar	*patar*	*patēr*	*pater*	father.
mātar	*mātar*	*mētēr*	*mater*	mother.
tāta	. . .	*tetta*	*tata*	father.
nānā	. . .	*ηanna*	. . .	mother, aunt.
bhrātar	*brātar*	*phratria* (a clan)	*frater*	brother.
svasar	*qañhar*	. . .	*soror*	sister.
duhitar	*dughdhar*	*thugatēr*	. . .	daughter.
naptar, napāt	*napa*	*anepsios*	*nepos*	grandson, cousin
naptrī	*napti*	. . .	*neptis*	grand-daughter.
devar, devara	. . .	*daer*	. . .	husband's brother.
snushā	. . .	*nuos*	*nurus*	daughter-in-law.
jāmātar	*zāmātar*	*gambros*	*gener*	son-in-law.
śvaśura	*qaśura*	*hekuros*	*socer*	father-in-law.
śvaśrū	. . .	*hekura*	*socrus*	mother-in-law.
pitṛivya	. . .	*patrōs*	*patruus*	father's brother.
sūnu	*hunu*	*huios*	. . .	son.
vidhavā	. . .	. . .	*vidua*	widow.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
nara	*nara*	*anēr*	. . .	man.
jani, gnā	*jēni*	*gunē*	. . .	woman.
vīra	. . .	*hērōs* ?	*vir*	hero, man.
vīratā	. . .	. . .	*virtus*	valour.
śūra	*śūra*	. . .	*kurios*	strong, hero, lord.
rājan	. . .	. . .	*rex*	king.
rājnī	. . .	. . .	*regina*	queen.
jaras	*zaurva*	*gēras*	. . .	old age.
jaran	*zaorura*	*gĕron*	. . .	old man.
yuvan	*yavan*	. . .	*juvenis*	young man.
pati	*paiti*	*posis*	*potis, potens*	lord, husband, able.
patnī	. . .	*pŏtnia*	. . .	mistress, honourable.
ātman	. . .	*atmos, aütmēn*	. . .	breath, soul, vapour.
an (to breathe)	. . .	*anemos*	*animus*	wind, mind.
kṛip (to make)	*kerefs* (nom.)	. . .	*corpus*	body.
hṛidaya	*zaredhaya*	*kardia*	*cor*	heart.
śiras	*śara*	*kara*	*cerebrum*	head, brain.
kapāla	. . .	*kephale*	*caput*	head.
akshi	*ashi*	*ōps, ŏkŏs, ŏkkŏs*	*oculus*	eye.
nās, nāsā, nāsikā	*nāoṅha*	. . .	*nāsus, nāres*	nose.
bhrū	*brvaṭ*	*ophrus*	. . .	eyebrow.
ās, āsya	*āoṅh*	. . .	*ōs*	face.
dat, dantam (acc.)	*dañtan*	*odonta* (acc.)	*dentem* (acc.)	tooth.
hănu	. . .	*genus*	*gena*	jaw, chin, cheek.
nakha	. . .	*onux, onukhos* (gen.)	*unguis*	nail.
jambha	. . .	*gomphos*	. . .	tooth.
gir	. . .	*gērus*	. . .	speech.
bāhu	*bāzu*	*pēkhus*	. . .	arm.
asthi	*aśti*	*osteon*	*ŏs*	bone.
kravya, kravis	. . .	*krĕas*	*caro*	raw flesh, flesh.
pād, pāda	*pādha*	*pūs pŭdŏs* (gen.)	*pēs pĕdis* (gen.)	foot.
padāti	. . .	*pezos*	*pedes* (*peditis*)	footman.
pāda	. . .	*pĕdon*	. . .	field.
jānu	*zhnu*	*gŏnu*	*genu*	knee.
udara	*udara*	. . .	*uterus*	belly.
jaṭhara	. . .	*gastĕr*	. . .	belly.
antra	. . .	*entĕron*	*venter* ?	entrails, belly.
yakrit	. . .	*hēpar*	*jecur*	liver.
nābhi	. . .	*omphalos*	*umbilicus*	navel.
śrōni	*śraoni*	*klonis*	*clūnis*	hip, end of spine.
kukshi	. . .	*kokhōnē*	*cox*	belly, hipbone, etc.
plīhan	. . .	*splēn*	*lien*	spleen.
keśa, kesa, keśara, kesara	. . .	. . .	*cæsaries*	hair of the head.
ūdhas	. . .	*ūthar* [gen.]	*über*	udder.
sakṛit	. . .	*skōr* (*skatos*,	*stercus*	dung.
āyus	. . .	*aiōn*	*ævum*	life.
toka, takman	. . .	*tĕkos, tĕknon*	. . .	child.
paśu	*paśu*	*pōu* ?	*pecu*	cattle.
go	*gāo*	*būs*	*bōs*	ox.
sthūra	*staora*	*tauros*	*taurus*	bull, etc.
aśva	*aśpa*	*hippos*	*equus*	horse.
avi	. . .	*ois*	*ovis*	sheep.
aja	. . .	*aiz*	. . .	goat.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
śvan	*śpā, śūni*	*kuōn*	*cănis*	dog.
śvānam (acc.)	*śpāněm*	*kuna*	*canem*	dog (nom.)
'ūkara, sūkara	*hu*	*sus, hus*	*sus*	hog.
vṛika	*vehrka*	*lukos*	*lupus*	wolf.
ṛiksha	. . .	*arkos*	*ursus*	bear.
lopāśaka	. . .	*alōpēx*	. . .	jackall, fox.
mūsh, mūsha	. . .	*mūs*	*mus*	mouse.
vi	*vi*	*oiōnos*	*avis*	bird.
vartikā	. . .	*ortux*	. . .	quail.
haṁsa	. . .	*khēn*	*anser*	goose.
kuhūka, kokila	. . .	*kokkux*	*cuculus*	cuckoo.
kārava	. . .	*corax*	*corvus*	crow.
ulūka	. . .	. . .	*ulula*	owl.
tittiri	. . .	*tetrix*	. . .	partridge.
pika	. . .	. . .	*pīca*	Indian cuckoo, magpie.
udra, urdra	. . .	*hudros, enudris*	. . .	otter, water ser-
ahi	*azhi*	*ĕkhis*	*anguis*	serpent. [pent.
karka	. . .	*karkinos*	*cancer*	crab.
śarabha	. . .	*karabos*	. . .	locust, beetle.
puluka	. . .	*psulla, psullos*	*pūlex*	insect, flea.
makshikā	*makshi*	*muïa*	*musca*	fly.
Varuṇa	. . .	*Uranos*	. . .	Varuna, Heaven.
Dyaus	. . .	*Zeus*	. . .	The Sky, Zeus.
divyá	. . .	*dīos*	*dīvus*	celestial, divine.
Dyaus pitar	. . .	*Zeus pătēr*	*Diespiter, Jupiter*	Dyaus the father, etc.
deva	*daeva*	*theos* ?	*deus*	god [in Zend, demon].
divasa, divā	. . .	. . .	*dies*	day, by day.
naktam, naktā	. . .	*nukta* (acc.)	*noctem* (acc.)	night.
ushas	*usha*	*ēōs, auōs*	*aurora*	dawn.
agni	. . .	. . .	*ignis*	fire.
mās, māsa	*māoñh*	*mēn, mēnē*	*mensis*	moon, month.
stăr (vedic), *tāra*	*śtāre*	*astēr, astron*	*astrum*	star.
śaru	. . .	*keraunos*	. . .	thunderbolt.
nabhas	. . .	*nĕphos*	*nubes*	sky, cloud.
abhra	*awra*	*ombros, aphros*	*imber*	cloud, rain, foam.
uda, udaka	. . .	*hudor*	*unda*	water, wave.
ap, āpas (nom.pl.)	*ap*	. . .	*aqua*	water.
śankha	. . .	*konkhos*	*concha*	shell, cockle.
hima	*zima*	*khion, kheimon*	*hiems*	winter, snow.
chhāyā	. . .	*skia*	. . .	shadow.
go, gmā	. . .	*gē, gaia*	. . .	the earth.
kshmā	*zem*	*khamai*	. . .	earth, on the ground.
kshoṇi	. . .	*kthōn*	. . .	the earth.
kakud, kakudmat	. . .	. . .	*cacumen*	peak, mountain.
ajra (vedic)	. . .	*agros*	*ager*	field.
dru, druma	*dru*	*dru, drumos*	. . .	tree, wood.
dāru	*dāuru*	*doru*	. . .	wood, spear.
madhu	*madhu*	*methu*	. . .	honey, wine.
yava	*yava*	*zĕa*	. . .	barley, etc.
andhas	. . .	*anthos*	. . .	plant, flower.
ayas	. . .	. . .	*aes*	iron, copper.
rajata	*erezăta*	*arguros*	*argentum*	silver.
apas	. . .	. . .	*opus*	work.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
apnas	. . .	*aphenos*	*opes*	wealth.
pur, purī	. . .	*pŏlis*	. . .	city.
dama	*demāna*	*domos*	*domus*	house.
veśa (*okas* ?)	. . .	*Foikos*	*vicus*	house, village.
dvār	. . .	*thura*	*fores*	door.
rai	. . .	. . .	*rēs*	thing, possession.
svapna (*svap*, to sleep)	*gafna*	*hupnos*	*sopor, somnus*	sleep.
aśman	*aśman*	*akmōn*	. . .	stone, anvil, thunderbolt.
śarkarā, karkara	. . .	. . .	*calx*	limestone.
nau	. . .	*naus*	*navis*	ship.
aritra	. . .	*eretmos*	. . .	oar.
aritar	. . .	*eretēs*	. . .	rower.
aksha	. . .	*axōn*	*axis*	axle.
kshura	. . .	*xuron*	. . .	razor.
paraśu	. . .	*pĕlĕkus*	. . .	axe.
asi	. . [dom)	. . .	*ensis*	sword.
kratu (vedic)	*khratu* (wis-	*kratos*	. . .	strength.
vanas, van, (to love)	*van*	. . .	*venus, venustas*	beauty, Venus.
pathin	*pathan*	*patos*	. . .	road.
āgas	. . .	*agos*	. . .	sin, guilt.
dhūma	. . .	*thumos*	*fumus*	smoke, spirit.
budhna	*buna*	*puthmēn*	*fundus*	bottom.
chakra	*chakhra*	*kuklos*	*circus*	wheel, circle, etc.
dhūpa	. . .	*tuphos*	. . .	incense, smoke.
kalama	. . .	*kalamos*	*calamus*	reed.
sthūnā, sthūla (thick)	*śtūna*	*stulos*	. . .	pillar.
kumbha	. . .	*kumdē, kumbos*	. . .	vessel, jar.
svara	. . .	*surinx*	*susurrus*	sound, pipe, whisper.
marmara	. . .	*mormuro* (to murmur)	*murmur*	murmur.
khalīna, khalina	. . .	*khalīnos*	. . .	bridle, etc.
aṁhas	*azaṅh*	*ankhō* (to strangle)	*ango* (to afflict)	straits. [sion.
ūrjā, ūrjas	. . .	*orgē*	. . .	sap, power, pas-
ojas	. . .	*augē*	. . .	brilliance.
makha	. . .	*makhē* (battle), *makhaira* (sword, knife)	*mactare* (to kill)	sacrifice.
sana	*hana*	*henos*	*senex*	old.
manḍa	. . .	. . .	*mundus*	ornament, world.
koṇa	. . .	*gōnia*	. . .	corner.
rasa	. . .	*drosos*	*ros*	liquid, dew.
kūpa	. . .	*kupē, gupe*	. . .	hole, well.
stūpa	. . .	*tumbos*	*tumulus*	mound.
phulla	. . .	*phullon*	*folium*	flower, leaf.
arjana	. . .	*ergon*	. . .	earning, work.
puru, pulu (vedic)	. . .	*pŏlus*	*plus*	much, more.
uru, pṛithu	. . .	*eurus, platus*	. . .	broad.
gurū	. . .	*barus*	*gravis*	heavy.
garīyas	. . .	. . .	*gravius*	heavier.
garishṭha	. . .	. . .	*gravissimus*	heaviest.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
varishṭha	. . .	*aristos?*	. . .	best.
laghu	. . .	*elakhus*	*levis*	light, small.
laghishṭha	. . .	*elakhistos*	*levissimus*	lightest.
mahān	. . .	*megas*	*magnus*	great.
mahīyān	. . .	*meizōn*	*major*	greater.
mañhishṭha (vedic)	. . .	*megistos*	*maximus*	greatest, venerable.
bahu	. . .	*pakhus*	. . .	great, thick.
āśu	. . .	*ōkus*	*ocior*	swift, swifter.
mṛidu	. . .	*bradus*	. . .	soft, slow.
tanu	. . .	. . .	*tenuis*	slender.
ṣudhira	. . .	*eruthros*	*ruber*	blood, red.
gharma	. . .	*thermos*	*formus*	heat, hot.
śushka	*hisku, huska*	. . .	*siccus*	dry.
pūrṇa	. . .	*pleos*	*plenus*	full.
dīrgha	. . .	*dolikhos*	. . .	long.
barbara, varbara	. . .	*barbaros*	*barbarus*	barbarous.
sama	*hama*	*homos*	*similis*	like.
sthira	. . .	*stereos*	. . .	firm.
bala (strong, strength)	. . .	. . .	*validus* (*valeo*, to be strong)	strong.
dakshiṇa	*dashina*	*dexios*	*dexter*	right (side).
nava	*nava*	*neos*	*novus*	new.
sāmi	. . .	*hēmi*	*sēmi*	half.
madhya	*maidhya*	*mesos*	*medius*	middle.
ekatara	. . .	*hekateros*	. . .	one of two.
satya	. . .	*eteos*	. . .	true.
svādu	. . .	*hēdus*	*svavis*	sweet.
āma	. . .	*ōmos*	. . .	raw.
uttara	. . .	*hustĕros*	. . .	subsequent.
pīvan, pīna	. . .	*piōn*	. . .	fat.
dhrishṭa	. . .	*thrasus*	. . .	bold, rash.
ārdra	. . .	*ardō*	. . .	moist, to moisten.
priśni	. . .	*perknos*	. . .	speckled. [ful.
kalya, kalyāṇa	. . .	*kălos*	. . .	agreeable, beauti-
palita	. . .	*polios*	*pallidus*	hoary, pale.
mala (dirt), *malina*	. . .	*mĕlas*	*mălus*	dirty, black, bad.
kāṭa	. . .	*kelainos*	*caligo* (darkness)	black.
tumula, tumala	. . .	. . .	*tumultus* (tumult)	noisy.

II. PREPOSITIONS, PARTICLES, AND PRONOUNS.

sam	*ham*	*sun*	*con*	with.
pari	*pairi*	*peri*	*per*	round.
upari	*upairi*	*huper*	*super*	above.
upa	. . .	*hupo*	*sub*	near, under.
prati	*paiti*	*pros, próti*	. . .	towards.
pra	*fra*	*prŏ*	*prō*	before.
antar	*añtare*	*entos*	*inter, intus*	within.
apa	*apa*	*apo*	*ab*	away.
api	*avi*	*ĕpi*	. . .	towards, on.
abhi	*aibi, aiwi*	*amphi*	. . .	towards, round.
samū, samayā	. . .	*hama*	. . .	together.
păram, pāra	*pāra*	*perā*	. . .	other side, beyond.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
parā	. . .	*para*	. . .	past.
puras, purā	*parō*	*paros*	. . .	before.
tar (to cross), *tiras*	*tarō*	*terma* (limit)	*trans*	across.
su	*hu*	*eu*	. . .	well.
dus	*dush*	*dus*	. . .	ill.
sumanas	*humanañh*	*eumenēs*	. . .	kindly-minded.
durmanas	*dusmaṇañh*	*dusmenēs*	. . .	evil-minded.
nūnam	*nū*	*nūn*	*nunc*	now.
a, an	*a, an*	*a, an*	*in*	privative particle.
na	*na*	*nē*	*nĕ* (*fas*), *non*	negative.
nanu	. . .		*nonne*	is not?
kas, kis	*ko, chis*	*tis*	*quis*	who?
nakis, mākis	*mā+chis*	*ūtis* *mētis*	*nemo* *nequis*	no one, let no one.
kim, kad	*kaṭ*	*ti*	*quid*	what?
kataras	*katāro*	*poteros*	*uter*	which of two?
itaras	. . .	*hĕtĕros*	*alter*	other.
ubha	*uba*	*ampho*	*ambo*	both.
anya	*anya*	*enioi*	. . .	other, some.
kva, kuha, kutra	*kva, katha, kuthra*	*pū, kū* (Ionic)	*quo*	where?
kutaḥ	. . .	*pŏthĕn*	. . .	whence.
kati	*chaiti, chvañṭ*	*pŏsoi*, *kosoi* (Ionic)	*quot, quotus, quantus*	how many?
tati	. . .	*tosoi*	*tot*	so many.
kadā	*kadha*	*pŏtĕ*, *kŏtĕ* (Ionic)	*quando*	when?
tadā	*tadha*	*tote*	. . .	then
yadā	*yadā*	*hote*	. . .	when
tatas	. . .	*tothĕn*	. . .	thence.
yatas	. . .	*hothen*	. . .	whence.
ittham, *itthā* (vedic)	*uiti, avatha*	. . .	*item, ita*	thus
paśchāt, paścha	*paśkāt, paśnē*	*opisthen*	*post*	after.
makshu	. . .	. . .	*mox*	quickly.
anti	. . .	*anti*	*ante*	opposite, near, before.
ati	. . .	*eti*	. . .	beyond, further.
mithas	. . .	*meta*	. . .	mutual, with.
cha	*cha*	*kai*	*que*	and.

III. NUMERALS.

dvi	*dva*	*duo*	*duo*	two.
trayas	*thrāyō*	*treis*	*tres*	three.
tisras (fem.)	*tishăro* (fem.)			
chatvāras	*chathwāro*	*tessares*	*quatuor*	four.
panchan	*pañchan*	*pente*	*quinque*	five.
shaṭ	*khshvas*	*hex*	*sex*	six.
saptan	*hăptan*	*hepta*	*septem*	seven.
ashṭan	*astan*	*oktō*	*octo*	eight.
navan	*navan*	*hennea*	*novem*	nine.
daśan	*daśan*	*deka*	*decem*	ten.
viṁśati	*vīśaiti*	*eikosi*	*viginti*	twenty.
śatam	*śatĕm*	*hekaton*	*centum*	hundred.
prathamas	*frătemo*	*prōtos*	*primus*	first.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
dvitīyas	*daibityo, bityo*	*deuteros*	*secundus*	second.
tṛitīyas	*thrityo*	*tritos*	*tertius*	third.
chaturthas, turyas	*tūiryo*	*tetartos*	*quartus*	fourth.
panchathas (vedic), *panchamas*	*pankhdho*	*pemptos*	*quintus*	fifth.
shashṭhas	*khstvo*	*hektos*	*sextus*	sixth.
saptamas	*haptatho*	*hebdomos*	*septimus*	seventh.
ashṭamas	*astémo*	*ogdoos*	*octavus*	eighth.
navamas	*naomo, nāumo*	*hennatos*	*nonus*	ninth.
daśamas	*daśémo*	*dekatos*	*decimus*	tenth.
dvis	*bizhvaṭ, bis*	*dis*	*bis*	twice.
tris	*thrizhvaṭ, thris*	*tris*	*ter*	thrice.
dvidhā	. . .	*dikha*	. . .	in two ways.
tridhā	. . .	*trikha*	. . .	in three ways.
chaturdhā	. . .	*tetrakha*	. . .	in four ways.
panchadhā	. . .	*pentakha*	. . .	in five ways.
parut	. . .	*perusi*	. . .	last year.
parutna	. . .	*perusinos*	. . .	of last year.
hyas	. . .	*khés*	*heri*	yesterday.
hyastana	. . .	. . .	*hesternus*	of yesterday.

IV. VERBS AND PARTICIPLES.

dar	*dar*	*derō*	. . .	to tear, flay.
dā, dadāmi	*dadhāmi*	*didōmi*	*do*	to give.
dātar	*dātar*	*dotēr*	*dator*	giver (masc.)
dātrī	. . .	*doteira*	*datrix*	giver (fem.)
dāna	*dāta, dāthra*	*dōron*	*donum*	gift.
dhā, dadhāmi	. . .	*tithēmi*	. . .	to place.
sthā, tishṭhāmi	*śtā, histāmi*	*histēmi*	*sto*	to stand, place.
asthām	. . .	*estōn*	. . .	I stood.
sthāman	. . .	. . .	*stamen*	strength, thread.
miśrayāmi, mikshāmi	. . .	*mignumi*	*misceo*	to mix.
star, striṇōmi	*śtar*	*stornumi, strōnnumi*	*sterno*	to spread.
stariman	*śtarema*	*strōma*	*stramen*	bed, litter, carpet.
bhar	*bar*	*pherō*	*fero*	to bear.
bhāra	. . .	*phoros, phortion*	. . .	load.
bhū	*bū*	*phuō*	*fui*	to be, I was.
lih, lehmi	. . .	*likhō*	*lingo*	to lick.
tan, tanōmi	*thañj*	*tanuō, teinō*	*tendo*	to stretch.
tatāna	. . .	. . .	*tetendi*	I stretched.
jan, jajanmi	*zan*	*gennao*	*gigno*	to beget.
janitar	*zāthar*	*genetōr*	*genitor*	father.
janitrī	. . .	*genetira*	*genetrix*	mother.
jāta	*zāta*	. . .	*gnatus*	born, son.
janus	*gaona*	*genos*	*genus*	birth, kind.
prajā, prajāti	. . .	. . .	*progenies*	progeny.
jnā, jānāmi	*zā*	*gignōscō*	*gnosco*	to know.
jnāta	. . .	*gnōtos*	*(g)notus*	known.
ajnāta	. . .	*agnōtos*	*ignotus*	unknown.
nāman (*jnāman*)	*nāman*	*onoma*	*(g)nomen, cognomen*	name, surname.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
tudāmi	. . .	. . .	*tundo*	to wound, to beat.
tutōda	. . .	. . .	*tutudi*	I have beaten.
sēv, sap[22]	. . .	*sebŏmai*	. . .	to reverence.
lubhyati	. . .	*liptomai* (to long for)	*lubet*	he desires (S.) it pleases. (L.)
tup	. . .	*tuptō*	. . .	to hurt, beat.
ad	*ad*	*edō*	*edo*	to eat.
adana, anna	. . .	*edānos* / *edētus*	. . . / . . .	eatable, food.
vah, vahāmi	*vaz, vazāmi*	*ocheomai*	*veho*	to carry.
avākshīt	. . .	. . .	*vexit*	he carried.
skand	. . .	. . .	*scando*	to go, ascend.
lip, limpāmi	. . .	*aleiphō*	. . .	to anoint.
sarp	. . .	*hĕrpō*	*serpo*	to creep.
sarpa	. . .	*hĕrpĕton*	*serpens*	serpent.
vāstu / *vas* (to dwell)	. . .	*Fastu*	. . .	habitation, city.
vas	*vañh*	*hĕnnumi*	*vestio*	to clothe.
vastra	*vaśtra*	*hesthēs*	*vestis*	clothing, garment.
vā	*vā*	*aō, aēmi*	. . .	to blow.
vāta	*vāta*	. . .	*ventus*	wind.
pat, patāmi	. . .	*petomai*	*peto*	to fall, fly, seek.
apaptam	. . .	*epipton*	. . .	I fell.
apaptat	. . .	*epipte*	. . .	he fell.
patatri	. . .	*peteinos*	. . .	winged.
śad	*śad*	. . .	*cado*	to fall.
sad, sīdāmi	*had*	*hezŏmai*	*sedeo*	to sink, sit.
sadas	. . .	*hĕdos*	*sedes*	seat.
chhid, chhinadmi	. . .	*schizō*	*scindo*	to cut.
chhindanti	. . .	. . .	*scindunt*	they cut.
bhid, bhinadmi	. . .	. . .	*findo*	to cleave.
bhindanti	. . .	. . .	*findunt*	they cleave.
tarp	. . .	*terpō*	. . .	to be satisfied, please.
dam	. . .	*damaō, damnēmi*	*domo*	to subdue.
arindama	. . .	*ippodamos*	. . .	subduer, of foes (S), horses (G.).
labh	. . .	*lambanō*	. . .	to take.
lapsye	. . .	*lēpsomai*	. . .	I will take.
anj	*añj*	. . .	*ungo*	to anoint.
anktum	. . .	. . .	*unctum*	to anoint.
plu	. . .	*pleō*	*fluo, pluo*	to swim, sail, flow, rain.
man, manye / *mnā, manāmi*	. . .	*mnaomai*	*memini*	I think, remember.
manas	*manañh*	*mĕnos*	*mens*	mind, spirit.
hu, juhōmi	. . .	*kheō*	. . .	to pour out.
huta	. . .	*khutos*	. . .	poured out, offered
daś	*daś*	*daknō*	. . .	to bite.
dashṭa	. . .	*dĕktos*	. . .	bitten.
kar, karōmi	*kar*	*krainō*	*creo*	to do, fulfil, create.
ās, āse	*āh*	*hēmai*	. . .	to sit.
āste	. . .	*hēstai*	. . .	he sits.
vam	*vam*	*emeō*	*vomo*	to vomit.

[22] See Benfey's Glossary to S.V.; and *asapanta* in R.V. vii. 83, 8; and Curtius, pp. 474 and 519.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
pard	. . .	*perdomai*	*pedo*	ventris crepitum edere.
svid	. . .	*hidroō*	*sudo*	to sweat.
sveda	. . .	*hidrōs*	*sudor*	sweat.
ard	. . .	. . .	*ardeo*	to afflict, be on fire.
svan	. . .	. . .	*sono*	to sound.
stan	. . .	*stenō*	*tono*	groan, sound, thunder.
stanayitnu	. . .	. . .	*tonitru*	thunder.
lu	. . .	*luō*	*luo*	to cut, loose, pay.
vart	. . .	. . .	*verto*	to be, turn.
vartatē	. . .	. . .	*vertit*	he is, turns.
mih	*miz*	*omikheō*	*mingo*	to make water.
ēmi (from *i*)	. . .	*eimi*	*eo*	I go.
mar	*mar*	. . .	*morior*	to die.
mṛityu	*měrěthyu*	. . .	*mors*	death.
mṛita	[*ava*] *měrěta*	. . .	*mortuus*	dead.
martya	*mărěta*	*brŏtŏs*	*mortalis*	mortal.
amṛita	*amahrka*	*ambrŏtŏs*	*immortalis*	immortal.
amṛitam	. . .	*ambrŏsia*	*ambrosia*	food of the gods.
darś	. . .	*derkomai*	. . .	to see.
vid, vēdmi	*vid*	*Feido*	*video*	to know, see.
vēda	. . .	*Foida*	. . .	I know.
vidma	. . .	*Fidmen*	*vidimus*	we know, see.
vettha	. . .	*oistha*	. . .	thou knowest.
chi, chiketi	. . .	. . .	*scio*	to perceive, know.
pū, punāmi	. . .	. . .	*puto, pūrus* (pure)	to cleanse.
tap	*tafś*	. . .	*tepeo*	to be hot.
prachh, pṛichhāmi	*parěś*	. . .	*precor*	to ask, pray.
spaś	*śpaś*	*skeptomai*	*specio*	to see, observe.
tras	*tareś*	*trěō*	*terreo*	to fear, frighten.
naś	. . .	*nekus* (a dead body)	*necare, nex* (death)	to perish, kill.
sparś	. . .	. . .	*spargo*	to touch, scatter.
masj, majjāmi	. . .	. . .	*mergo*	to sink.
lag	. . .	*legō*	*lego*	to touch, lay, gather.
pṛich (*parch*)	. . .	*plekō*	*plecto*	to touch, twine.
pṛikta	. . .	*plektos*	*plexus*	touched, twined.
arh	*arej*	*arkhō*	. . .	to be worthy, rule.
lōch, lōk	. . .	*leusso*	. . .	to look.
āloka	. . .	*leukos* (white)	*lux*	light.
ruch	*ruch*	*leukos* (white)	*luceo, lux* (light)	to shine.
vach, vachmi	*vach*	. . .	*voco*	to speak, call.
vāch	*vāch*	*ops*	*vox*	voice.
taksh[23]	*tash*	*tiktō, teukho*	*texo*	to fabricate, beget.
takshan	. . .	*tektōn*	*textor*	carpenter, weaver.
budh	. . .	*punthanomai*	*puto*	to think, ascertain.
vap[24]	*vap*	*huphaino*	. . .	to weave.

[23] Compare the words *tōka, takman, teknon*, in the list of nouns.

[24] Prof. Aufrecht finds in the word *ūrṇavābhi* the trace of an old root *vabh*, "to weave," which is still closer to the Greek form. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, *sub voce ūrṇavābhi*.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
vṛish, varsha	*vār*	*hersē, ersē*	. . .	rain, dew.
bhanj, bhanajmi	. . .	*Fagnumi*	*frango*	to break.
bhuj	. . .	. . .	*fruor?*	to enjoy.
bhukta	. . .	. . .	*fructus*	enjoyed, fruit.
kṛip, kalp	. . .	. . .	*carpo*	to cut, pluck.
bhaj, bhaksh	. . .	*phagō*	. . .	to obtain, eat.
kup	. . .	. . .	*cupio*	to be excited, angry, desirous.
śru, śṛiṇōmi	*śru*	*kluō*	*cluo*	to hear.
jīv[25]	*jīv*	*bioō*	*vivo*	to live.
van[26]	*van*	. . .	*venero*	to love, worship.
kshan	. . .	*kteinō*,[27] *ktinnūmi*	. . .	to kill.
kshi	. . .	*eu-kti-menos*, *peri-kti-ones*	. . .	to dwell, well-built, dwellers around.
guh, gudh, *gūḍha* (hidden)	. . .	*keuthō*	. . .	to hide.
kir	. . .	*krinō*	*cerno*	I scatter, separate.
pā, pibāmi	*pā*	*pinō*	*bibo, potare*	I drink.
papau	. . .	*pepōka*	. . .	I have drunk.
pātum (to drink)	. . .	*pōtos*	*potus*	drunk.
gar, jāgarmi	. . .	*eger, egeiro*	. . .	I wake, rouse.
ajīgar	. . .	*egrēgora*	. . .	he awoke, I am awake.
pish, pinashmi	. . .	. . .	*pinso*	I pound.
pishṭa	. . .	. . .	*pistus*	pounded.
kamp(to tremble)	. . .	*kamptō?*	. . .	to bend.
(*ni*)*dhana*	. . .	*thanatos*	. . .	death.
bhaṇāmi	. . .	*phōneō*	. . .	I speak.
siv, sīvyāmi	. . .	(*kas*)*suō*	*suo*	I sew, patch.
syūta	. . .	. . .	*sutus*	sewn.
nah	. . .	. . .	*necto*	I bind.
drāmi	. . .	(*apo*) *drānai*, *didraskō*	. . .	I run.
adrāmām	. . .	*edramon*	. . .	I went, ran.
apādrān	. . .	*apedran*	. . .	they ran.
diś	*diś*	*deiknumi*	*dico*	I show, tell.
adiksham	. . .	*edeixa*	*dixi*	I showed, told.
adikshata	. . .	*edeixate*	*dixistis*	ye showed.
mā, māmi, mimē	*mā*	*metreō*	*metior*	I measure.
mātra	. . .	*metron*	*metrum*	a measure.
trap[28]	. . .	*trepō*[28]	. . .	I am ashamed, I turn.
trup, truph, *trump*	. . .	*thruptō*	. . .	to hurt, break.
yat	. . .	*zētō*	. . .	to strive, seek.
mard	. . .	. . .	*mordeo*	to rub, crush, bite.

[25] The original root is supposed to have been *gīv*, afterwards enlarged to *gvīv*, whence the Greek bios, bioo, etc., and the Latin vivo were derived by dropping the initial *g*. See Curtius, p. 418.

[26] See vanas and venus above, p. 233.

[27] Compare *takshan* and *tektōn*, in which also the Sanskrit *ksh* is equivalent to the Greek *kt*, p. 238 above.

[28] These two roots differ in sense; and perhaps have no affinity.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
mamarda	. . .	. . .	*momordi*	I rubbed, crushed, bit.
medh	. . .	*medomai*	. . .	to understand, think on.
nij	. . .	*nizo*	. . .	to cleanse.
āp	*ăp*	*haptō*	*(ad)ipiciscor*	to obtain, touch.
āpta	. . .	. . .	*aptus*	fit.
bandh	*bañd*	. . .	. . .	bind (root).
yuj, yunajmi	*yuj*	*zeugnumi*	*jungo*	to yoke, join.
yuktas	*yukhto*	*zeuktos*	*junctus*	joined.
yuga	. . .	*zugon*	*jugam*	yoke.
lup, lumpāmi	. . .	. . .	*rumpo*	to cut, break.
luptas	. . .	. . .	*ruptus*	dissolved, broken.
sach	. . .	*hepomai*	*sequor*	to follow.
bhrāj	. . .	*phlego*	*fulgeo*	to shine, burn.
bhṛijj	. . .	*phrugō*	*frigo*	to roast.
dhāv	. . .	*theō*	. . .	to run.
pach	*pach*	*pepto*	*coquo*	to cook.
pakva	. . .	*pĕpōn, peptos*	*coctus*	cooked.
lămb, ramb	. . .	. . .	*lābor*	to fall.
yaj	*yaz*	*hazŏmai*	. . .	to venerate.
yājya	. . .	*hagios*	. . .	venerable, holy.
sru, sravāmi	. . .	*reo*	. . .	to flow.
snu, snaumi	. . .	*neo, nao*	. . .	to flow, swim.
stambh	. . .	*stembo*	. . .	to prop, shake.
stambh	. . .	*etaphon*	. . .	to be stupefied, confounded.
stambha	. . .	*thambos*	. . .	stupefaction, astonishment.
trā, trai	. . .	*tēreo*	*traho*	to deliver, keep, draw.
mi, mināmi, minomi	. . .	*minutho*	*minus*	to destroy, diminish.
lap	. . .	*lakeo*	*loqui*	to speak.
śraddhā	. . .	. . .	*crēdo*	to believe.
śi, śete	*śī, śāiti, śaētē*	*keitai*	. . .	he lies.
śank	. . .	. . .	*cunctor*	to doubt, delay.
anch, anka	*añku*	*ankulos*	*uncus*	to bend, crooked, hook.
piś	. . .	*poikillo*	*pingo*	to paint.
gunj	. . .	*gonguzo*	. . .	to murmur.
aj	*az*	*ago*	*ago*	to lead, drive.
mṛij, (marj)	*marez*	*omorgnumi*	. . .	to wipe.
vṛij, (varj)	. . .	*eirgo*	. . .	to exclude.
sthag	. . .	*stego*	*tego*	to cover.
spṛih, (sparh)	. . .	*sperkhomai*	. . .	to haste, desire.
hary	. . .	*khairo*	. . .	to rejoice.
naś	*naś*	. . .	*nanciscor* (*nactus*, obtained)	to obtain.
ghar, gharāmi, jigharmi	. . .	*khrio*	. . .	anoint.
tij	*tij*	*stizo*	*(di)stinguo*	to be sharp, pierce, distinguish.
tigma	. . .	*stigmē*	. . .	sharp, point.
trish, (tarsh)	*taresh*	*tersomai*	*torreo*	to thirst, be dry, roast.
dā, dyāmi	. . .	*deo, didēmi*	. . .	to bind.

SANSKRIT.	ZEND.	GREEK.	LATIN.	ENGLISH.
dāman	. . .	*desmos*	. . .	bond.
dī	. . .	*diemai, diomai*	. . .	to fly, haste, chase.
skhad, skhand	. . .	*skedannumi*	. . .	to shed, spill, scatter.
par, piparmi	*par*	*perao*	. . .	to cross.
par, piparmi	*par*	*pimplēmi*	*(im)pleo*	to fill.
pū	*pū*	*putho*	*puteo*	to be putrid.
bhā	. . .	*phaino*	. . .	to appear.
bhās	. . .	*phaos*	. . .	light
bhī, bibhēmi	. . .	*phebomai*	. . .	to fear.
idh	. . .	*aitho*	. . .	to burn. [ful.
smar	*mared*	. . .	*memor*	to recollect, mind-
sphalāmi, sphulāmi	. . .	*sphallo*	*fallo*	to hesitate, deceive
vaksh	*vaksh*	*auxo*	*augeo*	to increase.
gā, jigāmi	*gā*	*baino*	. . .	to go.
agām	. . .	*ebēn*	. . .	I went.
raksh	. . .	*alexo*	. . .	to protect.
kvaṇ	. . .	*kanazo*	*cano*	to sound, sing.
much, munchāmi	. . .	*apo (musso)*	*mungo*	to remove, free, wipe.
stigh	. . .	*steikho*	. . .	to ascend, walk.
hlād	. . .	*kekhlāda*	. . .	to rejoice, be wanton.
sphar, sphur	. . .	*aspairo, spairo*	. . .	to quiver.
mṛi, mṛiṇāmi	. . .	*marnamai*	. . .	to kill, fight.
ṛiṇomi	*ar*	*ornumi*	*oriri*	to go, rise, excite.
ārta	. . .	*ōrto*	*ortus* (risen)	he rose.
śinj	. . .	*sizo*	. . .	to hiss.
sphurj, sphūrj	. . .	*spharagee*	. . .	to thunder, crack.
kṛit	*karet*	*kertomeos*	. . .	to cut, cutting (as language).
nid	. . .	*oneidizo*	. . .	to reproach.
rad	. . .	. . .	*rādere, rodere*	to scratch, split, gnaw.
manyu	. . .	*mainomai*	. . .	anger, to rage.
śam, śram	. . .	*kamno*	. . .	to be tired.
dāy	*dā*	*daio*	. . .	to divide.
bharv	. . .	*pherbo*	. . .	to eat.

When the Zend word has been omitted in the proper column of the preceding list, I have not found it readily accessible. It will be gathered from the list that in many cases where the Greek language furnishes words equivalent both in sound and sense to certain Sanskrit words, the Latin, as preserved to us, has no words of corresponding form; and that, vice versâ, the Latin has often forms corresponding to the Sanskrit, where the Greek has none. In all the instances I have adduced, the affinity is, of course, not equally certain. Doubtful cases I have generally indicated by a mark of interrogation.

I now proceed, secondly, to exhibit the resemblances which exist between Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, in respect of their modes of declension and conjugation, as well as generally in the formation of words from nominal and verbal roots.

I shall first of all adduce as an instance of this similarity, the first and second personal pronouns.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
Nom.	ăhăm	azem	ĕgō	ego	I.
Acc.	mām	mâm, mā	mĕ	me	me
Inst.	măyā	. . .	. . .	. . .	by me.
Dat.	măhyăm, mē	maibyō mê, môi	ĕmoi, moi	mihi	to me
Abl.	măt	. . .	. . .	. . .	from me.
Gen.	mămă, mē	mana,me,môi	ĕmou, mou	mei	of me.
Loc.	măyi	. . .	emoi, moi	me	in me.

PLURAL.

Nom.	văyăm, asmē (Vedic)	vaêm	hēmeis	nos	we.
Acc.	asmān, nas	ahma, nô	hēmas	nos	us.
Inst.	ăsmābhis	ehmā	. . .	. . .	by us.
Dat.	ăsmābhyăm, or nas	ahmaibya, ahmāi, nô	hēmin	nobis	to us.
Abl.	ăsmăt	. . .	. . .	. . .	from us.
Gen.	ăsmākăm, or nas	ăhmākĕm	hēmōn	nostrum	of us.
Loc.	ăsmāsu	. . .	hēmin	nobis	in us.

SINGULAR.

Nom.	twăm	tūm	su	tu	thou.
Acc.	twām	thwâm, thwā, tē	se	te	thee.
Inst.	twăyā	thwâ	. . .	. . .	by thee.
Dat.	tubhyam, or tē	taibyō, tōi, tē	soi	tibi	to thee.
Abl.	twăt	thwaṭ	. . .	. . .	from thee.
Gen.	tăvă, tē	tava, tôi, tē	sou	tui . .	of thee.
Loc.	twăyi	thōi	soi	te	in thee.

PLURAL.

Nom.	yūyam, yushmē (Vedic)	yūzhem yūs	humeis	vos	you.
Acc.	yushmān, vas	vāo, vō	humas	vos	you.
Inst.	yusbmābhis	khshmā, vāo	. . .	. . .	by you.
Dat.	yushmabyam, vas	yūsmaibyā, vō	humin	vobis	to you.
Abl.	yushmat	yūshmaṭ	. . .	. . .	from you.
Gen.	yushmākam	yūshmākĕm, vo, vāo	humōn	vestrum	of you.
Loc.	yushmāsu	. . .	humin	vobis	in you.

The following are examples of the similarity as regards the declension of nouns between the four languages in question.

NOUNS MASCULINE, ending in *a*.

Vṛika, "a wolf."

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom.	vṛikas	vĕhrko	lukos	lupus.
Acc.	vṛikam	vĕhrkem	lukon	lupum.
Inst.	vṛikeṇa	vĕhrkă, vĕhrkā	lukō	lupo.
Dat.	vṛikāya	vĕhrkāi	lukō	lupo.
Abl.	vṛikāt	vĕhrkāṭ	lukō	lupo.
Gen.	vṛikasya	vĕhrkahê	lukou	lupi.
Loc.	vṛikē	vĕhrkê	lukō	lupo.
Voc.	vṛika	vehrkă	luke	lupe.

DUAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc.	vṛikau	vĕhrka	lukō	No dual.
Gen. Loc.	vṛikayōs	vĕhrkayão	lukoin	
Inst. Dat. & Abl.	vṛikābhyām	vĕkrkaeibya	lukoin.	

PLURAL.

Nom. & Voc.	vṛikās.	vĕhrkâoñhô	lukoi	lupî.
Acc.	vṛīkān	vĕhrkản	lukous	lupos.
Inst.	vṛikais	vĕhrkâis	lukois	lupis.
Dat.	vṛikebhyas	vĕhrkaeibyô	lukois	lupis.
Abl.	vṛikebhyas		lukois	lupis.
Gen.	vṛikāṇām	vĕkrkảnảm	lukōn	luporum.
Loc.	vṛikeshu	vehrkaēshva	lukois	lupis.

NOUN FEMININE.

Jihvā, "tongue."

SINGULAR.

Nom.	jihvā	hizvă	glossa	lingua.
Acc.	jihvām	hizvảm	glossan	linguam.
Inst.	jihvăyā	hizvaya	glossē	linguā.
Dat.	jihvāyai	hizvăyāi	glossē	linguæ.
Abl.	jihvāyāḥ	hizvayāṭ	glossē	linguā.
Gen.	jihvāyāḥ	hizvayâo	glossēs	linguæ.
Loc.	jihvāyām	hizvăya	glossē	linguâ.
Voc.	jihve	hizve, hizva	glossa	lingua.

NOUN MASCULINE, ending in *ṛi*.

SINGULAR.

Pitṛi, "father," and in the Zend column bhrātṛi, "brother."[29]

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom.	pitā	brāta	patēr	pater.
Acc.	pitaraṁ	brātarĕm	patĕra	patrem.
Inst.	pitrā	brāthra	patĕri, patri	patre.
Dat.	pitre	brāthrē	patĕri, patri	patri.
Abl.	pitus	brāthraṭ	patĕri, patri	patre.
Gen.	pitus	brāthrō	patros	patris.
Loc.	pitari	brāthri ?	patĕri, patri	patre.
Voc.	pitaḥ	brātarĕ	patĕr	pater.

PLURAL.

Nom.	pitaras	brāthrō	patĕrĕs	patres.
Acc.	pitṛīn	brāthrō	pateras	patres.
Inst.	pitṛibhis	brātarebis	patrasi	patribus.
Dat.	pitṛibhyas	brātarĕbyō	patrasi	patribus.
Abl.	pitṛibhyas	brātarĕbyō	patrasi	patribus.
Gen.	pitṛīṇām	brāthrâm	paterōn, patrōn	patrium.
Loc.	pitṛishu	brātareshva ?	patrasi	patribus.

ANOTHER FORM OF NOUN MASCULINE, ending in *ṛi*.

SINGULAR.

Nom.	dātā	dātă	dŏtēr	dator.
Acc.	dātāram	dātārĕm	dŏtēra	datorem.
Inst.	dātrā	dāthra	dotēri	datore.
Dat.	dātrē	dāthrē	dotēri	datori.
Abl.	dātŭs	dāthraṭ	dotēri	datore.
Gen.	dātus.	dāthrō	dotēros	datoris.
Loc.	dātări	dāthri	dotēri	datore.

PLURAL.

Nom.	dātāras	dātārō	dotēres	datores.
Acc.	dātṛīn	dātāro	dotēras	datores.
Inst.	dātṛibhis	dātarebis	dotērsi	datoribus.
Dat.	dātṛibhyas	dātarebhyō	dotērsi	datoribus.
Abl.	dātṛibhyas		dotērsi	datoribus.
Gen.	dātṛīṇām	dāthraṅm	dotērōn	datorum.
Loc.	dātṛishu	. . .	dotērsi	datoribus.

PRESENT PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

Bharat, "supporting."

SINGULAR.

Nom.	bharan	barâś	pherōn	ferens.
Acc.	bharantam	barĕntem	pherontă	ferentem.
Inst.	bharatā	barata	pheronti	ferente.
Dat.	bharatē	barĕntê	pheronti	ferenti.
Abl.	bharatas	barantaṭ	pheronti	ferente.
Gen.	bharatas	barĕntô	pherontos	ferentis
Loc.	bharati	barĕntĭ ?	pheronti	ferente.
Voc.	bharan	. . .	pheron	ferens.

[29] The paradigms of nouns, etc., given in Justi's Handbuch are often incom-

NEUTER NOUNS.

Dāna, "a gift." Dāta, "an ordinance" (Zend).

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom.	dānăm	dātĕm	dōrŏn	donum.
Acc.	dānăm	dātĕm	dōron	donum.
Inst.	dānēna	dātă	dōrō	dono.
Dat.	dānāya	dātāi	dōrō	dono.
Abl.	dānāt	dātāṭ	dōrō	dono.
Gen.	dānasya	dātăhê	dōron	doni.
Loc.	dāne	dātê	dōrō	dono
Voc.	dānă	dātă	dōron	donum.

NEUTER NOUN ending with a consonant.

Nāman, "a name."

SINGULAR.

Nom.	nāmă	nâmă	ŏnŏma	nomen.
Acc.	nāmă	nâmă	ŏnŏma	nomen.
Inst.	nāmnā	nâmănă	onomati	nomine.
Dat.	nāmnē	nâmainē	onomati	nomini.
Abl.	nāmnas	nâmanaṭ	onomati	nomine.
Gen.	nāmnas	nâmanô	onomatos	nominis.
Loc.	nāmni	nâmaini	onomati	nomine.
Voc.	nāman	nâmă	onoma.	nomen.

PLURAL.

Nom.	nāmāni	nāméni	onomăta	nomina.
Acc.	nāmāni	nāmăn, nāméni	onomăta	nomina.
Inst.	nāmăbhis	naménīs	onomasi	nominibus.
Dat.	nāmăbhyas	nāmăbyô	onomasi	nominibus.
Abl.	nāmabhyăs		onomasi	nominibus.
Gen.	nāmnām	nāmanăm	onomatōn	nominum.
Loc.	nāmasu	namahva	onomasi	nominibus.

The forms of conjugating verbs in Sanskrit and Greek have a remarkable resemblance, particularly in those Greek verbs in *mi*, in which reduplication of the consonant of the root takes place in the present and imperfect tenses. Greek as well as Sanskrit has the augment in *ĕ* = *ă* in the imperfect and aorist, and the reduplication of the consonant in the perfect. The most striking instance of resemblance is, perhaps, the root *dā* or *do*, 'to give'; which I subjoin, together with several other examples; adding occasionally the Latin forms, and the Zend also, where they are easily accessible.

plete, in consequence of all the forms of particular words not being found in the Zend Avesta, and the fact that there is no native grammar of Zend extant. Compare the Tables in Schleicher's Compendium, pp. 576, ff.

THE VERB *to give.*

Present Tense.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	dadāmi	dadâhmi	didōmi	do.
	dadāsi	dadhāhi	didōs	das.
	dadāti	dadhâiti	didōsi	dat.
Dual	dadvas	. . .	. . .	. . .
	datthas	. . .	didoton	. . .
	dattas	. . .	didoton	. . .
Plural	dadmas	dadĕmahi	didomen	damus.
	dattha	. . .	didote	datis.
	dadati	dadĕnti?	didousi	dant.

Imperfect.

Sing.	adadām	. . .	edidōn	dabam.
	adadās	. . .	edidōs	dabas.
	adadāt	. . .	edidō	dabat.
Dual	adadva	. . .	. . .	. . .
	adattam	. . .	edidoton	. . .
	adattām	. . .	edidotēn	. . .
Plural	adadma	. . .	edidomen	dabamus.
	adatta	. . .	edidote	dabatis.
	adadus	. . .	edidosan	dabant

Third Preterite.

Sing.	adām	. . .	edōn	. . .
	adās	. . .	edōs	. . .
	adāt	. . .	edō	. . .
Dual	adāva	. . .	. . .	. . .
	adātam	. . .	edoton	. . .
	adātām	. . .	edotēn	. . .
Plural	adāma	. . .	edomen	. . .
	adāta	. . .	edote	. . .
	adus	. . .	edosan	. . .

Reduplicated Preterite.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	dădau	dedōka	dedi.
	daditha	dedōkas	dedisti.
	dădau	dedōke	dedit.
Dual	dadiva	. . .	. . .
	dădathus	dedōkaton	. . .
	dădătus	dedōkatēn	. . .
Plural	dădĭma	dedōkamen	dedimus.
	dada	dedōkate	dedistis.
	dădus	dedōkasi	dederunt.

The subjunctive and precative moods of the Sanskrit also answer nearly to the optatives of the present and aorist in Greek: thus,

Subjunctive.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*		*Sanskrit.*	*Greek.*
Sing.	dădyām	didoiēn.	Plur.	dadyāma	didoiēmen.
	dădyās	didoiēs.		dadyāta	didoiēte.
	dădyāt	didoiē.		dadyus	didoiēsan.

Precative.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
Sing.	dēyāsam	doiēn.
	dēyās	doiēs.
	dēyāt	doiē, etc.

There is also a resemblance in the Greek future *dōsō*, "I will give," and the future particle *dōsōn*, to the Sanskrit *dāsyāmi* and *dāsyăn;* and a perfect identity in the Latin gerund, *datum*, with the Sanskrit infinitive *dātum*. The affinity between the Sanskrit form *dātṛi*, "a giver," or "one who will give," (which makes *dātāras* in the plural), and the Latin future particle *daturus*, is also striking.

THE VERB *to place.*

Present Tense.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
Sing.	dadhāmi	tithēmi.
	dadhāsi	tithēs.
	dadhāti	tithēsi.
Dual	dadhvas	. . .
	dhatthas	titheton.
	dhattas	titheton.
Plur.	dadhmas	tithemen.
	dhattha	tithete.
	dadhati	titheisi.

Imperfect.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
Sing.	adadhām	etithēn.
	adadhās	etithēs.
	adadhāt	etithē.
Dual	adadhva	. . .
	adhattam	etitheton.
	adhattām	etithetēn.
Plur.	adadhma	etithemen.
	adhatta	etithete.
	adadhus	etithesan.

Third Preterite.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
Sing.	adhām	ethēn.
	adhās	ethēs.
	adhāt	ethē.
Dual	adhāva	. . .
	adhātam	etheton.
	adhātām	ethetēn.
Plural	adhāma	ethemen.
	adhāta	ethete.
	adhus	ethesan.

THE VERB *to spread.*

Present Tense.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	stṛiṇōmi	strōnnūmi	sterno.
	stṛiṇōshi	strōnnus	sternis.
	stṛiṇōti	strōnnūsi	sternit.
Dual	stṛiṇuvas	. . .	. . .
	stṛiṇuthas	strōnnuton	. . .
	stṛiṇutas	stronnuton	. . .
Plural	stṛiṇumas	stronnumen	sternimus
	stṛiṇutha	stronnute	sternitis.
	stṛiṇvanti	strōnnûsi	sternunt.

Imperfect.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	astṛṇavam	estronnun	sternebam.
	astṛṇōs	estronnus	sternebas.
	astṛṇōt	estronnu	sternebat.
Dual.	astṛṇuva	. . .	. . .
	astṛṇutam	estronnuton	. . .
	astṛṇutām	estronnutēn	. . .
Plural	astṛṇuma	estronnumen	sternebamus.
	astṛṇuta	estronnute	sternebatis.
	astṛṇvan	estronnusan	sternebant.

THE VERB *to creep.*

Present Tense.

Sing.	sarpāmi	herpō	serpo.
	sarpasi	herpeis	serpis.
	sarpati	herpei	serpit.
Dual.	sarpāvas	. .	. .
	sarpathas	herpeton	. .
	sarpatas	herpeton	. .
Plural	sarpāmas	herpomen	serpimus.
	sarpatha	herpete	serpitis.
	sarpanti	herpousi	serpunt.

Imperfect.

Sing.	asarpam	heirpon	serpebam.
	asarpas	heirpes	serpebas.
	asarpat	heirpe	serpebat.
Dual.	asarpāva	. .	. .
	asarpatam	heirpeton	. .
	asarpatām	heirpetēn	. .
Plural	asarpāma	heirpomen	serpebamus.
	asarpata	heirpete	serpebatis.
	asarpan	heirpon	serpebant.

Subjunctive, optative, and future (Latin).

Sing.	sarpēyam	herpoimi	serpem.
	sarpēs	herpois	serpes.
	sarpēt	herpoi	serpet.
Plural	sarpēma	herpoimen	serpemus.
	sarpēta	herpoite	serpetis.
	sarpēyus	herpoien	serpent.

Perfect.

sasarpa	heirpa	serpsi.

Participles.

SINGULAR.

Nom.	sarpan	herpōn	serpens.
Acc.	sarpantam	herpŏnta	serpentem.
Dat.	sarpatē	herpŏnti	serpenti.

PLURAL.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Nom.	sarpantas	herpontes	serpentes.
Dat.	sarpadbhyas	herpousi	serpentibus.

THE VERB *to be.*

Present.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	asmi	ahmi	eimi, emmi	sum.
	asi	aẖi	eis, essi	es.
	asti	aṡ'ti	esti	est.
Dual.	svas	. .	. .	. .
	sthas	. .	eston	. .
	stas	. .	eston	. .
Plur.	smas	mahi	esmen	sumus.
	stha	ṡ'ta	este	estis.
	santi	hĕnti	eisi	sunt.

Imperative.

Sing.	astu	. .	estō	esto.
Plur.	santu	. .	estōsan	sunto.

Imperfect.

Sing.	āsam	. .	ēn	eram.
	āsīs	. .	ēs, ēstha	eras.
	āsīt	. .	ēn	erat.
Dual.	āsva	. .	. .	. .
	āstam	. .	ēton	. .
	āstām	. .	ētēn	. .
Plur.	āsma	. .	ēmen	eramus.
	āstha	. .	ēte	eratis.
	āsan	. .	ēsan	erant.

THE VERB *to stand.*

Present.

Sing.	tishṭhāmi	. .	histēmi	sto.
	tishṭhasi	histahi	histēs	stas.
	tishṭhati	histaiti	histēsi	stat.
Plur.	tishṭhāmas	. .	histamen	stamus.
	tishṭhatha	. .	histate	statis.
	tishṭhanti	histĕñti	histāsi	stant.

THE VERB *to show* or *say.*

Preterite.

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Sing.	adiksham	edeixa	dixi.
	adikshas	edeixas	dixistis.
	adikshat	edeixe	dixit.
Plur.	adikshāma	edeixamen	diximus.
	adikshata	edeixate	dixistis.
	adikshan	edeixan	dixerunt.

The following are additional examples of similarity of form in the past tenses, combined in most cases with identity of sense.

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
avākshīt	. .	vexit	he carried.
akshipsi [I threw]	. .	scripsi	I wrote.
apaptaṁ	epipton	. .	I fell.
apatam	epeson	. .	I fell.
asthām	estēn	. .	I stood.

The subjoined instances exhibit the similarity in the formation of the reduplicated perfect between the Sanskrit and the Greek.

SANSKRIT.			GREEK.		
Root.	*Perfect.*	*English.*	*Present.*	*Perfect.*	*English.*
lip	lilēpa	I anointed	leipō	leloipa	I left.
śak	śaśāka	I was able	derkō	dedorka	I saw.
tup	tutōpa	I injured	tuptō	tetupha	I struck.
tuph	tutōpha				
tap	tatāpa	I heated	thapto (from taphō.)	tetapha	I buried.

I add some examples of conformity between the Sanskrit infinitive and the Latin supine.

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*	*English.*	*Sanskrit.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
sthātum	statum	to stand.	janitum	genitum	to beget.
anktum	unctum	to anoint.	ētum	itum	to go.
vamitum	vomitum	to vomit.	svanitum	sonitum	to sound.
jnātum	notum	to know.	startum	strātum	to spread.
yōktum	junctum	to join.	sarptum	serptum	to creep.
peshṭum	pistum	to pound.			

The form of the Sanskrit desideratives, though not the signification, is found in Greek and Latin: thus we have *gignōscō* (Greek), and *nosco* (Latin), answering to *jijñāsāmi*, "I desire to know;" and again, *mimnēskō* and [*re*]*miniscor*, answering to *mimnāsāmi*, "I desire to remember."

Again, Greek words like *paipallō*, *daidallō*, *paiphassō*, *pimplēmi*, *pimprēmi*, etc., though without the meaning, have the form of Sanskrit intensives, like *bobhū*, *bambhram*.

In regard to the participles, also, there is a remarkable coincidence between the Sanskrit and the Greek. Some of the participles of the active voice have been already given. The following are some other specimens.

PERFECT PARTICIPLE ACTIVE.

Greek.			*Sanskrit.*		
Masc.	Fem.	Neuter.	Masc.	Fem.	Neuter.
tetuphōs	tetuphuia	tetuphos.	tetupivān	tutupūshī	tutupivat.

PASSIVE AND MIDDLE PARTICIPLES.

	Greek.		*Sanskrit.*		
PRESENT.	dīyamānas	didomenos	FUTURE.	dāsyamānas	dōsomenos.

Sanskrit (neuter and masculine) bases in *man* correspond to the Latin in men: thus we have *sthāman* = *stamen*; *starîman* = *stramen*. Nominal forms in *tra*, also, are common to Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin: thus the Sanskrit *aritram*, *nētram*, *śrotram*, *mātram*, *gātram*; *vaktram*, *khanitram*, *vāditram*, *varutram*, correspond in form to the Greek *niptron*, *plectron*, *lektron*, *phereitron*, *lutron*, *arotron*, and the Latin *mulctrum*, *spectrum*, *aratrum*.

The nominal form in *năs* is common to Greek and Sanskrit: thus, the *hupnos* (sleep) of the one answers to the *svapnas* of the other.

Passive past participles in *ta* are common to Sanskrit with the other languages: thus,

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
jnātas	. . .	gnōtos	(g)notus.
ajnātas	. . .	agnōtos	ignotus.
dattas	dātō	dŏtŏs	dātus.
yuktas	yukhtō	zeuktos	junctus.
labdhas	. . .	lēptos	. . .

Compare also *bhăgnăs* in Sanskrit, with *stugnos*, *terpnos*, in Greek.

Abstract or other substantives in *ṭā*, *tāt*, *tēs*, *tas*, are also found in them all: thus,—

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
nava-tā	amĕrĕtāṭ	neo-tēs	novi-tas.
sama-tā	uparatāṭ	homo-tēs	facili-tas.
laghu-tā	isharestāṭ	platu-tēs	levi-tas.

Forms in *tis* occur both in Sanskrit and Greek; but the latter has mostly *sis* for the *tis* of the former: thus,

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
ma-tis	mē-tis.
uk-tis	phă-tis.
tṛip-tis	terp-sis.
yuk-tis	zeuk-sis (=zeuxis).

Instances of adjectives similarly formed:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
malinas	pedinos	marīnus.
kulīnas	skoteinos	ferīnus.
divyas	hălios	egregius.
pitryas	patrios	patrius.
yaśasyas	thaumasios	censorius.

Forms in *las* and *ras*:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
chapălas	eikelos	tremulus.
taralas	trapelos	stridulus.
madhuras	phoberos	. . .
sụbhras	psukhros	gnarus.
bhădras	lampros	purus.

Feminine nouns are also similarly formed, as follows:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
indrānī	theaina	matrona.
vărụṇānī	lukaina	patrona.
rudrāṇī	despoina	. . .

Abstract nouns are also formed in Greek, as in Sanskrit, by changing the vowel of the root: thus, from the roots *bhid*, *krudh*, and *lubh*, are formed the nouns *bhēda*, *krodha*, and *lobha;* and so in Greek we have *tromos*, *phobos*, *trokhos*, *nomos*, *loipos*, from *tremo*, *phebomai*, *trekho*, *nemo*, and *leipō*.

We have examples of nouns in Latin and Greek resembling Sanskrit nouns in *ya*, such as these:

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*	*Greek.*
mādhuryam	mendacium	theopropion.
naipuṇyam	principium	monomachion.

Simple radicals, or radicals slightly modified, are used in all three languages at the end of compound nouns and adjectives:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
dharma-vid	pēdo-trips	artifex.
netra-mush	pros-phux	index.
brahma-dvish	bou-plēx	princeps.

The use of *eu* and *dus* in Greek corresponds to that of *su* and *dus* in Sanskrit: thus,

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
sukaras	euphoros.
sulabhas	eutrophos.
dustaras	dustropos.
dussahas	dusphoros.

The following are instances of the employment of *a*, *an*, *i*, or *in* privative, in the three languages:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
ajnāta	agnotos	ignotus.
an-ishṭhas	an-osios	ineffabilis.

The subjoined adjectives are formed in a manner nearly alike in Sanskrit and Latin from adverbs of time:

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*	*Sanskrit.*	*Latin.*
hyastanas	hesternus.	sāyantanas	vespertinus.
śvastanas	crastinus.	sanātanas	sempiternus.

The use of various sorts of compound words is common to Sanskrit with Greek and Latin. Thus we have,

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
trirātram	trinuction	trinoctium	a period of three nights.
svapnakaras	hupnophoros	somnifer	bringing sleep.
sadābhramas	aeiplanos	. . .	always wandering.
arindamas	ippodamos	. . .	foe-, steed-subduing.
devadattas	theodotos	. . .	god-given
mahāmātis	megalomētis	magnanimus	high-souled.
bhūridhanas	polukhrusos	. . .	very rich.
bāhumūrttis	polumorpbos	multiformis	multiform.
chatushpād	tetrapous	quadrupes	four-footed.
sarūpas	summorphos	conformis	of the same form.

Forms in *ana*, nouns and adjectives:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
darpaṇam	drepanon.
vahanam	organon.
śobhanas	hikanos.

Forms in *aka* or *ika*:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
nāyakas	polemikos	medicus.
dhārmikas	rhetorikos	bellicus.

Forms in *ant*:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*
dhanavān	doloeis.
dhanavantam	doloenta.

Sanskrit nouns ending in *as*, corresponding to Greek and Latin nouns of the third declension:

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
ayas	pseudos	foedus.
yaśas	mēdos	scelus
apas	kēdos	opus.

In Greek and Latin the comparative and superlative degrees are formed very much as in Sanskrit. The Greek has, however, two forms like Sanskrit; the Latin only one.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
bhadra	husko	kleinos	longus	
bhadra-tara	husko-tara	kleino-teros	long-ior	different meanings
bhadra-tama	śpentotĕma	kleino-tatos	longis-simus	
svādus	. . .	hēdus	suavis	sweet.
svādīyān	. . .	hēdīōn	suavior	sweeter.
svādishṭhas	. . .	hēdistos	suavissimus	sweetest.

In Greek and Latin, as in Sanskrit, verbs are compounded with prepositions.

Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
apa-gachhati	ap-erkhetai	abs-cedo.
san-gachhati	sun-erkhetai	con-venit.
upa-dadhāti	hupo-tithēsi	sup-ponit.
pari-bhrāmyati	peri-erkhetai	circu-it.
pra-sarpati	pro-bainei	pro-cedit.

In Latin, as in Sanskrit, verbs are compounded with nouns or adjectives.

Sanskrit.	*Latin.*
parikhīkaroti	significat.
krishṇīkaroti	magnificat.

In Greek and Latin adjectives agree in gender and number with the noun, just as in Sanskrit: thus,

	Sanskrit.	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*English.*
Nom. Sin.	svādŭs svăpnăs	hēdus hupnos	suavis somnus	sweet sleep.
Acc. Sin.	svādŭm svăpnăm	hēdum hupnon.	suavem somnum	sweet sleep.
Nom. Plu.	svādăvas svapnās	hēdues hupnoi	suaves somni	sweet sleeps.
Nom. Sin.	năvo dātā	neos dotēr	novus dator	new giver.
Acc. Sin.	năvăm dātārăm	neon dotēra	novum datorem	new giver.

We must, therefore, conclude from the illustrations which have been given above, of the resemblances existing both in roots and inflections, between the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin (viewed in contrast with the almost total want of similarity between the Sanskrit and other tongues, e.g. the Arabic), that there is a close affinity between the various members of the former group of languages; and that in fact they are all descended from one common stock.

It may, however, be objected that the affinity which I have been seeking to establish between the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the Latin, is disproved by the fact that (while a portion of the words in these languages are identical with or akin to each other) the great majority of their words are different. If these languages had in reality had a common origin, their vocabularies must, it may be urged, have been entirely or nearly homogeneous, i.e. must, with few exceptions, have consisted of the same identical words, just as is the case with the Bengalī, the Hindī, and the Mahrattī, which are confessedly kindred dialects. To this I reply, First, that even such a small proportion of common words, combined with great similarity in point of structure and inflection, is sufficient to demonstrate the common derivation of any two languages from one original stem, provided it can be shown (as it assuredly can in the case under consideration) that neither the words nor the inflections have been borrowed by the one language from the other. For how could the common possession by these two supposed languages of even a comparatively small stock of words be otherwise accounted for? This community of words could not be accidental; for had there been anything of accident in the case, we should, beyond a doubt, have discovered the same casual resemblances between other languages—

between Sanskrit and Arabic for instance, or between Greek and Arabic—as we discover between Sanskrit and Greek; whereas in point of fact we discover scarcely any such resemblances. The difference between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, in regard to the large majority of the words of which their vocabularies are composed, admits of an easy explanation. The speech of different branches of every great race of men has (as I have already in part shown in p. 32, f.) an inevitable tendency, arising from a great variety of causes, to diverge more and more from the original type. This tendency is visible even in India itself, among men of the same branch of the Arian family. The vocabulary of the Vedas is, to some extent, different from that of the later Sanskrit writings. Many words which are common in the former have been entirely disused in later times, while new words, unknown in the Vedas, have been introduced. If the Nighaṇṭus be compared with the Amara-kosha (which may be supposed to contain the words in most general use in later Sanskrit), many nouns will be found in the former which are wanting in the latter, as well as in all other more recent vocabularies. I may instance such words as *tuvi*, 'much;' *napāt*, 'offspring;' *gmā* and *jmā*, 'earth;' *ketas*, 'knowledge;' *ākenipa*, 'wise;' *takman*, 'offspring;' etc., which occur in the Nighaṇṭus, but will be sought for in vain in the Amara-kosha.[30] In fact, many of the words in the Nighaṇṭus owe their insertion in that vocabulary entirely to the fact that they had become obsolete in later times. Again, any one who is familiar with the different modern vernaculars of India must be aware how much they differ from each other, not only in their grammatical forms, but also, frequently, in the words themselves which are employed by preference in each to denote any particular objects. Now, as we have already seen (pp. 7, 42), all these dialects must at one time have issued from one and the same parent form of speech. But if such a divergence as this has actually taken place in dialects spoken by the different branches of one people,

[30] The following are additional words peculiar to the hymns of the Veda: *Akshṇayāvan*, *atharyu*, *anarvis*, *anānuda*, *aptur*, *aprāyu*, *ambhriṇa*, *alātriṇa*, *asaśchat*, *askṛidhoyu*, *asridh*, *āśuśukshaṇi*, *īvat*, *ṛijishin*, *evayāvan*, *kāṇukā*, *kiyedhas*, *kuṇāru*, *kuṇḍṛiṇāchī*, *jātubharman*, *jenya*, *nabhanya*, *nichumpuṇa*, *nishshidh*, *nishshidhvan*, *opaśa*, *paritakmyā*, *bīriṭa*, *mehanā*, *reṇukakāṭa*, *śurudh*, *sakshaṇi*, *salalūka*, *śundhyu*, *sumajjāni*, *smaddishṭi*, *śvātra*, etc. See my article "On the Interpretation of the Veda," in the Journal of the R.A.S., vol. ii., new series, pp. 325, ff.

living in the same country, under nearly the same influences of soil and climate, and professing the same religion; must not a much wider divergence have of necessity arisen between the languages of tribes separated for thousands of years, and living in regions far apart from each other, under different physical conditions, and subject to the modifying action of different social, political, and religious institutions?

Such divergences between the languages of any two or more nations which have sprung from one common stock have, as I have already intimated, an inevitable tendency, at least in the earlier stages of society, to become wider and more marked; so that two dialects derived from the same original form of speech, though they at first differed but little from each other, will thus almost necessarily become more and more dissimilar from each other the longer they have been separated from the parent root.

Peculiar circumstances, such as constant intercourse, and the possession of a common religion and a common literature, may, indeed, for a period of greater or less duration, avert such a gradual divergence in language between two separate nations. This state of things is at present actually exemplified in the case of England and America. But these two nations have only become separated from each other for a comparatively short period; and it would be difficult to predict how long their identity of language may continue. So powerful, however, are the causes which operate in this case to maintain an absolute community of speech, that (notwithstanding the adoption in America of some new words, and a considerable number of phrases unknown in England) the two nations will, in all likelihood, continue to employ the same dialect for many ages to come. This result will, however, more probably arise from the English language undergoing a parallel alteration in both countries, than from its continuing entirely unchanged in either.

But we must be careful not to underrate the extent of the fundamental affinity in roots and words between the Sanskrit, the Greek, the Latin, and the other western languages of the same family. Even a cursory examination of such works as Professor Benfey's "Greek-Radical-Lexicon,"[31] Curtius's "Outlines of Greek Etymology,"[32] or

[31] Griechisches Wurzellexicon: 2 vols. Berlin, 1839 and 1842.

[32] Grundzüge der Griechischen Etymologie, second edition, 1866.

Fick's "Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Germanic Languages,[33] is sufficient to show that these coincidences are more numerous than might at first sight have been supposed, and that it is only an insufficient study of the variations undergone by different words in the several languages under review which prevents our perceiving that a considerable, though probably undeterminable, proportion of their vocabulary is essentially common to them all.

But, Secondly, there is a further circumstance by which the original affinity between Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, and their ancient derivation from one parent stock, are proved; which is this, that it is precisely those words and elements which are the most primitive, the most fundamental, and the most essential parts of each language which they have in common. I mean, First, those words which express the natural relations of father, mother, etc., and kindred generally; Secondly, the pronouns; Thirdly, the prepositions and particles; Fourthly, the words expressing number; and Fifthly, the forms of inflection. Thus, the words which Sanskrit has in common with Latin, Greek, and the other members of the Indo-European stock, are those which would be in use in the earliest stages of society, when men were simple and uniform in their habits and ideas, when they had few wants, few arts, little knowledge, no sciences, no philosophy, and no complicated institutions. But after the different tribes of the Indo-European stock had departed in different directions from their primeval abodes, and had settled in distant countries, they became in the course of time more and more different from each other in their religions, in their manners and customs, and in all their modes of life. The climates under which they lived were different; some settling within the torrid zone, while others migrated into temperate or even frigid latitudes. The aspects of nature, too, were very dissimilar in these different regions, some of them being level and fertile, others mountainous and unproductive; some situated on the shores of the ocean, and others at a distance inland. The natural productions of these different tracts, too, were various, as well as the animals by whom they were tenanted. Some of these countries, for instance, produced rice and the sugar-cane, and were frequented by the elephant, the camel, the lion, and the

[33] Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen, second edition, 1870.

tiger; while in others these plants and animals were not indigenous. In consequence of all these local influences, the temperaments and habits of the men of different nations became exceedingly diversified. In level and fertile countries, with hot climates, men became less active and energetic, owing to the relaxing effects of the heat, and the diminished necessity for labour; while the frames of those who settled in colder countries were both braced by the greater severity of the climate, and by the necessity of labour for extracting a subsistence from the less genial soil. Men settled on the shores of the sea naturally became addicted to maritime pursuits, from which those living inland were debarred. In this way different arts arose, different sciences were cultivated, and different social and political institutions were established. In some countries the active energies of the people were fostered by the existence of free forms of government: in others the feeling of independence, perhaps originally feeble, was altogether crushed by despotism; while, on the other hand, the thoughtful tendencies which were native to the race found their full scope in scientific pursuits, or in philosophical and religious contemplation. With these great and manifold changes in all the conditions of life, corresponding alterations in language, intended to express new objects and new ideas, would be necessarily introduced, which became more and more extensive and decided as centuries rolled on.[34] The different stages of this process which I have been describing are more or less distinctly exemplified in the different languages which have been specified as connected by affinity with the Sanskrit. Of these languages the Zend (or language of the Zend Avesta) is that which had been separated from the Sanskrit for the shortest space of time, and subjected to the action of the smallest modifying influences, at the period when it took the form in which the most ancient of the extant Zoroastrian writings are composed; and accordingly, it has a far closer resemblance to the Sanskrit than either the Greek or the Latin. This has been made clear by the evidence which has been already adduced. The Greek and Latin languages, on the other hand, had been separated

[34] The divergences, apparent or real, between the Arian languages, are due "to alterations, to losses occasioned by the lapse of time, and also to the incessant efforts (so to speak) of the language to replace the lost forms, and to follow step by step the gradual developments of the several nationalities."—Pictet, "Origines Indo-Européennes, ou les Aryas Primitifs," p. 5. See Appendix, Note C.

from the Sanskrit for a much longer interval of time, and affected by novel influences of far greater potency, when they became embodied in the oldest compositions which have descended to us; and they accordingly differ from the Sanskrit, in most respects, much more widely than the Zend does.

I conclude, therefore, from the foregoing considerations, that the differences which exist between the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the Latin languages, as we find them in their later stages, afford no reason for doubting that they had, at an earlier period, a much more intimate connexion, and were, in fact, originally identical.

Another objection may, however, perhaps be raised by some person looking at the subject from an Indian point of view. It is quite true, he may urge, that an affinity exists between the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin; but this quite tallies with what our Sāstras record (Manu x. 43, 44; Vishṇu-purāṇa, iv. 3, p. 375, quarto edition of Wilson's translation, or vol. iii. pp. 294, f. of Dr. Hall's edition),[35] that the Yavanas (Greeks), Pahlavas (Persians), and Kambojas, were originally Kshatriya tribes, who became degraded by their separation from Brāhmans and Brahmanical institutions; and it is also quite clear from the proofs which you have adduced of affinity between these languages and our sacred tongue, that the former are mere Prākṛit or Apabhraṁśa dialects derived from Sanskrit. Your hypothesis of these languages, as well as the Sanskrit, being derived from some earlier form of speech now no longer extant, is quite gratuitous; for, what the heretical Bauddhas falsely say of their Apabhraṁśa, which they call Pāli, is literally true of Sanskrit, the language of the gods, that it is that primeval and eternal form of speech[36] from which all others are derived.

To this I reply, that even if Zend, Greek, and Latin could be shown, on the ground of their affinity with Sanskrit, to be derived from it, it would still be quite impossible for the objector to prove on the same ground that Sanskrit was the parent of all the languages which are spoken by all the tribes which have inhabited India or the adjacent countries. Arabic, as has been shown, is quite distinct from Sanskrit, and has scarcely any perceivable affinity with it of any kind. And

[35] See first volume of this work, second edition, pp. 481, ff, and 486–488.

[36] See Mahābbāshya, as quoted above, p. 161, note 183.

the same is the case with the languages current in the south of India, the Tamil, the Telugu, the Canarese, and the Malayalim (the tongues spoken by the inhabitants of Draviḍa, Telinga, Karnāṭa, etc.). For Manu himself (as we have already seen, p. 151, n. 164) makes a distinction between the languages employed by the people of India; which shows that forms of speech of a non-Arian, i.e. non-Sanskrit, character were spoken by part of the population. So that the point which the objector is, perhaps, really seeking to establish, viz., that the Arian-Indians are the original progenitors of all the surrounding nations,[37] and their language, Sanskrit, the parent of all other languages, could never be proved. It cannot be admitted, however, as I have already remarked, that Greek and Latin are derivatives from Sanskrit. There is no proof of this theory, and all probability is against it. The whole grammatical character of Greek and Latin is that of independent languages; and any one who will compare their structure and composition with that of the Indian Prākṛits, which every one allows to be derived from Sanskrit, will at once perceive the difference of the two cases.

First.—The grammatical forms of the Prākṛits (as we have already seen, p. 69), have evidently resulted from a disintegration or simplification of the older Sanskrit forms. Thus (as we have already seen by the comparative tables, introduced above, pp. 76, ff.), the Sanskrit words *mukta*, *gupta*, *sūtra*, *mārga*, *artha*, *śreshṭha*, *dṛishṭi*, *pushpa*, *dakshiṇa*, *madhya*, *satya*, *tushṇīm*, *laghu*, *sādhu*, *sabhā*, are in Prākṛit softened down into *mutta*, *gutta*, *sutta*, *magga*, *attha*, *seṭṭha*, *diṭṭhi*, *puppha*, *dakkhiṇa*, *dāhiṇa*, *majjha*, *sachcha*, *tuṇhīm*, *lahu*, *sāhu*, and *sahā*. The further back we trace the Prākṛit forms, the more nearly do they resemble the Sanskrit, till the two are found to be almost identical; while the more modern the grammatical forms are which the Prākṛits have taken, the more widely do they diverge from their Sanskrit prototypes. The case is quite different with the Latin and Greek. A few instances may, no doubt, be discovered where the modes in which the Latin or Greek forms vary from the Sanskrit cor-

[37] Compare the Mahābhārata i. 3533, which says, *Yados tu Yādavāḥ jātās Turvasor Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ | Druhyoḥ sutās tu Vaibhojāḥ Anos tu Mlechha-jātayaḥ.* "The Yādavas sprang from Yadu. The Yavanas are said to be Turvasu's offspring; the Vaibhojas are descended from Druhyu, and the Mlechha tribes from Anu." These four progenitors, and Pūru, were sons of of the Kshatriya monarch Yayāti.

respond in some degree to those changes of softening or simplification[38] which the Sanskrit forms have undergone in Prākṛit. Thus the Greek *dolikhos*, "long," varies from the Sanskrit *dīrgha* somewhat in the same manner as the Prākṛit *sirī* and *hirī* vary from the Sanskrit *śrī* and *hrī*; and the Greek *hupnos*, "sleep," appears to simplify the Sanskrit *svapna* by much the same process as that by which the Prākṛit reduces the Sanskrit *sthāna*, "place," to *ṭhāna*. But the few instances of this sort which can be adduced are quite insufficient to prove that even in these cases the Greek or the Latin words are borrowed from the Sanskrit.[39] They may with quite equal probability have been derived from an earlier language from which the Sanskrit is also drawn. There is no appearance of Greek and Latin words having resulted from any modification of the Sanskrit: for, while many of their forms have a close resemblance to the Sanskrit forms, they are, at the same time, for the most part equally original with those of that language; and many of them are so different from the Sanskrit, and

[38] There are very few of the Prākṛit forms which are not simplifications of the Sanskrit. Even in such a case as that of the word *itthī*, or *iśthiyā*, "woman" (from *strī*), the change is in one sense a simplification, as one or more consonants are thrown out, and the vowel *i* is prefixed to facilitate pronunciation. But the great majority of Sanskrit words commencing with a double consonant are modified in Prākṛit, not by prefixing a vowel, but either by rejecting one of the members of the compound consonant, or by interposing a vowel between them. Thus the Sanskrit *sthā* becomes in Prākṛit *ṭhā*, *sthala* becomes *thala*, *skandha* becomes *kandha*, *spṛiś* becomes *phaṁs*, *kshamā* becomes *khamā*, *snāna* becomes *ṇhāna*, *sneha* becomes *saneha*, *mlāna* becomes *milāna*.

[39] It may, however, be further objected that my argument is incomplete, as all Prākṛit or derivative dialects do not modify the original language in the same manner. Thus French and Spanish, it may be said, do not corrupt the Latin in the same way as Italian does. Now, as it has been stated above (p. 147) that the Indian Prākṛits corrupted Sanskrit very much in the same way as the Italian corrupted Latin, so (the objector may urge) Zend, and Greek, and Latin, may have modified Sanskrit in a somewhat different way, as French and Spanish modified Latin. To this I reply that in the case of all these derivatives of Latin, viz. Italian, French, and Spanish, it can be shown (1.) that the people who spoke these languages were either entirely or in part descended from the Romans; or that, at least, they received their language from the Romans who conquered and colonized their respective countries; but it cannot be shown either that the Greeks or Romans were descended from the Indians, or in any way received their languages from Hindustan. (2.) In the case of the French and Spanish languages, as well as in that of the Italian, the exact process and the very steps can be pointed out by which they changed the forms of the Latin words; but it cannot be historically shown, in regard to the Greek or Latin, that their words are in any way corruptions of Sanskrit originals.

so peculiar, that they could not be deduced from it according to any laws of mutation recognized by philologists. The Greek and Latin forms can, therefore, only be derived from another and anterior source, from which the Sanskrit forms also, as well as they, have flowed. It is, further, the opinion of distinguished comparative philologists, that Latin and Greek have preserved some forms of inflection, which are more ancient than those preserved in Sanskrit; and represent more exactly the original forms of the supposed parent language. For instance, the Latin has preserved the nominative of the present participle ending in *ens*, such as *ferens* (carrying), while Sanskrit has only the form in *at*, *bharat* for example, which seems to have been originally *bharans* or *bharant*.[40] The same is the case with various roots, nominal and verbal, in which the Sanskrit appears to have lost the original form of the word, while it has been preserved in Greek or Latin, or both. Thus the word for "a star," which seems to have been originally *star*,—a form which has been preserved in the Rigveda and in the Greek *astēr* and *astron*, and in the Latin *astrum*, as well as in the Zend *śtāre*, and the Persian *sitārah*,—has been lost in the later Sanskrit, where it becomes *tāra*. Again, on the supposition that the *h*, *j*, and *chh* of Sanskrit are corrupted from the *k* or *gh*, *g*, and *sk* of the earlier language, the following Sanskrit words appear to have departed further from the original forms than the corresponding words in Greek and Latin, viz., S. *hṛidaya* = Gr. *kardia*, Lat. *cor*; S. *hanu* = Gr. *genus*; S. *mih* = Gr. *omikheo*; S. *bāhu* = Gr. *pēkhus*; S. *jānāmi* = Gr. *ginōskō*, Lat. *gnosco*; S. *jajanmi* = Gr. *gennao*, Lat. *gigno*; S. *ajra* = Gr. *agros*, Lat. *ager*; S. *rajata* = Gr. *arguros*, Lat. *argentum*; S. *jambha* = Gr. *gomphos*; S. *jaras* = Gr. *gēras*; S. *jānu* = Gr. *gonu*; S. *chhāyā* = Gr. *skia*; S. *chhid* (*chhinadmi*) = Gr. *skhizo*, Lat. *scindo*; and S. *ashṭau* = G. *oktō*.

Second: But the fact that the Greek and Latin languages are in their origin independent of the Sanskrit may be further shown by the following considerations:[41]

[40] Bopp, Comp. Grammar, para. 129. Ad. Regnier, Traité de la formation des mots dans la langue Grecque, note 1, pp. 68, 69.

[41] I am indebted for the substance of the paragraphs marked with an asterisk (*) to the kindness of Professor Goldstücker, who is dissatisfied with some views propounded in the passage immediately preceding, as he rejects the theory which has hitherto been in favour with philologists that the fullest forms are necessarily the

* (1.) On a careful examination of the roots contained in the Dhātupāṭhas, or lists of radicals in the classical or modern Sanskrit, it will be found that many of these verbal roots are compounded, or resolvable into simpler forms. But as those roots, notwithstanding their composite character, are treated by the Indian grammarians as ultimate radicals, it is clear that those grammarians have forgotten the simpler forms from which the others have been derived. Of this remark the following roots are exemplifications, viz.: *vyanj*, *vyay*, *vī*, *vyadh*, *pyush* or *vyush*, *prush*, *veksh* and *ujhh*, which, though evidently compounded of *vi*+*anj*, *vi*+*ay*, *vi*+*i*, *vi*+*adh*, *pi* or *vi*+*ush*, *pra*+*ush*, *va* for *ava*+*īksh*, *ut*+*hā* (*jahāti*), are yet treated by the Indian grammarians as if they were simple roots.

* (2.) The Sanskrit has not only undergone alterations such as the above, but the modern language has actually lost some fuller forms of roots, which are still discoverable in the Vedic hymns. As an instance of this may be mentioned the root *grabh*, (see above, p. 221,) "to seize," which in the modern Sanskrit has become prakritized into *grah*. Other instances are the Vedic *dhurv*, and *dhvṛi*, as compared with the modern *hvṛi*; and the Vedic *śundh*, as compared with the modern *śudh*. The following Vedic roots are not to be found in modern Sanskrit at all, viz.:[42] *kan*, *inkh*, *ubj*, *śav*, *ven*, *sach*, *myach*, *tsar*, *dhraj*, *mand*, *ves*, *vaksh*, *turv*, *bharv*, etc., etc.

* (3.) But it is not only a fact that the modern Sanskrit has lost some of the oldest verbal roots; the same appears to be the case with the more ancient Vedic Sanskrit also, from which some primitive radicals had already disappeared. This is indicated by the circumstance that there exist certain Sanskrit nouns, which must have been derived from radicals which in their verbal form are not discoverable even in the Vedas. Thus from the existence of the word *vīrudh*, "a shrub," and *nyagrodha* (a particular tree), we may infer that there once existed a root *rudh*, "to grow," which in this sense (for the

oldest. [In this second edition the paragraphs are reprinted, by Professor Goldstücker's permission, with a slight addition to this note, and an enlargement of note 44, p. 264.] Compare for the roots given in paragraph * (1.) Professor Benfey's "Complete Sanskrit Grammar," pp. 73, ff.

[42] On the hypothesis that the fuller form is the more ancient, I may also cite the Vedic forms *ścham* (as compared with the modern *cham*) and *śchand* (as compared with the modern *chand*), as given in Professor Benfey's "Complete Grammar," p. 73.

modern Sanskrit has still *rudh* in the sense of "to stop,") now survives only in its weakened form *ruh*.[43] In like manner it appears from the nouns *dhanus*, "a bow," *pra-dhana*, "battle," and *ni*+*dhana*, "death," that the root *han*, "to kill," must once have existed in the stronger form *dhan* = Greek *than*.

* (4.) Some of the verbal roots which have been lost by both the modern and the Vedic Sanskrit, and which cannot be traced there even through their preservation in derivatives, may yet be recovered from oblivion by the aid of the Greek or Latin. Thus the Sanskrit *hu*, "to sacrifice," must have originally existed in the stronger form *dhu*, as we may infer from the Greek *thuō*; and in the same way the earliest form of the Sanskrit *guh*, "to hide," was probably *gudh*, as the Greek *keuthō* would lead us to suppose. So too from the Greek forms *nēthō*, "to spin," and *leikhō*, "to lick," we may argue that the original Sanskrit forms of *nah* and *lih* must have been *nadh* and *ligh*.[44] Several forms of substantives and other words also can be shown, in which the

[43] See Pictet's "Origines Indo-Européennes," p. 145.

[44] So the root *duh*, "to milk," must have once been *dugh*, as is proved not only by its passive participle *dugdha*, but also by the Zend substantive *dughdhar* and the Greek *thugatēr*, "daughter," a word which most philologists think originally signified "milker." Professor Goldstücker is of opinion "that in all the Sanskrit dhātus the sound *h* is weakened from a sonant aspirate, or, though more rarely, from a surd aspirate, or, though likewise rarely, from a sibilant. Thus he thinks that *gāh*, *vṛih*, *spṛih*, for instance, were originally *gādh*, *vṛidh*, *spṛidh*; *vah*, originally *vadh* (compare *ūḍhā* and *vadhū*); *tṛih*, 'injure,' *tṛiph*; *suh*, 'delight,' *sukh*; *māh*, 'measure,' *mās*; *mih* —*mīsh*; *hul* —*śal* or *śval*, etc. *Dah*, he thinks, was *dadh*, as is shown by the substantive *antardadhana*, lit., that which burns or causes heat (when) in the middle (of a liquor); and since, in his opinion, *ah* (whence *ahan*) is the more original form of *dah*, he believes that this view of *dadh* is supported by the Greek αἰθ (originally ἀθ, whence Ἀθήνη), which points to a Sanskrit *adh*. That from *dah*, *nidāgha* and similar forms are derived, is no disproof of an original *dadh*; for when *dah* settled down as a new *dhātu*, its final *h* would naturally be treated as a guttural. Thus, though *han* was undoubtedly *dhan*, from the later *han* we have *ghnat*, *jaghāna*, *jeghnīy*, *ghāṭa*, etc. And not only sounds, but even meanings undergo the influence of a confused recollection of what once was a more original form. Thus *hṛi* represents an older *dhṛi*, *bhṛi*, and *ghṛi*, 'sprinkle, moisten;' yet *dhárd* refers in some of its meanings not to *dhṛi*, but—through the influence of *hṛi*—to *ghṛi*."

In the same way we sometimes see the aspirated consonant of the root changed into *h*, as in the case of the participle *hita* (*vi-hita*, *ni-hita*, &c.) from the root *dhā*, "to hold." This weakening process, commenced in Sanskrit, has been continued and carried much further in Prākṛit, where the aspirated consonants of Sanskrit are softened into *h*, as where the root *kath*, "to say," becomes *kah*. See Vararuchi, ii.,

Greek forms are stronger than the Sanskrit. Thus, instead of the Sanskrit *hima*, "winter," *ahi*, "a serpent," *hyas*, "yesterday," we find in Greek the stronger forms *kheimōn*, *ekhis* or *ophis*, *khthĕs*, or *ekhthĕs*.

From the facts detailed in the preceding paragraphs, which prove that compound roots have been taken by the Indian grammarians for simple ones, and that old forms have been modified or lost in the modern, or even in the Vedic, Sanskrit, it is clear that that language (especially in its modern form) cannot be always regarded as a fixed standard, according to which the originality of the Latin and Greek forms could be estimated. And the supposition that any of the Greek or Latin words[45] are borrowed from Sanskrit by a prakritizing process is satisfactorily disproved by the fact that various instances have been adduced of the very opposite nature, where the Greek and Latin forms, instead of being like the Prākṛit ones, weaker or simpler than the Sanskrit, are stronger or more complex. For, whether or not the existence of these stronger or more complex forms in Greek and Latin proves that the Sanskrit once had similar forms, which have now disappeared, it is at least sufficient to neutralize the argument,—drawn from the presence of certain other stronger or more complex forms in Sanskrit than we encounter in the corresponding words in Greek and Latin,—that those languages are derived from Sanskrit: for, by parity of reason, the presence of some forms (which we have actually seen to exist) in Greek and Latin stronger or more complex than those discoverable in corresponding cases in Sanskrit, would prove that these weaker Sanskrit forms were mere corruptions of the Greek and Latin words.

27; and pp. 94, ff, above. See also Benfey's Complete Sanskrit Grammar, p. 20, where it is said: "*h* appears never to be original in Sanskrit, but to have arisen from the weak aspirates *gh*, *dh*, *bh*. This derivation can be illustrated by many examples from the Vedas, or from the kindred languages. Compare the Vedic *dughāna* from *duh*; *sandegha* from *dih*; *sadha* for *saha*; *grabh* for *grah*."

[45] I except, of course, such words as have evidently passed from Sanskrit into Greek at a period comparatively modern; such as *κάρπασος* from *karpāsa*, and others of the same kind. But, on the other hand, a good many Greek words can be shown to have been received into the Sanskrit astronomical literature within the last two thousand years, such as *hōrā*, *kendra*, *liptā*, *ḍṛikāṇa*, *anaphā*, *sunaphā*, *apoklima*, *paṇaphara*, *jāmitra*, *meshūraṇa*, and *riḥpha*, derived from the Greek *ὥρα*, *κέντρον*, *λεπτά*, *δεκάνος*, *ἀναφή*, *συναφή*, *ἀπόκλιμα*, *ἐπαναφορά*, *διάμετρος*, *μεσουράνημα*, and *ῥιφή*.—Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. ii. 526, ff.; Weber. Ind. Stud. ii. 254.

Third:—The Indian Prākṛits have derived by far their largest stock of words from the Sanskrit; the few which they contain that are not Sanskrit having been derived from the languages of the indigenous tribes who inhabited Northern India before the arrival of the Āryas. On the other hand, only a certain proportion, as we have seen, of the words which compose the vocabulary of the Greek and Latin languages, are common to them with the Sanskrit: the greater part of the words are, if not different, at least difficult to identify as the same. Now, had Latin and Greek been derived from the modern, or even from the Vedic Sanskrit, the number of words indisputably common to all three languages must have been very much greater. It is true that more may be said in favour of the hypothesis that the Zend has been derived from Sanskrit; but there are sufficient reasons for believing that Zend is a sister and not a daughter of Sanskrit; and, consequently, that both have a common mother of a more primeval date.

I therefore conclude, that Greek and Latin, as well as Zend, are not derived from Sanskrit, but have, together with it, grown out of some older parent language,[46] which was superseded by its daughters, and, became extinct, because it ceased to be employed as a spoken tongue, and because (as being the language of a very early stage of society) it has not been preserved in any literary records. To render this supposition conceivable, I may remark that the same fate—extinction—might have befallen the Sanskrit itself, and the Latin, when they, in like manner, gave birth to the various dialects which have superseded them as living and popular forms of speech, had it not been that

[46] "An indubitable result of the researches which have recently been pursued into the Arian tongues is, that, notwithstanding the various alterations which they have undergone, they all bear the clear impress of one common type, and are consequently descended from one real, living, primeval language, which was complete in itself, and which was employed by a whole nation as its common organ of communication. This is not a mere hypothesis devised to explain the relations by which those languages are connected with each other: it is a conclusion which forces itself irresistibly on our belief, and which possesses all the validity of the best established fact. When we perceive so large a number of languages, of a character so marked, converging in all the details of their structure towards a common centre in which every particular fact finds its cause, it becomes impossible to admit that that centre has never had any other than a purely imaginary existence, and that that marvellous agreement arises solely from an instinctive impulse peculiar to a certain race of men." —A. Pictet, Origines Indo-Européennes, p. 43.

they flourished at periods of much more advanced civilization than the assumed primeval language to which I have referred, and have been perpetuated by means of the numerous writings, secular and sacred, of which they are the vehicles.

The primitive language to which I have just alluded is thus characterized by M. Pictet, in the work above referred to, pp. 1, 2:—"While thus augmenting in numbers and in prosperity, that prolific race was labouring to create for itself, as a powerful means of development, a language admirable by its richness, its force, its harmony, and the perfection of its forms; a language in which were spontaneously reflected all its impressions, not merely its mild affections and its simple admiration, but also its nascent aspirations toward a higher world; a language abounding in images and in intuitive ideas, bearing within it, in germ, all the future affluence both of the most sublime poetry and of the most profound reflection. At first one and homogeneous, that language, already perfected to a very high degree, served as a common instrument of expression to this primitive people, as long as it continued within the limits of its native country."

SECT. III.—*That affinity in language affords some presumption of affinity in race: modes in which a greater or less diversity of language and institutions would arise in different branches of the same stock: central Asia the birth-place of the Āryas.*

The facts and considerations adduced in the preceding section have, I think, proved beyond a doubt that the Sanskrit language has a common origin with the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin; and that all these tongues have sprung, like branches from one stem, out of the same parent language, now extinct. This conclusion being established, it follows as a necessary corollary either, first, that the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans also, that is, the nations who spoke the languages derived from that one common source, were themselves also descended, whether entirely or partially, from one and the same stock; i.e. that they had for their common ancestors the ancient people who spoke the extinct language to which I have referred,[47]

[47] "The radical affinity of all the Arian languages necessarily leads us," as we have seen, "to regard them as having sprung from one single primitive language. . . Now as a language presupposes always a people to speak it, it further follows that all the Arian nations have issued from one single source, though they may have become occasionally blended at a later period with some foreign elements. Hence we

although at some period after their separation their forefathers may have become intermingled with other and alien races; or secondly, that the ancestors of the four nations above mentioned must have been brought into close contact with each other before that original parent language had been broken up into different forms of speech; or, thirdly, that their forefathers must have derived their respective languages from the descendants of those who originally spoke them. Unless, therefore, we resort to the third alternative, it must, with the reservation made in the preceding sentence, be taken for an established fact either that the ancestors of the Indians at one time existed together with the ancestors of the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, in one country, as one nation, or that at least the forefathers of these several nations must have lived long in contact with each other at an early stage of their history. It is true that we have no historical record of this primeval period; but we are inevitably led to assume the existence of an anterior state of things such as I have asserted, by the fact, that no other supposition will account for the philological phenomena which we encounter in later history. From the effects, we are entitled to reason back to the existence of a cause adequate to their production. We have to explain the fact, that there have been found in different regions of the world, lying far apart from each other, various nations speaking languages which evince an unmistakable affinity to one another; and there is no other mode of explaining this circumstance but by supposing that the progenitors of these nations, or, at least, the progenitors of those tribes which communicated to them their several languages, have radiated in different directions from one central country which was their common birthplace, or their common abode, and where they all employed one common form of speech.

If we pursue our inquiries further, we shall find that certain data exist, by means of which we can discover with some probability what was the order of time in which the ancestors of these several nations separated themselves from the original stock, or departed from their

may with certainty infer the existence, at a pre-historic period, of an Arian people, free, originally, from all foreign intermixture, sufficiently numerous to have supplied those swarms of men which issued from its bosom, and sufficiently endowed by nature to have created for itself the most beautiful perhaps of all languages. This people, though unknown to tradition, is in a certain degree revealed to us by philological science."—Pictet, pp. 5, 6.

common dwelling-place, and travelled towards those new countries which they continued to occupy in later times.

Let us suppose a numerous and powerful nation occupying an isolated position in the centre of a vast region as yet thinly peopled. Let us next imagine what would be the probable course of affairs in such a society, and then compare this hypothetical picture with the traces remaining to us in history of the actual events. We have first then to contemplate this original race, or association of two or more races, gifted with vigorous powers both of mind and body,[48] as still residing in their primitive abode. When, in the natural order of events, this active and gifted population began to multiply, the countries which they at first occupied, either as shepherds or agriculturists, would soon be found too narrow for the supply of their growing necessities.[49] If fresh lands fit for pasture or for cultivation existed unoccupied in the vicinity of their original territory, they would insensibly extend their borders as occasion required. If there was no territory near at hand which would yield them a subsistence, the more energetic and adventurous members of the community would be driven by the pressure of necessity to inquire whether ampler possessions might not be found at a distance; and they would depart in larger or smaller detachments in quest of new abodes. This process of migration, when once commenced, would go on without intermission. The first adventurers would be speedily followed by other successive bands, till at length new nations were formed at a greater or less distance from the original country.

The earliest emigrants, who thus departed to distant regions, passing often through countries differing in climate and productions from their

[48] M. E. Renan, however, thinks that the Arian race was not originally superior in intelligence to the Semitic, Hamitic, and other races, but the contrary. Histoire des langues Sémitiques, p. 487.

[49] "But a constant and rapid increase of the population could not but speedily bring about gradual migrations, which would be directed towards regions more and more distant. From that time forward the separation of the nation into distinct tribes, the greater infrequency of communication and changes in their modes of life, occasioned a certain number of dialects to spring forth out of this common language, and to develope themselves, without, however, as yet, becoming detached from their primitive source; and at the same time the original character of the race, becoming modified according to circumstances, gave birth to a variety of secondary national characteristics, destined, at a later period, to expand, to exhibit their own peculiar life, and to play their part in the great drama of humanity."—Pictet, p. 2.

primeval abodes, encountering novel and strange objects, and inured to new pursuits, would gradually lose many of their ancient customs; and in exchange would acquire new habits, and along with them also, new modes of speech. Those portions of the original population, on the contrary, which continued to live together in their ancient country, or had gradually extended themselves together over adjacent regions, would preserve more nearly their original customs, religion, and language. But at length a period might arrive when the same causes which had occasioned the separation of the earlier emigrants, or some other causes of a different nature, would lead to a disruption in the remaining part of the nation also. It would become divided into different sections; which would separate from one another and establish themselves in different, but probably adjacent, countries, and would never exhibit so wide a divergence from each other in respect of their religion, their institutions, and their general character, as those earlier emigrants who had settled in regions at a greater distance.

The first case which I have above hypothetically put is that of the Greeks and Romans,[50] who appear to have broken off at an early period from the great Arian nation and departed to the westward, in quest of new habitations. The distance of the countries, viz., Greece, Italy, and the surrounding provinces, where they ultimately settled, from the cradle of the Arian race, and their wide divergence in religion and language from the eastern branches of the same stock, concur to prove that they separated themselves from the latter at a very remote era. On the other hand, the vicinity of the region occupied by the Greeks to that inhabited by the Romans, would lead us to suppose that the ancestors of these two nations migrated from the east at about the same period, though the differences which we discover between the language and religion of the one people as compared with those of the other, compel us to assume a subsequent separation of the two, and an independent development of each.

The second case which I have above supposed, of two branches of the original Arian stock continuing to live together for a considerable time after the other branches had become separated, is that of the Perso-Arians and the Indo-Arians. Both from the closer vicinity to

[50] For the sake of simplifying the view I give of the question, I purposely omit all mention of the German and other branches of this great family, and of the periods at which they migrated westward.

each other of the countries in which the Persians and the Indians eventually settled, i.e., north-eastern Persia and north-western India, and from the nearer affinity which we perceive between the language and the mythology of these two races than we find to exist between the language and mythology of either and those of the Greeks or the Romans, we are led to conclude that the ancestors of the Indians and Persians remained united in one community (either in their primeval seats or in some region further to the south) to a much later period than the other branches of the Arian race.

[I introduce here some further remarks on the subject treated in this and the following section from a paper which I wrote some time ago, and which owed its origin to the various objections alleged against the validity of the proof derived from language of the affinity between the Indians and the nations of the west:—

"This common origin of these languages, and the remoteness of the localities in which they have been spoken, imply, I think, as their almost necessary condition, the affinity of the tribes by which these dialects were spoken at the period of their earliest divergence from one another, the original occupation by those tribes of a common country, their gradual separation, and their emigration from their common abode in the direction of those regions which we find to be ultimately occupied (I will not yet say by their descendants—for that is the point in dispute—but) by the nations who at a later period spoke those several languages. It is true that even this assumption may be disputed, and it may be urged that the original mother-country from which the different tribes carrying with them the cognate dialects issued forth, may have been the common dwelling-place of a variety of tribes unconnected by descent, though they either (1) agreed to make use of the same language, the weaker or more barbarous clans discarding altogether their own forms of speech, or (2) gradually fused into one common tongue a multitude of dialects previously quite distinct. But this hypothesis, under either of these modifications, appears to be improbable, as nations do not readily abandon their ancestral tongues except under the pressure of strong necessity. But even if we should admit that the population of Central Asia, from which the different branches of the so-called Indo-European race are presumed to have issued, was not originally a homogeneous one, but composite, made up

of a mixture of distinct tribes, still these tribes must, during the period when their common language was in process of formation, have lived together in intimate union, and by the intermarriage of the different sections[51] have become eventually blended into one community. The formation and universal adoption of one common language is scarcely conceivable on any other conditions. When, therefore, this community was at length broken up, and its different fractions began to depart from their original home in different directions in search of new abodes, —an event which we must imagine to have occurred after the lapse of several generations from their (supposed) first coalition,—these different sections must, as a result of this long cohabitation, and the consequent commingling of blood, have been all composed in a great measure of the same elements. We may perhaps, however, be allowed to set aside this objection, which has been last dealt with, and assume that the tribes which, several thousand years ago, radiated from the supposed common home in Central Asia, were originally homogeneous, or of one and the same stock. If this assumption is admitted, it will hardly be denied that, for a short time at least, these several tribes, as, one by one, they diverged in different directions from the postulated centre, may have maintained the purity of their blood. But it will be urged that this would not long continue to be the case. It will be said: 'Supposing that all the assumptions which you have made up to this point are conceded, what proof can be adduced to show that those tribes which, as you allege, carried with them one or more dialects which were ultimately developed into the Sanskrit, Old Persian, Greek and Latin languages, into India, Persia, Greece, and Italy respectively, were really the descendants of those tribes which you imagine to have started from your assumed centre at an unknown period? Admitting, for the sake of argument, that certain sections of your Indo-European race branched off in different directions in search of new abodes, they then disappear. There is no longer the slightest probability that we shall ever be able to recover at any point of the long line of their alleged journeyings the smallest traces of their progress onward to their assumed destinations.[52] The supposed streams of population no longer begin to flow onward, than, like the waters of the fabled fountain of Arethusa,

[51] Unless we suppose that at the early period in question they were divided into separate castes, which, however, is an improbable supposition.

[52] See, however, Pictet, vol. i. pp. 54–88; and p. 536, quoted further on.

they sink underground, and none of those nationalities which emerge into the light of day long afterwards, and at distant points of the globe, can possibly be identified by you as pure continuations of those same original streams. You have no test of sufficient potency to justify you in pronouncing that the elements of which the two sets of bodies—viz., those which started from the centre, and those which reached the several points of the circumference—were composed were in all respects homogeneous. You can tell nothing of the routes and stages by which these migratory tribes advanced; you are quite unable to indicate the *varios casus*, the *tot discrimina rerum*, through which they passed, the many adventures they must have undergone, the encounters they may have had with other races, whose influence on their speech and on their entire destinies may have been most important. The tribes which you allege to have migrated from Central Asia may have settled at any habitable points between that region and the countries in which you imagine that you have discovered their descendants. They may at this intermediate point have communicated their ancestral language to people of a different race with whom they there came into contact, and it may have been either the descendants of these alien races, or a people of mixed blood, by whom the languages in question were carried onward into the countries where they were found to prevail at the dawn of history. On either hypothesis the ultimate colonists of northern India, Persia, Greece, or Italy, were not the genuine descendants of the tribes which started, perhaps several thousand years before, from your supposed centre. And it may be further urged that these arguments are corroborated by the fact that notwithstanding the striking affinities that undoubtedly exist between certain parts of the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin languages, the number of words which are common to these languages is very small in comparison with those in which they differ from one another; and this fact, it may be further argued, can best be explained by the supposition that these languages have been gradually formed by the accretion of new words imported into them by men of alien race, who from time to time became intermingled with the tribes by which the languages were previously employed. Some such intermixture of population, it may be concluded, is necessary to explain the great mutual divergence which eventually came to characterize these four languages.'

"I shall take up these several arguments in succession.

"Supposing that the affinities alleged to exist between the languages spoken at the dawn of history in India, Persia, Greece, and Italy, are admitted to be real, we have to discover the most natural explanation of this phenomenon. The kindred forms of speech must, as we have seen, have had a common origin, and must have been conveyed to the localities in which they were found, either (1) by the remote descendants of the races, derived from a common stock, by which, at first they were severally spoken, or (2) by tribes which had been in long and intimate contact with those races at some period of their history.[53]

"The question to be answered is therefore this: Whether is it most probable that the colonists who conveyed to India, Persia, Greece, and Italy the forms of speech which were thenceforward prevalent in those countries had (1) inherited the languages which they brought with them by direct descent from their remotest forefathers; or that (2) at some intermediate period of their national history, their ancestors had adopted, in whole or in part, the language of some alien race? These questions, I allow, can receive no positive answer. A probable solution is all that can be offered. It is freely admitted that we are utterly unable to define the date, or the course, or the duration, of the migrations which have been assumed, or to conjecture the various events by which they may have been attended. But if there be no historical proof, or other indication, to the contrary, the presumption, I think, is always in favour of the conclusion that a people has retained the language of its ancestors. Languages which, on the grounds already stated, may be maintained to have had a long and continuous existence, must, in the absence of any written literature, have been orally handed down by some people or other. But no probable reason can be alleged for supposing that the descendants of those who first spoke them have become extinct. Even conceding that at some stage or other of its history any particular form of speech has been communicated by the race which inherited it to people of another stock, it is not thereby rendered necessary or even likely that it should have

[53] It is also possible that the tribes which brought the language to the country in which it was first found to exist may have transferred the language to another race, and have themselves entirely disappeared; but this hypothesis appears to be so unlikely that it may be left out of consideration.

been dropped by those who had inherited it. Arguing, therefore, on grounds of probability, the utmost which we can be fairly required to admit in regard to any language is, that at some period or other of its history, it may have begun to be spoken by an alien tribe which had received it from another tribe to which it had descended by inheritance, while at the same time it continued to be spoken by the latter also.[54] We are therefore, I think, justified in concluding that some portion at least of the people by whom these languages were severally employed in the earliest historical periods were the lineal representatives of those tribes which emigrated from Central Asia at the unknown period already referred to, or, at any rate, were in part of that stock. But there are other reasons for adopting this conclusion. It is no doubt true, and has been already admitted, that people of one stock may receive their language from people of an alien race. But in such a case the nation adopting the language would generally, if not invariably, be inferior in moral and intellectual power to that whose language it borrowed. The reverse is scarcely credible. When, therefore, we find a race of high mental endowments speaking a particular tongue, we are justified in supposing (so long as we have no historical proof to the contrary) that it is using the speech of its forefathers. But both the earliest known or Vedic Indians, and the earliest known Greeks, were superior in intellect, whilst they were at least equal in martial prowess, to the nations with which they were brought into contact, and were no doubt descended from peoples possessed of the same characteristics, who are therefore unlikely to have had their languages imposed upon them by conquerors of any other race, or to have voluntarily adopted the speech of any other people. I will adduce another ground—though not of a linguistic character, but derived from the later history of the Indians and Greeks—for believing that these two nations have sprung from the same stock, I mean the remarkable resemblance between the intellectual capacity and endowments of both, as shown in the eminence attained and the originality evinced by each in literature, science, and speculation. As this similarity is generally recognized, I need not adduce any evidence of the fact.

[54] Now I do not find that either the Sanskrit, or the Persian, or the Greek, or the Latin, was originally employed by different tribes living in different regions of the globe; but on the contrary that all these languages were at first spoken by one compact nation.

"As regards the objection which I have supposed to be made that alongside of the remarkable proofs of affinity between the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, there exist differences in vocabulary so much more extensive as to be explicable only on the supposition that the tribes which inherited these languages from their ancestors must have undergone from time to time a large intermixture of foreign blood,—as it would otherwise be impossible to account for the wide divergence which ultimately prevailed between those different forms of speech,—I repeat (see pp. 257, f.) that the phenomenon in question is susceptible of another explanation. The increasing change in the different dialects of the mother-language, after the tribes by which they were spoken had radiated in different directions from their central home, may be accounted for (even on the supposition of their remaining free from any material intermixture of blood), by the necessary conditions of a nascent civilization as well as by the vicissitudes necessarily attendant on their migrations. At that early stage when these tribes had made little progress in arts and culture, and had no literature to fix their spoken dialect, constant alterations would naturally occur, old words would be modified or disused, whilst new ones, suggested by the different circumstances, physical, social, and political, through which they passed, would be introduced. Such a gradual process of alteration is a necessary result of the laws which regulate the development of thought and language in the early periods of society, and does not therefore require the hypothesis of any intermingling of foreign elements of population to render it intelligible. At the same time, it need not be denied that many words now found in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin may have been borrowed from people of other races.

"But supposing it to be held that the above conclusions regarding language as a test of race are too uncertain and conjectural to be of any value, there can be no doubt that this much at least is established by the mutual affinities of the Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, and Latin, that the ancestors of the earliest known Indians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, had immediately or remotely derived their respective languages from races which had at one time been in the closest contact with each other as constituent parts of the same community, governed by the same institutions, and adherents of the same religion and worship (see the abstract of the Rev. G. C. Geldart's paper, "Language no

Test of Race," in the Transactions of the British Association for 1858, p. 150, f. of the Transactions of the Sections).[55]

"Let us see what conclusion this proposition involves in regard to the origin of the Hindus, a question the consideration of which first led me to the study of the problems discussed in this paper. The Hindus of the Vedic period are either directly descended from the people who first spoke Sanskrit in its oldest form, or they are not. If they are not, then they must have derived their language (now esteemed sacred and divine) from some alien race which communicated it to their forefathers. But as the traditions contained in their own sacred books say nothing of this, they cannot, on this hypothesis, be regarded as giving a trustworthy or sufficient account of the origin and history of the race. If, on the other hand, the early Indians derived the Sanskrit language by direct descent from those who first spoke it, their progenitors must at some period have lived in close contact either with the ancestors of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, or with some other tribes with which at some time or other the forefathers of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, had been socially and politically connected. In either case the ancestors of the Hindus must have formed part of an ancient community, which also embraced the forefathers of other tribes which eventually separated themselves from that community; and could not well have had the distinct and peculiar origin assigned to them in their legendary books. Where, then, did the separation referred to take place? In, or out of, India? To this I reply that, looking to the geographical positions ultimately occupied by the different nations which spoke the various languages cognate to Sanskrit, the probability is, that the separation to which I have referred took place at some central point intermediate between the countries in which these peoples severally dwelt, viz., at a point, consequently, to the west or north-west of the Indus. Whether the populations composing the several nations in question were themselves the descendants of the tribes which originally separated from the assumed parent stock, or whether one or more of them derived their languages from those descendants, we must in every case assume it as more likely that the migrations which terminated in the ultimate formation of the Indian, Persian, Greek, and Roman nationalities had proceeded from an intermediate point than from one in the extreme east.

[55] See Appendix D.

"Supposing it now to be considered as established or probable that a tribe of Indo-European descent had at an early period immigrated into India from the north-west, but that insuperable physiological difficulties are opposed to the supposition that their descendants could ever, from the mere influence of climate, have gradually acquired their present dusky complexion, we must resort to the hypothesis, to be hereafter referred to, that those original immigrants, or their descendants, intermarried with the darker tribes whom they found settled in the country; and that the offspring of these intermarriages were born with swarthier complexions than their Indo-European ancestors. If this be the true explanation of the fact, it must be admitted that the Brahmanical or Sanskrit-speaking Indians are not of pure Indo-European blood, though they are in part of Indo-European extraction. In any case they have inherited the high mental endowments which are characteristic of that race."]

The propositions which I have already proved, or shall now attempt to prove, are the following:—

First: That the Indo-Arians, that is, the higher classes of the northern Indians, or the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas and Vaiśyas, are descended either exclusively or partially from the same Arian race as the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans.

Second: That the primeval abode of this original Arian race was in some country of central Asia, situated out of, and to the north-west of, India.

Third: That different branches gradually separated themselves from this parent stock, and migrated to new countries, west, south, or east of their early home.

Fourth: That the ancestors of the Indians and Persians appear to have lived together as one nation to a later period than the other branches of the Arian race, but at length separated, the Indo-Arians migrating into India, while the Perso-Arians occupied the territory of Bactria, and the adjacent provinces.

I shall not consider it necessary, in the discussion of the subject, to handle each of these propositions in the succession here indicated; but shall rather take up the different topics in the order in which the process of proof which I shall follow may render most convenient.

SECT. IV.—*Whether there is any objection arising from physiological considerations, to classing the Indians among the Indo-European races.*

In proving, as I have already done, that the Greek and Latin languages have a common origin with the Sanskrit, I have adduced the principal portion of the proof which I had to bring forward of the common origin of the nations by which those several languages have been spoken. And yet language is not the only respect in which an affinity exists between the Indians, Iranians, Greeks, and Romans. Their mythologies also present some points of contact. As regards the Indians and Iranians, this will be shown in a following section. For an indication of the proofs that exist that the mythologies of the Greeks and Indians, how much soever they subsequently diverged from each other, must have issued from one common source, I may refer to the fifth volume of this work, pp. 2, ff., 33, f., and 76, where the identity of the words Dyaus and Zeus, and of Varuṇa and Uranos, is referred to. The mythology of the Greeks has also been considered to present some other points of contact with that of India, as when the Erinnys of the Greeks has been identified with the Saraṇyū of the Vedas, the Centaurs with the Gandharvas, Minos with Manu, Ṛibhu with Orpheus, Hermes with Sāramēyà, the Phlegyes with the Bhṛigus, etc.;[56] but it would carry me too far if I were to attempt to offer any account of the views which have been propounded on this subject. I will now therefore direct my attention mainly to exhibiting at greater length the grounds which exist for supposing that the Persians and the Indians are descended from the same common ancestors; and that, after remaining united together, as the constituent parts of one nation, for some time subsequent to the migration to the westward of the other branches of the same stock, they, too, were at last broken up, by the force of circumstances, into two distinct nations, which settled in two separate, though adjacent, regions. I will subsequently pass in review the additional reasons which can be adduced for supposing that the Indians immigrated into India from the north-west.

[56] See Kuhn's Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks, Berlin, 1859; and Müller's Paper on Comparative Mythology, in the Oxford Essays for 1856, and in "Chips," vol. ii. p. 181.

Before, however, proceeding to carry out the intention here indicated, it will be expedient briefly to inquire whether, on physiological grounds, there is any reason for denying that the Indians are descended from the same stock as the nations of Europe.[57] "In their physical characteristics the Brahmanical and other high caste Indians belong, as well as the other nations who have just been mentioned, to the so-called Caucasian type. It might, indeed, at first sight, be supposed that the dark-complexioned Hindus could not possibly be of the same race as the fair-coloured natives of England or Germany. But a closer examination of the different nations to whom, on philological grounds, we are led to assign a common origin, will show that they vary in complexion very much according to the climatic influences of the regions in which they ultimately settled, and in which they have been resident for a long series of ages. If we look to the south-eastern and north-western extremities only of the vast tract over which the Indo-European races have spread, we shall, no doubt, find that there is a complete contrast in point of colour between the occupants of those widely separated countries. But the same wide contrast does not exist between the inhabitants of those tracts (included within the same limits) which are adjacent to each other. The Indians do not differ very much in complexion from the Persians, nor the Persians from the Greeks, nor the Greeks from the Italians, nor the Italians from the Germans or the Anglo-Saxons. These different nations alter in complexion by almost imperceptible shades varying nearly according as their respective countries range successively from south-east to north-west. While the Indians may be denominated black, the Persians are olive-coloured, the Greeks have a still fairer complexion with a ruddy tinge, and the Italians approach yet more nearly in hue to the Teutonic tribes. It is therefore to the varying action of different climatic influences that we have to ascribe the diversity of colour which characterizes these several nations. The scorching rays of an Indian sun, the high temperature of an Indian climate, and the peculiar diet afforded by an Indian soil, acting on the Indo-Arians

[57] [I reprint here, nearly as it originally stood, but now marked by inverted commas, the answer which I gave to this question in the first edition of this work; and shall add a reference to the difficulties raised on physiological grounds against the views there stated.]

during the long period of 3,000 years or more since they first settled in Hindustan, appear amply sufficient to account for the various peculiarities of complexion, of feature, and of corporeal structure which now distinguish that section of the Indo-European family from the kindred branches to the west. In fact, the action of these causes is sufficiently conspicuous in India itself. The people of Bengal, who are of the same race as the inhabitants of the north-western provinces, have, owing to the greater moisture of their climate, and the want of that bracing temperature which the latter enjoy for three or four months of every year, gradually become darker in complexion and less robust in their structure. Again, it is notorious to every one who has lived in northern India, that a Brāhman from the temperate province of Kashmīr is far fairer than a Brāhman of Mathurā or Benares; in fact he has quite the look of a foreigner. It has also been observed that an Indo-Briton, or person partly of European and partly of Indian descent, becomes fairer from living in the colder climate of Europe: but immediately recovers his ancient complexion on being exposed again to the heat of the tropics. It does not appear necessary to enter further into the discussion of this subject, as the preceding observations will suffice to remove any doubts as to the common origin of the Indians and the nations of Europe, which may have arisen from their differences of complexion.[58] I will only add that, if the considerations here urged have any foundation, the Indo-Arians must have been much fairer in complexion at the period of their first arrival in India, and

[58] A full discussion of this subject may be found in Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, 2nd ed., i. 478–487. [His conclusion as summed up in p. 487 is as follows: "The Arian Indians belong to the Caucasian race in virtue of their language and their physical type: their darker complexion does not amount to such a degree of blackness as not to be derivable from the effects of climatic influences. The Caucasian race easily assumes dark shades through intermixture and the continued action of a hot climate: the Portuguese in India, descendants of native women, have become quite as black as negroes; and the northern and western Asiatics who have lived for several generations in India are now, even without intermarriage with native wives, of as decided an olive-yellow complexion as the native Indians could be." It will be seen that Lassen here refers to the intermarriage of the Arians with other [and no doubt duskier] races as one of the possible causes of their darker colour]. See also A. W. von Schlegel, Essais, pp. 466, ff., and Müller's "Last Results of the Sanskrit Researches," in Bunsen's Outlines of the Phil. of Univ. Hist., vol. iii., p. 129, reprinted in his "Chips," vol. i., pp. 63, f. Compare his "Last Results of the Turanian Researches," in Bunsen as above, pp. 349, ff.

while they still continued to occupy the north-westerly regions of the Panjab, than they became at a later period, when they had been longer exposed to the fierceness of the Indian sun, and when they had penetrated further to the south-east. And we accordingly find that this supposition tallies with some expressions in the Vedic hymns, the oldest of which, no doubt, date from a very early period. Thus, in a text of the Rigveda, iii. 34, 9, we find an allusion made to the colour of the Arian immigrants: *Haṭvī Dasyūn pra āryaṁ varṇam āvat:* 'He destroyed the Dasyus, and protected the Arian colour:' and in Rigveda, ii. 12, 4, the same word is applied to designate the Dasyu tribes: *Yo dāsaṁ varṇam adharaṁ guhā kaḥ* | 'He who swept away the base Dāsa colour.' Though the word *varṇa*, 'colour,' which is here employed, came afterwards to be current as the designation of caste, there is some reason to suppose that it may have been originally used to discriminate the fair-coloured Āryas from the dark-complexioned aborigines. But such a term of contrast, if employed now, would not perhaps possess half the force which it may have had at a time when we may suppose the distinction of colour between the Āryas and the savage tribes whom they encountered, to have been far more palpable than it is in modern times."

The above views are, however, disputed on physiological grounds by different writers, such as the late Mr. John Crawfurd, Professor Huxley, and other authors referred to by the latter. Thus, in his paper on "Language as a Test of the Races of Man,"[59] Mr. Crawfurd writes as follows: "In phonetic character, in grammatical structure, and in some cases even in words, there exists a near resemblance between certain languages of Northern, but not of Southern India, and most, but by no means between all the ancient and modern languages of Europe. From this fact some ethnologists have jumped to the conclusion that the Oriental and Western people, between whose languages this affinity exists, must necessarily be of the same blood, or in other terms, of one and the same race of man. In India, however, there neither now exists, nor does history tell us that there ever did exist, a race of fair complexion resembling Europeans: neither does there exist in Europe, nor is there even a tradition of there ever

[59] In the Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London (published in 1865), vol. iii., p. 2.

having existed, a race of black men like Hindus. Hence, as the fact has been well ascertained, that neither time, climate, nor locality will produce any material alteration of race, and assuredly not such a one as would turn a black skin into a white one, or the reverse, we must come to the inevitable conclusion that the theory which makes race and language synonymous is, in this instance at least, nothing better than an ethnological figment." And in another paper on the "Early Migrations of Man," in the same vol., pp. 346, ff., the same writer combats the opinion which "makes the peopling of India and Europe with their present inhabitants to depend on an emigration from a certain table-land of northern Asia." Mr. Crawfurd proceeds to quote a passage from Professor Max Müller's "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 12, ff., in which this view is maintained; and then remarks: "The entire theory developed in the passages now quoted is founded on philology, and sets aside all the well-established qualities, physical and intellectual, which from the dawn of authentic history have distinguished the many races of man, which it includes in a single category." And further on Mr. Crawfurd urges: "All this is broadly asserted in the face of the notorious fact that history affords no example of a people becoming white from black, or black from white, or black or white from brown. No black race of man is ever known to have inhabited Europe, or white man to have inhabited India, or black or white to have inhabited the parent land of the supposititious original stock." In an article in the Fortnightly Review, No. 3, for 15th June, 1865, pp. 257, ff., Professor Huxley discusses the methods and results of ethnology; and inquires whether the problems presented by that science are to be determined by means of zoology, or philology, or history, or by any one of several other methods to which he refers. After stating the claims that have been put forward on behalf of philology, and quoting from an essay by the late August Schleicher,[60] who held that the natural classification of languages is also the natural classification of mankind, Prof. Huxley remarks, p. 260: "Without the least desire to depreciate the value of philology as an adjuvant to ethnology, I must venture to doubt, with Rudolphi, Desmoulins, Crawfurd, and others, its title to the leading position claimed for it by the writers whom I have just quoted. On

[60] Ueber die Bedeutung der Sprache für die Naturgeschichte der Menschen, 1858.

the contrary, it seems to me obvious that, though, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, unity of languages may afford a certain presumption in favour of the unity of stock of the peoples speaking those languages, it cannot be held to prove that unity of stock, unless philologers are prepared to demonstrate that no nation can lose its language and acquire that of a distinct nation, without a change of blood corresponding with the change of language." And in p. 262 he writes: "Thus we come, at last, to the purely zoological method, from which it is not unnatural to expect more than from any other, seeing that, after all, the problems of ethnology are simply those which are presented to the zoologist by every widely distributed animal he studies." In a subsequent part of the same paper (p. 273, f.) the writer—referring to the opinion that "the operation of the existing diversities of climate and other conditions on people so migrating, is sufficient to account for all the diversities of mankind"—observes that he "can find no sufficient ground for accepting" it, and that he doubts "if it would ever have obtained its general currency except for the circumstance that fair Europeans are very readily tanned and embrowned by the sun." To this he adds: "But I am not aware that there is a particle of proof that the cutaneous change thus effected can become hereditary, any more than the enlarged livers which plague our countrymen in India can be transmitted;—while there is very strong evidence to the contrary. Not only, in fact, are there such cases as those of the English families in Barbadoes, who have remained for six generations unaltered in complexion, but which are open to the objection that they may have received infusions of fresh European blood; but there is the broad fact, that not a single indigenous negro exists either in the great alluvial plains of tropical South America, or in the exposed islands of the Polynesian Archipelago, or among the populations of equatorial Borneo or Sumatra. No satisfactory explanation of these obvious difficulties has been offered by the advocates of the direct influence of conditions. And as for the more important modifications observed in the structure of the brain, and in the form of the skull, no one has ever pretended to show in what way they can be affected directly by climate."

In a lecture[61] printed in the periodical paper called "Nature," of

[61] "On the Forefathers of the English People."

17th March, 1870, Prof. Huxley gives expression to similar views in opposition to the opinion that climate has any effect upon complexion. He writes: "There is no reason to think that climatal conditions have had anything whatever to do with this singular distribution of the fair and the dark types. Not only do the dark Celtic-speakers of the Scotch Highlands lie five or six degrees farther north than the fair Black-foresters of Germany; but, to the north of all the fair inhabitants of Europe, in Lapland, there lives a race of people very different in their characters from the dark stock of Britain, but still having black hair, black eyes, and swarthy yellowish complexions."

In the first quoted of these papers Dr. Huxley makes no reference to the particular question of the origin of the Sanskrit-speaking Indians; but in the lecture published in "Nature" we find the following passage, in which he refers to the immigration of Arians into India, and to their absorption in the main into the pre-existing population, from which it may be concluded that he regards the upper classes of the existing North Indian Hindus as partially of Arian blood, and ascribes their dusky complexion to the intermarriage of their ancestors with the darker tribes which were previously in occupation of the country: "Hence, there can be no reasonable doubt that the fair element of the Celtic-speaking population of these [i.e. the British] islands 1,900 years ago was simply the western fringe of that vast stock which can be traced to Central Asia, and the existence of which on the confines of China in ancient times is testified by Chinese annalists. Throughout the central parts of the immense area which it covers, the people of this stock speak Aryan languages—belonging, that is, to the same family as the old Persian or Zend, and the Sanskrit. And they remain still largely represented among the Affghans and the Siahposh on the frontiers of Persia on the one hand, and of Hindostan on the other. But the old Sanskrit literature proves that the Aryan population of India came in from the north-west, at least 3,000 years ago. And in the Vedas these people portray themselves in characters which might have fitted the Gauls, the Germans, or the Goths. Unfortunately there is no evidence whether they were fair-haired or not. India was already peopled by a dark-complexioned people more like the Australians than any one else, and speaking a group of languages

called Drawidian. They were fenced in on the north by the barrier of the Himalayas; but the Aryans poured from the plains of Central Asia over the Himalayas, into the great river basins of the Indus and the Ganges, where they have been, in the main, absorbed into the pre-existing population, leaving as evidence of their immigration an extensive modification of the physical characters of the population, a language, and a literature."

I add some remarks on this subject from the pen of an eminent philologer and orientalist in the North American Review, No. 217, for Oct., 1867, pp. 552, f. After asserting, in opposition to M. Oppert, "that the boundaries of Indo-European language have been approximately determined by the spread and migrations of a race," he adds, "Of course every sound and cautious linguistic scholar is mindful that language is no absolute proof of descent, but only its probable indication, and that he is not to expect to discover, in modern tongues, clear and legible proofs of the mixture which the peoples that speak them have undergone. Such a thing as a pure and unmixed race, doubtless, is not to be met with in the whole joint continent of Europe and Asia, whose restless tribes have been jostling and displacing one another for ages past. And especially in the case of a great stock like the Indo-European, which has spread so widely from a single point over countries which were not before uninhabited, there must have been absorptions of strange peoples, as well as extrusions and exterminations; one fragment after another must have been worked into the mass of the advancing race; and as the result of such gradual dilution, the ethnic character of some parts of the latter may, very probably, have been changed to a notable degree. These are the general probabilities of the case: how far we shall ever get beyond such an indefinite statement of them is at present very uncertain," etc.

The conclusion to be drawn from all these arguments and considerations appears to be that the original Sanskrit-speaking Indians were derived from the same stock as the Iranians, the Greeks, and the Romans, although possibly before their arrival in the Punjab, and most probably at a later period, they and their descendants have not remained free from an intermixture of alien blood.

SECT. V.—*Reasons for supposing the Indians and Persians in particular to have a common origin.*

I will now proceed to indicate the various grounds which exist for concluding that the Indians and the Persians, or Iranians, were not only descended from the same original stock, but that they continued to form one community even after the other kindred tribes had separated from them and migrated to distant regions.

The first proof is the closer affinity which, as we have already seen, subsists between the Zend, the language of the ancient Persians,[62] and the Sanskrit. From the examples of resemblance both in roots and inflections which have been adduced in Section II., it is manifest that, upon the whole, the Zend is more nearly related to the Sanskrit, than either the Greek or the Latin are. It is true that in the lists of parallel words which have been there brought forward, the parallel Zend words have been often omitted, while the Greek and Latin words have been adduced: but this does not arise from the Zend forms having had no existence, but either from their not having been discovered in any of the extant Zend texts, or from their not being readily accessible to me. But the Zend words which have been brought forward will be generally found to stand in a relation of closer resemblance to the Sanskrit than either the corresponding Greek or Latin words do. I subjoin some further comparative lists of Zend and Sanskrit vocables to which the Greek and Latin either offer no equivalents in form, or equivalents which generally bear a much more distant resemblance to the Sanskrit than the Zend words present. These lists, which contain a few repetitions, are the following:—

I. NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, ETC.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*	*Sanskrit.*	*Zend.*	*English.*
yebhyas	yaēibyo	to whom.	kas, kā, kim	ko, kā, kat[64]	who (mas. fem, neut.)
yadi[63]	yēdhi, yēzi	if.	kva	kva	where?
mithuna	mithwan	a pair.	gharma	gărĕma[65]	warm.
giribhyas	gairibyo	to hills.	vṛitrahan, vṛitraghna	vĕrĕthrajan, vĕrĕthraghnya	slayer of enemies, victorious.
ukta	aokhta	spoken.			
strī	stri	woman.			
antar	aŋtarĕ	within.			
dātāram	dātārem	giver (acc.)	mantra	māthra	hymn, sacred text.
gaus	gāus	cow.	pāda	pādha	foot.

[62] For an account of the various old Iranian dialects, see Spiegel in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur verg. Sprachf., ii. 6, ff., and App., note D.*

[63] In Greek, *ei*; in Latin, *si*.

[64] In Latin, *quis, quæ, quod*.

[65] In Greek, *thermos*.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
padānām	pādhanaṅm	feet (gen. pl.).
ap	ap	water.
subhadra	hufĕdhri	very good, of good lineage.
turya*	tūirya	fourth.
tritaya	thrishva	three, a third.
chatushṭhaya	chaṫhrushu	four, a fourth.
atharvāṇam	āthravaněm	priest (acc.).
asmai	ahmāi	to him.
svar	hvarĕ	heaven, sun.
sva	hva	own.
jihvā	hizva	tongue.
sahasra	hazaṅra	thousand.
mahāntam	mazāoñtem	great (acc. masc.).
yūyam	yūzhem	you.
vāri	vairi	water, sea.
tanu	tanu	body.
śayānam	śayaněm	sleeping (acc.).
sapta sindhavas	hapta hiñdu	country of the seven rivers.
ārya	airya	respectable.
sōma	hōma	moon-plant.
anya	anya	other.
viśva	vīśpa	all.
sarva	haurva	all.
upama	upama	highest.
ugra	ughra	vehement.
taruṇa	tauruna	tender.
savya	havya	left (side).
rajishṭha	razista	most straight.
dūra	dūra	far.
nedishṭa	nazdista	near.
śrīla	śrīra	beautiful.
prathama	fratĕma	first.
agra	aghra	first.
pūrva	paurva	former.
śyāva	śyāva	black.
kriśa	kereśa	lean.
sakṛit	hakereṭ	once.
āviś	āvish	manifest.
yama	yéma	twin.
andha	añdāo	blind.
antima	añtĕma	furthest, last.
esha	aēsha	this.
atra	athra	here.
adhara	adhara	lower.
arvan	aurvañṭ	horse.
spaś	spaś	spy, guardian.
drishṭi	darsti	view.
stuti	śtūiti	praise.
stotar	śtaotar	praiser.
sthūṇā	śtūna	pillar.
ratha	ratha	chariot.
gāthā	gātha	verse, poem.
pitu	pitu	food.
rai	rāi	wealth, glitter.
hiraṇya	zaranya	gold.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
peśas	paēśaṅh	form.
ahan	azan	day.
śarad	śarĕdha	autumn, year.
asta, kshaya	asta, khshaya	house.
angushṭha	aṅgusta	thumb, finger.
vana	vana	forest, tree.
kaśyapa	kaśyapa	tortoise.
tamas	temaṅh	darkness.
bhūmī	būmi	earth.
mesha	maēsha	sheep.
varāha	varāza	boar.
ukshan	ukhshan	bull.
kshīra	khshīra	milk.
ishu	ishu	arrow.
dhanvān	thanvana	bow.
bhāga	bāga	lot, fortune.
bhakta	bakhta	allotted, fate.
sakhi	hakhi	friend.
ojas	aojaṅh	vigour.
kshattra	khshathra	royalty, kingdom.
vaśa	vaśaṅh	power.
kṛishti	karśti	ploughing, cultivation.
praśna	frashna	question.
pārśhṇi	pāshna	heel.
dasta	zaśta	hand.
mushṭi	musti	fist.
grīvā	grīvă	neck.
pāṁśu	pāṁśnu	dust.
parśu	pĕrĕśu	rib.
matsya	maśya	fish.
parṇa	parĕna	feather, wing.
parṇin	pĕrĕnin	bird.
charman	charĕman	hide.
aśru	aśru	tear.
aṁśa	āśa	part.
vakshatha	vakhshatha	increase.
yakshma	yaśka	consumption, sickness.
adhvan	adhwan	road.
artha	arĕtha	object, profit.
anartha	anarĕtha	useless, wrong.
vyartha	vyarĕtha	vain, desecration.
amṛita	ameretāṭ	immortality.
dhānya	dāna	grain.
viś	vīś	people, tribe.
tāyu	tāyu	thief.
garbha	garĕwa	fœtus.
putra	puthra	son.
anta	añta	end.
kshudhā	shudha	hunger.
giri, parvata	gairi, paurvata	mountain.
visha	vis, visha	poison.
kanyā	kanyă	damsel.

II.—VERBAL ROOTS AND FORMS.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
rāj	rāz	to shine.
jush	zush	to love.
rud	rud	to weep.
ruh[66]	rud	to grow.
rudh	rud	to stop.
idh	id	to kindle.
śuch	śuch	to glow.
dharsh	darĕsh	to dare.
much	much	to loose.
muh[67]	mugh	to bewilder, be bewildered.
van	van	to love.
van	van	to smite.
gā	gā	to sing.
chi	chi	to gather.
chi+vi	chi+vi	to distinguish.
dru	dru	to run.
ram	ram	to rest.
gar (girati)	gar	to swallow.
gar (gṛiṇāti)	gar	to praise.
gar (jāgarti)	gar	to awake.
śiksh	śakhsh	to learn.
nī	nī	to lead.
var	var	to cover.
gam	gam	to go.
nam	nam	to bend.
khan	kan	to dig.
druh	druj	to injure, lie.
paś	pas	to bind.
dvish	dvish	to hate, offend.
dhan	dvān	to sound.
ish	ish	to wish.
kam	kam	to desire.
su	hu	to bring forth.
smar	mar	to remember.
sthā+ut	śtā+uś	to rise.
kart	karĕṭ	to cut.
dā	dā	to cut, divide.
jar	zar	to grow old.
ji	ji	to conquer.
bhī	bī	to fear, frighten.
karsh	karĕsh, kash	to draw.
bhaj	baz, bakhsh	to divide, bestow.
pā	pā	to protect.
pātar	pātar	protector.
trā	thrā	to deliver.
trātar	thrātar	deliverer.
ush	ush	to burn.
dah	daz	to burn.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*
īś	iś	to be powerful.
bandh	bañd	to bind.
badhnāmi	bañdāmi	I bind.
dădarśa	dādarĕsa	I saw.
vahāmi	vazāmi	I carry.
vahati	vazaiti	he carries.
vahanti	vazĕñti	they carry.[68]
vahantaḥ	vazeñto	carrying (nom. pl.).
bharati	baraiti	he carries.
bharanti	barĕñti	they carry.
pracharati	fracharaiti	he goes forward.
vicharanti	vīchareñti	they roam.
bhavati	bavaiti	he is.
bhavanti	bavaiñti, bavaiñti	they are.
bhavishyantam	būshyañtem	about to be.
dadāti	dadhāiti	he gives.
dadāmi	dadhāmi	I give.
dădmāsi	dădĕmahi	we give.
tāpayati	tāpayēiti	he warms.
ātāpayati	ātāpayēiti	he kindles or lights.
pradēśayeyam	frādaēśaêm	may I enjoin.
jagmushīm	jaghmūshīm	(acc. fem. perf. part. of gam, "to go")
stauti	śtaoiti	he praises.
staumi	śtaomi	I praise.
studhi	(avi) śtūidhi	praise thou.
astaut	śtaoṭ	he praised.
hanti	jaiñti	he kills.
hantu	jañtu	let him kill.
yaj	yăz	to sacrifice.
yajate	yazaitē	he sacrifices.
yajāmahe	yazamaidē	we sacrifice.
yajante	yazeñtē	they sacrifice.
prīṇāmi	āfrīnāmi	I love, vow.
prīṇīmasi	frīnāmahi	we love.
veda	vaēdā	I know.
veda	vaēdā, vaēdha	he knows.
vettha	vōistā	thou knowest.
vidyāt	vīdyāt	he may know.
vidvān	vīdvāo, vīdhvao	knowing, wise.
vindanti	viīdeñti	they find.
avāmi	avāmi	I protect.
kshayasi	khshayēhi	thou rulest.
vashṭi	vasti	he desires.

[66] Probably softened from an original form *rudh*.

[67] Probably from an original form *mugh*.

[68] In Justi's Dictionary *s.v. vaz*, I find a form *vazadhyāi*, which would answer exactly to a vedic Sanskrit form *vahadhyai*, supposing the verb *vah* to form the infinitive in that way, which, however, is not the case.

Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*English.*	*Sanskrit.*	*Zend.*	*English.*
asmi	ahmi	I am.	santaḥ	heñto	being (nom.
asi	ahi	thou art.	kṛiṇomi (vedic)	kerenaomi	I do. [pl.)
asti	aśti	he is.	kṛiṇoshi	kerenūishi	thou dost.
santi	heñti	they are.	kṛiṇoti	kerenaoiti	he does.
astu[69]	aśtu	let him be.	kṛiṇvanti	kerenvaiñti	they do.
santu	hẹñtū	let them be.	kṛiṇavāni	kerenavāni	may I do.
santam	heñtem	being (acc. sing.).	kṛiṇuhi	kerenūidhi	do thou.
			akṛiṇot	kerenaot	he did.

With the preceding lists should be compared the comparative tables of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, as well as of Sanskrit and Persian words given above in pp. 220, ff., and 230, ff., which will contribute to supply their deficiencies. Many Persian words will be found in the latter tables (p. 220, ff.), which in form closely resemble the Sanskrit terms, having the same signification, while on the other hand there are in numerous instances no Greek or Latin terms which closely correspond to the same Sanskrit words both in sound and in sense. Now, if even the modern Persian language, notwithstanding the many modifications it has undergone from diverse influences throughout a long course of centuries, can still supply so large a number of words which so closely resemble the Sanskrit terms, we may safely conclude that the Zend, one of the forms of the early Persian (which was the ancient medium, or akin to the ancient medium,[70] through which the modern Persian derived all the Arian words which it possesses), must itself have contained a far larger number of words bearing a very much closer resemblance to the Sanskrit, even although many of these may not be discoverable in any extant Zend texts.

These views receive confirmation from the following remarks of Professor Müller in his "Last Results of the Persian Researches," pp. 111, 112:—

"It is clear from his (M. E. Burnouf's works) and from Bopp's valuable remarks in his Comparative Grammar, that Zend in its grammar and dictionary is nearer to Sanskrit than any other Indo-European language. Many Zend words can be re-translated into Sanskrit simply

[69] Greek *estō*.

[70] I learn from Prof. Kern of Leyden's recent dissertation on the antiquity of castes (Indische Theorieën over de Standenverdeeling, Amsterdam, 1871), that he has "already on another occasion shown that the Neo-Persian does not descend directly from the old-Persian of the Achæmenidæ, but is a dialect occupying a place intermediate between the West and East Iranian languages." No further reference is given to the place where this essay is to be found.

by changing the Zend into their corresponding forms in Sanskrit. . . . Where Sanskrit differs in words or grammatical peculiarities from the northern members of the Arian family, it frequently coincides with Zend. The numerals are the same in all these languages up to 100. The name for thousand, however (*sahasra*) is peculiar to Sanskrit, and does not occur in any of the Indo-European dialects except in Zend, where it becomes *hazanra*. . . . . These facts are full of historical meaning; and with regard to Zend and Sanskrit, they prove that these two languages continued together long after they were separated from the common Indo-European stock."

The second argument in support of the proposition I have undertaken to prove is, that both of the nations in question, viz., the Indians and the Persians, apply to themselves, in their earliest written records, the same name of Āryas.

The Vedas are, as I have already shown, the oldest of all the Indian books. They are, therefore, not only the most authentic source of information in regard to the earliest language of the Indians, but there is every probability that they would preserve more distinct and exact traces of their primeval history than we find in the other Śāstras, which were composed at a later period, when the most genuine traditions of the origin of the race had been obscured and corrupted. From the Vedic hymns accordingly it does, in fact, appear more distinctly than from any other of the Indian writings, that the progenitors of the Hindus were originally called Āryas. We find this name applied to the forefathers of the higher classes among the Indians (in contradistinction to the Dasyus, who appear to have been a people of a different race, and to have been settled in India before the Āryas), in such passages of the Vedas as the following: Rigveda i. 51, 8, "Distinguish between the Āryas and those who are Dasyus; chastizing those who observe no sacred rites, subject them to the sacrificer." R. V. i. 103, 3, "Indra, thunderer, who knowest [both], hurl thy shaft against the Dasyu, and augment the might and glory of the Ārya."[71]

By means of this word Ārya, then, we are able to connect the early Hindus with the early Persians. For, first, it appears that in ancient times the Medes also (who were eventually included in one empire

[71] The original passages, with many other similar ones, will be cited further on.

with the Persians)[72] bore the name of Arians. This is clear from the following passage of the ancient Greek historian Herodotus, who narrated the wars of the Greeks and Persians. In the seventh book of his history, sect. 62, we have the following statement:—*Ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι· ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους, μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὔνομα· αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι.* "They (the Medes) were formerly called Arians by all. But when the Colchian Medea arrived among these Arians from Athens, they also changed their name. The Medians say these things of themselves." A nation or tribe bearing the name of Arians is mentioned by Herodotus in sect. 66 of the same book. *Ἄριοι δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατάπερ Βάκτριοι· Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης.* "The Arii were armed with Median bows, but in other respects like the Bactrians. The Arii were commanded by Sisamnes." These last mentioned Arians appear to have dwelt in the neighbourhood of Herat. (See Bähr's Herod. iii. 93, and vii. 62.) A tribe bearing a similar name is mentioned by the same author as paying 300 talents tribute along with the Parthians, Chorasmians, and Sogdians: *Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Ἄρειοι τριακόσια τάλαντα* (iii. 93). The same people are mentioned by Arrian (iii. 8, 4) as forming part of the army of Darius: *Σατιβαρζάνης δὲ ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀρείους ἦγε.* The Arizanti are specified, Herod. i. 101, as one of the seven Median tribes. In Herodotus we further find several proper names which are compounded with the word Arius; thus, vii. 67, the commander of the Kaspians is called Ariomardus. In the 78th chapter of the same book, another person of the same name, and son of Darius, is mentioned. In other

[72] On the mutual relations of the Medes and Persians the following remarks are made by Mr. Rawlinson, in his Herodotus, vol. i. p. 401: "That the Medes were a branch of the great Arian family, closely allied both in language and religion to the Persians, another Arian tribe, seems now to be generally admitted. The statement of Herodotus with regard to the original Median appellation, combined with the native traditions of the Persians which brought their ancestors from Aria, would, perhaps, alone suffice to establish this ethnic affinity. Other proofs, however, are not wanting. The Medes are invariably called Arians by the Armenian writers; and Darius Hystaspes, in the inscription upon his tomb, declared himself to be 'a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Arian, of Arian descent.' Thus it appears that the ethnic appellative of Arian appertains to the two nations equally; and there is every reason to believe that their language and religion were almost identical."

passages of the same writer and other ancient authors (viz. Xenophon, Polybius, Arrian, and Quintus Curtius), such names as Ariabignes, Ariaramnes, Ariaces, Ariaius, Arimazes and Ariarathes (= Āryaratha), are assigned to Persians. The word Ἄριον, which occurs in the ancient Greek dramatist Æschylus, Choephoroi, verse 423 (ἔκρψα κομμὸν Ἄριον, etc., "I have chaunted a Persian dirge"), is interpreted by the scholiast on the passage as equivalent to Περσικόν, "Persian."

But, further, it is not only in the Greek authors that we find the name of Arians applied to the Medes or Persians; in the most ancient books of the Zoroastrian religion also, which are composed in the Zend language, the same word, as a designation of the early Persians, is of frequent occurrence. I give, in a somewhat abridged form, Professor Spiegel's abstract of the evidence which exists of the common origin of the Indians and Persians, as the most recent and complete of which I am aware. (See his translation of the Avesta, vol. i. Introduction, pp. 4, ff.) One part of this evidence is their common name of Ārya.

"Ethnography, supported by her two handmaids, physiology and philology, has in recent times demonstrated that a single race (the Indo-Germanic) has spread its branches over the whole space from India to the most westerly point of Europe. The most highly gifted and civilized nations, both of the ancient and modern world, are all derived from this stock; viz., the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Slavonians, and perhaps also the Celts. All these nations are branches of one single original family, whose abodes have not yet been certainly determined, and perhaps will never be ascertained in a way to preclude all dispute; but it is probable that, in the earliest times, all these races dwelt together as one people, on the elevated table-land of central Asia. The emigration of this people from their original seats, and their separation into different branches, are events which lie anterior to all history. Faint indications of the degree of culture possessed by these tribes before their separation may be derived from the terms for particular conceptions which have remained common to them all; and the amount of their knowledge is not to be estimated too low. If the state had not been organized by them, the family, at least, had been already regulated, as is proved by the community of the words designating relationships. We find names common to them for the different kinds of cattle, and for different

implements of husbandry. Their conceptions of the gods, on the contrary, seem to have continued to be of the most general character.[73]

"But in addition to this possession by the whole Indo-Germanic race of particular words, there exists a closer relationship between single members of this family. This closer relationship is to be explained by the fact, that some of these races continued to live together even after the others had separated from them. Thus, for example, the Greeks and Romans have much that is common to both in their languages and in their ideas, which cannot be explained by their original relationship. But in no instance is this affinity more striking or intimate than between the Indians and the Persians. These two branches must have lived long together after quitting their common cradle, as is clearly proved by linguistic and mythological considerations. The three dialects of ancient Persian with which we are acquainted, viz., that of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, that of the second part of the Yaśna, and the language of the remaining portions of the Avesta, have all such a close affinity to the oldest Indian language, the Sanskrit, as exhibited in the Vedas, that they might almost be all called dialects of one and the same language. Other grounds, particularly of a mythological character, speak no less strongly in proof of the two tribes (Indians and Persians) having adhered long to each other. It is of especial importance that they both call themselves by the same name. Ārya, signifying 'honourable,' in ordinary speech, and derived from arya, which means 'lord' in the Vedas, is the most usual and the most ancient name of the Indian people. (R.V. i. 51, 8, and Sāmaveda, i. 1, 1, 5, 3.) Among the Indians the term Mlechha, which denotes an impure barbarian, is the opposite of Ārya. The same is the case among the Persians. According to the Persian laws of euphony, ārya had to be changed to airya, a name which the Persians long applied to themselves, and out of which the more modern

[73] See Kuhn's Dissertation in Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 321, ff. The elaborate work of M. Adolphe Pictet, above quoted (pp. 258, 266, ff.), has for its object to discover, by a comparison of the primitive words common to all the Arian nations, what was their original and common country, and what the condition of the parent nation as regarded its civilization and its intellectual and religious culture before the separation of the several branches. The first volume, relating to the ethnography, geography, and natural history of the country, appeared in 1859; and the second, treating of the material civilization, the social condition, and the intellectual, moral, and religious life of the Āryas, was published in 1863.

Irān has arisen; a name, too, with which Herodotus had become acquainted. To this word airya, another word, anairya, non-iranic, is opposed.

"It is, however, established that this original Arian race, from which, at a later period, the Indians and Persians separated themselves, cannot have lived as one community either in India or in Persia. We must regard it as demonstrated that the Indians who spoke Sanskrit were not autochthonous in Hindustan. The oldest seats of the Indians of which we find any mention made are to be placed in the Panjāb. In the First Fargard of the Vendidad, verse 73, a country called Hapta Hendu, or India, is mentioned, which, in the Cuneiform Inscriptions, is called Hidus. It was not understood for a long time what was signified by Hapta Hendu, Seven-Indias, but the Vedas have explained this name. In the Vedic hymns we find the name Sapta-Sindhavas, the seven rivers, still employed to designate the country of the Indians.[74] From the Panjāb, the Indians, as their later books testify, advanced further towards the east; first, as far as the Sarasvatī; after which, they spread themselves over the whole of northern India; and only at a late period into the south of the peninsula. The Persian legends conduct us with the same distinctness to a primeval country in the north."

We shall shortly have to return to this question, and inquire what were the primeval seats of the Arians. In the mean time, I revert to the affinities of the Persians and Indians.

The third proof of this which I have to adduce is, the coincidences which are discoverable in the ancient mythologies of the two nations. On this subject, Professor Spiegel proceeds, pp. 6, ff.:—"We have already said that the different branches of the Arian family had but few words in common connected with theology. The most widely diffused term is the general designation of God as 'the shining,' formed from the ancient root, 'div' or 'dyu' 'to shine.' From this is derived the Sanskrit 'deva,' the Latin 'deus,' the Lithuanian 'dievas,' the German 'zio' and 'tyr,' the Greek Ζεύς, and also Jupiter from 'Diespiter.' The old Persian 'daēva' belongs to the same root, but has (on what grounds we shall presently discover) a somewhat different signification. More intimate mythological affinities are only to be found between

[74] Spiegel, Avesta, vol. i. p. 66, note 3.

particular branches of the Indo-Germanic family, as between the Greeks and Romans, and especially between the Indians and Persians. A number of personages found in the Veda correspond in name with others in the Avesta, and must originally have been completely identical, though in the course of events, it has naturally occurred that this similarity has become more or less effaced. One personage whose identity was the first to attract attention, is the Yama of the Indians [the son of Vivasvat], the Yima of the Persians [who is the son of Vīvaṅhvant]. In the Vedas and Upanishads we already meet with Yama as the king of the dead. He inhabits a particular world, where he has assembled the immortals around him. Among the ancient Indians his world is not a place of terrors, but its expanses are full of light, and the abodes of happiness, pleasure, and rapture.[75] In Irān, Yima is a fortunate monarch, under whose rule there was neither death nor sickness. After he has for some time continued to diffuse happiness and immortality, he is obliged to withdraw with his attendants to a more contracted space, on account of the calamities which threaten the world. Here lies, according to my view, the point of connexion between the two legends. The Indian regards Yama simply as the king of the dead, or, at least, of the blessed: the Persian limits the number of the blessed to a determinate number, who are selected to live with Yima.

"A second renowned personage in the Persian heroic poetry, who also occurs in the Vedas, is Thraêtaŏno, the descendant of Athwya, the Frēdun, or Feridun of a later period, with whom the Trita of the Veda is connected. Trita is the son of Āptya, and, according to the Vedic accounts, he fights with a serpent, and smites a three-headed dragon with seven tails, and liberates the cattle. Quite similarly, Thraêtaŏno destroys a pestilent serpent with three heads, three girdles, six tails, and a thousand powers.

"A third personage, who can be pointed out in both the Indian and Persian mythology, is Sāma Kereśāśpa, the man of heroic temper, and the same as the Kṛiśaśva of the Indians, who, it is true, has not yet been discovered in the Veda, but who was known to the Indian

[75] See R.V. ix. 113, 7–11, quoted by Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 426, ff. The original passage will be given in the App. note E.

grammarian Pāṇini, and is frequently named in the Purāṇas as a warlike ṛishi. (Rāmāy. i. 23, 12, Schleg.; i. 31, 10, Gorres.)

"To these three personages may now be added a fourth, Kava Uś, or the Kāvya Uśanas of the Vedas. This is the person called Kāus at a later period in the Persian legends. Unfortunately, the stories of Kava Uś are so few and so brief, that I can scarcely venture to indicate their connexion more in detail. (See Weber Vāja.-S, Spec. II. 68, note.)

"In addition to this identity of personages, we find also that the Indians and Persians have some important ceremonies in common. We shall here only mention two, though a closer examination of the Persian liturgy will no doubt bring others to light. The first is the Soma or Homa offering. (See also vol. ii. of Spiegel's Avesta, p. 69.) In both the Indian and the Persian religions, soma, or haŏma, which is identical with it, is the name of a plant, the juice of which is pressed out and drunk, with certain religious forms; and in both religions Soma is also a god.[76] Soma and Haoma have also a great number of epithets common to them, which clearly show how short a period had elapsed since the Persian and Indian adherents of this worship had become separated from each other."

The Indians and Persians have also at least one of their deities in common, viz., Mitra.

"In the Veda, (says Dr. F. Windischmann, Mithra, pp. 54, 56, and 63) Mitra occurs as the son of Aditi (boundless space), and hence parallel with the sun, and stands almost always inseparably associated with Varuṇa. He appears to belong to a race of gods who are already disappearing, and has resigned a portion of his functions to Indra. In the Veda Mitra is the light, while Varuṇa is to be understood of the sky, especially the nocturnal sky. The connexion of Mitra and Varuṇa in the Veda is analogous to that of Mithra and Vayu in the Zend texts. Mithra is thus an ancient national god of the Arians; and the character under which he is represented in the Zend Avesta has many points of resemblance to the Vedic Mitra, though it has also essential differences of Zoroastrian origin. Aryaman, who is to be understood of the sun, appears, in R.V. i. 36, 4,

[76] See Windischmann, Ueber den Somacultus der Arier: and App. note F.

and elsewhere, along with Mitra and Varuṇa. His name signifie companion or friend, and he also occurs in the Zend texts."[77]

I proceed with my quotation from Professor Spiegel's Introduction, i. 8: Secondly, "The reception of neophytes into the sacred society is performed among both peoples, the Persians and the Indians, by investing them with a girdle or thread. In the case of a Brāhman the investiture is to be performed in the eighth year after his birth or conception, in the case of a Kshatriya in the eleventh, and of a Vaiśya in the twelfth. But the period of investiture for a Brāhman has not finally expired till his sixteenth year, for a Kshatriya till his twenty-second, or for a Vaiśya till his twenty-fourth.[78] After the investiture, the teacher is to instruct the pupil in reading the Vedas, and in the rites of purification. (Manu, ii. 69; Yājñavalkya, i. 15.) Up to his seventh year the Parsee is incapable of doing any evil; and if he does anything wrong, the blame of it falls on his parents. In India he is invested with the Kosti or sacred girdle in his seventh

[77] Professor Spiegel, in his note to the 22nd Fargard, vol. i. p. 266, says of the last-named god,—"It is to be lamented that the god who is here designated by the name of Airyama occurs but seldom, and is but briefly noticed in the Avesta; for he is unquestionably the ancient Indo-Germanic deity, who is mentioned in the Vedas under the name of Aryaman;" but subsequently, on maturer consideration, retracted this opinion. In Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachf. i. 131, ff., he says: "I have in my note on Vend. xxii. 23 (p. 266), regarded the Airyama of the last chapter as the Vedic Aryaman. This comparison is only in part correct. It is true that, letter for letter, Airyama is the Sanskrit Aryaman, and therefore the phonetic affinity cannot be doubted. It does not, however, follow that the signification must therefore be the same. If, as is supposed by many, the Iranians had issued from the bosom of the Indian people, if the entire culture of the Indians, as exhibited in the Vedas, had been the basis of theirs, this assumption would be less questionable. But according to my view such is not the case, but the separation of the two nations took place before (though, perhaps, not long before) the Vedic period. The question thus arises whether—supposing both nations to have already had the word Aryaman—we are to assume that the conception of the god Aryaman had been already formed. The word occurs in several places in the second part of the Yaśna, where, however, the context does not justify us in explaining it as a proper name." Spiegel then goes on to state his opinion that in the last chapter of the Vendidad Airyama is not to be understood of a god, but merely as denoting a particular prayer in which that word occurs, and which Ahura Mazda discovers to be more efficacious in healing sickness than another sacred text to which he had first had recourse.

[78] Aśvalāyana Gṛihya-Sūtra, i. 20:—*Aṣhṭame varshe brāhmaṇam upanayed garbhāshṭame vā | ekādaśe kshatriyaṁ dvādaśe vaiśyam | ā shoḍaśād brāhmaṇasya anatītaḥ kālaḥ ā dvāviṁśāt kshatriyasya ā chaturviṁśād vaiśyasya—ataḥ ūrddhvam patita-sāvitrīkāḥ bhavanti |*

year; among the Parsees who live in Kirman, the ceremony is postponed till the tenth year. From the seventh to the tenth year, half the blame of the offences which the child commits falls upon his parents. With his tenth year the boy, according to the view of the Ravaets, enters formally into the community of the Parsees; according to other books, the fifteenth year appears to be that in which he is admitted into religious fellowship.

"All these traces of a common development which we have just pointed out between the Indians and the Persians have their origin, of course, in a pre-historical period, when both nations lived together undivided. Traces can also be discovered which lead to the conclusion that the separation of these two races was occasioned, in part at least, by religious causes.[79] Even if it have been accidental that Ahura, the highest god of the Persians, was, under the designation of Asura,[80] reckoned among evil spirits by the later Indians, it can scarcely have happened by chance that the Devas of the Indians have, under the name of Daēvas, been transformed into evil spirits and allies of Angra Mainyus; that Indra, the highest god of the earliest Hinduism, is, in like mannner, banished to hell; and that Sarva occurs as an evil spirit, while the Indians have considered this name worthy to be a designation of Siva, one of the three highest deities of the later form of their religion.[81] The conjecture is therefore not unnatural

[79] In his second volume, however, Professor Spiegel adds, on this subject, the following reservation:—"In the first volume I have alluded to a religious alienation; but too much importance is not to be ascribed to this view, and no adventurous hypotheses should be built upon it. Even without the assumption of a religious alienation, it is quite conceivable how gods, who were held in honour by the one people, should be degraded to the infernal regions by the other. . . . . That which gives probability to the assumption of an actual alienation between the Indians and the Iranians on account of their religious conceptions, is the fact that the number of these opposing conceptions is not inconsiderable," pp. cix. cx. On the same subject Dr. Justi writes in the introduction to his Handbook of the Zend Language, p. v:—"The nature-religion derived from the primeval days of the Arian race vanished before the new doctrine (of Zaratushtra), and its deities shared the fate of so many heathen divinities, which Christianity thrust down into hell."

[80] "Derived from *asu* = *prajnā*, 'wisdom,' in the Nighaṇṭus. The word *asura* has also a good sense in Vedic Sanskrit; it means *sarveshām prāṇadah*. Comp. Sāyaṇa on R.V. xxxv. 7, 10." Compare my article "On the Interpretation of the Veda" in the Journal R.A.S. for 1866, p. 376, ff., and Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v. Asura*.

[81] See, however, the fifth volume of this work, p. 121, where it is stated, on the

that religious differences may have been one of the grounds of separation. Still, even after their separation, the Indians and Persians did not remain without some knowledge of each other's progress. They were not too far separated to render this possible; and the Vendidad (i. 74) still shows an acquaintance with India under the name of Hapta-Hendu, i.e. Sapta Sindhavaḥ, the land of the seven rivers, which was a designation of the Vedic India."

On the same subject Professor Müller remarks: "Still more striking is the similarity between Persia and India in religion and mythology. Gods unknown to any Indo-European nation are worshipped under the same names in Sanskrit and Zend; and the change of some of the most sacred expressions in Sanskrit into names of evil spirits in Zend only serves to strengthen the conviction that we have here the usual traces of a schism which separated a community that had once been united." (Last Results of Persian Researches, p. 112; "Chips," i. 83.)

From the three-fold argument above stated,—drawn (1st) from the striking similarity between the Sanskrit and Zend, (2nd) from the common name of Ārya, applied to themselves by both the Indians and the Iranians, and (3rd) from the coincidences between the religion and mythology of these two nations,—I conceive that a powerful confirmation is derived to the conclusion which I have been endeavouring to establish, namely, the common origin of all the nations to which the name of Indo-European has been applied. If even from philological considerations alone we are entitled to assume the descent of the Indians, Iranians, Greeks, and Romans, from the same common ancestors, our general conclusion is greatly strengthened when we can (in the case of two of these nations) add to the arguments founded on language, the further evidence derivable from community of name, and, to a certain extent, of tradition and of mythology.

authority of Professor Spiegel, that the materials afforded by the Zend books are not sufficient to afford a basis for any positive conclusions in reference to the god Andra, and his relation to the Vedic Indra. See also the note in the same page.

SECT. VI.—*Was India the primitive country of the Āryas and Indo-European races?*

As we have been led by the preceding investigation to conclude (1) that the Sanskrit, the Zend, the Greek, and the Latin languages must all have had a common origin; (2) that the races also who employed these several languages were all branches, more or less pure, of one great family; and (3) that consequently the ancestors of these different branches must at one time have lived together as one nation in one country:—we have now to determine, if possible, what that country was. First, then, was India the common cradle of the Indo-Germanic races, and did the other branches of that great family all migrate westward from Hindustan, while the Indo-Arians remained in their primeval abodes? or, secondly, are we to assume some other country as the point from which the several sections of the race issued forth in different directions to the various countries which they eventually occupied?

Mr. A. Curzon maintains[82] the first of these two theories, viz., that India was the original country of the Arian family, from which its different branches emigrated to the north-west, and in other directions.

The opinion that the Arians are a people of an origin foreign to the soil of India, which they are presumed to have invaded and conquered, imposing their religion and institutions on the so-called aborigines, is rejected by him as one founded on very insufficient data, and as resting on no well-established historical grounds. He thinks that it is a course opposed to the evidence of facts based on the results of comparative philology to maintain that the barbarous aboriginal tribes of India, destitute of written records, traditional religious system, or well-defined institutions, can be more ancient than the Arian Hindus, the possessors of an early civilization. These rude tribes may, in his opinion, have sprung from some of the barbaric hordes, who, under the name of Śakas, Hūnas, etc., are mentioned by Sanskrit writers as having invaded India, and who, after their defeat, may have taken refuge in the hills and forests of Hindustan.

Reviewing the different possible suppositions as to the way in which the Arians may have entered India, Mr. Curzon infers (1) that they could not have entered from the west, because it is clear that the people who lived in that direction were descended from these very

[82] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xvi. pp. 172–200.

Arians of India;—such descent being proved by the fact that the oldest forms of their language have been derived from the Sanskrit (to which they stand in a relation analogous to that in which the Pāli and Prākṛit stand), and by the circumstance that a portion of their mythology is borrowed from that of the Indo-Arians. Nor (2) could the Arians, in his opinion, have entered India from the north or north-west, because we have no proof from history or philology that there existed any civilized nation with a language and religion resembling theirs which could have issued from either of those quarters at that early period and have created the Indo-Arian civilization. It was equally impossible (3) that the Arians could have arrived in India from the east, as the only people who occupied the countries lying in that direction (the Chinese) are quite different in respect of language, religion, and customs from the Indians, and have no genealogical relations with them. In like manner (4) the Indians could not have issued from the table-land of Thibet in the north-east, as, independently of the great physical barrier of the Himālaya, the same ethnical difficulty applies to this hypothesis as to that of their Chinese origin. And (5) the Indians cannot be of Semitic or Egyptian descent, because the Sanskrit contains no words of Semitic origin, and differs totally in structure from the Semitic dialects, with which, on the contrary, the language of Egypt appears, rather, to exhibit an affinity. And (6) "no monuments, no records, no tradition of the Arians having ever originally occupied, as Arians, any other seat than the plains to the south-west of the Himalayan chain, bounded by the two seas defined by Manu (memorials such as exist in the histories of other nations who are known to have migrated from their primitive abodes), can be found in India." Mr. Curzon (7) regards as illogical the inference, that because the Arians spread at an early period to the south of India, as they did also to the west and north-west, they must have originally issued from some unknown region to invade and conquer India itself. In the same way, he urges, it might be argued that the Romans invaded Italy from some unascertained quarter (instead of springing from one region of Italy), because they extended their dominion to the south, as well as in other directions. In explanation of their movements, he quotes the passage of Manu, ii. 17, ff. (which will be hereafter given at length), and assumes, in accordance with the indications which it affords, that the

earliest seat of Indian civilization was in Brahmāvartta; and that the Arians, as they increased in numbers and advanced in social progress, gradually moved forward to the central region called Madhyadeśa, and eventually to Āryāvartta, the tract between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, extending from the eastern to the western sea. Mr. Curzon admits the existence of a non-Arian people and nationality, viz., the Tamulian in the south, which he conceives may have been in course of formation contemporaneously with the rise of the Arian community in the north; though he thinks that there is nothing to indicate that the Tamulians, or the hill tribes, or any other indigenous race, were ever in possession of Āryāvartta (the country north of the Vindhya) before its occupation by the Arians.

His conclusion (founded on the assumption that all the languages of the Arian family have been framed from a Sanskrit basis, and are only modified and corrupted forms of what was once the original tongue of the Arian race of India) is therefore the following, viz., that either (1) the nations whose speech is derived from Sanskrit have sprung from the gradual dispersion of the ancient Arian race of India, such dispersion being occasioned by political or religious causes, issuing in the expulsion from India of the defeated parties, and their settlement in different unoccupied countries chiefly to the westward; or (2) that the Arians invaded the countries to the west and north-west of India, and conquered the various tribes inferior to themselves, who were there in possession, imposing upon them their own institutions and language. Of these two alternative suppositions, he conceives the latter to have the greater probability in its favour. As regards the time when the Arian advance in a westerly direction took place, he thinks that "it was subsequently to their extension over this territory [the Dekhan] and its occupation, which may be regarded as the third era in their history, when the Arians had attained an advanced state of civilization, when the Vedas had been composed, and a national system of religion established; when the Brahmanical hierarchy had been formed, the Arian tongue cultivated, and codes of law compiled; when tribes had separated under particular princes, and founded different governments in various parts of the country; when religious schisms had begun to arise, anti-Brahmanical sects had increased, political dissensions and civil war had spread their effects—

that the migrations in a westerly and north-westerly direction which terminated in the extension of the Arian tongue over the geographical zone," [including Ariana, Persia, Armenia, Phrygia, Greece, Italy, Germany, etc. etc.], which he had "pointed out, took place."

I have stated the opinion of Mr. Curzon on this question, together with his arguments, in considerable detail, as it represents the view to which the Indian reader will, no doubt, incline as the most reasonable (see above, p. 259); and it is therefore only fair that all that can be urged in its behalf should be fully stated.

Before discussing Mr. Curzon's hypothesis, I shall adduce the statement given by Mr. Elphinstone (History of India, vol. i., p. 95, ff., 1st edition) on the same subject. It will be seen that after reviewing the arguments on both sides, this distinguished author leaves it undecided whether the Hindus sprang from a country external to Hindustan, or were autochthonous.

"On looking back to the information collected from the Code [of Manu] we observe the three twice-born classes forming the whole community embraced by the law, and the Sudras in a servile and degraded condition. Yet it appears that there are cities governed by Sudra kings, in which Brahmins are advised not to reside (chap. iv. 61), and that there are 'whole territories inhabited by Sudras, overwhelmed with atheists, and deprived of Brahmins' (chap. viii. 22). The three twice-born classes are directed invariably to dwell in the country between the Himawat and the Vindya Mountains, from the eastern to the western ocean. But though the three chief classes are confined to this tract, a Sudra distressed for subsistence may dwell where he chooses (chap. ii. 21–24). It seems impossible not to conclude from all this that the twice-born men were a conquering people; that the servile class were the subdued aborigines; and that the independent Sudra towns were in such of the small territories, into which Hindostan was divided, as still retained their independence, while the whole of the tract beyond the Vindya Mountains remained as yet untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion. A doubt, however, soon suggests itself whether the conquerors were a foreign people, or a local tribe, like the Dorians in Greece; or whether, indeed, they were not merely a portion of one of the native states (a religious sect, for instance) which had outstripped their

fellow-citizens in knowledge, and appropriated all the advantages of the society to themselves.

"The different appearance of the higher classes from the Sudras, which is so observable to this day, might incline us to think them foreigners; but without entirely denying this argument (as far at least as relates to the Brahmins and Cshetriyas), we must advert to some considerations which greatly weaken its force.

"The class most unlike the Brahmins are the Chandalas, who are nevertheless originally the offspring of a Brahmin mother, and who might have been expected to have preserved their resemblance to their parent stock, as, from the very lowness of their caste, they are prevented mixing with any race but their own.[83] Difference of habits and employments is, of itself, sufficient to create as great a dissimilarity as exists between the Brahmin and the Sudra; and the hereditary separation of professions in India would contribute to keep up and to increase such a distinction.

"It is opposed to their foreign origin, that neither in the Code [of Manu], nor, I believe, in the Vedas, nor in any book that is certainly older than the Code, is there any allusion to a prior residence, or to a knowledge of more than the name of any country out of India. Even mythology goes no further than the Himalaya chain, in which is fixed the habitation of the gods.

"The common origin of the Sanskrit language with those of the West leaves no doubt that there was once a connexion between the nations by whom they are used; but it proves nothing regarding the place where such a connexion subsisted, nor about the time, which might have been in so early a stage of their society as to prevent its throwing any light on the history of the individual nations. To say that it spread from a central point is a gratuitous assumption, and even contrary to analogy; for emigration and civilization have not spread in a circle, but from east to west. Where, also, could the central point be, from which a language could spread over India, Greece, and Italy, and yet leave Chaldea, Syria, and Arabia untouched?

[83] [See the first volume of this work, 2nd edition, p. 481, and Manu x. 12, there quoted. It is clear, however, that we are not to take these accounts of the formation of the different castes, written at a time when the Brahmanical system was fully developed, and in the interest of its defenders, as furnishing the true history of their origin. See Lassen, Ind. Ant., 1st ed., i. 407, and 2nd ed., pp. 485, f.—J. M.]

"The question, therefore, is still open. There is no reason whatever for thinking that the Hindus ever inhabited any country but their present one; and as little for denying that they may have done so before the earliest trace of their records or traditions."[84]

Mr. Elphinstone then proceeds to explain how he thinks castes may have originated.

SECT. VII.—*Central Asia the cradle of the Arians: opinions of Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet.*

These views of Mr. Curzon, of which I have given a summary in the preceding section, are opposed to the general consent of European scholars. A. W. von Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Müller, Weber, Roth, Spiegel, Renan, and Pictet, however differing on other points, all concur in this, that the cradle of the Indians, as well as of the other branches of the Indo-Germanic race, is to be sought for in some country external to India.

I shall proceed to give some extracts from the writings of these eminent authors; and shall finish with a summary of the arguments which seem to carry most weight in favour of the conclusion which they have adopted.

The first authority whom I shall cite is A. W. von Schlegel, who, in an essay "On the Origin of the Hindus,"[85] systematically discusses the question under consideration in all its bearing. He treats of the migratory movements of ancient nations, of the traditions of the Hindus regarding their own origin, of the diversities of races, of the physiological character of the Hindus and of the indigenous Indian tribes, of the bearing of comparative philology on the history of nations, on the relations of the Arian languages to each other, and finally deduces the results to which he is led by the convergence of all these various lines of investigation. As I have already treated at length of some of these subjects, I shall only cite two passages, the first of which furnishes a reply to Mr. Curzon's argument against

[84] See Appendix, note G.

[85] *De l'Origine des Hindous*, published originally in the second volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, London, 1834; and reprinted in his *Essais Littéraires et Historiques*, Bonn, 1842.

the immigration of the Hindus from any foreign region, drawn from the absence of any national tradition to that effect. It is as follows:—

"In inquiring into the birth-place of any people, and into the route by which, and the period at which, they have travelled to their present abodes, we are naturally tempted, first of all, to interrogate the popular tradition on these points: but if we do so, it may easily happen that either no answer at all, or a false one, will be obtained. An illiterate people, ignorant of writing, which has adopted a stationary life, after a long and arduous migration, might, after a few centuries, easily lose all recollection of its change of habitation: or, if certain vestiges of such a change were preserved, it might be impossible for a people so circumstanced to indicate with precision the point of departure; as for this purpose a general knowledge of the shape of continents and of seas would be necessary. It has often happened that tribes in a barbarous state have emigrated, either impelled by necessity, or to avoid some powerful neighbour. The utmost that such tribes could do might be to direct their journey with tolerable exactness according to the four cardinal points: shaping their course so as to avoid any unexpected difficulties which might arise, they would suffer themselves to be guided by chance; and their only measure of distance would be the fatigue and the duration of their march." (Essais, p. 444.)

The following is the passage in which Schlegel sums up the results of his researches:—

"If we admit (and it is my conviction that the more deeply the subject is investigated the more indubitable will the conclusion appear) that the derivation of the [Indo-European] languages from one common parent justifies the inference that the nations who spoke them also issued from one common stock; that their ancestors, at a certain epoch, belonged to one sole nation, which became divided and subdivided as its expansion proceeded;—the question naturally arises, what was the primeval seat of that parent nation? It is nowise probable that the migrations which have peopled so large a part of the globe should have commenced at its southern extremity, and have been constantly directed from that point towards the north-west. On the contrary, every thing concurs to persuade us that the colonies set out from a central region in divergent directions. According to this supposition, the distances which the colonists would have to traverse up to the

time of their definitive establishment, become less immense; the vicissitudes of climate to which they were exposed, become less abrupt, and many of the emigrant tribes would thus make an advantageous exchange, as regards fertility of soil and the temperature of the air. And where is this central country to be sought for, if not in the interior of the great continent, in the neighbourhood, and to the east of the Caspian Sea? It may perhaps be objected that the country in question is now occupied by people of a different race: but to how many countries has it not happened to undergo a total change of their inhabitants? The prolific parent-country of so many swarms of expatriated colonists might, from that very circumstance, be converted into a desert. . . . It is probable that, since the commencement of history, the nature of this country has changed, and that in former times it was more favourable than now to agriculture and to population. According to my hypothesis, then, the ancestors of the Persians and Hindus must have emigrated from their early seats towards the south-west and the south-east; and the forefathers of the European nations towards the west and the north. . . . I conceive that the tribes which migrated towards Europe followed two great routes; the one along the northern shores of the Black Sea; while the other traversed Asia Minor, and crossed the Ægean Sea, or the Hellespont, Thrace, Illyria, and the Adriatic. It was indubitably by this latter route that Greece and Italy received their colonists." (Essais, p. 514–517.)

Professor Lassen also decides against the hypothesis that India was the birth-place of the Indo-European races. He says: —[86]

"It is, as we have seen, a result of modern investigation that the ancient language of the Indians is so intimately related to those of the other Indo-Germanic nations as to establish the original unity both of these languages and nations. We are therefore driven to the conclusion either—1st, that the Indians migrated to India from some other primeval seat; or, 2nd, that all the kindred Indo-Germanic nations had their origin in India. The following considerations determine us to decide in favour of the former of these alternatives.

"It would, first, be an improbable supposition that the nations which are now so widely extended should have been derived from the

[86] Indian Antiquities, first edition, p. 512, ff.; second edition, p. 613.

remotest member of the entire series. Their common cradle must be sought, if not in the very centre, at all events in such a situation as to render a diffusion towards the different regions of the world practicable. This condition is not well fulfilled by supposing India to be the point of departure. Secondly, none of the phenomena of speech, customs, or ideas observable among the other cognate nations indicate an Indian origin. Of the countries which were anciently occupied by the great Indo-Germanic family, India was the most peculiar, and differed the most widely from the others; and it would be very unaccountable that no trace of these Indian peculiarities should have been preserved by any Celtic race in later times, if they had all originally dwelt in India. Among the names of plants and animals which are common to all these nations there is none which is peculiar to India.[87] The most widely diffused word for any species of corn (*yava*) denotes not rice, but barley. Thirdly, for a decision of this question, the manner in which India is geographically distributed among the different nations by which it is occupied is of great importance. The diffusion of the Arians towards the south points to the conclusion that they came from the north-west, from the country to the north of the Vindhya, probably from the region bordering on the Jumna, and the eastern part of the Punjab. Their extension to the east, between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, also indicates the same countries as their earlier seats. We find, moreover, evident traces of the Arians, in their advance from the north-west, having severed asunder the earlier population of Hindustan, and driven one portion of it towards the northern, and another portion towards the southern, hills. Further, we cannot assume that the Arians themselves were the earlier inhabitants who were pushed aside; for the inhabitants of the Dekhan, like those of the Vindhya range, appear always as the weaker and retiring party, who were driven back by the Arians. We cannot ascribe to the non-Arian tribes the power of having forced themselves forward through the midst of an earlier Arian population to the seats which they eventually occupied in the centre of the country; but, on the contrary, everything speaks in favour of their having been

[87] [This circumstance, however, might be accounted for, as Weber remarks (Modern Investigations on Ancient India, p. 10), by the names being forgotten, from the plants and animals being unknown in western countries. See further on.—J.M.]

originally settled in those tracts where we find them at a later period, and of their having once occupied a more extensive territory. These non-Arians were in fact feebler races, like the Australian negroes of the Archipelago and the red men of America. The Arians, on the other hand, were a more perfectly organized, enterprising, and creative people, and were consequently the more recent; just as the earth has at a later period produced the more perfect classes of plants and animals. Finally, the same thing is shown by the political relation of the two branches of the population. The Arians take up for themselves, i.e. for the three highest castes, a position of the most complete contrast to the aboriginal tribes, first of all by the name of 'Ārya, and next by their prerogatives; for the name of 'dvija,' 'twice-born,' with the higher rank connected with it, is the exclusive designation of the three upper classes. The Arians in this way mark themselves out as the superior and conquering race. In confirmation of this we can also adduce an outward mark, that of complexion. The word for caste in Sanskrit (varṇa) originally signified 'colour.' The castes therefore were distinguished by their complexion. But, as is well known, the Brahmans have a fairer colour than the Śūdras and Chaṇḍālas; and the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, who were also Arians, must have participated in the same fair complexion. We are thus led to the conclusion, which would be deducible even from the affinity of language, that the Arian Indians originally distinguished themselves as white men from the dark aborigines; and this accords with the assumption that they came from a more northern country."

That the Arians were not autochthonous in India, but came from some country to the north, is also the opinion of Professor Max Müller.

"At the first dawn of traditional history we see these Arian tribes migrating across the snow of the Himālaya southward toward the 'Seven Rivers' (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjāb, and the Sarasvatī), and ever since India has been called their home. That before this time they had been living in more northern regions, within the same precincts with the ancestors of the Greeks, the Italians, Slavonians, Germans, and Celts, is a fact as firmly established as that the Normans of William the Conqueror were the Northmen of Scandinavia. The evidence of language is irrefragable, and it is the only evidence worth listening to with regard to ante-historical periods." . . .

"While most of the members of the Arian family followed this glorious path" [i.e. to the north-west], "the southern tribes were slowly migrating to the mountains which gird the north of India. After crossing the narrow passes of the Hindu-kush or the Himālaya, they conquered or drove before them, as it seems without much effort, the original inhabitants of the Trans-Himalayan countries. They took for their guides the principal rivers of Northern India, and were led by them to new homes in their beautiful and fertile valleys." (Last Results of Sanskrit Researches, in Bunsen's Out. of Phil. of Un. Hist., vol. i., pp. 129 and 131; Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 12, 13, 15; Chips, i. 63, 65.)

Again, in the Last Results of the Turanian Researches (Bunsen, as above, p. 340), the same able writer remarks: "It is now generally admitted that this holy-land of the Brahmans, even within its earliest and narrowest limits, between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī, was not the birth-place of the sons of Manu. The Arians were strangers in the land of the Indus and the Ganges, but no one can now determine the exact spot whence they came, and where they had been previously settled. Traditions current among the Brahmans as to the northern regions, considered the seats of the blessed, may be construed into something like a recollection of their northern immigration—holy places along the rivers of northern India, where even in later times Brahmans went to learn the purest Sanskrit, may mark the stations of their onward course—the principal capitals of their ancient kingdoms may prove the slow but steady progress toward the mouths of the principal rivers of India—but with the sources of those rivers, the homes of the Arian strangers vanish from our sight, even after we have reached the highest points of view accessible on Indian ground."

Professor Benfey expresses an equally confident opinion that India was not the original country of the Hindus. His reasons are as follows. After giving some account of the various tribes, by whom southern and central India are occupied, he proceeds: "We thus find the whole of the Dekhan covered with the remains of a nation of which it is highly probable that the several parts were connected by affinity. But we know with certainty that the Sanskrit-speaking people did not establish themselves in the Dekhan till a later period, and as colonists, who apparently began their occupation by making themselves masters of the coasts. . . . Now it is hardly probable that those barbarous tribes

could have pushed themselves forward into the midst of the Arian Indians at a period when the latter had attained to the height of their social and political development; and yet it is at this very period that we already find mention made of several of these barbarous races. We are therefore compelled to recognize the latter as being the earlier inhabitants of the Dekhan, who were reduced to subjection by the arms of the Sanskrit-speaking race, and either incorporated into their community as a servile caste, or driven back into the recesses of the mountains."—Indien,[88] p. 9. In p. 12, the same author proceeds: "From the foregoing sections it appears that the Sanskrit-speaking people, who called themselves Aryas and Viśes, can be shown to have immigrated from foreign regions into their new abodes. It can be positively demonstrated that they once formed one nation, spoke one speech, and possessed the same civilization, with the races who are allied to them by language, viz., the Aryas properly so called (i.e. the Iranians), the Greeks, Latins, etc. It is scarcely to be doubted that the theatre of this early union was one of the countries of Asia; but the time is so far antecedent to the dawn of history, and so many commotions, migrations, and so forth, must have swept over the region which they formerly occupied, that every trace which the Sanskrit-speaking race might have left of their residence there has been obliterated."

The following remarks of Professor Spiegel (Introduction to Avesta, vol. ii., pp. cvi. ff.) will serve as an answer to Mr. Curzon's allegation that the language and mythology of the Persians are derived from those of India: "Though it is universally admitted that a primeval country is to be assumed, where the Arians lived in pre-historical times as one people, and from which they gradually migrated; and although it is allowed that the Indians and Iranians must have dwelt together for a length of time in this, or in some other adjacent country, even after the separation of the other branches; still it is by no means clear what should be regarded as that primeval country. Agreeably to Mr. Curzon's assumption, India was the fatherland of the Indo-Germanic races. From that country the individual branches of that stock migrated westwards, and last of all the Iranians, who continued to dwell in the immediate vicinity of their original country, which

[88] In Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia (German).

henceforward remained in the sole possession of a single race, the Indians. According to this assumption, the relation of Iran to India admits of a very simple adjustment; India is the cradle, the Indian language (i.e. the Vedic Sanskrit) is the mother-tongue of all the Indo-Germanic nations. If, accordingly, an important affinity is discernible both in language and in ideas between the Indians and Iranians, the reason of it is simply this, that the Iranians emigrated last from India, and thus carried with them the largest share of Indian characteristics. On this view the older monuments of Iranian literature would stand in the same relation to the Vedic literature that the Pali and Prakrit stand to the later Sanskrit. Lassen[89] had, however, previously declared himself against this assumption that India was the cradle of the Indo-Germanic races; and his arguments have not been invalidated by Mr. Curzon. And as regards the relation of the old Iranian dialect to the Sanskrit of the Vedas, I boldly assert that we cannot possibly suppose the former to stand in any such relation of dependence to the latter as the Pali or the Prakrit stands in to the later Sanskrit; and no one who impartially examines the question will do otherwise than support my view.

"We may therefore at once set aside the supposition that India was the cradle of the Indo-Germanic race. We prefer to assume with Lassen that their original abode is to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian country, in the tract where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise.

"But the second question, in regard to language, is not thus determined. For it might still be imagined possible that not only the Indians, but also the Iranians along with them, had migrated to the countries on the Indus; and that the Iranians, perhaps owing to religious differences, had retraced their steps to the westward. The great affinity between the Sanskrit and the ancient Bactrian languages, and the resemblances between the mythologies of the Vedas on the one hand, and the Avesta on the other, would then admit of the same explanation, viz., that the Iranians had spent the Vedic period, or at least a great part of it, in conjunction with the Indians; and hence the close affinity between their ideas. This is

[89] Ind. Ant. i. 1st ed., p. 512; 2nd ed., p. 613. See above, p. 308, ff.

in fact the view of a scholar who is very familiar with this branch of study, Professor Max Müller.[90]

[90] "Last Results of the Persian Researches," p. 113, reprinted in "Chips," i. 86. "If regarded from a Vaidik point of view, . . . the gods of the Zoroastrians come out once more as mere reflexions of the primitive and authentic gods of the Vedas. It can now be proved, even by geographical evidence, that the Zoroastrians had been settled in India before they immigrated into Persia. I say the Zoroastrians, for we have no evidence to bear us out in making the same assertion of the nations of Media and Persia in general. That the Zoroastrians and their ancestors started from India during the Vaidik period can be proved as distinctly as that the inhabitants of Massilia started from Greece. The geographical traditions in the First Fargard of the Vendidad do not interfere with this opinion. If ancient and genuine, they would embody a remembrance preserved by the Zoroastrians, but forgotten by the Vaidik poets—a remembrance of times previous to their first common descent into the country of the Seven Rivers. If of later origin, and this is more likely, they may represent a geographical conception of the Zoroastrians after they had become acquainted with a larger sphere of countries and nations, subsequent to their emigration from the land of the Seven Rivers." [In the reprint in "Chips," the following note is added: "The purely mythological character of this geographical chapter has been proved by M. Michel Bréal, Journal Asiatique, 1862."] The same opinion is repeated by Professor Müller in his Lectures on the Science of Language, i. 235 (1st edit.): "The Zoroastrians were a colony from northern India. They had been together for a time with the people whose sacred songs have been preserved to us in the Veda. A schism took place and the Zoroastrians migrated westward to Arachosia and Persia. . . . They gave to the new cities, and to the rivers along which they settled, the names of cities and rivers familiar to them, and reminding them of the localities which they had left. Now as a Persian *h* points to a Sanskrit *s*, Harôyu would be in Sanskrit Saroyu. One of the sacred rivers of India, a river mentioned in the Veda, ... has the name of *Sarayu*, the modern Sardju." On this point Mr. Rawlinson coincides with Professor Müller. In the Third Essay appended to the first volume of his Herodotus, p. 403, he thus writes: "The great migration of the Arian race westward from beyond the Indus, simultaneous probably with the movement of a kindred people, the progenitors of the modern Hindoos, eastward and southward to the Ganges, and the Vindhya mountain-range, is an event of which the most sceptical criticism need not doubt, remote though it be, and obscurely seen through the long vista of intervening centuries." From a later part of the same volume, however, Essay xi. p. 669, it clearly appears that Mr. Rawlinson does not regard the country east of the Indus as the earliest abode of the Arians, and that this migration of the Arians westward was, in his opinion, one which followed their original migration from the west to the east: "The Eastern or Arian migration, whereby an Indo-European race became settled upon the Indus, is involved in complete obscurity. We have indeed nothing but the evidence of comparative philology on which distinctly to ground the belief, that there was a time when the ancestors of the Pelasgian, Lydo-Phrygian, Lycian, Thracian, Sarmatian, Teutonic, and Arian races dwelt together, the common possessors of a single language. The evidence thus furnished is, however, conclusive, and compels us to derive the various and scattered nations above enumerated from a single ethnic stock, and to assign them at some time or other a single locality. In

"I cannot agree with this view, as I am quite unable to discover that there is any historical reminiscence by which it can be established.[91] The facts which I have above collected regarding Zoroaster and his religion certainly do not point to the conclusion that he was a Bactrian, much less that the religion of the Bactrians came from India; on the contrary, these accounts seem to lead us to believe that their religion came first from Media. . . . But if there be no historical recollection, what else is there to favour the opinion in question? Surely it cannot be the similarity of structure between the languages of India and Persia! We esteem the Sanskrit so highly, not because it was the original speech of the Indo-Germanic race, but because it stands the nearest to that original language. Now it cannot surprise us that another language of the same family, as the ancient Bactrian is, should have remained on a nearly similar level. It is not in the least at variance with this view that the last-named language is far younger than the Vedic Sanskrit, for it is well known that external circumstances frequently occasion the speedy corruption of one language, while another can long preserve its ancient level. And so in this case, both languages issued in a nearly similar form from one common parent form of speech, and were then developed independently of each other. And as the phenomena of the two

the silence of authentic history, Armenia may be regarded as the most probable centre from which they spread; and the Arian race may be supposed to have wandered eastward about the same time that the two other kindred streams began to flow, the one northward across the Caucasus, the other westward over Asia Minor and into Europe. The early history of the Arians is for many ages an absolute blank, but at a period certainly anterior to the fifteenth century before our era they were settled in the tract watered by the upper Indus, and becoming straitened for room, began to send out colonies eastward and westward. On the one side their movements may be traced in the hymns of the Rigveda, where they are seen advancing step by step along the rivers of the Punjab, engaged in constant wars with the primitive Turanian inhabitants, whom they gradually drove before them into the various mountain ranges, where their descendants still exist, speaking Turanian dialects.* On the other, their progress is as distinctly marked in the most early portions of the Zendavesta, the sacred book of the western or Medo-Persic Arians. Leaving their Vedic brethren to possess themselves of the broad plains of Hindoostan, and to become the ancestors of the modern Hindoos, the Zendic or Medo-Persic Arians crossed the high chain of the Hindoo-Koosh, and occupied the region watered by the upper streams of the Oxus."

[91] See, however, App. Note H.

* "See Müller's Essay on the Bengali Language in the Report of the British Association for 1848, p. 329, and Bunsen's Philosophy of Univ. Hist., vol. i. pp. 340–364."

languages do not necessitate the assumption that the ancient Bactrian language has passed through the Vedic Sanskrit, so neither is this view forced upon us by the contents of the Avesta. Reference has, indeed, been made to the points of contact between the legends, and even between the manners and customs exhibited in the Veda and the Avesta. But the few particulars which recur in the Vedas cannot be set against the far larger number of which there is no trace there. Similar common legends have been discovered in the Greek mythology, and yet it has never been imagined by any one, that the ancient Greeks must have believed in the Vedas. We are, therefore, warranted in supposing that in the old Bactrian language and literature we possess the monuments of a people, who certainly lived together with the Indians longer than any of the other kindred races, and have therefore a certain number of religious and other conceptions common to them with the former. But these common elements are so insignificant when compared with those which are of peculiarly Iranian growth, that we are justified in regarding the language and literature as independent Iranian productions. How, and by what causes the separation of the Iranians from the Indians was occasioned, is a point which, owing to our want of information on that early period, can no longer be certainly determined. . . . Among the grounds of it I have (in the first volume, p. 9) referred to a religious alienation between the two nations, but too great importance should not be assigned to this view. Even without assuming any such alienation, it is conceivable that gods who were honoured by the one people, might be degraded to hell by the other.[92] . . . That which gives probability to the idea of an actual alienation between the Indians and Iranians on religious grounds, is the number of such opposing conceptions.

"We must accordingly maintain that the Indians and Iranians have each gone through their own proper development apart from the others. Any points of coincidence between the two must thus be referred to the early pre-Vedic period, not to the era of the special development of either of the two peoples. None of the common features which I have referred to in vol. i. (see above, p. 293, ff.) are of such a character as to make it at all necessary for us to suppose the country bordering on the Indus to have been the scene of their origination. An origin

[92] See Appendix, note I.

in that locality might, with most probability, be ascribed to the legend of Vṛitrahan, as Indra is designated, as the slayer of Vṛitra, who withholds the clouds and the necessary rain. The word recurs again in the old-Bactrian verethraya, 'victorious:' (the deity, Verethragna, I regard as being certainly of far later origin). From the circumstance that no special sense is assigned to the word in the ancient Bactrian language, I do not conclude, as is commonly done, that in the Avesta it has lost its special meaning; but, on the contrary, I assume that the Indian limitation of the word to Indra did not take place till after the separation of the two peoples, and that the word had originally a more general meaning." (p. cx.)

The following is the opinion of Professor Weber on the same general question. In his tract, entitled "Modern Investigations on Ancient India," p. 10, after sketching the physical and intellectual condition of the early Āryas, as deducible from the words common to all the Indo-European languages, he proceeds thus:—

"In the picture just now drawn, positive signs are, after all, almost entirely wanting, by which we could recognize the country in which our forefathers dwelt and had their common home. That it was situated in Asia is an old historical axiom: the want of all animals specifically Asiatic in our enumeration above seems to tell against this, but can be explained simply by the fact of these animals not existing in Europe, which occasioned their names to be forgotten, or at least caused them to be applied to other similar animals; it seems, however, on the whole, that the climate of that country was rather temperate than tropical, most probably mild, and not so much unlike that of Europe; from which we are led to seek for it in the highlands of central Asia, which latter has been regarded from time immemorial as the cradle of the human race."

My next quotation is from the work of M. Pictet, "Les Origines Indo-Européennes," in which he endeavours, by an examination of all the accessible data, geographical, and ethnographical, as well as by a survey and comparison of all the terms common to the Arian languages, which refer to climate, to topography, and to natural history, to determine what that country was, which the common ancestors of the Indo-European nations originally inhabited.[93]

[93] M. Pictet's second volume, which appeared in 1863, treats (as already stated,

I shall not attempt to follow the course of M. Pictet's multifarious investigations and reasonings, or to pass any judgment on his particular deductions; but shall content myself with extracting his account of the general results to which he has been conducted.

"By consulting successively national appellations, traditions, geography, philology, and ethnography, we have arrived at the following conclusions:—The Arian people, as they called themselves in opposition to the barbarian, must have occupied a region, of which Bactria may be regarded as the centre. This is the conclusion to which we are at once led by merely comparing the directions followed by the swarms of men who issued from this centre, and which all radiated from it as a point of departure. The geographical configuration of this portion of Asia completely confirms this first induction; for the only possible outlets through which the population could issue occur at the very points where the principal currents of emigration have actually flowed, if we may judge by the ultimate positions of the Arian people, and the scattered traditions which they have preserved of their origin." . .

"We may presume (1) from the order and direction of the migrations which determined the ultimate positions of the Arian races; (2) from the traces of their ancient names, left by the several nations along the routes which they must have followed; and (3) from the more special affinities which connect together the different groups of Arian languages; that the primitive Ariana, at the period of its greatest extension, must have embraced nearly the whole of the region situated between the Hindu-kush, Belurtagh, the Oxus, and the Caspian Sea; and, perhaps, extended a good way into Sogdiana, towards the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. I do not mean that Ariana then formed one strongly constituted state. It is much more probable that it was at that time partitioned among distinct tribes, united solely by the general bond of race, by similarity of manners and language, by a common stock of beliefs and traditions, and by a sentiment of natural brotherhood. This is to be inferred, both from the topographical character of the country and from the successive emigrations which must have followed each other at considerable intervals. I have attempted

p. 294, note,) of the state of material civilization, the social condition, the intellectual, moral, and religious life of this primitive people, before it was broken up into different nations.

in chapter iii. to fix, by approximation, the relative positions of the different branches of the race before their dispersion."

[I introduce here, from p. 51 of M. Pictet's work, the substance of the passage referred to, so far as it relates to the Iranians, Indians, Greeks, and Latins:—

"Assuming Bactria to have been the centre of the region peopled by the primitive Aryas, the Iranians must have possessed its north-east corner, bordering on Sogdiana, towards Belurtagh, and have at first spread towards the east, as far as the high mountain valleys, from which they afterwards descended to colonize Iran. Alongside of them, to the south-east, probably in the fertile regions of Badakhshan, dwelt the Indo-Arians, occupying the slopes of the Hindu-kush, which they had afterwards to cross, or to round, in order to arrive in Cabul, and penetrate thence into northern India. To the south-west, towards the sources of the Artamis and the Bactrus, we should place the Pelasgo-Arians (the Greeks and Latins), who must have advanced thence in the direction of Herat, and continued their migration by Khorasan and Mazenderan to Asia Minor and the Hellespont."]

"Though nothing more than a hypothesis, the preceding distribution appears to account better than any other for the entire facts of the case. But it can be shown, in a more precise manner, that the Aryas must have been originally divided into two groups, the one eastern and the other western, from which, on the one side, the Aryas of Persia and India issued, and on the other the European nations. The principal arguments in support of this statement cannot, however, be unfolded till I come to the sequel of my work. . . . . In regard to the period when the Arian emigrations took place, I may say, by anticipation, that, in all probability, the earliest of them cannot be placed at less than three thousand years before the Christian era, and that, perhaps, they go back to a still remoter period."—(Pictet, Les Aryas Primitifs, pp. 536, ff.)

In the second volume of his work, p. 734, M. Pictet adheres to the same conclusion as to time. He says there: "As the result of all that precedes, I believe I do not exaggerate in placing about three thousand years before our era the epoch of the first movements towards dispersion of the ancient Aryas, whose different migrations must have taken centuries

to accomplish down to the period of the definitive establishment of their descendants in the immense tracts which they occupied."

I shall now attempt briefly to sum up the arguments in favour of the conclusion, that the Indo-Arians were not autochthonous, but immigrated into Hindustan from Central Asia.

Mr. Curzon entertains, as we have seen, a different opinion, which he grounds on the assumption that the languages, as well as the mythologies, both of the Persians, and also of the Greeks and Latins, are derived from India. We have already seen (p. 259, ff.) how untenable the notion is that the Greek and Latin languages could have been derived from Sanskrit; and the points of coincidence between the Greek, the Italian, and the Indian mythologies are too few and too remote to justify the idea of their derivation from the Indo-Arians, at any period nearly so recent as the hypothesis would require. I am not prepared to pronounce it altogether inconceivable that the Greek and Latin races could have emigrated from India within any period short of 1500 years B.C., without distinct traces of this migration being discoverable in their own literature, or in that of other nations; for, as we have already seen (p. 307), the traces of such movements may soon disappear from the traditions of an illiterate people. But if the languages and religions of Greece and Italy be not derived from those of India, there is no ground for this hypothesis. And any emigration from India at an earlier period than that indicated appears to be improbable. Fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, India, if (as it no doubt was) already occupied by the Indo-Arians, must, at all events, have been very thinly peopled. The Āryas had not, at that period, extended themselves beyond the north-west quarter of India.[94] Large tracts both to the east and west of the Ganges, and to the north of the Vindhya range, must then have been still uncultivated. While such facilities remained for the occupation of new territory for the purposes of agriculture or pasturage, in their own immediate neighbourhood, it does not appear what sufficient motive could have existed to impel any branch of the small Arian population to desert the fertile plains and the warm temperature of India (to which, by the hypothesis, they must have been long accustomed) for the rugged mountains and the

[94] This will be made evident by the details which I shall shortly adduce relative to their diffusion in Hindustan.

barren and less genial regions which lay to the north-west and west of the Indus.

As regards the derivation of the Iranian language and mythology from the Indian (which may be asserted with more show of probability than in the case of the Greeks and Latins), I may place the authority and the arguments, just quoted, of Professor Spiegel in opposition to those of Mr. Curzon.

I have so far examined Mr. Curzon's theory generally, and without reference to the particular period when he supposes the movement of the Arians to the westward to have taken place. But when we advert to the late era at which he supposes it to have occurred, as stated above, p. 303, f., in his own words, his theory acquires a still higher degree of improbability. If the Arians, or rather (in that case) the already Brahmanized Indians, had invaded and conquered the countries lying to the west of the Indus at a period subsequent to their occupation of the Dekhan and to the full development of their civilization and their peculiar institutions, it is scarcely conceivable that no trace of this sweeping invasion should have remained, either in their own literature or in that of any of the western nations, and that no specifically Brahmanical influences should have been discoverable in the religious or political systems of Persia, Greece, Rome, or Germany; for the period at which such a supposed extension of the Brahmanical Indians took place could not have been an "ante-Hellenic" era (p. 187); nor, consequently, is it imaginable that all record of it should have disappeared in a presumed "age of darkness" (p. 186). The "ante-Hellenic" period terminated nearly 1000 years B.C., and the Brahmanical institutions could not have been fully developed very long before that time.

Mr. Elphinstone, as we have seen, does not decide in favour of either theory, but leaves it in doubt whether the Hindus were an autochthonous or an immigrant nation. As a justification of his doubt, he refers to the circumstance that all other known migrations of ancient date have proceeded from east to west, and have not radiated from a common centre. But this reasoning cannot claim to offer more than a limited presumption, and cannot be set against the stronger probabilities which, in this case, are suggested by the subsequent history of the different Arian nations in favour of a radiation from one common centre.

The mutual affinities of the Arian tongues imply, as we have seen,

the anterior existence of one parent language, from which they all issued, and conduct us by probable inference to the conclusion that the several nations who spoke those separate dialects were all descended, though not, perhaps, without intermixture with other races, from the same common ancestors, who employed the parent-language in question, and formed one Arian nation inhabiting the same country. As the question where this country was situated cannot be decided by history, we are thrown back upon speculation; and we are therefore led to inquire what that region was which by its position was most likely to have formed the point of departure from which nations situated in the opposite quarters ultimately occupied by the Indians, the Iranians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, and the Slavonians, must have issued in order to reach their several abodes by the most easy and natural routes. The point of departure which best satisfies this condition is, in the opinion of the eminent writers whom I have cited, some region of Central Asia, lying to the north-west of India. We may, therefore, place the cradle of the Arians in or near Bactria.

SECT. VIII.—*On the National Traditions of the Indians regarding their own Original Country.*

I shall now inquire whether there are any data to be found among the traditions of the Indians or the Persians, from which we can derive any confirmation of the conclusion to which we have been led by other considerations. I must, however, begin with a candid admission that, so far as I know, none of the Sanskrit books, not even the most ancient, contain any distinct reference or allusion to the foreign origin of the Indians. This does not, perhaps, afford any just ground of surprise. The Vedic hymns themselves do not carry us back to the first ages of the nation, but contain allusions to personages and events of a still earlier date. The past history of their race is very liable to be forgotten by an unlettered people, as is remarked by Schlegel, in the passage quoted above, p. 307; and any traditions which may at one time have existed of the early Arian migrations might very easily have been overgrown and effaced by the luxuriant harvest of legendary inventions for which India has been remarkable from the earliest ages. This process of obscuration is distinctly traceable in other parts of

Indian history, and it has been frequently remarked how greatly the myths and even the allusions of the Vedas have been amplified and distorted by more recent mythologists. I shall, however, proceed to quote such passages as may appear in any way to imply the tradition of a foreign origin.

First. In the Rigveda,[95] an expression occurs from which we might infer that the Indians still retained some recollection of their having at one time occupied a colder country. Reference is made to winter in the following texts:—R.V. i. 64, 14: *Tokam pushyema tanayaṁ śataṁ himāḥ* | "May we cherish sons and descendants a hundred winters!"—v. 54, 15: *Idaṁ su me Maruto haryata vacho yasya tarema tarasā śataṁ himāḥ* | "Be pleased, O Maruts, with this hymn of mine, by the force of which may we pass through a hundred winters!"—vi. 4, 8: *Madema śatahimāḥ suvīrāḥ* | "May we rejoice, living a hundred winters, with vigorous offspring!" The same words are repeated in vi. 10, 7; vi. 12, 6; vi. 13, 6; vi. 17, 15. In vi. 48, 8, it is said to Agni: *Pāhi aṁhasaḥ sameddhārāṁ śataṁ himāḥ stotṛibhyo ye cha dadati* | "Preserve him who kindles thee from calamity for a hundred winters, and [preserve also] those who give (gifts) to thy worshippers." And in ii. 1, 11, we find the words: *Tvam Iḷā śatahimā'si dakshase* | "Thou (Agni) art Iḷā, bestowing a hundred winters on the wise man." And in ix. 74, 8, we find the words, *Kakshīvate śatahimāya*, "To Kakshīvat, who has lived a hundred winters." The phrase, *Paśyema śaradaḥ śataṁ jīvema śaradaḥ śatam*, "May we see—may we live—a hundred autumns," also occurs in R.V. vii. 66, 16. See also R.V. x. 18, 4. This may, perhaps, be a more recent form of the expression, dating from a period when the recollection of the colder regions from which they had migrated was becoming forgotten by the Āryas.[96]

[95] Wilson, Introd. to Rigveda, vol. i. p. xlii.

[96] I omit here the quotation from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 8, 1, 1, f. containing the oldest form of the legend of the Deluge extant in the Indian records, as well as the version of the same story given in the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, vv. 12746, ff., together with all the passages from the hymns relating to the descent of the Arian Indians from Manu, which were given in the first edition of this volume, pp. 324-331, because all these texts, and many others besides, have now been quoted in the second edition of the first volume of this work, pp. 161-238; and because, further, it is doubtful whether the correct reading in the passage of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa i. 8, 1, 5, is *atidudrāva* "he passed over," or *adhidudrāva*, which would

Second. In the allusions made to the Uttara (or northern) Kurus in the Indian books, there may be some reminiscence of an early connexion with the countries to the north of the Himālaya. The following passage from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, viii. 14 (quoted by Weber, Indische Studien, i. 218), contains the oldest reference to this people of which I am aware:—*Tasmād etasyām udīchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha pareṇa Himavantaṁ janapadāḥ "Uttarakuravaḥ Uttaramadrāḥ" iti vairājyāya te 'bhishichyante | "virāḷ" ity etān abhishiktān āchakshate* | "Wherefore in this northern region, all the people who dwell beyond the Himavat, [called] the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, are consecrated to glorious rule (*vairājya*). Those who are consecrated are called *virāḷ*."

The following quotation from another part of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, viii. 23, will, however, show that even at the early period when that work was composed, the country of the Uttara Kurus had come to be regarded as belonging to the domain of mythology: *Etam ha vai Aindram mahābhishekaṁ Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyo 'tyarātaye Jānantapaye provācha | tasmād u Atyarātir Jānantapir arājā san vidyayā samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīṁ jayan parīyāya | sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyaḥ "ajaishīr vai samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivīm | mahan mā gamaya" iti | Sa ha uvācha Atyarātir Jānantapir "yadā brāhmaṇa Uttarakurūn jayeyam atha tvam u ha eva pṛithivyai rājā syāḥ senāpatir eva te 'haṁ syām" iti | Sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyaḥ "devakshetraṁ vai tad na vai tad martyo jetum arhati | adruksho vai me ā 'taḥ idaṁ dade" iti | tato ha Atyarātiṁ Jānantapim āttavīryaṁ niḥśukram amitratapano S'ushminaḥ S'aivyo jaghāna | tasmād evaṁvidushe brāhmaṇāya evaṁchakrushe na kshatriyo druhyed na id rāshṭrād avapadyeyad na id vāmaprāṇo jahat*| "Sātyahavya of the race of Vasishṭha declared this great inauguration, similar to Indra's, to Atyarāti, son of Janantapa; and in consequence Atyarāti, who was not a king, by [that] knowledge traversed the whole earth round, reducing it to subjection. Sātyahavya said to him, 'Thou hast subdued the whole earth round: exalt me now to greatness.' Atyarāti replied, 'When, O Brāhman, I conquer the Uttara Kurus, then thou shalt be king of the earth, and I will be only thy general.' Sātyahavya rejoined, 'That is the land of the gods; no

not so distinctly convey the same sense; and would leave it doubtful whether the writer intended to represent Manu as having crossed the Himālaya from the northward.

mortal may conquer it: thou hast acted injuriously towards me; I take back, therefore, that [which I have bestowed].' In consequence of this the foe-destroying Śushmiṇa, the son of Śivi, slew Atyarâti, son of Janantapa, who had [thus] become bereft of his vigour, and destitute of strength. Wherefore let no Kshatriya treat injuriously a Brâhman who possesses this knowledge and has performed this rite, lest he lose his kingdom and his life." (See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess., i. 43.)

The northern Kurus are also mentioned in the Râmâyaṇa.[97] In the "description of the northern region," iv. 44, 82, ff. we have the following account: *Tân gachhata hari-śreshṭhâḥ viśâlân Uttarân Kurûn | dânaśîlân mahâbhâgân nityatushṭân gatajvarân | na tatra śîtam ushṇaṁ vâ na jarâ nâmayas tathâ | na śoko na bhayaṁ vâ'pi na varshaṁ nâ'pi bhâskaraḥ |* "Go, most excellent of monkeys, to those illustrious Uttara Kurus, who are liberal, prosperous, perpetually happy, and undecaying. In their country there is neither cold nor heat, nor decrepitude, nor disease, nor grief, nor fear, nor rain, nor sun." A great deal more follows in the same hyperbolical strain, and then it is added (verse 117): *Kurûṁs tân samatikramya uttare payasâṁ nidhiḥ | tatra somagirir nâma hiraṇmaya-samo mahân |* and in verses 121, 122: *na kathanchana gantavyaṁ kurûṇâm uttareṇa cha | anyeshâm api bhûtânâṁ na tatra kramate gatiḥ | sa hi somagirir nâma devânâm api durgamaḥ |* "Beyond the Kurus to the north lies the ocean; and there the vast Soma-mountain is situated, resembling a mass of gold." "You must not travel to the north of the Kurus. That region is untrodden by the steps of other living beings also. For that Soma-mountain is difficult of access even to the gods themselves."[98]

In the same way, when Arjuna, in the course of his conquests, as described in the Digvijaya Parva of the Mahâbhârata, comes to the

[97] See also the first volume of this work, second edition, p. 493, f.

[98] These quotations are from Gorresio's edition. The Bombay edition, sec. 43 of the same book, vv. 38, and 57, f., is less diffuse. It says, v. 38: *Uttarâḥ Kuravas tatra kṛitapuṇya-pratiśrayâḥ |* "There are situated the Uttara Kurus, the abodes of those who have performed works of merit:" and in v. 57: *Na kathanchana gantavyaṁ Kurûṇâm uttareṇa vaḥ | anyeshâm api bhûtânâṁ nânukrâmati vai gatiḥ |* 58 | *sa hi somagirir nâma devânâm api durgamaḥ.* "You must not on any account go to the northward of the Kurus: nor may any other creatures proceed further. For that Soma-mountain is difficult of access even to the gods."

country of the Uttara Kurus in Harivarsha, he is thus addressed by the guards at the gate of the city (Sabhā Parva, verses 1045, ff.): *Pārtha nedaṁ tvayā śakyam puraṁ jetuṁ kathanchana | . . . idam puraṁ yaḥ praviśed dhruvaṁ na sa bhaved naraḥ | . . . na chātra kinchij jetavyam Arjunātra pradṛiśyate | Uttarāḥ Kuravo hy ete nātra yuddham pravartate | pravishṭo 'pi hi Kaunteya neha drakshyasi kinchana | na hi mānusha-dehena śakyam atrābhivīkshitum |* "This city, O king, cannot in any way be subdued by thee. . . . He who enters this city must be more than mortal. . . . There is nothing to be beheld here, O Arjuna, which thou mayest conquer. Here are the Uttara Kurus, whom no one attempts to combat. And even if thou shouldst enter, thou couldst behold nothing; for here no one with a mortal body can see."

On this passage (part of which is a mere repetition of the Ait. Brāh. viii. 23) Professor Lassen remarks (in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, ii. 62): "At the furthest accessible extremity of the earth appears Harivarsha, with the northern Kurus. The region of Hari or Vishṇu belongs to the system of mythical geography; but the case is different with the Uttara Kurus. Here there is a real basis of geographical fact; of which fable has only taken advantage, without creating it. The Uttara Kurus were formerly quite independent of the mythical system of 'dvīpas,' though they were included in it at an early date." Again the same writer says at p. 65: "That the conception of the Uttara Kurus is based upon an actual country, and not on mere invention, is proved (1) by the way in which they are mentioned in the Vedas" [the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, as just quoted p. 324]; "(2) by the existence of Uttara Kuru in historical times as a real country; and (3) by the way in which the legend makes mention of that region as the home of primitive customs. To begin with the last point, the Mahābhārata speaks as follows of the freer mode of life which women led in the early world, Book I., verses 4719–22: *Anāvṛitāḥ kila purā striyaḥ āsan varānane | kāma-chāra-vihāriṇyaḥ svatantrāś chāruhāsini | tāsāṁ vyuchcharamāṇānāṁ kaumārāt subhage patīn | nādharmo 'bhūd varārohe sa hi dharmaḥ purā 'bhavat | taṁ chaiva dharmam paurāṇaṁ tiryagyoni-gatāḥ prājāḥ | adyāpy anuvidhīyante kāma-krodha-vivarjitāḥ | pramāṇa-dṛishṭo dharmo 'yam pūjyate cha maharshibhiḥ | Uttareshu cha rambhoru Kurushv adyāpi*

pūjyate | 'Women were formerly unconfined, and roved about at their pleasure, independent. Though in their youthful innocence, they went astray from their husbands, they were guilty of no offence; for such was the rule in early times. This ancient custom is even now the law for creatures born as brutes, which are free from lust and anger. This custom is supported by authority, and is observed by great ṛishis, and it is still practised among the northern Kurus.' [99]

"The idea which is here conveyed is that of the continuance in one part of the world of that original blessedness which prevailed in the golden age. To afford a conception of the happy condition of the southern Kurus it is said in another place" (Mahābh., i. 4346: *Uttaraiḥ Kurubhiḥ sārdhaṁ dakshiṇāḥ Kuravas tathā* | *vispardhamānāḥ vyaharaṁs tathā devarshi-chāraṇaiḥ* |) "'The southern Kurus vied in happiness with the northern Kurus, and with the divine ṛishis and bards.'"

Professor Lassen goes on to say: "Ptolemy (vi. 16)[100] is also acquainted with Uttara Kuru. He speaks of a mountain, a people, and a city called Ottorokorra. Most of the other ancient authors who elsewhere mention this name have it from him. It is a part of the country which he calls Serica; according to him the city lies twelve degrees west from the metropolis of Sera, and the mountain extends from thence far to the eastward. As Ptolemy has misplaced the whole of eastern Asia beyond the Ganges, the relative position which he assigns will guide us better than the absolute one, which removes Ottorokorra so far to the east that a correction is inevitable.

"According to my opinion the Ottorokorra of Ptolemy must be sought for to the east of Kashghar."

Lassen also thinks that Megasthenes had the Uttara Kurus in view

[99] [I am myself responsible for the translation of these lines. The practice of promiscuous intercourse was, according to the legend, abolished by S'vētakētu, son of the ṛishi Uddālaka, who was incensed at seeing his mother led away by a strange Brāhman. His father told him there was no reason to be angry, as: *anavṛitāḥ hi sarveshām varṇānām anganāḥ bhuvi* | *yathā gāvaḥ sthitās tāta sve sve vārṇe tathā prajāḥ* | "The women of all castes on earth are unconfined: just as cattle are situated, so are human beings, too, within their respective castes." S'vētakētu, however, could not endure this custom, and established the rule that henceforward wives should remain faithful to their husbands, and husbands to their wives. Mahābhārata, i. verses 4724-33.—J.M.]

[100] The original passage will be given in appendix, note J.

when he referred to the Hyperboreans, who were fabled by Indian writers to live a thousand years.[101] In his Indian Antiquities (Ind. Alterthumskunde, 2nd ed., i. 612, f. and note) the same writer concludes that the descriptions given in such passages as those above cited relative to the Uttara Kurus are to be taken as pictures of an ideal paradise, and not as founded on any recollections of the northern origin of the Kurus. Still it is probable, he thinks, that some such reminiscences originally existed, and still survived in the Vedic era, though there is no trace of their existence in later times.

The sanctity of Kashmīr is thus celebrated in the Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 10,545–46: *Kāśmīra-maṇḍalaṁ chaitat sarvapunyam arindama | maharshibhiś chādhyushitam paśyedam bhrātṛibhiḥ saha | yatrauttarāṇāṁ sarveshām ṛishīṇāṁ Nāhushasya cha | Agneś chaivātra saṁvādaḥ Kāśyapasya cha Bhārata |* "And this is the region of Kāśmīra, all-holy, and inhabited by great ṛishis: behold it, along with thy brothers. It was here that the conversation of all the northern ṛishis with Nāhusha, as well as that of Agni and Kāśyapa, occurred."

Fourth. In the Atharva-veda, v. 4, 1, the salutary plant "kushṭha" is spoken of as growing on the other side of the Himālaya:—*Udaṅ jāto Himavataḥ prāchyāṁ nīyase janam,* "Produced to the north of the Himavat, thou art carried to the people in the east." This reference may perhaps be held to imply that the contemporaries of the author of this mantra had some acquaintance with the country on the other side of the great chain.

Fifth. In a passage of the Sānkhāyana or Kaushītakī-brāhmaṇa vii. 6 (cited by Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 153, note, and alluded to by Müller, "Last Results of the Turanian Researches," p. 340), it is reported that the north was resorted to at an early period for the purpose of studying language, as it was best known in that region: *Pathyā Svastir udīchīm diśam prājānāt | Vāg vai Pathyā Svastiḥ | tasmād udīchyām diśi prajnātatarā vāg udyate | udanche u eva yanti vāchaṁ śikshitum | yo vā tataḥ āpachhati tasya vā śuśrūshante "iti sma āha" | eshā hi vāco dik prajnātā |* "Pathyā Svasti (a goddess) knew the

[101] Zeitschrift, as above, ii. 67, and Schwanbeck, Megasthenis Indica, pp. 77, 117, *Περὶ δὲ τῶν χιλιετῶν Ὑπερβορέων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν Σιμωνίδῃ καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις μυθολόγοις.*

northern region. Now Pathyā Svasti is Vāch [the goddess of speech]. Hence in the northern region speech is better known and better spoken: and it is to the north that men go to learn speech: men listen to the instructions of any one who comes from that quarter, saying, 'he says [so and so]': for that is renowned as the region of speech." On this the commentator Vināyaka Bhaṭṭa remarks (Weber, as above): "*Prajnātatarā vāg udyate*," *kāśmīre Sarasvatī kīrtyate* | *Badarikāśrame veda-ghoshaḥ śrūyate* | "*vāchaṁ śikshitum*" *Sarasvatī-prasādārthaṁ* "*udanche eva yanti*" | *yo vā prasādaṁ labdhvā* "*tataḥ āgachhati*" | "*smāha*" *prasiddham āha sma sarvalokaḥ* | "'Language is better understood and spoken:' for Sarasvatī is spoken of [as having her abode] in Kashmīr, and in the hermitage of Badarikā [Badarināth in the Himālaya, apparently], the sound of the Vedas is heard. 'Men go to the north to learn language': to obtain the favour of Sărăsvătī; and 'he who comes thence,' having obtained her favour, 'is listened to with attention,' as every one knows, and repeats."

There may lie in this passage some faint reminiscence of an early connexion with the north.

Sect. IX.—*Whether any tradition regarding the earliest abodes of the Arian race is contained in the First Fargard of the Vendidad.*

I shall now proceed to quote at some length the First Fargard of the Vendidad, descriptive of the creation of various countries by Ahura-mazda, which is held by some scholars to contain a reference to the earliest regions known to, and successively occupied by, the Iranians, though this is denied by others. Being unacquainted with Zend, I shall borrow the abstract which I give of this section from the versions of Professor Spiegel[102] and Dr. Haug.[103]

1–4.—"Ahura-mazda spake to the holy Zarathustra: 'I formed into an agreeable region that which before was nowhere habitable. Had I not done this, all living things would have departed to Airyana-vaējo.'[104]

[102] Avesta: Die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen (Avesta: The Sacred Writings of the Parsīs), vol. i., pp. 61, ff.

[103] Das Erste Kapitel des Vendidād (The First Chapter of the Vendidad), pp. 18, ff.

[104] The purport of this is, Dr. Haug remarks, that Airyana-vaējo was originally

5–9.—'I, Ahura-mazda created as the first, best region, Airyana-vaējo, in a state of excellence. Then Angra-mainyus, the destroyer, formed in opposition to it, a great serpent, and winter [or snow], the creation of the daēvas. There are there ten months of winter, and two of summer.'

13, 14.—'I, Ahura-mazda, created as the second, best region, Gāu, in which Sughdha is situated.'

[Here, and in most of the following cases, I omit the counter-creations of Angra-mainyus.]

17, 18.—'I, etc., created as the third, best region, Mōuru, the mighty, the holy.'

21, 22.—'I, etc., created as the fourth, best region, the fortunate Bakhdhī, with the lofty banner.'

25, 26.—'I, etc., created as the fifth, best region Nisāi,' [situated between Mōuru and Bakhdhī.]

29, 30.—'I, etc., created as the sixth, best region, Harōyu, abounding in houses [or water].'

33–36.—'I, etc., created as the seventh, best region, Vaēkereta where Duǰak is situated. In opposition to it, Angra-mainyus, the destroyer, created the Pairika Khnathaiti, who clung to Kereśāśpa.'

37, 38.—'I, etc., created as the eighth, best region, Urvā, full of pastures.'

41, 42.—'I, etc., created as the ninth, best region, Khnĕnta, in which Vehrkāna lies.'

45, 46.—'I, etc., created as the tenth, best region, the fortunate Haraqaiti.'

49, 50.—'I, etc., created as the eleventh, best region, Haētumat, the rich and shining.'

59, 60.—'I, etc., created as the twelfth, best region, Raghā, with three fortresses [or races].'

63, 44.—'I, etc., created as the thirteenth, best region, Chakhra, the strong.'

67, 68.—'I, etc., created as the fourteenth, best region, Varena, with four corners; to which was born Thraētaŏno, who slew the serpent Dahāka.'

the only cultivated country, and that all other countries were waste. As it was to be feared that the inhabitants of the waste would overrun Airyana-vaējo, other countries also were made habitable by Ahura-mazda.

72, 73.—'I, etc., created as the fifteenth, best country, Hapta-hĕndu [from the eastern to the western Hendu[105]]. In opposition, Angra-mainyus created untimely evils, and pernicious heat [or fever].'

76, 77.—'I, etc., created as the sixteenth, and best, the people who live without a ruler on the sea-shore.'

81.—'There are besides, other countries, fortunate, renowned, lofty, prosperous and splendid.'"

I shall now adduce the most important comments of different authors on this curious passage.

Haug observes (p. 9) that "the winter of ten months' duration assigned to Airyana-vaējō, points to a position far to the north, at a great distance beyond the Jaxartes; but the situation cannot, in the absence of any precise accounts, be more specifically fixed. Only so much is undeniable, that the Iranians came from the distant north. The same thing results from the Second Fargard of the Vendidad, where the years of Yima are enumerated by winters, and the evils of winter are depicted in lively colours." The same writer further remarks (pp. 23, 24): "By Airyana-vaējō we are to understand the original country of the Arians, and paradise of the Iranians. Its ruler was King Yima, the renowned Jemshēd of Iranian legends, who is hence called *śruto Airyēnē-vaējahi*, 'famous in Airyana-vaējo.' (Fargard ii.) In this region Ahura-mazda and Zarathustra adore the water of the celestial spring (*Ardvī śūrā anāhitā*, Yasht, 5, 17, 104); and here, too, Zarathustra supplicates Drvāśpā and Ashi. Thus, Airyana-vaējō had become an entirely mythical region, the abode of gods and heroes, free from sickness, death, frost and heat, as is said of Yima's realm. We can, however, discover a historical substratum in the chapter before us. In Airyana-vaējō the winter lasts for ten months; but winter being a calamity inflicted by Angra-mainyus, was not compatible with the idea of a paradise, the abode of joy and blessedness. This long duration of winter is, however, perfectly characteristic of regions lying far to the north, and is a primitive reminiscence of the real cradle of the Iranians. In the legend of Airyana-vaējō an actual historical recollection of this earliest home has thus become blended with the conception of a primeval abode of

[105] Spiegel omits the words within brackets.

mankind in paradise, such as is represented in so many popular traditions."

"Airyana-vaējo," says Spiegel, "is to be placed in the furthest east of the Iranian plateau, in the region where the Oxus and Jaxartes take their rise."

The second country is Sogdiana; the third, Merv (the ancient Margiana); the fourth, Balkh (the ancient Bactria); the fifth, Nisa (the ancient Nisæa);[106] the sixth, Herat (the ancient Aria); the seventh is Kabul,[107] according to Spiegel, and Sejestan according to Burnouf, Lassen, and Haug; the eighth is Kabul, according to Haug and Lassen;[108] the ninth is Gurgān, according to Spiegel,[109] and Kandahār, according to Haug; the tenth is the Arachosia of the ancients; the eleventh is the valley of the Hilmend river; the twelfth is Rei in Media; the thirteenth and fourteenth are variously placed; the fifteenth is the country of the seven rivers (*Sapta-sindhavas*), or the Panjāb; and the sixteenth may, Haug thinks, be sought on the shores of the Caspian Sea.[110]

In regard to the age of the section under review, Dr. Haug remarks (p. 6): "The original document itself [as distinguished from certain additions which appear to have been interpolated in it] is certainly of high antiquity, and is undoubtedly one of the oldest of the pieces which compose the existing Vendidad. But in the form in which it lies before us (even after striking out the late interpolations) it is decidedly subsequent to Zarathustra; and later than the so-called 'Gāthās,' in which, for the most part, the genuine sayings and doctrines

[106] Spiegel says that in the writings on the geography of this section, the position of this country has been much disputed. Comm. p. 24. (The first volume of this commentary appeared in 1865, thirteen years after the publication of the first volume of the translation of the Avesta.)

[107] According to his commentary, p. 28, Spiegel thinks that the correctness of this identification cannot be decidedly guaranteed, but that it has much in its favour.

[108] According to Spiegel, this locality is difficult to determine. Comm. p. 31.

[109] In his Comm., p. 32, Spiegel says that the name Vehrkāna appears to coincide with the ancient Hyreania. Lassen concurs in this. Ind. Ant., i. 635, note (2nd ed.).

[110] In a paper "On the Geographical Arrangement of the Arian Countries mentioned in the First Fargard of the Vendidad," published in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1856, pp. 621–647, Dr. Kiepert contests the conclusions of Dr. Haug and others in regard to the position of some of the countries. Dr. Haug defends his own views in a paper in the Journ. of the Germ. Or. Society, vol. xi., pp. 526–533.

of Zarathustra have been handed down. The chief reason for this conclusion is, that the passage under review exhibits the Persian doctrine in a far more developed shape than the songs of Zarathustra." And again in p. 7, "Though there is thus no doubt that this Fargard only dates from the period after Zarathustra, we do not thereby mean to say that it is of modern origin; on the contrary, its whole contents show that it must be very ancient. We can scarcely derive from it any fixed historical data. From the names of the countries, however, we can gather not only that the geographical knowledge of its author was very limited, but also that the region actually occupied by the Arians was much more contracted than we afterwards find it."

In his first volume Professor Spiegel remarks on the same Fargard as follows, p. 59: "The great importance of this first chapter for the prehistorical age of the Indo-Germanic race in general, and of the Persian race in particular, has been fully allowed by investigators of the mythology and history of the ancient world. Heeren, Rhode, Lassen, and others, have recognized in these accounts of the Vendidad a half-historical, half-mythical fragment, which reveals to us the state of geographical knowledge among the followers of the Avesta at the time when it was composed. Perhaps, we may also, with Rhode, discover in it the history of the gradual diffusion of the Iranian race, regarding the first-mentioned country as their primeval abode, and those which follow as the regions which were peopled at a later date. The order in which the countries are arranged appears to tell in favour of this hypothesis."

In his second volume, p. cix, Professor Spiegel retracts his qualified adhesion to the view of Rhode. He says: "I cannot coincide in the attempt to discover in the first chapter of the Vendidad an account of the gradual migration of the Iranians. It has been said that that list of countries is a continuous history of their attempts at colonization, beginning with their northern home, and ending with Hapta-Hendu or India. But the list nowhere speaks of any such migration. . . . . Hence, I see in this chapter nothing but a specification of the countries known to the Iranians at a particular time. This period, however, cannot be a very recent one, as the name Hapta-Hendu is connected with the Vedic period. This name, however, may have been preserved in Persia after it had disappeared in India, and we cannot conclude

from it that this Fargard was composed contemporaneously with the Vedas."[111]

M. Pictet, on the other hand, makes the following observations: "These names [of countries] enable us to follow step by step the extension of the Iranians over the vast domain which they have ever since occupied. The thing which interests us the most in this enumeration is the point of departure, and the general direction of the movement. The first perfect abode which Ormuzd created is called 'Airyana-vaējo.' . . . As Ritter and Lassen remark, the ten months of winter and only two of summer can only apply to the highest valleys of Belurtagh and Mustagh at the north-east corner of the Iranian table-land. But it is difficult to conceive that an 'excellent' abode could ever have existed there, unless we assume a very improbable alteration of climate. We are as little able to imagine how a country so savage and so poor could have been the cradle of a race so prolific as the Aryas. I believe, then, that we must separate, in this tradition, the mythical element from the historical data. Airyana-vaējo, the primeval paradise, was probably nothing more than a very confused reminiscence of the country originally inhabited by the Aryas. At their dispersion, the Perso-Arian branch, driven back perhaps by the gradual increase of the Arian population, may have directed their steps towards the east as far as the high valleys of Belurtagh and Mustagh, where their further progress would be arrested. At a later period, when the emigration of the other Arian tribes had left the field clear, they descended from these unprofitable regions towards the more favoured countries of which they had preserved some recollection, as we learn from the myth in Vendidad."—Origines Indo-Européennes, pp. 36, 37.

Professor Müller's views, as well as those of M. Bréal, on the First Fargard of the Vendidad will be found above, in note 90, p. 314.[112]

[111] In his Commentary on the Avesta, vol. i. (1865), p. 1, the same author writes: "This view (that this Fargard describes the migration of the Iranians) was first shaken by Kiepert in his dissertation on "The Geographical Arrangement of the Names of Arian Countries in the First Fargard of the Vendidad" (Proceedings of the Berlin Academy of Science, Dec., 1856, p. 621, ff.), with which I in general agree, as does also M. Bréal, *De la Geographie de l'Avesta* (Journ. Asiatique, 1862). On the other hand, Haug and Bunsen maintain the view that this chapter describes the migrations of the Indo-Germans, and in particular of the Arians, up to the time of their immigration into Iran and India (compare Bunsen's Ægyptens Stelle in der Welt-geschichte, vol. ii., p. 104, ff.).

[112] See Appendix, note K.

Sect. X.—*What was the route by which the Āryas penetrated into India?*

We have already seen (pp. 306, ff.) that according to the most numerous authorities, Bactria, or its neighbourhood, was the country which the different branches of the Indo-European race occupied in common before their separation. By what route, then, did they enter into India? [113]

A. W. von Schlegel thinks that the Indo-Arians must have penetrated into that country from the west. After describing the difficulties of the sea routes leading to India from the south, and of the land route over the Himālaya from the north, he goes on to say: "The western

[113] In the first edition of this volume, p. 345, I wrote as follows: "Professor Benfey, who, apparently, differs to some extent from other scholars in designating that primeval country as Tartary, is of opinion that the Indian and Persian branches of this family may, after their separation from the others, have dwelt together, more to the south, in Little Thibet, the country near the sources of the Indus;" and I then proceed to quote from his Indien, pp. 14, ff., a passage in which he argues that most probably the Indians "crossed over from their ancient seats beyond, and in the northern valleys of, the Himālaya, into the southern plains, rather as peaceable colonists than as martial conquerors. The passes over which the road lies are, it is true, difficult, but by no means insuperable, and are available for traffic and every sort of intercourse, though difficult for warlike operations. By these routes the first Aryas who settled in India, partly following the various branches of the Ganges, might have found their way, through Kemaon, Garhwal, or Sirmur, to the plains situated to the the south of the Himālaya. Here they founded Indraprastha, and thence spread themselves around, subduing the feeble Mlechhas, and gradually conquering all the parts of India which were not too difficult of access."

In his review of the first volume of this work, in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen for 1861, p. 136, Prof. Benfey writes: "The author has also given a place to the opinion expressed by me in 1840 in regard to the road by which the Sanskrit-speaking race immigrated into India. This was written at a time when I had scarcely any means of becoming acquainted with the Vedas; and since then I have had no opportunity for expressing my views anew upon this question. But already in 1844, when I first read through the Rigveda in London, and still more in 1846, after Roth's dissertation 'On the Literature, etc. of the Veda,' had appeared, I, too, became firmly convinced that it was not the region of the Sarasvatī which was to be assumed as the earliest abode of the immigrants into India (on which my opinion regarding their route had been founded), but the country of the Upper Indus, and that, consequently, their route must have been over the Hindukush and the Indus." Professor Benfey then goes on to state his conviction that his earliest view was the only one to which the materials at his command before the Vedas were accessible could properly lead. And he refers to the fact that Prof. Weber's opinion had at first coincided with his own (the passage will be quoted in a note further on, p. 339), and had only at a later period been altered in conformity with the materials now accessible.

side of India appears to be more open, as from Kashmīr to the Delta of the Indus the boundaries are not otherwise marked than by that river itself. But in its upper course the Indus is not navigable, owing to its rapidity and its cataracts: and in addition its right bank is flanked by mountains. Towards the sea it spreads out into, or is surrounded by, marshes: more in the interior, and even above the confluence of the five rivers, it is bounded by sandy deserts. From that point to the place where it enters the plains near Attock, a tract intervenes where the passage may be more easily effected. Accordingly it is on this side that India has always been entered by foreign conquerors, by Semiramis, if her Indian expedition is authentic, . . by Alexander the Great, Seleucus, and the Greek kings of Bactria, by the Indo-Scythians, or nomad races, who invaded certain provinces during the century preceding our era; by Mahmud of Ghazni, by the Afghans, the Moguls, and the Persians under Nadir Shah. Thus all probabilities are united in favour of the supposition that the ancestors of the Hindus came from the same side; a supposition which we find to be confirmed by arguments of another kind. The Panjab would consequently be the first country occupied by the colonists. Tradition does not, however, celebrate this as a classic region. On the contrary, in a passage of the Mahābhārata, published and commented on by Lassen, its inhabitants are described as less pure and correct in their customs than the real Aryas, as perhaps they had been corrupted by the vicinity of barbarians. This leads us to believe that it was only after the colonists had spread themselves over the plains of the Ganges, that their form of worship, and the social order dependent upon it, could have assumed a permanent form."—Essais littéraires et historiques, pp. 455–457.

The same view is taken by Lassen (Indian Antiquities, 1st ed., i. 511; 2nd ed., p. 612):—

"The Indians, like most other nations of the ancient world, believe themselves to be autochthonous: their sacred legends represent India itself as the scene of creation, as the abode of the patriarchs, and the theatre of their deeds; and they have no recollection of having sprung from any country out of India, or of having ever lived beyond the bounds of their own Bhāratavarsha. (See, however, above, p. 323, ff.)

"It is true that we might be tempted to discover in the superior

sacredness which they ascribe to the north a reference, unintelligible to themselves, to a closer connexion which they had formerly had with the northern countries; for the abodes of most of the gods are placed towards the north in and beyond the Himalaya, and the holy and wonderful mountain Meru is situated in the remotest regions in the same direction. A more exact examination will, however, lead to the conviction that the conception to which we have referred has been developed in India itself, and is to be derived from the peculiar character of the northern mountain-range. The daily prospect of the snowy summits of the Himalaya glittering far and wide over the plains, and in the strictest sense insurmountable, and the knowledge which they had of the entirely different character of the table-land beyond, with its extensive and tranquil domains, its clear and cloudless sky and peculiar natural productions, would necessarily designate the north as the abode of the gods and the theatre of wonders; while its holiness is explicable from the irresistible impression produced upon the mind by surrounding nature. Uttara Kuru, the Elysium in the remotest north, may be most properly regarded as an ideal picture created by the imagination, of a life of tranquil felicity, and not as a recollection of any early residence of the Kurus in the north. Such at least is true of the representation which we have of this country in the epic poems. It is, however, probable that originally, and as late as the Vedic era, a recollection of this sort attached itself to that country, though in later times no trace of it has been preserved."

After stating the reasons (already detailed above, pp. 308, ff.) which lead to the conclusion that the Indians could not have been autochthonous, Lassen proceeds as follows (1st ed., p. 515, 2nd. ed., p. 616): "There is only one route by which we can imagine the Arian Indians to have immigrated into India; they must have come through the Panjab, and they must have reached the Panjab through western Kabulistan. The roads leading from the country on the Oxus into eastern Kabulistan and the valley of the Panjkora, or into the upper valley of the Indus down upon Gilgit, and from thence either down the course of the Indus, or from Gilgit over the lofty plateau of Deotsu down on Kashmir, are now known to us as the roughest and most difficult that exist, and do not appear to have been ever much or frequently used as lines of communication. We can only imagine the small tribes of the

Daradas to have come by the second route from the northern side of the Hindukush into their elevated valleys; but we cannot suppose the mass of the Arians to have reached India by this road. All the important expeditions of nations or armies which are known to us have proceeded through the western passes of the Hindukush, and if we suppose the Arian Indians to have come into India from Bactria, this is the only route by which we can assume them to have arrived." It is true that the Hindus attach no idea of sanctity to the Panjab; on the contrary, "the Sarasvatī is the western boundary of the pure land, governed by Brahmanical law. There are, indeed, Indians dwelling further to the west, but they do not observe the Brahmanical ordinances in all their integrity. But this mode of regarding the western tribes can only have arisen after the Indian institutions had been developed, and a marked difference had become observable between the people living east of the Sarasvatī, and those on the western border. The people of the Panjab always appear as descended from the same stock, and in spite of the aversion in question, the epic legends recount to us frequent relations between the kings of the pure portion of India and the tribes to the westward. There is no break in the chain of Indian races towards the west." (p. 616, 2nd ed.)

M. Burnouf briefly indicates his opinion on the question with which we are now occupied, by speaking of "the movement which from the earliest ages had carried the Arian race from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Ganges into the Dekhan," etc., Preface to Bhag. Pur., vol. iii., p. xxix.

I am not aware whether Professor Roth has ever expressed an opinion as to the precise route by which the Arians entered India; but in his work on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda (1846), p. 136, he writes as follows: "It is more than probable that the bulk of the tribes which we may designate as the Vedic people dwelt nearer to the Indus than the Jumna, and that the battle which is described in the hymn before us was one of those conflicts in which the northern tribes pressed upon the southern, on their way towards the regions which they were eventually to occupy. The Indus is well known and frequently celebrated in the hymns of the Rigveda, while at this moment I know of only one passage in which the Ganges is mentioned, and that only in a way which assigns to it an inferior rank."

The same writer in his article on "Brahma and the Brahmans," in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1847, p. 81, again expresses himself thus: "When the Vedic people, expelled by some shock—and that at a period more recent than the majority of the hymns of the Veda—relinquished their seats in the Panjab and on the Indus, advanced further and further to the south, drove the aborigines into the hills, and occupied the broad tracts lying between the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Vindhya range, the time had arrived when the division of power, the relations of king and priest, could become transformed in the most rapid and comprehensive manner."

Professor Weber also speaks of the Arians as at one time dwelling beyond the Indus. In his Hist. of Ind. Lit. (1852), pp. 2 and 3, he writes: "In the oldest parts of the Rigveda the Indian people appear to us as settled on the north-western borders of India, in the Panjab, and even beyond the Panjab, on the borders of the Kubhā river, the Kophēn in Kabul.[114] The gradual diffusion of this people from this point towards the east, beyond the Sarasvatī and over Hindustān as far as the Ganges, can be traced almost step by step in the later portions of the Vedic writings." See also Ind. Stud. ii. 20.

In his "Recent Investigations on Ancient India," the same writer similarly remarks: "The oldest hymns of the Veda show us the Arian people still dwelling beyond, or, at least, only on the north-western frontiers of India; viz., in the tract between the Cabul river and the Indus, as well as in the Panjab. Their advance from this point, and extension over India can be traced step by step in their literature. Their road lay to the north of the great desert of Marwar, from the Satadru (the modern Sutlej) to the Sarasvatī, a river (esteemed at a later period as of the highest sanctity) which loses itself in the sands of the desert. This must have been a point where they made a halt

[114] In his Indische Studien, vol. i. p. 165 (published 1849–50), Weber speaks of the "Arian Indians being driven by a deluge from their home (see above, p. 335, note), and coming from the north, not from the west (as Lassen, i. 515, will have it) into India; first of all to Kashmir and the Panjab; as it is only in this way that we can explain the northern Kurus and the northern Madras, with whom the conception of the golden age became afterwards associated." As, however, in the passages quoted in the text, which were written at a later date, Weber supposes the Arians to have dwelt on the Kabul river, they must, in order to arrive there, have either arrived by the route which Lassen assigns, or have afterwards spread themselves to the westward.

of long continuance, as may be concluded from the great sacredness ascribed in later times to this region. At that period it formed the boundary line between the Brahmanical organization which was being now formed in Hindustan, and those Arian races of the west which retained the free manner of life inherited from their forefathers."—Indian Sketches, pp. 13, 14.

M. Langlois, in the Preface to his French translation of the R.V., speaks to the same effect, pp. ix, x: "The hymns of the Rigveda were composed for tribes which had come from the banks of the Indus, and were living in the plains watered by the Ganges. This people seems to have belonged to that great branch of the human race known under the name of the Aryas. They brought with them a mild and simple civilization, patriarchal manners, a polished language. . . . These Aryas, as they established themselves in India, drove back before them the ancient populations, which then proceeded to occupy the forests and mountains, and which, on account of their savage customs and murderous depredations, became, for the Aryas, the types of those evil spirits which they have depicted in their books. At the head of the first colony there must have been a prince of the Arian nation called Manu, whom the traditions represent as the father of mankind."

In another place, in a note to R.V. i. 33, 3 (p. 264, vol. i. of his work, note 2), the same author writes still more explicitly as regards the point under consideration: "It is my opinion that the Indian colony conducted by Manu, which established itself in Āryāvărtta, came from the countries which lie to the west of the Indus, and of which the general name was Aria, Ariana, Hiran."

Professor Müller does not, as far as I am aware, anywhere determine the route by which the Arians arrived in India, more precisely than is done in the following passages (already quoted in pp. 310, f.): "At the first dawn of traditional history we see these Arian tribes migrating across the snow of the Himālaya, southward towards the 'seven rivers' (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjāb, and the Sarasvatī), and ever since India has been called their home."—Last Results of the Sanskrit Researches, p. 129 ("Chips," i. 63); and Anc. Sanskrit Lit., p. 12. And again, at p. 131 ("Chips," i. p. 65); Anc. Sanskrit Lit., p. 15, he writes: "After crossing the narrow passes of the Hindukush or

the Himālaya, they [the southern Arians] conquered, or drove before them . . . . the aboriginal inhabitants of the Trans-Himalayan countries." Some remarks on the same subject have been already quoted (see above, p. 311) from his "Last Results of the Turanian Researches," p. 340.

Whatever other and minor differences of view may exist between the several authorities whom I have last cited, they are all of one accord at least in regard to this one point, that India is not the original country of the Hindus.

Sect. XI.—*The immigration of the Indo-Arians from the north-west rendered probable by the tenor of the Vedic hymns.*

The immigration of the Arians, the progenitors of the Brahmanical Indians, into India from the north-west, is further rendered probable by the fact that the writers of the Vedic hymns appear to be most familiar with the countries lying in that direction, i.e., with the north-western parts of India itself, as well as with the countries bordering on, or beyond the Indus, and with the rivers which flow through those regions; while the countries and rivers in the central and eastern parts of India are more rarely mentioned; and no allusion whatever is made to the regions of the south. On this subject I borrow the following remarks from Professor Roth's work on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 136: "The Sindhu (Indus) is well known and frequently celebrated in the hymns of the Rigveda, while at present I know of only one hymn in which the Ganges is mentioned, and that only in a subordinate capacity. This passage occurs in one of the hymns ascribed to Sindhukshit, son of Priyamedha (x. 75, 5), which is addressed to the Sindhu, 'the most copious of streams,' (*apasām apastamā*). The other rivers are solicited to regard graciously the praises of the poet, which are dedicated to the Sindhu.[115] The passage is, after Yāska (Nirukta, ix. 26), to be explained thus: 'Gangā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Sutudrī, with the Parushnī, receive graciously my hymn. Marudvridhā, hear with the Asiknī, the Vitastā; Arjīkīyā, hear with the

[115] The entire hymn is quoted and translated in the fifth volume of this work, p. 343, f.

Sushomā.' "[116] (*Imaṁ me Gange Yamune Sarasvati S'utudri stomaṁ sachata Parushṇi ā | Asiknyā Marudvṛidhe Vitastayā Ārjīkīye śṛiṇuhi ā Sushomayā* |)

Another passage in which the Indus is mentioned is the following, R.V. i. 126, 1: *Amandān stomān prabhare manīshā Sindhāv adhi kshiyato Bhāvyasya | Yo me sahasram amimīta savān atūrto rājā sravaḥ ichhamānaḥ* | "With my intellect I produce ardent encomiums upon Svanaya, the son of Bhavya, who dwells on the Sindhu; the invincible prince, who, desirous of renown, has offered through me a thousand oblations." In the 7th verse of the same hymn we find a reference which indicates familiarity with the country of the Gandhāris and its sheep: *Sarvā 'ham asmi romaśā Gandhārīṇām ivāvikā* | "I am all hairy, like a ewe of the Gandhāris." Gandhāra is placed by Lassen (in the map of Ancient India in vol. ii. of his Indian Antiquities) to the west of the Indus, and to the south of the Cophen or Kabul river, the same position to which the Gandaritis of the ancients is referred.[117] In a note to his Transl. of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii., p. 174 (Dr. Hall's ed.), Prof. Wilson writes of the Gāndhāras: "These are, also, a people of the north-west, found both on the west of the Indus and in the Punjab." The word Sindhu also occurs in the following passages of the Rigveda, viz., i. 94, 16; i. 122, 6; ii. 15, 6; iv. 30, 12; v. 53, 9; vii. 33, 3; viii. 20, 25; x. 64, 9. It is, however, difficult to say whether the Indus be always meant. The last of these passages

[116] Part of Yāska's note (Nirukta, ix. 26) is as follows:—*Imam me Gange Yamune Sarasvati S'utudri Parushṇi stomam ā sevadham Asiknyā cha saha Marudvṛidhe Vitastayā cha Ārjīkīye āśṛiṇuhi Sushomayā cha iti samastārthaḥ* | . . . . *Irāvatīm Parushṇī ity āhuḥ* . . . . *Asiknī aśuklā asitā* | . . . *Marudvṛidhāḥ sarvāḥ nadyaḥ* | *Marutaḥ enāḥ vardhayanti* | . . . *Ārjīkīyām Vipāḍ ity āhuḥ* | (See vol. i., pp. 339 and 417, note 210.) "The entire sense is, 'Receive this hymn, O Gangā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, S'utudrī, Parushṇī, and Marudvridhā along with the Asiknī, and Ārjīkīyā along with the Vitastā and Sushomā.' . . . Parushṇī is a name of the Irāvatī. . . . Asiknī means 'black.' . . . All rivers [may be called] Marudvṛidhā, because they are swollen by the Maruts . . . Ārjīkīyā is a name of the Vipāś." See Roth's remarks on these rivers, in his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 136–140; and a passage which will be quoted from Lassen in the text further on.

[117] The Gandarii are mentioned by Herodotus, vii. 66, along with the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Dadikæ, as forming part of the army of Xerxes. See the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. 103, ff.; the Journ. Royal Asiatic Society, v. 17; and Rawlinson's Herodotus, iv. 216, f.

(which occurs in a hymn to the Viśve devas) is as follows, R.V. x. 64, 9: *Sarasvatī Sarayuḥ Sindhur ūrmibhir maho mahīr avasā "yantu vakshaṇīḥ | devīr āpo mātaraḥ sūdayitnvo ghṛitavat payo madhumat no archata* | "Let the Sarasvatī, the Sarayu, the Sindhu, with their waves; let the great [rivers] come swiftly, strengthening us with their succour. Divine waters, mothers, flowing, impart (?) to us your waters with butter and honey."

The verse which has been cited above from the Rigveda, x. 75, 5, in the extract from Professor Roth's work, is followed by another,[118] in which the names of several other rivers are mentioned, viz., the Tṛishṭāmā, the Susartū, the Rasā,[119] the S'vetī, the Kubhā, the Gomatī, the Krumu, and the Mehatnū. In Roth and Böhtlingk's Lexicon, the Kubhā, Gomatī, and Krumu are set down as being affluents of the Indus.[120] That they were really so is rendered probable by their being mentioned in conjunction with that river. In the case of the Kubhā, the probability is strengthened by its name, which has a close resemblance to that of the Kophēn, or Kabul river, which falls into the Indus, a little above Attock (see the passage from Weber's Ind. Liter., above p. 339). This river is mentioned again in R.V. v. 53, 9: *Mā vo Rasā 'nitabhā Kubhā Krumur mā vaḥ Sindhur ni rīramat | mā vaḥ*

[118] R.V. x. 75, 6:—*Tṛishṭāmayā prathamaṁ yātave sajūḥ Susartvā Rasayā S'vetyā tyā | tvaṁ Sindho Kubhayā Gomatīm Krumum Mehatnvā sarathaṁ yābhir īyase* | "Unite first in thy course with the Trishṭāmā, the Susartū, the Rasā and the S'vetī; thou, Sindhu, [meetest] the Gomatī with the Kubhā, the Krumu with the Mehatnū, and with them art borne onward (as) on the same car."

[119] The Rāsā is considered by Dr. Aufrecht, in his explanation of R.V. x. 108, to denote there and elsewhere the "milky way." See Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xiii. p. 498. Yāska merely explains it as meaning a river: *Rasā nādī* | Nir. xi. 25. In his translation of Sāmaveda, ii. 247 (=R.V. ix. 41, 6), Benfey translates *rasā* by "ocean." In his Glossary he explains it of "a particular river which separates the world of Indra from that of the Panis (?);" referring to R.V., x. 108. In R.V. i. 112, 12, he explains it of the river Rasā. In his translation of this verse in Orient und Occident, iii. 150, he makes it a river of the lower world (*unterwelt*). In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon the Rasā is stated to be the name of a river, in R.V., i. 112, 12; v. 53, 9; x. 75, 6; and to mean "a mythical stream which flows round the earth and sky" in ix. 41, 6; x. 108, 1, f.; x. 121, 4; v. 41, 15.

[120] In his Elucidations (Erläuterungen) of the Nirukta, p. 43, note, Professor Roth remarks: "The Kōphēn is the Kubhā of the Veda, mentioned in R.V. v. 53, 9, and x. 75, 7. If we identify the Krumu and Gomatī of this last text, with the Kurum and Gomal which flow into the Indus from the west (as Lassen proposes in a letter), we may regard the rivers whose names precede [the Tṛishṭāma, Rasā, S'vetī, and Anitabhā] as being affluents of the Indus further to the north than the Kōphēn."

parishṭhāt Sarayuḥ purīshiṇī asme it sumnam astu vaḥ | "Let not, O Maruts, the Rasā, the Anitabhā, the Kubhā, the Krumu or the Sindhu arrest you: let not the watery Sarayu stop you: let the joy you impart come to us." Another of the rivers named in the verse previously cited (R.V. x. 75, 7), and declared by Roth to be an affluent of the Indus, is the Gomatī. It is not necessary that we should identify this river with the Gomatī (Goomtee), which rises to the north-west of Oude and flows past Lukhnow, though, being mentioned along with the Sarayu (if, indeed, this be the modern Surjoo), it may be the same. A river of the same name is mentioned again in R.V. viii. 24, 30: *Esho apaśrito Valo Gomatīm anu tishṭhati* | "This Vala dwells afar on the [banks of the] Gōmatī."[121] It is quite possible that the names of the rivers in Oude may have been borrowed from some streams further west.[122] Another river, the Suvāstu, which may be an affluent of the Indus, is mentioned in R.V., viii. 19, 37: *Suvāstvāḥ adhi tugvani* | These words are quoted in Nirukta, iv. 15, and explained thus: *Suvāstur nadī* | *tugma tīrtham bhavati* | "Suvāstu is a river; *tugma* means a ferry." On this passage Roth observes, Erläuterungen, p. 43: "The bard Sobhari is recounting the presents which he received from Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, on the banks of the Suvāstu. In the Mahābhārata, vi. 333,[123] the Suvāstu is connected with the Gaurī. Now, according to Arrian, Indica, 4, 11,[124] the Soastos and Garoias

[121] Compare R.V. v. 61, 19.

[122] There is a stream called Gomātī in Kemaon, which must be distinct from the river in Oude, as the latter rises in the plains.

[123] In the list of rivers in the description of Jambukhaṇḍa. The words are: *Vāstuñ Suvāstuñ Gaurīñ cha Kampanāñ sa-Hiraṇvatīm* | "The Vāstu, the Suvāstu, the Gaurī, the Kampanā, and the Hiraṇvatī."

[124] Κωφὴν δὲ ἐν Πευκελαιήτιδι, ἅμα ὁι ἄγων Μάλαντόν τε καὶ Σόαστον καὶ Γαρρόιαν, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ινδόν. "The Kophen unites with the Indus in Peukĕlæētis, bringing with it the Malantus, the Soastus, and the Garrœas." Professor Wilson (Ariana Ant. pp. 183, 190, 194) thinks these two last names really denote one and the same river. "Now there can be no doubt that by the Kophen is to be understood the Kabul River; for Arrian says, that having received the Malamantus, Suastus, and Garœus, it mixes with the Indus, in the country of Peukelaotis; and the latter part of Alexander's operations west of the Indus, shortly before he crosses that river, are carried on in the same district along the Indus and the Cophen."—Wilson, Ariana Ant., p. 183. "The united stream [of the Punjkora and Sewat] is called either the Punjkora or Sewat River; and this may explain why Arrian, in his Indica, speaks erroneously of a Suastus as well as a Garœus, whilst in Ptolemy we have no other

flow into the Kōphēn. From comparing these two passages, it results with tolerable certainty that the Suvāstu is the same as the modern Suwad, a stream which flows into the Kabul river from the north, after first joining the Panjkora."

Returning now to R.V. x. 75, 6, and taking first the most westerly streams (next to the Indus) there specified, we come (1) to the Vitastā or Behat, (2) the Asiknī or Chenab (Akesines), (3) the Parushṇī, Irāvatī, or Ravee, (4) the Ārjīkīyā, Vipāś, or Beeas, and (5) the Śutudrī, or Sutlej. Yāska, as we have seen, identifies the Parushṇī with the Irāvatī, and the Ārjīkīyā with the Vipāś; Professor Roth considers the Asiknī to be the same as the Chenab or Akesines; and there is no doubt that the Vitastā is the Hydaspes, and that the Śutdrī is the Sutlej. We have, consequently, in this passage an enumeration of the rivers of the Panjāb. The Asiknī is again mentioned in R.V. viii. 20, 25; the Parushṇī in R.V. vii. 18, 8, 9, and viii. 63, 15; the Śutudrī in iii. 33, 1; and the Vipāś in iii. 33, 1, 3, and iv. 30, 11.

The other rivers named in the passage so often referred to, R.V. x. 75, 5, 6, are the Sarasvatī, the Gangā, and the Yamunā. The following are some of the most remarkable passages in which the Sarasvatī is celebrated. In iii. 23, 4, it is thus mentioned along with the Dṛishadvatī (with which Manu, ii. 17, also associates it) and the Āpāyā: *Ni tvā dadhe vare ā pṛithivyāḥ Iḷāyāspade sudinatve ahnāṃ | Dṛishadvatyām mānushe Āpayāyāṃ Sarasvatyāṃ revad Agne didīhi |*

river than the Suastus described."—Ibid. p. 190. "Alexander crossed, according to Arrian's narrative, four rivers before he reached the Indus; and these, the Kophen, Khoes, Euaspla, and Garœus, we have still in the Punjshir, Alishung, Khonar, and Punjkora. . . . Thus even Arrian is a better authority as an historian than as a geographer, for he describes in the latter character the Kophen as bringing with it to the Indus, the Malamantus, Suastus, and Garœus; two of which he does not name at all in his narrative, and of which the third is probably the same as the second."—Ibid. p. 194. Lassen, on the other hand, holds that Ptolemy is in error. "It must surprise us," he remarks (Ind. Ant., iii. 129), "that, of the rivers of Eastern Kabul, Ptolemy mentions only the Suastos, and passes over the Garoias [the ancient name was Gaurī, the present is Panjkora] in silence, though this river must have been known to him from the accounts of the writers of the Macedonian age, who, however, are wrong in making the Suastos to unite not with it, but with the Kophen. This is the more surprising, as Ptolemy is acquainted with the region called Goryaia after that river. . . . Ptolemy is thus misled into making the Suastos rise too far to the north." See also Lassen's Ind. Ant. ii. 668-9. In any case, the existence of a river in the Kabul country, called Suastus at the date of Alexander's expedition, is undoubted.

"On an auspicious day I place thee on the most sacred spot of Iḷā [the earth]. Shine, O opulent Agni, in the assembly of men on the banks of the Dṛishadvatī, the Āpāyā, the Sarasvatī." In R.V. vi. 61, 2, the same river is thus magnified: *Iyaṁ śushmebhir bisa-khā ivārujat sānu girīṇāṁ tavishebhir ūrmibhiḥ | pārāvata-ghnīm avase suvṛiktibhiḥ Sarasvatīm ā visāsema dhītibhiḥ |* "By her force, and her impetuous waves she has broken down the sides of the mountains, like a man digging lotus fibres. For succour let us, with praises and hymns, invoke Sarasvatī who sweeps away her banks."[125] In verse 13 of the same hymn the same epithet *ápāṁsam apastamā*, "most copious of streams," which is applied to the Sindhu in R.V. x. 75, 7 (see above, p. 341), is also assigned to the Sarasvatī.

Hymns 95 and 96 of the seventh book of the Rigveda are devoted to the praises of the Sarasvatī and her male correlative the Sarasvat. The first and part of the second verse of the former hymn are as follows: *Pra kshodasā dhāyasā sasre eshā Sarasvatī dharuṇam āyasī pūḥ | pra bābadhānā rathy eva yāti viśvāḥ apo mahinā sindhur anyāḥ | ekā achetat Sarasvatī nadīnāṁ śuchir yatī giribhyaḥ ā samudrāt |* "This Sarasvatī has flowed on with a protecting current, a support, an iron barrier. This stream rushes on like a charioteer, in her majesty outrunning all other rivers.[126] Sarasvatī is known as the one river, flowing on pure from the mountains to the sea."[127]

The Jumna is mentioned in two other passages of the Rigveda besides x. 75, 5. In v. 52, 17, reference is made to property in cows

[125] In reference to this verse, Yāska observes, ii. 23: *Tatra "Sarasvatī" ity etasya nadī-vat devatā-vachcha nigamāḥ bhavanti | . . . Atha etad nadī-vat |* "There are texts which speak of Sarasvatī both as a river and as a goddess. . . . In the following she is referred to as a river." He then quotes the verse before us; and explains (ii. 24) *pārāvata-ghīm* by *pārāvāra-ghātinīm* "destroying the further and the near bank." See also the commentary on the Taitt. Br. vol. ii. p. 842 (Bibl. Indica). This interpretation is condemned in B. and R.'s Lexicon, *s. v.*, where the sense is said to be, either (*a*) "striking the distant (demon)," or (*b*) "striking from, or at, a distance."

[126] See the translation of this verse in Benfey's Glossary to the Sāmaveda, p. 157, under the word *rathī*.

[127] Langlois, vol. iii., p. 241, note 13, thinks that Sarasvatī in this hymn stands, not for a river, but for "the goddess of sacrifice," with her libations. "These libations form a river, which flows from the mountains, where the sacrifice is performed, and where the soma plant is collected. This river flows into the *samudra* (sea), which is the vessel destined to receive the libations."

and horses on the banks of the Yamunā;[128] and in vii. 18, 19, it is said that the "Yamunā protected [or gladdened] Indra."[129] I have found a reference to the Gangā in one other passage besides x. 75, 5, viz., in vi. 45, 31,[130] where the adjective *gāngya*, "belonging to the Gangā," occurs. But the Rigveda contains no hymn devoted to the celebration of the Gangā, such as we find appropriated to the Sindhu and Sarasvatī.

The Sarayu is also referred to in three passages in the R.V. iv. 30, 18, v. 53, 9, and x. 64, 9. The first of these texts runs thus: *Ūta tyā sadyaḥ Āryā Sarayor Indra pārataḥ | Arṇāchitraratha avadhīḥ |* "Thou hast straightway slain these two Āryas, Arṇa and Chitraratha, on the other side of the Sarayu." The second and third have been already quoted in pp. 343, f. The Sarayu named in these passages, particularly the last two, may be different from the river of the same name which now flows along the north-eastern frontier of Oude, as it is mentioned in connexion with rivers all of which appear to be in the Panjāb. But it is not absolutely necessary to suppose this,[131] as we shall presently see that one of the Vedic ṛishis was acquainted with Kīkaṭa or Behar. In the Rigveda we have no mention made of the rivers of the south, which have in later ages become so renowned in Hindustan for their sanctity, the Narmadā, the Godaverī, and the Kavērī.

[On the subject treated in the preceding pages, the second edition of Lassen's Indian Antiquities contains, at p. 643, vol. i., some new matter which I translate: "The names of the rivers mentioned in the hymns of the R.V. furnish us with the means of arriving at exact conclusions regarding the abodes of the Arian Indians at the time when they were composed. The Gangā and the Yamunā are only mentioned once in the tenth book. In an earlier book the Dṛishadvatī too is only once named: much oftener

[128] R.V. v. 52, 17: *Yamunāyām adhi śruṭam ud rādho gavyaṁ mṛije ni rādho aśvyam mṛije |*

[129] R.V. vii. 18, 19: *Āvad Indraṁ Yamunā ityādi |*

[130] See Roth, Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, p. 136; and above p. 341. The words are: *Uruḥ kaksho na Gāngyaḥ |* Roth, *sub voce kaksha*, says, the sense of the word *kaksha* is uncertain. Langlois does not translate it. Wilson misapprehends Sāyaṇa's explanation.

[131] See, however, the opinion of Lassen, as quoted below.

the Sarasvatī; but most frequently of all the Sindhu (Indus) with its affluents, some of which are designated by their older names, viz., Asiknī for the Chandrabhāgā, Marudvṛidhā for the same stream after its confluence with the Vitastā, Urunjirā for the Irāvatī, and Parushṇī for the Vipāśā. (The principal passage is R.V. x. 75.) The three western affluents of the Indus, which are now called Gomal, Kurrum, and Kabul, are named in these hymns Gomatī, Krumu, and Kubhā respectively: the last word has, as is well known, been turned by the Greeks into Kophen. The Anitabhā, Rasā, and Śvetī must also be regarded as affluents of the same river (R.V., v. 53, 9; x. 75, 6). . . . Before I proceed further, I think it fit to remark that it is not the fault of the learned geographer [M. Vivien de St. Martin], to whom we owe a valuable dissertation on the Vedic geography, but of the French translator [of the R.V., the late M. Langlois], if the former has been misled to assume the existence of three rivers which have no reality. Sushomā and Ārjīkīyā signify vessels which are used in the preparation of the Soma.[132] The assumption that there is a river called Tṛishṭāmā is founded on an ignorance of the language. In the verse in question (R.V., x. 75, 6) 'tṛishṭā,' 'harshly sounding,' is to be referred to the Sindhu, whilst 'amayā' is the instrumental singular feminine from the pronoun 'ama.'[133]

The following additional rivers are named in the R.V., the Anśumatī, the Hariyupīyā, and the Yavyāvatī, but only once (vi. 27, 5, 6; viii. 85, 13, ff.), and in such a way that their situation cannot be fixed. Finally, the Sarayu is thrice named. In one place (iv. 30, 17) it is said that by the help of Indra Turvasu and Yadu crossed this stream.[134] In the second passage (x. 64, 9) it is named in connexion with the Sarasvatī and Sindhu; and in the third (v. 53, 9), again, in connexion with these two, and as well as with several affluents of the Indus and the Yamunā. These data do

[132] In proof of this Lassen refers to Roth, on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 137. See also Roth's Illust. of Nirukta, p. 131, and Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* ārjīkīyā: also Benfey's Glossary to S.V., *s.v.* śaraṇyāvat.

[133] Tṛishṭāmā is given as the name of a river in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon; and this interpretation is not withdrawn in the "additions and improvements," in vol. v.

[134] The Sarayu is not named in v. 17, but in v. 18, where Indra is said to have slain two Āryas, Arṇa and Chitraratha, on the other side of this river. See p. 347.

not suffice to show what river is meant. Perhaps it is an affluent of the Sarasvatī; this river is in any case to be distinguished from the well-known affluent of the Gangā. From this survey it is clear that at the time of the composition of the Rigveda the Arian Indians dwelt chiefly in eastern Kabulistan and in the Panjāb as far as the Sarasvatī.

"If we hold the Anitabhā, the Rasā, and the Śvetī,—as from the connexion we must,—for the modern Abu Sin, Burrindu, and Sudum, the Arian Indians were at that time already in possession of a tract on the upper Indus. The conjecture that by the Rasā is meant the Suvāstu, and by the Śvetī the Koas of the ancients, cannot be justified. Whether we are to assign to the Arian Indians a tract in western Kabulistan also, depends on the ascertainment of the modern names of the three rivers mentioned in the R.V., which have not yet been identified. It was only in the period when the tenth book of this collection of hymns was composed that the Arian people had travelled further east and reached the Gangā.

"The Atharvaveda represents to us an important advance in the diffusion of the Arian Indians. The Bahlīkas and Gandhāras appear in the light of peoples living at a distance; so, too, the countries of Magadha and Anga. It may be hence concluded that at that period the Arians had not spread further than to north-western Bengal, on the south bank of the Ganges.[135] Regarding the diffusion of the Brahmanical religion, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has preserved a remarkable legend, of which the essential import is as follows," etc. Lassen then quotes the passage (i. 4, 1, 10, ff.), which will be cited further on.]

We have already seen (p. 328) that the Himālaya mountains are mentioned in the Atharvaveda. In a fine hymn, the 121st of the 10th maṇḍala of the R.V., also, we have the following verse, x. 121, 4: *Yasya imé Himavanto mahitvā yasya samudraṁ rasayā saha āhuḥ* | "He whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the aërial river declare,"[136] etc. But no allusion to the Vindhya range,

[135] The author here refers to Roth on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 37, ff., where some verses of A.V., v. 22, are quoted, translated, and illustrated. See p. 351.

[136] See Müller's translation in Bunsen's Gott in der Geschichte, part ii., p. 107. The Himālaya, or snowy range, is also mentioned, A.V. xii. 1, 11: *Girayas te parvatāḥ himavanto araṇyaṁ te pṛithivi syonam astu* | "May thy mountains be snowy, O earth, and thy wilderness beautiful."

which runs across the central parts of India, is to be found in the Rigveda.

The following text from the R.V. shows that the author of the hymn (said to be Viśvāmitra) knew something of the countries to the eastward as far as Kīkaṭa or Behar, R.V. iii. 53, 14: *Kiṁ te kṛiṇvanti Kīkaṭeshu gāvo na āśiraṁ duhre na tapanti gharmam | ā no bhara Pramagandasya vedo naichāśākham Maghavan randhaya naḥ |* "What are thy cows doing among the Kīkaṭas? They yield no milk for oblations; and they heat no fire. Bring us the wealth of Pramaganda [or the usurer]; and subdue to us, O Maghavat (Indra), the degraded man (naichāśākha)." Yāska explains Kīkaṭa as "a country inhabited by people who were not Āryas," Nirukta vi. 32: *Kīkaṭo nāma deśo 'nāryanivāsaḥ* |[137] The word *Kīkaṭa* is given in the vocabulary called Triḳāṇḍaśesha, as equivalent to Magadha. In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, the following lines are quoted from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 24: *Tataḥ kalau sampravṛitte sammohāya sura-dvishām | Buddho nāmāñjana-sutaḥ Kīkaṭeshu bhavishyati |* "Then, when the Kali age has begun, a person named Buddha, son of Anjana, will be born among the Kīkaṭas, in order to delude the enemies of the gods (the Asuras)." The commentator on the Bhāg. Pur. explains the Kīkaṭas by *madhye Gayā-pradeśe* | "in the country of Gayā." Again, Bhāg. Pur., vii. 10, 18, it is said: *Yatra yatra cha mad-bhaktāḥ praśāntāḥ samadarśinaḥ | sādhavaḥ samudāchārās te pūyante 'pi Kīkaṭāḥ |* "In every place where those who are devoted to me, who are calm, who regard all things as alike, who are holy and virtuous, are found, the

[137] Sāyaṇa gives an alternative explanation of *kīkaṭa*, borrowed from a hint in Yāska: *Yadvā "kriyābhir yāga-dāna-homa-lakshaṇābhiḥ kim phalishyati" ity aśraddadhānāḥ pratyuta "pibata khādata ayam eva loko na paraḥ" iti vadanto nāstikāḥ kīkaṭāḥ* | "Or the Kīkaṭās are atheists, who, being destitute of faith, say, 'what fruit will result from sacrifices, alms, or oblations? rather eat and drink, for there is no other world but this.'" In Sāyaṇa's introduction to the Rigveda (Müller's edit. vol. i. p. 7), an aphorism of the Mīmānsā, with a comment, is quoted, in which an objector demurs to the eternity of the Veda, because objects and persons who existed in time are mentioned in it. In the objector's statement, Naichaśākha is spoken of as a city, and Pramaganda as a king: "*Kiṁ te kṛiṇvanti Kīkaṭeshv" iti mantre kīkaṭo nāma janapadaḥ āmnātaḥ | tathā Naichaśākhaṁ nāma nagaram Pramagando nāma rājā ity ete 'rthāḥ anityāḥ āmnātāḥ* | "In the verse, 'what do thy cows among the Kīkaṭas, etc.,' a country named Kīkaṭa is recorded, together with a city called Naichaśākha and a king called Pramaganda; all which are non-eternal objects."

men [of that country] are purified, even if they be Kīkaṭas." Professor Weber, in his Ind. Stud. i. 186, states his opinion that the Kīkaṭas were not (as Yāska tell us) a non-Arian tribe, but a people who, like the Vrātyas, were of Arian origin, though they did not observe Arian rites; and they may, he thinks, have been Buddhists, or the forerunners of Buddhism.

From these passages there seems to be no doubt that the Kīkaṭas were a people who lived in Magadha or Behar.

The following verses from one of the mantras of the Atharvaveda, v. 22, quoted and explained by Professor Roth in his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 37–42, may tend to show what were the limits of the country occupied by the Āryas at the date of its composition. These limits coincide in one direction with those indicated in the preceding passage from the Rigveda, in which the Kīkaṭas are mentioned. This mantra contains an invocation to Takman, apparently a personified cutaneous disease, who is supplicated to withdraw to certain other tribes, whose names are specified, and whom we may therefore with probability conclude to have been regarded as without the Arian pale, though not necessarily non-Arians. A.V., v. 22, verses 5, 7, 8, 12, 14: 5 | *Oko asya Mūjavanto oko asya Mahāvṛishāḥ* | *yāvaj jātas takmaṁs tāvān asi Bahlikeshu nyocharaḥ* | 7 | *Takman Mūjavato gachha Bahlikān vā parastarām* | *S'ūdrām ichha prapharyaṁ tāṁ Takman vi iva dhūnuhi* | 8 | *Mahāvṛishān Mūjavato bandhu addhi paretya* | *praitāni takmane brūmo anyakshetrāṇi vā imā* | 12 | *Takman bhrātrā balāsena svasrā kāsikayā saha* | *pāmnā bhrāṭṛivyeṇa saha gachhāmum aranaṁ janam* | 14 | *Gandhāribhyo Mūjavadbhyo Angebhyo Magadhebhyaḥ* | *praishyaṁ janam iva śevadhiṁ takmānam pari dadmasi* | 5. "His (Takman's) abode are the Mūjavats, his abode the Mahāvṛishas. As soon as thou art born, O Takman, thou sojournest among the Bahlikas. 7. Go, Takman, to the Mūjavats, or far away to the Bahlikas. Choose the female Sūdra for food; and shake her. 8. Passing (us) by, O friend, devour the Mahāvṛishas and the Mūjavats. We point out to Takman these or those alien regions. 12. Ṭakman, along with thy brother Balāsa, and with thy sister Kāsikā (cough), and with thy nephew Pāman, depart to that foreign people. 14. We transfer Takman as a servant, and as a treasure, to the Gandhāris, the Mūjavats, the Angas, and the Magadhas."

The Mūjavats are again mentioned in the Vājasanēyi-sanhitā, 3, 61, as follows: *Etat te Rudra avasaṁ tena paro Mūjavato atīhi | avatata-dhanvā pināk̄avasaḥ kṛittivāsāḥ ahiṁsan naḥ śivo atīhi* |[138] "This, O Rudra, is thy food; with it depart beyond the Mūjavats. With thy bow unbent, and concealed from view, and clad in a skin, pass beyond, uninjuring us and propitious."

The Mūjavats being mentioned along with the Bahlikas, a Bactrian race, and with the Gandhāris (see above, p. 342) may, as Roth thinks, be a hill tribe in the north-west of India; and the Mahāvṛishas may belong to the same region.[139]

The Angas and Magadhas mentioned in verse 13 are, on the contrary, tribes living in south Behar, and the country bordering on it to the west. We have thus in that verse two nations situated to the north-west, and two to the south-east, whom we may suppose, from the maledictions pronounced on them, to have been hostile, or alien tribes,

[138] Mūjavat is explained by the commentator on the V.S., as the name of a mountain, the place of Rudra's abode: *Mūjavān nāma kaśchit parvato Rudrasya vāsasthānam* | This is apparently a later idea. Compare the Mahābhārata, Sauptika-parva, 785, *Evam uktvā sa sakrodho jagāma vimanāḥ Bhavaḥ | girer Mūnjavataḥ pādaṁ tapas taptum mahātapāḥ* | "Bhava (S'iva) having so said, went away angry and disturbed, to the quarter of the hill Munjavat, to perform austerity, the great devotee;" and the Āśvamedhika parva, 180: *Girer Himavataḥ pṛishṭhe Munjavān nāma parvataḥ | tapyate yatra bhagavāṁs tapo nityam Umāpatiḥ* | "On the heights of the Himavat mountain there is a hill called Munjavat, where the divine lord of Umā (S'iva) performs continual austerity." The commentator on the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa says it is the "Northern Mountain," *udīchyaḥ parvataḥ* | The S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa (ii. 6, 2, 17,) thus comments on the text of the Vāj. S., after quoting it: *Avasena vai adhvānaṁ yanti | tad enaṁ sāvasam eva anvavārjati yatra yatra asya charaṇaṁ tad anu | atra ha vai asya paro Mūjavadbhyaś charaṇam | tasmād āha "paro Mūjavato 'tīhi" iti "avatata-dhanvā pināk̄avasaḥ" ity "ahiṁsan naḥ śivo 'tīhi" ity | eva etad āha "kṛittivāsāḥ" iti | nishvāpayaty eva enam etat | svapann u hi na kanchana hinasti | tasmād āha "krittivāsāḥ" iti* | "Men go on their way with provision. He therefore sends him (Rudra) off with provision, wherever he has to go. Here his journey is beyond the Mūjavats; hence he says 'pass beyond the Mūjavats;' 'with bow unbent and concealed,' 'uninjuring us and propitious, pass beyond.' He adds 'clad in a skin.' This lulls him to sleep; for while sleeping he injures nobody. Wherefore he says 'clad in a skin.'" A derivative of the word Mūjavat occurs also in the R.V. x. 34, 1: *Somasya iva Maujavatasya bhakshaḥ* | "Like a draught of the soma produced on Mūjavat, or among the Mūjavats." Yāska, Nir. 9, 8, explains the word thus: *Maujavato Mūjavati jātaḥ | Mūjavān parvataḥ.* "'Maujavataḥ' means produced on Mūjavat: Mūjavat is a mountain."

[139] On the Bāhīkas and Bāhlīkas, see Lassen, Zeitsch. 1840, p. 194; and for 1839, p. 52, ff.

who lived on the borders of Brahmanical India, and to have been beyond its boundaries at the time this incantation was composed. (Roth, Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 42.)

It does not, however, follow that the tribes who, in the Atharva-veda, are spoken of as if they were hostile, or alien, were really of a non-Arian origin. (See above, p. 351.)

Thus, the Arians appear in later times to have been in communication with the Gandhāras. In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa allusion is made to a royal sage called Svarjit, son of Nagnajit, the Gāndhāra, who had expressed an opinion on the nature of breath or life; and although his view was not regarded as authoritative, still the very fact of its being quoted, and its author mentioned as a Rājanya, proves his Arian origin. This is the passage, Śat.-Br. viii. 1, 4, 10: *Atha ha sma āha Svarjid Nāgnajitaḥ | Nagnachid vā Gāndhāraḥ | . . . Yat sa tad uvācha Rājanyabandhur iva tv eva tad uvācha |* "Further Svarjit, son of Nagnajit, said. Now Nagnajit was a Gāndhāra. . . : This which he said, he spake as a mere Rājanya." Nagnajit, the Gāndhāra, is also mentioned in the Ait.-Br., vii. 34, as one of the persons who received instruction regarding a particular rite from Parvata and Nārāda.[140] He is also mentioned[141] in the following passage of the Mahābh., i. 2439–41: *Prahrāda-śishyo Nagnajit Subalaś chābhavat tataḥ | tasya prajā dharma-hantrī jajne deva-prakopanāt | Gandhāra-rāja-putro 'bhūch Chhakuniḥ Saubalas tathā | Duryodhanasya jananī jajnāte 'rtha-viśāradau |* "Nagnajit, the disciple of Prahrāda, and Subala, were then born. Owing to the wrath of the gods, the offspring born to him became the enemies of righteousness. Two children were born to the king of Gandhāra (Subala), Śakuni Saubala, and the mother of Dūryodhana, who were both intelligent." Duryodhana was a Kuru prince, and one of the heroes of the Mahābhārata.

These passages are amply sufficient to prove that the Gandhāras were a people with whom the Arians of India were in the habit of holding intercourse, and contracting affinities, and from this intercourse we may reasonably infer a community of origin and language. On this subject Lassen remarks (Zeitsch. für die Kunde des Morgenl., iii. 206): "Though in individual passages of the Mahābhārata, hatred and con-

[140] Roth, Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 41, 42.
[141] See Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 218–220.

tempt are expressed in reference to the tribes living on the Indus and its five great tributaries, yet there is no trace of these tribes being ever regarded as of non-Indian origin. That there was no essential difference in their language is proved, as regards a later period, by the testimony of Pāṇini, which I have already cited." The previous passage here referred to is from the same article, p. 194, where it is said: "The word Bāhīka is used not only in the Mahābhārata, but also in Pāṇini,[142] as a general designation for the tribes of the Panjāb. The use of this appellation is thus fully certified; and if the grammarian found it necessary to give special rules for forming the names of the villages in the Bāhīka country, we may hence conclude that the Bāhīkas spoke Sanskrit, though they applied particular affixes differently from the other Indians."

The same writer elsewhere[143] remarks: "The Indians distinguish, not expressly, but by implication, the nations dwelling between the Sarasvatī, and the Hindu-kush, into two classes: first, those to the eastward of the Indus, and some of those immediately to the westward of that river, as the Gandhāras (see p. 342, above), are in their estimation still Indians; . . . but with the exception of the Kāshmiras, and some less known races, these Indians are not of the genuine sort: the greater freedom of their customs is regarded as a lawless condition." And Weber similarly remarks:[144] "The north-western tribes retained their ancient customs, which the other tribes who migrated to the east had at one time shared. The former kept themselves free from the influences of the hierarchy and of caste, which arose among the latter as a consequence of their residence among people of alien origin (the aborigines). But the later orthodox feelings of the more eastern

[142] The aphorisms here referred to are iii. 3, 78, and iv. 2, 117, 118. The two latter, with the comments, are as follows:—117 | *Vahīka-grāmebhyaścha* | *Vāhīka-grāma-vāchibhyo vṛidha-sanjnakebhyash "ṭhañ" "ñiṭh" ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ* | *S'ākalikī* | *S'ākalikā* | 118 | *Vibhāshā Uśīnareshu* | *Uśīnareshu ye Vāhīka-grāmās tad-vāchibhyo vṛidhebhyash "ṭhañ" "ñiṭh" ity etau pratyayau vā bhavataḥ* | *Saudarśanikī* | *Saudarśanikā* | *pakshe chhaḥ* | *Saudarśanīyā* | "117. The affixes *ṭhañ* and *ñiṭh* are employed in words taking *vṛiddhi*, which denote villages of the Vāhīkas; as S'ākalikī, S'ākalikā. 118. Or the affixes *ṭhañ* and *ñiṭh* are optionally employed in words taking *vṛiddhi*, which denote Vāhīka villages in the country of the Uśīnaras; as *Saudarśanikī*, *Saudarśanikā*; or sometimes with the *chhas* affix, *Saudarśanīyā*.

[143] Zeitschrift, ii. 58. See also Asiat. Res. xv. 108; and App. note L.

[144] Ind. Stud. i. 220.

Arians obliterated the recollection of their own earlier freedom; and caused them to detest the kindred tribes to the westward as renegades, instead of looking on themselves as men who had abandoned their own original institutions."

There are other races also, who, although in the later Sanskrit literature they are spoken of as being now aliens from the Brahmanical communion, are yet declared to have once belonged to the Kshatriya caste; and to have lost their position in it from neglect of sacred rites.[145] (See above, p. 259, and note 35). In addition to this tradition, however, we have yet further proof of the Arian origin of some at least of these tribes. Thus, it appears from the following passage of the Nirukta (already quoted above, p. 152), that the Kambōjas spoke an Arian language, Nirukta, ii. 2: "Among some (tribes) the original forms are used, among others the derivatives. *S'avati* for the 'act of going' is used only among the Kambōjas, while its derivative *śava* is used among the Āryas. *Dāti* is employed by the eastern people in the sense of 'cutting,' while the word *dātram*, 'sickle,' (only) is used by the men of the north." If, therefore, the testimony of Yāska in regard to the language used by Kambōjas is to be trusted, it is clear that they spoke a Sanskrit dialect. It is implied in the remarks he has made, that a close affinity existed between the languages of the Āryas and Kambōjas; that the substance of both was the same, though in some respects it was variously modified and applied. For it is only where such a general identity exists, that the differences existing between any two dialects can excite any attention. Had the two languages had but little in common, no such comparison of minor variations could have suggested itself to the grammarians. Now the country of the Kambōjas was situated to the north-west of India, on the other side of the Indus. It is clear, therefore, that Sanskrit was spoken at some distance to the west of that river.

Professor Roth is even of opinion that this passage proves Sanskrit grammar to have been studied among the Kambōjas. In his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 67, he observes: "The multitude of grammarians whose opinions are cited in the Prātiśākhyas, proves how widely gram-

[145] This tradition is, however, erroneously extended to some of the eastern and southern tribes, the Puṇḍras, Oḍras and Draviḍas, who, as we shall afterwards see, could not have been of Arian origin.

matical studies were pursued; and Yāska (Nirukta ii. 2: see above, and p. 152), confirms this in a remarkable passage, according to which verbal forms were variously employed by the grammarians of four different provinces. These four tribes were the Kambōjas and Āryas, together with the Prāchyas and Udīchyas (or eastern and northern peoples). It is thus irrefragably proved that the Kambōjas were originally not only an Indian people, but also a people possessed of Indian culture; and consequently that in Yāska's time this culture extended as far as the Hindukush. At a later period, as the well-known passage in Manu's Institutes (x. 43) shows, the Kambōjas were reckoned among the barbarians, because their customs differed from those of the Indians. . . . . The same change of relation has thus, in a smaller degree, taken place between the Kambōjas and the Indians, as occurred, in a remote antiquity, between the latter and the ancient Persians." [146]

Now, as I have intimated, the fact that Sanskrit was spoken by the tribes to the west of the Indus may be held to prove that that tract of country was inhabited by races of Arian origin, and of common descent with the Indians;[147] and affords an additional argument in support of the position that the Indo-Arians immigrated into India from that direction.

It may, however, perhaps, be objected that the passage in question

[146] In his later work, the edition of the Nirukta, Roth suspects, for certain reasons, that so much of the passage before us as refers to the Kambōjas may be interpolated. He adds, however, that "it is in so far valuable, as it shows that the ancient Indians imagined the Kambōjas also to be students of Sanskrit Grammar." Erläut., pp. 17, 18. In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vii. 373–377, Professor Müller makes some remarks on the same passage. He alludes to the fact that a similar passage occurs in the Mahābhāshya; and observes that "though this circumstance appears partly to confirm Roth's conjecture regarding the spuriousness of portions of the passage, it may also be possible that the Mahābhāshya has borrowed it from the Nirukta, or that both the Nirukta and the Mahābhāshya may have taken it from the common source of ancient grammatical tradition." In any case, this reference to a distant race like the Kambōjas, looks as if it must have been borrowed from some ancient source. The passage of the Mahābhāshya is as follows, p. 62 of Dr. Ballantyne's edition: *S'avatir gati-karmā Kambojeshv eva bhāshito bhavati | vikāre eva enam Aryāḥ bhāshante "śavaḥ" iti | "Hammatiḥ" Surāshṭreshu "raṁhatiḥ" Prāchya-madhyameshu "gamim" eva tv Āryāḥ prayuṁjate | "Dātir" lavanārthe Prāchyeshu dātram Udīchyeshu | "S'avati*, as a verb of going, is employed only by the Kambōjas; the Āryas use only its derivative, *s'ava*. The Surāshṭras use *hammati*, the central and eastern tribes *raṁhati*, but the Āryas only *gami* in the sense of 'going.' *Dāti* occurs among the eastern tribes as the verb for 'cutting;' *dātra*, a 'sickle,' alone is used by the people of the north."

[147] See Appendix, note M. See Rawlinson's Herodotus, i. p. 670, 671; and Strabo, there quoted.

(Nir. ii. 2), not only proves that Sanskrit was spoken by the Kambojas, to the north-west, but by the men of the east also. Now, as we may presume that Yāska lived on the banks of the Sarasvatī or of the Yamunā, or of the Gangā, the people whom he designates Prāchyas, or "men of the east," must have been the Kīkaṭas, or the Magadhas, or the Angas, or the Vangas. But since it is evident from this passage that these tribes also spoke Sanskrit, it might in like manner be argued from this circumstance that the Āryas must have penetrated into India from the eastward. To this I reply, that we can prove from other passages, such as that in the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa, i. 4, i. 10–18 (which will be quoted further on), that the Arian civilization travelled from the west to the east; and that therefore we may reasonably suppose that these Prāchya tribes did not originally live in the eastern country, but formed part of the population which had migrated from the west, or that at least they did not begin to speak Sanskrit till they had learnt it from the Arians coming from the west. And besides, this passage which I have quoted from Yāska does not stand alone; it is only auxiliary to the other arguments which have been already adduced to show that the Indo-Arians came from the north-west.

This fact, that tribes speaking dialects of Sanskrit lived to the north-west of India, might, it is true, be also explained on Mr. Curzon's hypothesis, that these tribes had emigrated from India. But this hypothesis is opposed, as we have already seen, pp. 312, f., 320, f., to the other circumstances of the case.

The argument, then, which I derive from the facts just detailed, when briefly stated, is this: We find the north-west of India to be occupied by various tribes, who spoke the same language as the Arian Indians. On the other hand, we find (as will be shown at length in the next chapter) that different parts (the eastern and southern as well as the north-western) of Hindustan itself, were inhabited by a variety of tribes speaking languages fundamentally distinct from those of the Arian race. From this I draw the conclusion that the Arian Indians must have come from without, from the same side which we find to be occupied from the earliest period by tribes speaking the same language; and have driven before them to the east and south the non-Arian races, to whom, on penetrating into India, they found themselves opposed. This subject, however, will be handled at length in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III.

THE ARIANS IN INDIA: THEIR ADVANCE TO THE EAST AND SOUTH.

In the preceding chapter I have endeavoured, by a variety of arguments derived from comparative philology, and from general history, as well as from the most ancient written records of the Indians and the Iranians, to prove—First, that the dominant race which we find established in Hindustan at the dawn of history was not autochthonous, but immigrated into that country from Central Asia; and Secondly, that the route by which this people penetrated was from the north-west through Kabul, and across the Indus. I shall, for the future, assume that both of these two propositions have been substantiated; and shall proceed to trace the history of the Indo-Arian tribes after they had entered the Panjāb, and had commenced their advance to the south and east. We have already gathered (see above, pp. 341, ff.), from an examination of the oldest Indian records, the hymns of the Rigveda, that the country on both sides of the Indus was the earliest seat of the Indo-Arians in India. We shall now see (as has also been already intimated, pp. 291) that in these same hymns the ancient bards designated the men of their own tribes by the name of Āryas, and distinguished them expressly from another class of people called Dasyus, who, we have reason to suppose, were a race of distinct origin from the Āryas, and perhaps different from them in colour (see above, p. 282), as they certainly were in language, in religion, and in customs, who had been in occupation of India before it was entered by the Indo-Arians from the north-west. I shall afterwards adduce various passages from the Brāhmaṇas and post-Vedic writings, illustrative of the progress of the Indo-Arians as they advanced to the east and south, driving the indigenous tribes before them into the hills and forests, and taking possession of the territory which the latter had previously

occupied. I shall subsequently furnish some illustrations of the fundamental differences which exist between the Sanskrit and the languages of the south of India—differences which indicate that the tribes among which the latter dialects were originally vernacular must in all probability have been of a different race from the Indo-Arians. And, finally, I shall refer to the mode in which these various classes of facts support the conclusion to which we have been already led, that the Indo-Arians were not autochthonous in India, but immigrated into that country from the north-west.

Sect. I.—*Distinction drawn between the Āryas and Dasyus in the Rigveda.*

I proceed, then, first, to show that the authors of the Vedic hymns made a distinction between the members of their own community and certain tribes whom they designated as Dasyus. This will appear from the following texts. R.V. 51, 8, 9: *Vijānīhi Āryān ye cha dasyavo barhmishmate randhaya śāsad avratān | śākī bhava yajamānasya chodità viśvā it tā te sadhamādeshu chākana |* "Distinguish between the Āryas and those who are Dasyus: chastizing those who observe no sacred rites [or who are lawless], subject them to the sacrificer. Be a strong supporter of him who sacrifices. I desire all these (benefits) at thy festivals."[1] x. 86, 19: *Ayam emi vichākaśad vichinvan dāsam āryam |* "Here I come," (says Indra) "perceiving and distinguishing the Dāsa and the Ārya." i. 103, 3; *Sa jātūbharmā śraddadhānaḥ ojaḥ puro vibhindann acharad vi dāsīḥ | vidvān vajrin dasyave hetim asya āryam saho vardhaya dyumnam Indra |* "Armed with the lightning,[2] and trusting in his strength, he (Indra) moved about shattering the cities of the Dasyus. Indra, thunderer, considering, hurl thy shaft against the Dasyu, and increase the might and glory of the Ārya." i. 117. 21: *Yavaṁ vṛikeṇa Aśvinā vapantā ishaṁ duhānā manushāya dasrā | abhi dasyuṁ bakureṇa dhamantā uru jyotiś chak-*

[1] This text, as well as R.V. i. 103, 3, given below, is quoted by Professor Müller, "Languages of the Seat of War," first edition, p. 28, note.

[2] Professor Benfey (Orient und Occident, iii. 132) renders *jātūbharmā*, "a born warrior." Prof. Aufrecht considers it to mean "carrying off the victory, or palm," deriving *jātu* from *ji*, to conquer, which he thinks had another form *jā*, from which comes *jāyu*, "victorious."

rathur āryāya | "O beautiful Aśvins, sowing barley with the plough, drawing forth (*lit.* milking) food for man, and sweeping [or blowing] away the Dasyu with the thunderbolt, ye have created a great light for the Ārya."[3] i. 130, 8: *Indraḥ samatsu yajamānam āryam prāvad viśveshu śatamūtir ājishu svarmīḷheshu ājishu* | *manave śāsad avratān tvachaṁ kṛishṇām arandhayat* | "Indra, who in a hundred ways protects in all battles, in heaven-conferring battles, has preserved in the fray the sacrificing Ārya. Chastizing the neglectors of religious rites, he subjected the black skin to Manu" (or the Arian man).[4] iii. 34, 8, 9: *Sasāna yaḥ pṛithivīṁ dyām utemām Indram madanti anu dhīraṇāsaḥ* | *sasāna atyān uta sūryaṁ sasāna Indraḥ sasāna purubhojasaṁ gām* | *hiraṇyam uta bhogaṁ sasāna hatvī dasyūn pra āryaṁ varṇam āvat* | "The wise gladden Indra, who bestowed the earth and this firmament. Indra gave horses, he gave the sun, he gave the much-nourishing cow; and he gave golden wealth. Slaying the Dasyu, he protected the Āryan colour," iv. 26, 1, 2: *Aham Manur abhavaṁ sūryaś cha ahaṁ Kakshīvān ṛishir asmi vipraḥ* | *ahaṁ Kutsam Ārjuneyaṁ ni ṛinje ahaṁ kavir Uśanāḥ paśyata mām* | 2 | *aham bhūmim adadām āryāya ahaṁ vṛishṭiṁ dāśushe martyāya* | *aham apo anayaṁ vāvaśānāḥ mama devāso anu ketum āyan* | "I," says Indra, "was Manu, and I the sun; I am the

[3] Sāyaṇa interprets the "great light," either of the glory acquired by the Aśvins: *Svākīyaṁ tejo māhātmyaṁ chakrathuḥ* | or of the sun: *Vistīrṇaṁ sūryākhyaṁ jyotiḥ* | "For it is the living man who beholds the sun:" *Jīvan hi sūryam paśyati* | Roth thinks this verse may refer to some forgotten legend, and that *vṛika* may have the ordinary sense of "wolf." He compares R.V. viii. 226: *Daśasyantā manave pūrvyaṁ divi yavaṁ vṛikeṇa karshathaḥ* | "Desiring to be bountiful to the man, ye have of old in the sky ploughed barley with the wolf." He is also of opinion that *dhamantā* has in the verse before us its proper sense of "blowing," and refers in proof to the words of R.V. ix. 1, 8, *dhamanti bākuraṁ dṛitim* | *Bakura* perhaps signifies, he thinks, a "crooked wind instrument, which the Aśvins used to terrify their enemies; and *bākura*" (in R.V. ix. 1, 8) "might denote a skin shaped like a *bakura*." Illustr. of Nirukta, p. 92. In his Lexicon, Roth adheres to the opinion that *bakura* is probably a martial wind-instrument, and that *bākuro dṛitiḥ* is a bagpipe. The two following passages also similarly speak of light: R.V. ix. 92, 5: *Jyotir yad ahne akṛinod u lokam prāvad manuṁ dasyave kar abhīkam* | "When he (Soma) gave light to the day and afforded space, he delivered Manu [or the Arian man], and arrested the Dasyu." R.V. x. 43, 4: . . . *vidat svar manave jyotir āryam* | "He (Indra) gave to Manu blessedness (and) a glorious light."

[4] This passage is translated in a review of the first volume of this work, contained in the "Times" of 12th April, 1858. The "black skin," is there interpreted of the dark colour of the Dasyus. The next passage is also partly quoted in the same article.

wise ṛishi Kakshīvāt. I subdue Kutsa, the son of Arjuni. I am the sage Uśanas: behold me. 2. I gave the earth to the Ārya, and rain to the sacrificer. I have led the longing waters. The gods have followed my will."[5] iv. 30, 18: The Sanskrit text of the following is given above, p. 347: "Thou, O Indra, hast speedily slain those two Āryas, Arṇa and Chitraratha, on the opposite bank of the Sarayu" (river). vi. 25, 2, 3: *Ābhir viśvāḥ abhiyujo visūchīr āryāya viśo avatārīr dāsīḥ| Indra jāmayaḥ uta ye ajāmayo arvāchīnāso vanuśho yuyujre| tvam eshāṁ vithurā śavāṁsi jahi vṛishṇyāni kṛiṇuhi parāchaḥ |* "By these (succours) subdue to the Ārya all the hostile Dāsa people everywhere. Indra, whether it be kinsmen or strangers who have approached and injuriously assailed us, do thou enfeeble and destroy their power and vigour, and put them to flight." vi. 33, 3: *Tvaṁ tān Indra ubhayān amitrān dāsā vṛitrāṇi āryā cha śūra | vadhīr ity ādi.* "Do thou, heroic Indra, destroy both these our foes, (our) Dāsa and our Ārya enemies, etc. vi. 60, 6: *Hato vṛitrāṇi āryā hato dāsāni satpatiḥ | hato viśvāḥ apa dvishaḥ |* "Do ye, O lords of the heroic, slay our Ārya enemies, slay our Dāsa enemies, destroy all those who hate us." R.V. vii. 5, 6: *Tvaṁ dasyūn okaso Agne ājaḥ uru jyotir janayann āryāya |* "Thou, Agni, drovest the Dasyus from the house, creating a wide light for the Ārya." vii. 83, 1: *Dāsā cha vṛitrā hatam āryāṇi cha sudāsam Indrā-Varuṇā 'vasā 'vatam |* "Slay both the Dāsa enemies and the Ārya; protect Sudās (or the liberal man) with your succour, O

[5] Sāyaṇa connects the word *ārya* as an epithet with Manu understood. Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 195, note, thinks that Manu means in this passage the moon. (In pp. 194, 5, he has a dissertation on the word Manu.) The speaker in these verses appear to be Indra. (See Böthl. and Roth's Dictionary, *sub voce*, Uśanas.) The Anukramaṇī, as quoted by Sāyaṇa, says, *Adyābhis tisṛibhir Indram iva ātmānam ṛishis tushṭāva Indro vā ātmānam |* "In the first three verses the ṛishi celebrates himself as if under the character of Indra; or Indra celebrates himself." Kuhn (Herabkunft des Feuers, p. 143) conjectures that Vāmadeva may perhaps have been an ancient epithet of Indra. In R.V. x. 48, 1, Indra says, similarly: *Ahaṁ dāśushe vibhajāmi bhojanam |* "I distribute food to the sacrificer," etc. The pantheistic author of the Vṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, thinks that the Ṛishi Vāmadeva is speaking of himself in these words (Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 215, 216): *Tad yo yo devānām pratyabudhyata sa eva tad abhavat tathā ṛishīṇāṁ tathā manushyāṇām | tad ha etat paśyann ṛishir Vāmadevaḥ pratipede "aham Manur abhavaṁ sūryaś cha" iti |* "Whosoever of gods, ṛishis, or men, understood *That*, he became *That*. Perceiving this, the Ṛishi Vāmadeva obtained this text, 'I was Manu, I the sun, etc." Uśanas is connected with Indra in R.V. vi. 20, 11.

Indra and Varuṇa." x. 38, 3: *Yo no dāsaḥ āryo vā purushṭuta adevaḥ Indra yudhaye chiketati | asmābhis te sushahāḥ santu śatravaḥ tvayā vayaṁ tān vanuyāma śangame |* "O, much lauded Indra, whatever ungodly person, Dāsa or Ārya, designs to fight against us, let these enemies be easily subdued by us. May we destroy them in the conflict." x. 49, 3: *Ahaṁ Sushṇasya śnathitā vadhar yamaṁ na yo rare āryaṁ nāma dasyave |* "I, the slayer of Sushṇa, have restrained the bolt,—I who have not abandoned the Āryan name to the Dasyu." x. 65, 11: *Brahma gām aśvaṁ janayanta oshadhīr vanaspatīn pṛithivīm parvatān apaḥ | sūryaṁ divi rohayantaḥ sudānavaḥ āryā vratā visṛijanto adhi kshami |* "These bountiful ones" (the gods named in the preceding verse) "have generated prayer, the cow, the horse, plants, trees, the earth, the mountains, the waters;—causing the sun to ascend the sky, and spreading Āryan rites over the earth."[6] x. 83, 1: *Sāhyāma dāsam āryaṁ tvayā yujā vayaṁ sahaskṛitena sahasā sahasvatā |* "May we," (O Manyu) "associated with thee, the mighty one, overcome both Dāsa and Ārya through (thy) effectual energy." x. 102, 3: *Antar yachha jighāṁsato vajram Indra abhidāsataḥ | dāsasya vā maghavann āryasya vā sanutar yavaya vadham |* "Restrain, O Indra, the bolt of the murderous assailant: remove far away the weapon of our enemy, be he Dāsa or Ārya." x. 138, 3: *Vi sūryo madhye amuchad rathaṁ vidad dāsāya pratimānam āryaḥ |* "The sun has launched his car in mid-heaven: the Ārya has paid back a recompense to the Dasyu." viii. 24, 27: *Yaḥ ṛikshād aṁhaso muchad yo vā aryāt saptasindhushu | vadhar dāsasya tuvinṛimṇa nīnamaḥ |* "Who delivered [us] from the destroyer, from calamity; who, O powerful [god], didst avert the bolt of the Dāsa from the Ārya in [the land of] the seven streams."

The above-cited texts seem to show that the Rigveda recognizes a distinction between the tribe to which the authors of the hymns belonged, and a hostile people who observed different rites, and were regarded with contempt and hatred by the superior race. This appears from the constant antithetic juxtaposition of the two names Ārya and Dasyu, in most of these texts; and from the specification in others of

[6] Compare R.V. vii. 99, 4: *Urum yajñāya chakrathur u lokam janayantā sūryam ushasam agnim | Dāsasya chid vṛishaśiprasya māyāḥ jaghnathur narā pṛitanājyeshu:* "Ye (Indra and Vishṇu) have provided abundant room for the sacrifice, creating the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, O heroes, have destroyed the powers of the bull-nosed Dāsa."

enemies, both Ārya and Dasyu. If human enemies are designated in the latter texts by the word Ārya, we may reasonably suppose the same class of foes to be commonly or often denoted by the word Dasyu. It is not, of course, to be expected that we should find the Indian commentators confirming this view of the matter more than partially; as they had never dreamt of the modern critical view of the origin of the Āryas and their relation to the barbarous aboriginal tribes. Yāska (Nirukta, vi. 26) explains the term Ārya by the words "son of a [or, of the] lord."[7] The word Dasyu is interpreted by him etymologically, thus: "Dasyu comes from the root *das*, to destroy; in him moisture is consumed, and he destroys (religious) ceremonies."[8]

Sāyaṇa interprets the word Ārya, by "wise performers of rites;"[9] wise worshippers;"[10] "wise;"[11] "one to whom all should resort;"[12] "the most excellent race [colour] consisting of the three highest castes;"[13] "practising ceremonies;"[14] "most excellent through performance of ceremonies;"[15] and in two places, i. 117, 21, and iv. 26, 2, he regards it as an epithet of Manu. The same commentator interprets the word Dasyu of the "robber Vṛitra;"[16] "enemies who destroy the observers of Vedic rites;"[17] "the Asuras, Piśāchas, etc., who destroy;"[18] "the vexing Asuras;"[19] "all the people who destroy religious rites;"[20] "Vala and the other Asuras who destroy religious rites;"[21] "enemies devoid of religious ceremonies."[22] From these quotations it will be seen that Sāyaṇa mostly understands the Dasyus of superhuman beings, demons, or Titans, rather than of human enemies.

[7] Nir. vi. 26: *Āryaḥ īśvara-putraḥ* | See Benfey's remarks on this definition in Gött. Gel. Anz., for 1861, pp. 141, f.

[8] Nir. vii. 23: *Dasyur dasyateḥ kshayārthād upadasyanty asmin rasāḥ upadāsayati karmāṇi* |

[9] *Vidusho 'nushṭhātṛīn* | on R.V. i. 51, 8.

[10] *Vidvāmsaḥ stotāraḥ* | on i. 103, 3.

[11] *Vidushe* | on i. 117, 21.

[12] *Araṇīyaṁ sarvair gantavyam* | on i. 130, 8.

[13] *Uttamaṁ varṇaṁ traivarṇikam* | on iii. 34, 9.

[14] *Karma-yuktāni* | on vi. 22, 10.

[15] *Karmānushṭhātṛitvena śreshṭhāni* | on vi. 33, 3.

[16] *Choraṁ vṛitram* | on i. 33, 4.

[17] *Anushṭhātṛīṇām upakshapayitāraḥ śatravaḥ* | on i. 51, 8; and i. 103, 3.

[18] *Upakshaya-kāriṇam asuram piśāchādikam* | on i. 117, 21.

[19] *Bādhakān asurān* | on iii. 34, 9.

[20] *Karmaṇām upakshapayitṛīr viśvāḥ sarvāḥ prajāḥ* | on vi. 25, 2.

[21] *Upakshapayitṛīn karma-virodhino Vala-prabhritīn asurān* | on vi. 33, 3.

[22] *Karmahīnāḥ śatravaḥ* | on vi. 60, 6.

In his note on i. 100, 8, he speaks of them as "destroying enemies living on the earth;"[23] and in another place he explains the Dāsa varṇa, as being either "the Sūdras and other inferior tribes, or the vile destroying Asura."[24]

There is no doubt that in many passages of the R.V., to which I shall presently refer, the words Dasyu and Dāsa are applied to demons of different orders, or goblins (Asuras, Rākshasas, etc.); but it is tolerably evident from the nature of the case, that in all, or at least some of the texts which have been hitherto adduced, we are to understand the barbarous aboriginal tribes of India as intended by these terms. This is yet more clearly established by the sense in which the word Dasyu is used (i.e. for men and not for demons) in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, in Manu, and in the Mahābhārata. Thus the author of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, after making Viśvāmitra say to his fifty disobedient sons, vii. 18: *Tān anuvyājahāra "antān vaḥ prajā bhakshīshṭa" iti | te ete Andhrāḥ Puṇḍrāḥ Śabarāḥ Pulindāḥ Mūtibāḥ ity udantyāḥ bahavo bhavanti | Vaiśvāmitrāḥ dasyūnām bhūyishṭhāḥ |* "Let your progeny possess the extremities [of the land]," adds, "These are the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, Mūtibas, and other numerous frontier tribes. Most of the Dasyus are descended from Viśvāmitra."[25] And in the authoritative definition already quoted[26] (see also vol. i., p. 482), Manu tells us: "Those tribes in the world which are without the pale of the castes sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet [of Brahmā], whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas, or of the Āryas, are all called Dasyus."

The Mahābhārata thus speaks of the same people, ii. 26, 1025: *Pauravaṁ yudhi nirjitya Dasyūn parvata-vāsinaḥ | gaṇān Utsavasanketān ajayat sapta Pāṇḍavaḥ |* "Having vanquished the Paurava in battle, the Pāṇḍava conquered the Utsavasanketas, seven tribes of Dasyus inhabiting the mountains." And again, Ibid. ver. 1031–2: *Daradān saha Kāmbojair ajayat Pākaśāsaniḥ | prāguttarāṁ diśaṁ ye cha vasanty āśritya Dasyavaḥ | nivasanti vane ye cha tān sarvān ajayat prabhuḥ | Lohān Paramakāmbojān Ṛishikān uttarān api |* "Pākaśāsāni conquered

[23] *Pṛithivyām bhūmau vartamānān dāsyūn upakshapayitṝn śatrūn* | on i. 100. 8.

[24] *Dāsaṁ varṇaṁ śūdrādikaṁ yadvā dāsam upakshapayitāram adharaṁ nikṛishṭam asuram.*

[25] See the first volume of this work (2nd ed.), pp. 355, ff.

[26] See above p. 151.

the Daradas, with the Kāmbojas, and the Dasyus who dwell in the north-east region, as well as all the inhabitants of the forest, with the Lohas, the Parama-Kāmbojas (furthest Kāmbojas), and the northern Ṛishikas." And once more: *Kāmbojānāṁ sahasraiś cha S'akānāṁ cha viśāmpate | S'abarāṇāṁ Kirātānāṁ Varvarāṇāṁ tathaiva cha | agamyarūpām pṛithivīm māṁśa-śoṇita-kardamām | Kṛitavāṁs tatra S'aineyaḥ kshapayaṁs tāvakam balam | Dasyūnāṁ sa-śirastrāṇaiḥ śirobhir lūnamūrdhajaiḥ | dīrghakūrchair mahī kīrṇā vivarhaiḥ aṇḍajair iva |* "Saineya (Krishṇa's charioteer) made the beautiful earth a mass of mud with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kāmbojas, S'ākas, S'āvāras, Kirātas, Varvaras, destroying thy host. The earth was covered with the helmets and shaven and bearded heads of the Dasyus, as with birds bereft of their wings."[27] Here it is evident that the word Dasyu, in the latter part of the sentence, is a generic term denoting the whole of the tribes who had been previously mentioned, the Kāmbojas, S'ākas, etc.

Another passage occurs in the S'ānti Parva of the Mahābh., sect. 65, verses 2429, ff., where the tribes there enumerated are said to live after the fashion of the Dasyus; and where the duties to be observed by the Dasyus are described. The Dasyus therefore cannot have been regarded by the author of the Mahābhārata as demons.

If any further illustration of this point be required, it may be found in the following story (from the Mahābhārata, S'ānti P., sect. 168, verses 6293, ff.) about the sage Gautama living among the Dasyus: *Bhīshma uvācha | hanta te vartayishye 'ham itihāsam purātanam | udīchyāṁ diśi yad vṛittam Mlechheshu manujādhipa | brāhmaṇo madhyadeśīyaḥ kaśchid vai brahma-varjitam | grāmaṁ vṛiddhi-yutaṁ vīkshya prāviśad bhaiksha-kāṁkshayā | tatra Dasyur dhanayutaḥ sarva-varṇa-viśesha-vit | brahmaṇyaḥ satyasandhaś cha dāne cha nirato 'bhavat | tasya kshayam upāgamya tato bhikshāṁ ayāchata | . . . . | Gautamaḥ sannikarsheṇa Dasyubhiḥ samatām iyāt | tathā tu vasatas tasya Dasyu-grāme sukhaṁ tadā | . . . . kim idaṁ kurushe mohād vipras tvaṁ hi kulodvahaḥ | madhyadeśa-parijñāto Dasyu-bhāvaṁ gataḥ katham |* Bhīshma is the speaker: "I will tell thee an ancient story about what happened in the northern region among the Mlechhas. A certain Brahman of the central country, perceiving a particular village, which was destitute

[27] Mahābh. Droṇa Parva. Sect. 119, ver. 4747, ff.

of Brahmans [or the Veda], to be in a prosperous condition, entered it to solicit alms. There lived there a wealthy Dasyu, who was acquainted with the distinctions of all the castes, religious, truthful, and liberal. Approaching his house, the Brahman asked alms," and a house. . . . . "From proximity with the Dasyus, Gautăma [the Brahman in question] became like them. While he was thus dwelling happily in a village of Dasyus," another Brahman arrived, who demanded of him: "What is this that thou art foolishly doing? Thou art a Brahman of good family, well known in the central region: how is it that thou hast sunk into the condition of a Dasyu?"

From the evidence afforded by these passages of Manu and the Mahābhārata, it is probable that the word Dasyu, when occurring in the Veda, is sometimes at least to be understood of men, and, consequently, of the wild aboriginal tribes, whom the Arian Indians encountered on their occupation of Hindustan. It is true that, by the later authorities whom I have quoted, the Dasyus are regarded as degraded Arians,[28] (though Manu says that some of them spoke Mlechha dialects), and that tribes unquestionably Arian, as the Kāmbojas (see above, p. 355, f.), are included among them. But though it is true that some of the Arian tribes who had not adopted Brahmanical institutions were so designated in after-times, the term Dasyu could not well have been so applied in the earlier Vedic era. At that time the Brahmanical institutions had not arrived at maturity; the distinction between those who observed them strictly and those who observed them laxly could scarcely have arisen; and the tribes who are stigmatized by the Vedic poets as persons of a different religion must therefore, probably, have been such as had never before been brought into contact with the Arians, and were, in fact, of an origin totally distinct.

It thus appears, that by the Dasyus who are mentioned in the Rig-veda we must, in some passages, though not in all, understand the barbarous aboriginal tribes with whom the Āryas, on their settlement in the north-west of India, were brought into contact and conflict. Before we proceed further, however, it will be interesting to review some of the other principal texts of the R.V. in which the Āryas and Dasyus are mentioned. I should be glad if, while doing so, I could hope to arrive in each case at a definite result in regard to the ap-

[28] See Lassen, Zeitschrift, ii. 49, ff.

plication made of the words Dasyu and Dāsa, and to determine precisely the relations which subsisted between the tribes sometimes understood under that designation and the Āryas. But the sense of the texts is often so obscure, that I cannot always expect to fix their interpretation, or, consequently, to deduce from them any certain conclusions. As, however, I have collected and arranged a considerable number of passages bearing on this subject, I think it best to present them to the reader, with such illustrations as I am able to supply, in the hope that a fuller elucidation may sooner or later be supplied by the mature researches of some more competent scholar.

[Since the above remarks were written, Professors Benfey and Roth have expressed their opinions on this subject. The former scholar writes as follows, in his review of the first edition of this work above referred to, Gött. Gel. Anz. for 1861, pp. 137, ff.: "On a point which occupies a prominent place in this work I will permit myself one further observation. It is well known that in the Vedas the word 'dasyu,' and in place of it also 'dāsa,' frequently appears as the antithesis of 'ārya.' . . . It admits of no doubt that the Sanskrit-speaking races designate themselves by the word ārya; it is therefore a natural supposition that by the words 'dasyu' and 'dāsa' they denote those who had been subjected by them. This assumption is confirmed by several passages. On the other hand, however, there are not a few in which the same expressions 'dasyu' and 'dāsa' are applied to the demons with whom the gods are in conflict, and whose defeat is a condition of the earth receiving the heavenly blessing which is bestowed by the gods. . . . . The question arises whether one of these is the proper signification, which is only secondarily applied to the other, or whether any third sense common to both lies at the root of them. The answer is already indicated by the alternating employment of 'dasyu' with 'dāsa' (which has the sense of slave) in the same antithesis (with 'ārya')—an employment which we may with the highest probability conjecture to rest upon an identity, or, at least, an inward connexion. This indication receives a tolerably decisive confirmation from the fact that according to an abundance of analogies 'dasyu' and 'dāsa' are found to be akin to each other from a phonetic point of view." . . . . After stating at some length his grounds for this opinion, Prof. Benfey proceeds: "The essential similarity of 'dāsa' and 'das' is thus beyond doubt. But

'dāsa' has decidedly the sense of 'slave,' and if this was the original meaning of both the forms, it is equally certain that both 'dāsa' and 'dasyu,' in contrast with the 'ārya,' at first designated the aboriginal population subjected by the latter at the time of their diffusion; and this relation which subsisted on earth, which no doubt was not rarely interrupted by revolts of the subject people, was transferred by the Arians to the domain of the gods, whose harmful demons were represented as the rebellious slaves of the deities.

"The view that in this contrasted relation 'dāsa' has really the sense of 'slave,' 'servant,' is supported by three essentially similar half verses of the Atharvaveda (overlooked by the author in his collection), in which 'Sūdra,' the well-known name for the servile caste in India, stands in the same contrast to 'ārya,' as 'dasyu' and 'dāsa' elsewhere do. The first is iv. 20, 4: *Tayā 'ham sarvam paśyāmi yaś cha Śūdraḥ utāryaḥ* | 'By this (plant) I see every one, whether 'Sūdra or Ārya.' The second text is iv. 20, 8: *Tenāhaṁ sarvam paśyāmi uta Śūdram utāryam* | 'By it (a kind of goblin) I see every one, whether Sūdra or Ārya.' The third is xix. 62, 1," which Prof. Benfey does not quote, but which runs thus: *Priyam mā kṛiṇu deveshu priyaṁ rājasu mā kṛiṇu* | *priyaṁ sarvasya paśyataḥ uta śūdre utārye* | "Make me dear to the gods; make me dear to kings, dear to every one who beholds me, whether to Sūdra or Ārya."

Professor Roth, in his Lexicon, *s.v. dasyu*, defines that word as denoting (1) "a class of superhuman beings, who are maliciously disposed both to gods and men, and are overcome by Indra and Agni in particular." Many of the demons subdued by Indra, designated by particular names, as Śambara, Śushṇa, Chumuri, etc., bear the general appellation of Dasyu. They are not only spirits of darkness like the Rakshases, but extended over the widest spheres. In A.V., xviii. 8, 22, they are demons in the form of deceased men (*Ye dasyavaḥ pitṛishu pravishṭāḥ jnātimukhāś charanti*). They are, he remarks, frequently contrasted (a) generally with men (*manu, āyu, nar*), and are called *amānusha* in R.V., x. 22, 8 (in support of which he refers to R.V., viii. 87, 6; ix. 92, 5; Vāl., 2, 8; R.V., vi. 14, 3, and v. 7, 10); and (b) more specifically with pious orthodox men (*ārya*), and it is but seldom, if at all (he considers), that the explanation of *dasyu* as referring to the non-Arians, the barbarians, is advisable (in proof of which he cites

R.V., i. 117, 21; vii. 5, 6; ii. 11, 18, f.; iii. 34, 9; i. 103, 3; x. 49, 3; i. 51, 8). The last passage, however, he thinks, is best explained of the barbarians. The word is (2)—he goes on to say—an opprobrious designation of hostile, wicked, or barbarous men, perhaps in the following passages of the Veda, v. 70, 3, *turyāma dasyūn tanūbhiḥ;* "let us overcome the Dasyus in our own persons:" x. 83, 6, *hanāva dasyūn uta bodhi āpeḥ* | "let us slay the Dasyus, and do thou recollect thy friend." In Ait. Br., vii. 18, they are barbarous tribes: *Vaiśvāmitrāḥ dasyūnām bhūyishṭhāḥ* | "Most of the Dasyus are descended from Viśvāmitra."]

Sect. II.—*Additional Vedic texts bearing on the relations of the Āryas and Dasyus.*

First: In the following passages, or some of them, reference may be made to the earth or territory being bestowed on the Āryas, i. 100, 18: *Dasyūn Śimyūmś cha puruhūtaḥ evair hatvā pṛithivyāṁ śarvā nivarhīt* | *sanat kshetraṁ sakhibhiḥ śvitnyebhiḥ sanat sūryaṁ sanad apaḥ suvajraḥ* |. "(Indra), the much-invoked, having, according to his wont, smitten to [or on] the earth the Dasyus and Śimyus [or destroyers], crushed them with his thunderbolt. The thunderer, along with his shining friends, bestowed territory, bestowed the sun, bestowed the waters."[29] ii. 20, 7: *Sa vṛitrahā Indraḥ kṛishṇayonīḥ purandaro dāśīr airayad vi* | *ajanayad manave kshām apaś cha ityādi* | "Indra, the

[29] Several points are obscure in this passage. Is the word Śimyu the name of a tribe (as Professor Wilson renders it), or does it merely mean a destroyer? In R.V. vii. 18, 5, we have the words *śardhantam śimyum*, which Professor Roth (Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 94) renders by "defiant wrong-doer." Sāyana on that passage explains *śimyum* by *bodhamānam* | "understanding" (participle). In the text before us he explains the word *Śamayitṛīn vadhakāriṇo rākshasādīn* | "Subduers, i.e. slayers, Rākshasas, etc."; and again on the same passage: *Śimyūn* | *Śamu upaśame* | *śamayati sarvaṁ tiraskaroti iti rākshasādiḥ śimyuḥ* | "The verb *śam* designates one who contemns every one else. *Śimyu* therefore = *Rākshasa*, etc." Then, who are the "shining friends" of Indra, in the second clause? The Maruts? or the fair-complexioned Āryas? In verse 2 of this hymn, we find the words *sakhibhiḥ svebhiḥ*, "his friends," which Sāyaṇa interprets of the Maruts. He explains verse 18 thus: *śvitnyebhiḥ śvetavarṇair alankāreṇa dīptāngair sakhibhir mitrabhūtair marudbhiḥ saha kshetraṁ śatrūṇāṁ svabhūtām bhūmiṁ sanat samabhākshīt* | "Along with his white-coloured (i.e. whose limbs were shining with ornaments) friends, the Maruts, he divided the territory belonging to his enemies." On the other hand, we have, in verse 6 of this hymn, the worshippers themselves spoken of as, according to Sāyaṇa's gloss, the persons with whom the sun was shared. The

slayer of Vṛitra, and destroyer of cities, scattered the servile (hosts) of black descent. He produced the earth and waters for Manu."[30] The passages iii. 34, 9, and iv. 26, 2, which have been already quoted above (p. 360, f.), should be again referred to here. vi. 18, 3: *Tvaṁ ha nu tyad adamayo dasyūṁr ekaḥ kṛishṭīr avanor āryāya* | "Thou (Indra) hast then subdued the Dasyus: thou hast alone subdued peoples to the Ārya."[31] vi. 61, 3: *Uta kshitibhyo avanīr avindaḥ* | "And thou (Sarasvatī) hast obtained lands for men."[32] vii. 19, 3: *Paurukutsiṁ Trasadasyum āvaḥ kshetrasātā vṛitrahatyeshu pūrum* | "Thou hast preserved the man Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, in fights

words there are: *Asmākebhir nṛibhiḥ sūryaṁ sanat* | which Sāyaṇa renders, *Asmadīyair nṛibhiḥ purushaiḥ sūryaṁ sūryaprakāsaṁ sanat sambhaktaṁ karotu śatrupurushais tu dṛishṭi-nirodhakham andhakāraṁ saṁyojayatu* | "Let him divide the light of the sun with our men, and involve our enemies in darkness which shall obstruct their view." The same words are rendered by Rosen: *Nostratibus viris solem concedat*, "Let him bestow the sun on our countrymen," where the words in the instrumental case have the sense of the dative assigned to them. If they bear that sense in verse 6, they may equally have it in the 18th also. The meaning would then be, "He bestowed the land, the sun, the waters, on his fair friends." But this use of the instr. would not suit verse 10, *Sa grāmebhiḥ saṇitā saratheḥbhiḥ* | whether we understand *grāmebhiḥ* of villages, or hosts. On the words, "his fair friends," Professor Wilson remarks, Rigveda i. p. 260, note: "These, according to the scholiast, are the winds, or Maruts; but why they should have a share of the enemy's country (*śatrūṇam bhūmim*) seems doubtful. Allusion is more probably intended to earthly friends or worshippers of Indra, who were white (*świtnya*) in comparison with the darker tribes of the conquered country." The worshipper's friendship with Indra is mentioned in many passages of the R.V., as, i. 101, 1; iv. 16, 10; vi. 18, 5; vi. 21, 5 and 8; vi. 45, 7. Rosen renders this passage: *Expugnavit terram sociis suis nitentibus*, "He conquered the earth with his struggling companions;" thus giving another sense to *śvitnyebhiḥ*. In two other hymns, vii. 99, 3, and x. 65, 11 (quoted above, p. 362), we find mention made of the sun in a somewhat similar manner as in the verse under review. In his translation of the Rigveda in Orient und Occident, ii. 518, f., Prof. Benfey gives the following sense to the verse before us: "The much-invoked smites the robbers and devisers of mischief; in tempest he shatters them to the ground with his bolt; with his shining comrades the thunderer acquired ground, sun, and floods."

[30] Sāyaṇa explains the words *kṛishṇayonīḥ*, etc., thus: *kṛishṇayōnīr nikṛishṭajātīr, dāsīr upakshapayatrīr āsurīḥ senāḥ*, "the destructive armies of the Asuras, of degraded rank." The Vālākhilya ii. 8, has the following words: *yebhir ni dasyum manusho nighoshayaḥ* | "The horses with which (Indra) thou didst scare (?) the Dasyu away from the man."

[31] Sāyaṇa explains *kṛishṭīḥ*, "people," by *putradāsādīn*, "children, slaves," etc.

[32] Sāyaṇa explains *avanīḥ*, by *Asūrair apahṛitāḥ bhūmīḥ*, "lands taken away by the Asuras." Roth (Dict.) assigns also to the word the sense of "streams;" which it might seem to be the function of Sarasvatī to give rather than lands.

with foes for the acquisition of land." vii. 100, 4: *Vichakrame pṛithivīm esha etāṁ kshetrāya Vishṇur manave daśasyan* | "This Vishṇu traversed this earth, to give it for a domain to Manu (or the [Āryan] man)." It is possible that in these passages, or in some of them, allusion may be made to the occupation of the plains of India, and the subjugation of the aboriginal tribes by the Āryas, on their immigration from the north-west; but it must be confessed that the explanation is uncertain. In R.V., x. 65, 11, quoted above (p. 362), there seems to be a reference to the spread of Āryan institutions.

Second: In two of the passages already quoted (i. 51, 8, 9; i. 130, 8), the epithets *ăvrăta* and *apavrata*, "devoid of," or "opposed to, religious rites," or "lawless," will have been noticed as applied to the Dasyus. I proceed to cite some further passages in which the character and condition of the Dasyus (whoever they may be) are specified.

They are (1) described as a degraded race, i. 101, 5: *Indro yo dasyūn adharān avātirat marutvantaṁ sakhyāya havāmahe* | "We invoke to be our friend, Indra, attended by the Maruts, who subdued the base Dasyus" [or, "subdued and humbled the Dasyus"].[33] ii. 11, 18: *Dhishva śavaḥ śūra yena Vṛitram avābhinad Dānum Aurṇavābham* | *apāvṛiṇor jyotir āryāya ni savyataḥ sādi dasyur Indra* | "Maintain, O hero, that strength by which thou hast broken down Vṛitra, Dānu, Aurṇavābha. Thou hast revealed light to the Ārya, and the Dasyu has been set on thy left hand."[34] The text of the following, R.V., ii. 12, 4, has been already given in p. 282: "He who swept away the low Dāsa colour."[35] iv. 28, 4: *Viśvasmāt sīm adhamān Indra dasyūn viśo dāsīr akṛiṇor apraśastāḥ* | "Indra, thou hast made these Dasyus lower than all, and the servile people without renown."

They are described (2) as having either no religious worship, or rites different from those of the Āryas. i. 33, 4, 5: *Ayajvānaḥ Sanakāḥ pretim īyuḥ* | *parā chit śīrshā vivṛijus te Indra ayajvāno yajvabhiḥ spardhamānāḥ* |

[33] Sāyaṇa explains this of making the Asuras vile and slaying them: *Asurān adharān nikṛishṭān kṛitvā.*

[34] Sāyaṇa explains the word Dasyu in this verse of the mythical personage Vṛitra. The words *ni* + *sādi*, making together *nishādi*, present a curious coincidence with the word *Nishāda.*

[35] Roth (Dict.) gives the sense of "removing, putting away," to *guhā kaḥ.* Sāyaṇa explains it of "hiding in a cavern." The word *varṇa*, colour, race, which is applied to the Āryas, iii. 34, 9, is here made use of in speaking of the Dasyus. Sāyaṇa explains the latter, either of the S'ūdra caste, or of the Asuras.

"The unsacrificing Sanakas perished. Contending with the sacrificers, the non-sacrificers fled, O Indra, with averted faces."[36] i. 131, 4: *S'āsas tam Indra martyam ayajyum ityādi* | "Thou, O Indra, hast chastised the mortal who sacrifices not."[37] i. 132, 4: *Sunvadbhyo randhaya kanchid avratañ hṛiṇāyantañ chid avratam* | "Subject to those who offer libations the irreligious man, the irreligious man though wrathful." iv. 16, 9: *Ni māyāvān abrahmā dasyur arta* | "The deceitful, prayerless Dasyu has perished." R.V., v. 7, 10: *Ād Agne apṛiṇato 'triḥ sasahyād dasyūn ishaḥ sasahyād nṛīn* | "O Agni, may the Atri then overcome the illiberal Dasyus: may Isha overcome the men." R.V., vi. 14, 3: *Tūrvanto dasyum āyavo vrataiḥ sīkshanto avratam* | "Men subduing the Dasyu, with rites (or laws) overwhelming the irreligious (or lawless)." v. 42, 9: *Apavratān prasave vāvṛidhānān brahma-dvishaḥ sūryād yavayasva* | "Remove far from the sun the irreligious, the haters of prayer, who increase in progeny." viii. 59, 10: *Tvañ naḥ Indra ṛitayus tvānido ni tṛimpasi* | *madhye vasishva tuvinṛimṇa ūrvor ni dāsañ śiśnatho hathaiḥ* | 11 |

[36] Sāyaṇa describes the Sanakas as followers of Vṛitra: *Etannāmakāḥ Vṛitrānucharāḥ*. I cannot say who may be meant by the Sanakas here. They may have been heretical Āryas and not Dasyus. A Sanaka was a mindborn son of Brahmā. Wilson, Vish. Pur., first edition, p. 38, note 13. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 385, note, quotes a text of the Mahābh. xii. 13,078, where he is mentioned as a sage. Benfey renders *sanakāḥ* "old."

[37] In i. 100, 15, the word *marttāḥ*, "men," is opposed to *devāḥ*, "gods." The word *martya*, "mortal," is usually applied to men. But from the following passage of the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa it appears that the Asuras also are regarded as mortal, and that the gods too were formerly so. ii. 2, 2, 8, ff.: *Devāścha vai Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛidhire* | *Te ubhaye eva anātmāna āsuḥ, martyā hy āsuḥ* | *anātmā hi martyaḥ* | *Teshu ubhayeshu martyeshu Agnir eva amṛita āsa* | *Tam ha sma ubhaye amṛitam upajīvanti . . . . Tato devās tanīyāñsa iva pariśiśishire* | *Te archantaḥ śrāmyantas cheruḥ* | *Uta Asurān sapatnān martyān abhibhavema iti te etad amṛitam agnyādheyam dadṛiśuḥ* | *Te ha ūchuḥ* | *hanta idam amṛitam antarātmann ādadhāmahai* | *Te idam amṛitam antarātmann ādhāya amṛitā bhūtvā astaryyā bhūtvā staryān sapatnān martyān abhibhavishyāma iti.* "The gods and Asuras, both the offspring of Prajāpati, strove together. They were both soul-less, for they were mortal; for he who is soul-less is mortal. While they were both mortal, Agni alone was immortal; and they both derived life from him, the immortal. . . . Then the gods were left as the inferior. They continued to practise devotion and austerity, and (while seeking to) overcome their foes, the mortal Asuras, they beheld this immortal consecrated fire. They then said, 'Come, let us place this immortal (fire) in our inmost soul. Having done so, and having [thus] become immortal and invincible, we shall overcome our mortal and conquerable enemies.'" The gods accordingly placed the sacred fire in their hearts, and by this means overcame the Asuras.

Anyavratam amānusham ayajvānam adevayum | ava svaḥ sakhā dudhuvīta parvataḥ sughnāya dasyum parvataḥ | "Thou, Indra, lovest our religious rites; thou tramplest down those that revile thee; thou, vigorous hero, guard thyself in thy vital parts (*lit.* thighs); thou hast smitten the Dāsa with thy blows. 11. Let his own friend Parvata, let Parvata strike down to swift destruction the Dasyu who observes different rites, who is inhuman, who does not sacrifice, nor regard the gods."[38] iv. 41, 2: *Sahvāṅso dasyum avratam |* "Subduing the irreligious Dasyu."[39] x. 22, 7, 8: *Ā naḥ Indra prikshase asmākam brahma udyatam | tat tvā yāchāmahe avaḥ S'ushṇaṁ yad hann amānusham | 8 | Akarmā Dasyur abhi no amantur anyavrato amānushaḥ | tvaṁ tasya amitrahan vadhar Dāsyasya dambhaya |* "Our prayer, O Indra, is lifted up to thee for sustenance. We implore of thee that succour whereby thou didst smite the inhuman S'ushṇa. The Dasyu, irreligious, foolish, observing other rites, and inhuman, is against us: do thou, O slayer of our foes, subdue the weapon of this Dāsa."

Another epithet which is frequently applied to the adversaries of the Vedic bards, or of their deities (whether those adversaries may have been Āryas, Dasyus, or demons), is "anindra," "without Indra," "despisers of Indra." It occurs in the following texts, R.V., i. 133, 1: *Ubhe punāmi rodasī ṛitena druho dahāmi sam mahīr anindrāḥ |* "By sacrifice I purify both worlds, I consume the great female-goblins which regard not Indra." R.V., iv. 23, 7: *Druhaṁ jighāṁsan dhvarasam anindrāṁ tetikte tigmā tujase anīkā |* "Seeking to slay the injurious female-sprite who regards not Indra, he (Indra) makes his sharp weapons sharper for her destruction." R.V., v. 2, 3: *Hiraṇyadantaṁ śuchivarṇam ārāt kshetrād apaśyam āyudhā mimānam | dadāno asmai amṛitaṁ viṗṛikkat kim mām anindrāḥ kṛiṇavann anukthāḥ |* "From an adjacent spot, while offering to him the imperishable,

[38] I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for aid in the translation of this passage. The epithets of the Dasyu in the last verse seem well applicable to a mortal; but some of them recur in x. 22, 8. In verse 7 of the same hymn a mortal enemy is referred to: *Na sīm adevaḥ āpad isham dīrghāyo martyaḥ:* "O long-lived god, let not a godless mortal obtain prosperity." In his comment on R.V. v. 20, 2, Sāyaṇa explains the word *anyavrata* thus: *Vaidikād vibhaktam vratam karma yasya tasya Asurasya,* "the Asura whose rites are different from those of the Veda." See Goldstücker, Dict. *s.v.* "*anyavrata.*"

[39] Benfey in a note to his translation of Sāmaveda, ii. 243 (p. 251), understands *Dasyum avratam* of Vṛitra, or the Evil Spirit in general.

unmingled [fuel or butter?], I beheld [Agni] the golden-toothed, the bright-coloured, fashioning his weapons: what can those who regard not Indra, and recite no hymns, do to me?" R.V., vii. 18, 6: *Ardhaṁ vīrasya śṛitapām anindram parā śardhantaṁ nanude abhi kshām* | "Indra hurled to the ground the half of the struggling heroes, drinkers of the oblation, and disregarders of Indra."[40] R.V., x. 27, 6: *Darśan nu atra śṛitapān anindrān bāhukshadaḥ śarave patyamānān* | *ghṛishuṁ vā ye niniduḥ sakhāyam adhi ū nu eshu pavayo vavṛityuḥ* | "They beheld here those who drink the libation, who regard not Indra, who offer worthless oblations,[41] and are fit victims for the thunderbolt: the wheels have rolled over those who reviled [our] destroying friend." In R.V., x. 48, 7, Indra speaks: *Abhīdam ekam eko asmi nishshāḷ abhi dvā kim u trayaḥ karanti* | *khale na parshān prati hanmi bhūri kim mā nindanti śatravo anindrāḥ* | "Impetuous, I alone vanquish this one enemy; I vanquish two; what can even three do? [In battle] I destroy numerous foes like sheaves of corn on the threshing-floor. Why do the enemies who regard not Indra revile me?"[42]

The following text speaks of men who are destitute of hymns and prayers, x. 105, 8: *Ava no vṛijinā śiśīhi ṛichā vanema anṛichaḥ* | *nābrahmā yajnaḥ ṛidhag joshati tve* | "Take away our calamities. With a hymn may we slay those who employ no hymns. Thou takest no great pleasure in a sacrifice without prayers."[43]

As we have seen above (p. 282), there is some appearance of an allusion being made in the Veda (3) to a distinction of complexion as existing between the Āryas and the aborigines. On this subject I quote the following remarks, made by Prof. Max Müller, in a review of the first volume of this work, which originally appeared in the

[40] See Roth's interpretation of this verse in his Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 98, 99; and his remarks on the tribes who are referred to in this hymn, ibid. pp. 132–5.

[41] Prof. Roth, *s.v.* explains *bāhukshad* as denoting a niggardly worshipper who offers the foreleg, i.e. a worthless portion of the victim.

[42] See Nirukta, iii. 10, and Roth, Erläuter., p. 29.

[43] In my article "On the Relations of the Priests to the other Classes of Indian Society in the Vedic Age," (Journ. Royal As. Soc., new series, ii. 286, ff.), I have quoted numerous texts from the Rigveda "containing denunciations of religious hostility or indifference," in which "no express reference is made to Dasyus," and which may therefore, "with more or less probability, be understood of members of the Āryan community."

"Times" newspaper of 10th and 12th April, 1858, and has since been reprinted in his "Chips," vol. ii. (see p. 324):—"At the time," he says, "when this name of 'varṇa' was first used in the sense of caste, there were but two castes, the Āryas and the non-Āryas, the bright and the dark race. This dark race is sometimes called by the poets of the Veda 'the black skin.' Rigveda, i. 130, 8: 'Indra protected in battle the Āryan worshipper, he subdued the lawless for Manu, he conquered the black skin.'"[44] (This passage has been already quoted, p. 360.)

Some other passages in which black-coloured enemies are mentioned may also possibly be referrible to the dark aborigines; such as R.V. ii. 20, 7, already quoted (p. 369): "Indra, the slayer of Vṛitra and destroyer of cities, scattered the servile (*dāsīḥ*) [hosts] of black descent." But Prof. Roth (in his Lex.), explains this last expression, *krishṇayoniḥ*, as well as *kṛishṇagarbhāḥ*, in R.V. i. 101, 1, as descriptive of the black clouds. The latter of these two phrases is similarly understood by M. Regnier in his Étude sur l'Idiome des Vedas, p. 154. In R.V. iv. 16, 13, mention is made of Pipru and Mṛigaya being subjected to Ṛijiśvan, son of Vidathin, and of 50,000 black beings (explained by the commentator as Rakshases) being destroyed by Indra, as old age destroys the body. (*Tvam Piprum Mṛigayaṁ śūśavāṁsam Ṛijiśvane Vaidathināya randhīḥ | pañchāśat kṛishṇā ni vapaḥ sahasrā atkam na puro jarimā vi dardaḥ |*) These, also, are perhaps to be regarded as aërial foes.[45] See also Professor Benfey's explanation of R.V. viii. 85, 15, in his translation of the Sāmaveda, i. 323, p. 228. In

[44] This phrase, "the black skin," occurs also in R.V. ix. 41, 1, a text which reappears in the Sāmaveda, i. 491, and ii. 242. The words are *Pra ye gāvo na bhūṛṇayas tveshāḥ ayāsō akramuḥ, ghnantaḥ kṛishṇām apa tvacham;* which are thus rendered by Professor Benfey: "The flaming, the tempestuous [gods], approach like furious bulls, and chase away the black skin." In a note he adds the explanation: "The Maruts (winds) chase the clouds." In his Glossary to the S.V., the same author explains the phrase "black skin" by "night." A similar expression, *tvacham asiknīm*, occurs in R.V. ix. 73, 5: *Indra-dvishṭām apa dhamanti māyayā tvacham asiknīm bhūmano divas pari* | "By their might they" (I cannot say who [qu. Maruts?] are here referred to) "sweep away from the sky the black skin of the earth, hated of Indra." So Benfey translates this line in his Glossary, *s.v. asiknī*. But perhaps the words "black skin" should not be construed with the word "earth." The construction may be, "from earth and sky."

[45] Compare Prof. Wilson's Translation and R.V. i. 101, as well as the Introduction to his R.V., vol. iii., pp. viii, ix, xiv and xv.

the following text allusion is made to black tribes of some kind: R.V. vii. 5, 3: *Tvad-bhiyā viśaḥ āyann asiknīr asamanāḥ jahatīr bhojanāni | Vaiśvānara pūrave śosuchānaḥ puro yad Agne darayann adīdeḥ |* "For fear of thee the black tribes fled, scattered, relinquishing their possessions, when thou, Agni Vaiśvānara, gleaming in behalf of Pūru [or the man], didst tear and burn the cities." Prof. Roth (Lexicon, *s. v.* "*asikni*") explains the words "black tribes" as meaning "spirits of darkness." A similar phrase occurs in R.V. viii. 62, 18: *Puraṁ na dhṛishṇo āruja kṛishṇayā bādhito viśā |* "O impetuous, break down as it were a rampart, being harassed by the black race." It is not clear who is here apostrophized; or what dark-coloured enemies are referred to.

There are (4) some passages in which the epithet "mṛidhravāch" is applied to the speech of the Dasyus. If it were certain that the aboriginal tribes were alluded to in all or in any of these texts, and that the adjective in question had reference to any peculiarity in their language, the fact would be one of the highest interest; but unfortunately both points are doubtful.[46] The following are the passages alluded to:—R.V. i. 174, 2: *Dano viśaḥ Indra mṛidhravācaḥ sapta yat puraḥ śarma śāradīr dart | ṛiṇor apo anavadya arṇāḥ yūne Vṛitram Purukutsāya randhīḥ |* "When thou, O Indra, our defence, didst destroy the seven autumnal castles, thou didst subdue the people of injurious speech. Thou, blameless one, hast impelled the flowing waters: thou hast subjected Vṛitra to the youthful Purukutsa." R.V. v. 29, 10: *Pra anyach chakram avṛihaḥ Sūryasya Kutsāya anyad varivo yātave kaḥ | anāso Dasyūn amṛiṇor vadhena ni duryoṇe āvṛiṇañ mṛidhravāchaḥ |* "Thou didst detach one wheel of Sūrya: the other thou didst set free to go for Kutsa. Thou hast with thy weapon smitten the mouthless [or noseless] Dasyus: in their abode thou hast beaten down the injuriously speaking people." v. 32, 8: *Tyaṁ chid arṇam madhupaṁ śayānam asinvam vavram mahi ādad ugraḥ | apādam atram mahatā vadhena ni duryoṇe āvṛiṇañ mṛidhravācham |* "The fierce [Indra] seized that huge, restless [Vṛitra], the drinker up of the sweets, reclining, insatiable, the hidden; and beat down in his abode with a great weapon, that footless, devouring, and injuriously-

[46] The Atharvaveda xii. 1, 45, refers to the earth as "sustaining men of very various forms of speech and customs; each dwelling in their own abodes" (*janam bibhratī bahudhā vivāchasaṁ nānādharmāṇam pṛithivī yathaukasam*).

speaking [demon]." vii. 6, 3: *Ni akratūn grathino mṛidhravāchaḥ Paṇīn aśraddhān avṛidhān ayajñān | pra pra tān Dasyūn Agnir vivāya pūrvaś chakāra aparān ayajyūn |* "The senseless, false, injuriously-speaking, unbelieving, unpraising, unworshipping Paṇis (or niggards); these Dasyus Agni removed far off. It was he who first made the irreligious degraded." vii. 18, 13: *Vi sadyo viśvā dṛiṁhitāni eshām Indraḥ puraḥ sahasā sapta dardaḥ | vi Ānavasya Tṛitsave gayam bhāg jeshma Pūruṁ vidathe mṛidhraṿācham |* "Indra straightway shattered all their strongholds, their seven castles by his violence: he divided to the Tṛitsu the substance of the Ānava: we vanquished in the fight the injuriously-speaking Pūru [or man]."

The word "mṛidhravāch," which I have rendered "injuriously-speaking," is explained by Sāyaṇa (in his comments on three of these passages) as meaning "one whose organs of speech are destroyed" (*hiṁsita-vāgindriya*, or *hiṁsita-vachaska*). On i. 174, 2, he interprets it as *marshaṇa-vachanāḥ*, "speaking patiently," ("suing for pardon," Wilson), and on vii. 18, 13, by *bādhavācham*, "speaking so as to vex," ("ill-speaking," Wilson). The same term is rendered by Wilson, in his translation of the second and third passages, by "speech-bereft," or "speechless." Roth, in his "Illustrations of the Nirukta," p. 97, rejects the explanation of Yāska (who (Nir. vi. 31) renders "mṛidhravāchaḥ" by "mṛiduvāchaḥ," "softly-speaking,"), and considers that it means "speaking injuriously." Dr. Kuhn, again (Herabkunft des Feuers, p. 60), is of opinion that the epithet in question means "a stutterer;" and thinks that, in R.V. v. 29, 10, reference is made to the gradual dying away of the distant thunder, which is regarded as the voice of the vanquished demon. In treating of the aboriginal races of India, Prof. Müller (Last Results of Turanian Researches, p. 346: see, below, pp. 389, ff.) remarks, that "the 'anāsas,' enemies, whom Indra killed with his weapon (R.V. v. 29, 10), are probably meant for noseless (a-nāsas), not, as the commentator supposes, for faceless (an-āsas) people. (See also the article of the same author already alluded to in p. 375.) Professor Wilson, on the other hand, remarks (R.V., vol. iii., p. 276, note): "*Anāsa*, Sāyaṇa says, means *āsyarahitān*, devoid of, or deprived of, words; *āsya*, face or mouth, being put by metonymy for *śabda*, the sound that comes from the mouth, articulate speech, alluding possibly to the uncultivated dialects of the barbarous tribes, barbarism

and uncultivated speech being identical, in the opinion of the Hindus, as in the familiar term for a barbarian, 'mlechha,' which is derived from the root, *mlechh*, to speak rudely;" and adds, in reference to Professor Müller's proposed interpretation of *anāsa:* "The proposal is ingenious, but it seems more likely that Sāyaṇa is right, as we have the Dasyus presently called also *mṛidhravāchas*, ... having defective organs of speech."

There are only two of the four preceding passages containing the word *mṛidhravāch*, in which the Dasyus are named; and in the second of these two texts (R.V. vii. 6, 3) this word is applied to persons or beings called *paṇi*, who are either niggards, or the mythical beings who stole the cows of the gods or the Angirases, and hid them in a cave. (See Wilson's R.V. vol. i. pp. 16, 17, note.)[47] In any case, the sense of the word *mṛidhravāch* is too uncertain to admit of our referring it with confidence to any peculiarity in the speech of the aborigines.

In the R.V. frequent mention is made (5) of the cities or castles of the Dasyus, or of the Asuras. One of these passages, i. 103, 3, has been already quoted in p. 359. The following are additional instances: R.V. i. 51, 5: *Tvam Pipror nṛimaṇaḥ prārujaḥ puraḥ pra Ṛijiśvānaṁ Dasyu-hatyeshu āvitha* | "Benevolent to men, thou hast broken the castles of Pipru, and protected Ṛijiśvan in his battles with the Dasyus." R.V. i. 63, 7: *Tvaṁ ha tyad Indra sapta yudhyan puro vajrin Purukutsāya dardaḥ* | "Thou, O Indra, thunderer, fighting for Purukutsa, didst destroy then seven castles." i. 174, 8: *Bhinat puro na bhido adevīr nanamo vadhar adevasya pīyoḥ* | "Thou hast pierced the godless piercers like their castles: thou hast bowed down the weapon of the godless destroyer." ii. 14, 6: *Yah śataṁ Śambarasya puro bibheda aśmaneva purvīḥ* | "Who split the hundred, the numerous, castles of Śambara as with a thunderbolt." ii. 19, 6: *Divodāsāya navatiṁ cha nava Indraḥ puro vi airach Chhambarasya* | "Indra shattered for Divodāsa a hundred castles of Śambara." iii. 12, 6: *Indrāgnī navatim puro dāsapatnīr adhūnutam* | *sākam ekena karmaṇā* | "Indra and Agni, by one effort together, ye have shattered ninéty castles belonging to the Dasyus." iv. 26, 3: *Aham puro mandasāno vi airaṁ nava sākaṁ navatīḥ Śamba-*

[47] See Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. paṇi*, where R.V. vii. 6, 3, is cited among the texts where the word means "niggard;" and comp. my art. on the "Priests in the Vedic Age," Journ. R. A. S. for 1866, p. 290.

rasya | Śatatamaṁ veśyaṁ sarvatātā Divodāsam Atithigvam yad āvam | "Exhilarated, I have destroyed at once the ninety-nine castles of Śambara: the hundredth habitation (remained) in security, when I protected Divodāsa Atithigva."[48] vi. 31, 4: *Tvaṁ śatāni ava Śambarasya puro jagantha apratīni dasyoḥ |* "Thou hast destroyed hundreds of unequalled castles of the Dasyu Śambara." The following verse seems to show that by these castles, as well as by mountains, clouds are meant:—x. 89, 7: *Jaghāna Vṛitraṁ svadhitir vaneva ruroja puro aradad na sindhūn | bibheda giriṁ navaṁ in na kumbham ā gāḥ Indro akṛiṇuta svayugbhiḥ |* "Indra smote Vṛitra as an axe (fells) the woods; he broke down the castles, he as it were hollowed out the rivers. He split the mountain like a new jar; he possessed himself of the cows, with his companions."

Iron castles are spoken of in the following passage: ii. 20, 8: *Prati yad asya vajram bāhvor dhur hatvī dasyūn puraḥ āyasīr nitārīt |* "When they placed the thunderbolt in his (Indra's) hand, he slew the Dasyus, and overthrew their iron castles."[49]

In the following texts "autumnal castles" are spoken of:—i. 131, 4: *Vidus te asya vīryasya pūravo puro yad Indra śāradīr avātiraḥ | sāsahāno avātiraḥ | śāsas tam Indra martyam ayajyuṁ śavasaspate |* "Men know this heroism of thine, that thou hast overthrown the autumnal castles, violently overthrown them. Lord of power, thou hast chastised the mortal who sacrifices not."[50] (See also R.V. i. 174, 2, which has been quoted in p. 376.) vi. 20, 10: *Sapta yat puraḥ śarma śāradīr dart han dāsīḥ Purukutsāya śikshan |* "When thou, our defence, didst

[48] See Kuhn's Herabkunft des Feuers, p. 140, and note. Benfey in his excursus on *sarvatāti*, Or. und Occ. ii. 524, renders "the hundredth dwelling in safety, when I was gracious to the pious Divodāsa." The words "in safety" may, he says, refer to Indra, or to the hundredth city which he did not destroy; and he refers, as Kuhn also does, to R.V. vii. 19, 5.

[49] Mention is also made of iron castles or ramparts in the following texts: R.V. iv. 27, 1; vii. 3, 7; vii. 15, 14; vii. 95, 1; viii. 89, 8; and x. 101, 8; but not in connexion with the Dasyus.

[50] The "autumnal" castles may mean the brilliant battlemented cloud-castles, which are so often visible in the Indian sky at this period of the year. Sāyana *in loco* explains the term thus: *Śāradīḥ saṁvatsara-sambandhinīḥ saṁvatsara-paryantam prākāra-parikhādibhir dṛiḍhīkṛitāḥ puraḥ śatrūṇām purīḥ |* "The enemies' annual cities, fortified for a year with ramparts, ditches, etc.;" but see next note.

break down the seven autumnal castles, thon didst slay the Dāsa (people), showing favour to Purukutsa." [51]

The epithet *śasvat* is applied to castles in the following text. This word means, as is well known, "constant," "perpetual," but according to the Nighaṇṭus it has the meaning of "many;" and Sāyaṇa generally understands it in this sense. viii. 17, 14: *Drapso bhettā purāṁ śaśvatīnām Indro munīnāṁ sakā* | "The drop (of Soma) is the splitter of many (or of the perpetual) castles. Indra is the friend of sages." viii. 87, 6: *Tvaṁ hi śaśvatīnām Indra dartā purām asi* | *hantā dasyor manor vṛidhaḥ patir divaḥ* | "Thou, Indra, art the destroyer of many (or the perpetual) castles, the slayer of the Dasyu, the benefactor of man, the lord of the sky." [52] Castles of stone are mentioned in one passage, iv. 30, 20: *S'atam aśmanmayīnām purām Indro vi āsyat Divodāsāya dāśushe* | "Indra has thrown down a hundred castles built of stone, for his worshipper Divodāsa." [53] In R.V. viii. 1, 28, mention is made of a "moving" castle: *Tvam puraṁ charishṇvaṁ vadhaiḥ S'ushṇasya sampiṇak* | "Thou hast shattered with thy bolts the moving castle of S'ushṇa." [54]

The castles referred to in these Vedic hymns were, in later times, at least, understood of castles of the Asuras; and the following legend was invented to explain what they were. In the Commentary on the Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā of the Yajurveda, the following passage occurs: *Atra iyam ākhyāyikā asti* | *devaiḥ parājitāḥ asurās tapas taptvā trailokye trīṇi purāṇi chakrur lohamayīm bhūmau rājatīm antarikshe haimīṁ divi* | *tadā devais tāḥ dagdhum upasadā Agnir ārādhitaḥ* | *tataḥ upasad-devatā-rūpo 'gnir yadā tāsu pūrshu praviśya tāḥ dadāha tadā tisraḥ puro 'gnes tanavo 'bhūvan* | *tad abhipretya ayam mantraḥ* | "On this text [Vāj. Sanh. 5, 8], the following story is told:—The Asuras

[51] Sāyaṇa, in his note on this verse, explains the word *śāradīḥ* differently, as *śaran-nāmnaḥ asurasya sambandhinīḥ* | "Belonging to an Asura called S'arad." Sāyaṇa renders the word *s'arma* in this passage by "with thy thunderbolt." In his note on R.V. i. 174, 2, he had previously rendered it by "for our happiness." I have ventured to render it "our defence."

[52] In R.V. viii. 84, 3, we find the same epithet applied to persons: *Tvam hi śaśvatīnam patiḥ rājā viśām asi* | "Thou art the lord, the king of many peoples."

[53] Sāyaṇa interprets *aśmanmayīnām* by *pāshāṇair nirmitānām*, "built of stone," and says they were the cities of S'ambara.

[54] It appears that moving cloud-castles are here meant.

having been vanquished by the gods, performed austerities, and built three castles in the three worlds,—one of iron on the earth, one of silver in the atmosphere, and one of gold in the sky. Then Agni was supplicated by the gods to burn these castles with the upasad. In consequence, Agni, in the form of the upasad deity, entered these castles, and burned them. Then these castles became the bodies of Agni. It is to this that this Mantra (text) has reference."[55] The Satapatha-brāhmaṇa (iii. 4, 4, 3, ff.) has the following passage on the same subject:—*Devāś cha vai asurāś cha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛidhire | tato 'surāḥ eshu lokeshu puraś chakrire ayasmayīm eva asmin loke rajatām antarikshe harinīm̃ divi | tad vai devāḥ aspṛiṇvata | te etābhir upasadbhir upāsīdan | tad yad upāsīdaṁs tasmād upasado nāma | te purāḥ prābhindann imān lokān prājayan | tasmād āhur "upasadā puram̃ jayanti" iti* | "The gods and Asuras, who were both the offspring of Prajāpati, contended together. Then the Asuras constructed castles in these worlds, one of iron in this world, one of silver in the atmosphere, and one of gold in the sky. The gods were envious of this. They sat near (*upa-asīdan*) with these 'upasads' [ceremonies so called, or sieges]; and from their thus sitting the name of 'upasad' originated. They smote the cities, and conquered these worlds. Hence the saying that men conquer a city with an 'upasad.'" In the sequel of the same passage, iii. 4, 4, 14, it is said: *Vajram eva etat saṁskaroti Agnim anīkam̃ Somam̃ śalyam̃ Vishṇum̃ kulmalam* | "He thus prepares the thunderbolt, making Agni the shaft, Soma the iron, Vishṇu the point."[56] (See also Weber's Ind. Stud. ii. 310.)

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa i. 23 gives the following variation of the story: *Devāsurāḥ vai eshu lokeshu samayatanta | te vai asurāḥ imān eva lokān puro 'kurvata yathā ojīyāṁso balīyāṁsaḥ | evam̃ te vai ayasmayīm eva imām akurvata rajatām antarikshaṁ harinīm̃ divam̃ te tathā imān lokān puro 'kurvata | te devāḥ abruvan "puro vai ime 'surāḥ imān lokān akrata | puraḥ imān lokān prati karavāmahai" iti "tathā" iti | te sadaḥ eva asyāḥ*

[55] The reference here is to the text of the V.S. 5, 8, which contains the words *yā te Agne ayaḥśayā tanūḥ; yā te agne rajaḥśayā tanūḥ; yā te agne hariśayā tanūḥ:* "The body of thine, Agni, which reposes in iron; which reposes in silver; which reposes in gold." The 'upasad' was a festival, part of the jyotishṭoma, which was kept for several days. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon.

[56] The Commentary says: "*anīkam̃*" *vajrasya mukha-pradeśaḥ | śalyas tataḥ pūrvo bhāgaḥ "kulmalam̃" tatpuchha-bhāgaḥ* |

pratyakurvata agnīdhram antarikshād havirdhāne divas tathā imān lokān puraḥ pratyakurvata|te devāḥ abruvann "upasadaḥ upāyāma upasadā vai mahāpuraṁ jayanti" iti "tathā" iti | te yām eva prathamām upasadam upāyaṁs tayā eva enān asmāl lokād anudanta yāṁ dvitīyāṁ tayā 'ntarikshād yāṁ tṛitīyāṁ tayā divaḥ | tāṁs tathā ebhyo lokebhyo 'nudanta. "The gods and Asuras strove together in these worlds. The Asuras made these worlds into castles, as strong and powerful persons do. Thus they made this earth a castle of iron, the air one of silver, and the sky one of gold: thus did they make these worlds castles. The gods said: "These Asuras have made these worlds into castles; let us in turn make of them counter-castles.' (The other gods said) 'so be it.' They (accordingly) made out of this earth a sitting-room[57] (*sadas*), out of the air a fire-altar, and out of the sky two receptacles of oblations: thus they made these worlds into counter-castles. The gods said, 'let us enter upon sieges (*upasadaḥ*),[58] for by siege men conquer a great fort.' (The other gods said) 'so be it.' By the first siege on which they entered they drove them (the Asuras) from this earth, by the second from the air, and by the third from the sky. So they drove them from these worlds."

Further on, in section 25 of the same chapter, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says:—*Ishuṁ vai etāṁ devāḥ samaskurvata yad upasadaḥ | tasyāḥ Agnir anīkam āsīt Somaḥ śalyo Vishṇus tejanaṁ Varuṇaḥ parṇāni | tām ājyadhanvāno 'sṛijaṁs tayā puro bhindantaḥ āyan |* "The gods prepared this arrow, the Upasads. Agni was its shaft, Soma was its iron, Vishṇu was its point, Varuṇa its feathers. Using the ājya for a bow, they discharged this arrow, and went forward shattering the castles."

The Taittirīya Saṁhitā, vi. 2, 3 (as quoted in the commentary on an earlier part of the same work, Bibl. Ind., Black Yajurveda, in the first volume, page 390, f.), thus relates the story, combining the parts of the narrative which are separated in the two other Brāhmaṇas:—*Teshām asurāṇām tisraḥ puraḥ āsan | ayasmayī avamā 'tha rajatā 'tha hariṇī | tāḥ devāḥ jetuṁ nāśaknuvan | tāḥ upasadā eva ajigīshan | tasmād āhur "yaś chaivaṁ veda yaś cha na upasadā vai mahāpuraṁ jayanti" iti |*

[57] This is Prof. Haug's rendering. See his note, Transl. of Ait. Br. p. 51.

[58] "There is throughout this chapter a pun between the two meanings of *upasad*, 'siege,' and a certain ceremony" [so called] "observable."—Haug, p. 52.

te ishuṁ samaskurvata Agnim anîkam Somaṁ śalyaṁ Vishṇuṁ tejanam | te 'bruvan "kaḥ imâm asisyati" iti | "Rudraḥ" ity abruvan | "Rudro vai krûraḥ so 'asyatv" iti | so 'bravîd "varaṁ vṛiṇai aham eva paśûnâm adhipatir asâni" iti | tasmâd Rudraḥ paśûnâm adhipatiḥ | taṁ Rudro 'vâsṛijat | sa tisraḥ puro bhitvâ ebhyo lokebhyo 'surân prâṇudata | "These Asuras had three castles, the lowest one of iron, next one of silver, and then one of gold. The gods were unable to conquer these. They sought to capture them by siege (or by an *upasad*). Hence men say, 'he who knows, and he who does not know, this, both conquer a great fort by siege.' They prepared an arrow, making Agni the wooden shaft, Soma the iron, and Vishṇu the point.[59] They said, 'who shall shoot this arrow?' 'Rudra,' they said; 'Rudra is cruel, let him shoot it.' He (Rudra) said, 'let me ask a boon; let me be the lord of cattle (or victims).' Hence Rudra is the lord of cattle. He discharged the arrow, and having shattered the three castles, drove the Asuras from these worlds."[60]

The Atharvaveda, v. 28, 9, f., speaks of three castles of the gods:—*Diyas tvâ pâtu haritam madhyât tvâ pâtu arjunam | bhûmyâḥ ayasmayam pâtu prâgâd devapurâḥ ayam | imâs tisro devapurâs tâs tvâ rakshantu sarvataḥ* | "May the golden protect thee from the sky, the silver from the air, the iron from the earth: this man has reached the castles of the gods. May these three castles of the gods preserve thee continually."

Another text speaks of the castles of the Asuras, Atharvaveda, x. 6, 10: *Tam bibhrach chandramâḥ maṇim asurâṇâm puro 'jayad dânavânâṁ hiraṇmayîḥ* | "Holding that gem, the Moon captured the golden castles of the Asuras, sons of Danû."

And verse 20 of the same hymn says: *Tair medino Angiraso Dasyûnâm bibhiduḥ puras tena tvaṁ dvishato jahi* | "Allied with them (the Atharvans) the Angirases shattered the castles of the Dasyus: with it do thou slay thine enemies."

In several texts Dasyus are mentioned in connexion with mountains. Thus in R.V., ii. 12, 11, we have the words, *Yaḥ S'ambaram parvateshu kshiyantam chatvârimśyâṁ śaradi anvavindat* | "Who discovered

[59] Comm. p. 391: *Anîka-śabdo bânasya prathama-bhâgaṁ kâshṭham âchashṭe śalya-śabdo lôhaṁ tejana-śabdas tad-agram.*

[60] See the version of the same story, given in the Anuśâsana parva of the Mahâbhârata, as quoted in vol. iv. of this work, pp. 168, f.; and at much greater length in the Karṇa parva, vv. 1407, ff.

Sambara living in the mountains in the fortieth autumn;" and in i. 130, 7: *Bhinat puro navatim Indra Pūrave Divodāsāya mahi dāśushe nṛito vajreṇa dāśushe nṛitaḥ | Atithigvāya Sambaraṁ girer ugro avābharat | maho dhanāni dayamānaḥ ojasā viśvā dhanāni ojasā*| "O Indra, impetuous, thou didst shatter by thy bolt ninety-nine cities for Pūru (or the man), for the very liberal sacrificer Divodāsa;—impetuous,—for the liberal sacrificer. Fierce, he hurled down Sambara from the mountain for the sake of Atithigva, bestowing great wealth by his power, all wealth by his power." iv. 30, 14: *Uta dāsaṁ Kaulitaram bṛihataḥ parvatād adhi | avāhann Indra Sambaram* | "Thou, Indra, didst cast down the Dāsa Sambara, son of Kulitara, from the great mountain." vi. 26, 5: *Ava girer dāsaṁ Sambaram han prāvo Divodāsam* | "Thou didst hurl down the Dāsa Sambara from the mountain, thou didst preserve Divodāsa."

The wealth or property of the Dasyus or Asuras is spoken of in various places. Thus in i. 33, 4: *Vadhīr hi dasyuṁ dhaninaṁ ghanena ekaś charann upa śākebhir Indra* | "Thou, O Indra, advancing singly, hast slain the wealthy Dasyu, together with his allies, with thy destructive weapon."[61] i. 176, 4: *Asunvantaṁ samaṁ jahi dūṇāśaṁ yo na te mayaḥ | asmabhyam asya vedanaṁ daddhi sūriś chid ohate* | "Kill all those who make no oblations, though difficult to destroy, and who cause thee no gladness; give us their wealth: the worshipper expects it." ii. 15, 4: *Sa pravoḷhṝn parigatya Dabhīter viśvam adhāg āyudham iddhe agnau | sa gobhir aśvair asṛijad rathebhiḥ* | "Surrounding those (Asuras) who had carried away Dabhīti, he burned all their weapons in the blazing fire, and presented him with cows, horses, and chariots." iv. 30, 13: *Uta Sushṇashya dhṛishṇuyā pramṛiksho abhi vedanam | puro yad asya sampiṇak* | "Thou didst boldly sweep away the wealth of Sushṇa, when thou didst shatter his castles." viii. 40, 6: *Api vṛiścha purāṇa-vad vratater iva gushpitam | ojo dāsasya dambhaya | vayaṁ tad asya sambhṛitaṁ vasu Indreṇa vibhajemahi* | "Root up, as of old, like (a tree) overgrown by a creeping plant; subdue the might of the Dāsa; may we through [or with]

[61] Sāyaṇa remarks on this verse: "The Vājasaneyins distinctly record the wealth [of Vṛitra] in these words; '*Vṛittrasyāntaḥ sarve devāḥ sarvāścha vidyāḥ sarvāṇi havīṁshi cha āsan:* In Vṛitra were contained all the gods, all the sciences, and all oblations.' "

Indra divide his collected wealth." x. 69, 6: *Sam ajryā parvatyā vasūni dāsā vṛitrāṇi āryā jigetha* | "Thou hast conquered the property, whether situated in the plains or hills, (thou hast conquered) the Dāsa and the Ārya enemies."

In the following and numerous other texts (as well as in some of the preceding), various Dasyus, or at least adversaries, are specified by name, together with the persons who were delivered from them. R.V., i. 51, 6: *Tvaṁ Kutsaṁ Śushṇahatyeshu āvitha arandhayo Atithigvāya Śambaram* | *mahāntaṁ chid Arbudaṁ nyakramīḥ padā sanād eva dasyuhatyāya jajnishe* | "Thou hast preserved Kutsa in his fights with Śushṇa; hast subdued Śambara to Atithigva; thou hast trodden under foot the great Arbuda; of old hast thou been born to destroy the Dasyus."[62] vii. 19, 2: *Tvaṁ hi tyad Indra Kutsam āvaḥ śuśrūshamāṇas tanvā samaryye* | *dāsaṁ yat Śushṇaṁ Kuyavaṁ ni asmai arandhayaḥ Ārjuneyāya śikshan* | "Thou, O Indra, didst then deliver Kutsa in the fray, interposing with thy body, when favouring that son of Arjuni, thou didst subdue to him the Dāsa Śushṇa, and Kuyava."[63] i. 53, 8: *Tvaṁ Karanjam uta Parṇayaṁ vadhīs tejishṭhayā Atithigvasya vartanī* | *tvaṁ śatā Vangṛidasya abhinat puro anānudaḥ purishūtāḥ Ṛijiśvanā* | 9 | *Tvaṁ etān jana-rājno dvirdaśa abandhunā Suśravasā upajagmushaḥ* | *shashṭiṁ sahasrā navatiṁ nava śruto ni chakreṇa rathyā dushpadā avṛiṇak* | 10 | *Tvaṁ āvitha Suśravasaṁ tavotibhis tava trāmabhir Indra Tūrvayāṇam* | *tvaṁ asmai Kutsam Atithigvam Āyum mahe rājne yūne arandhanāyaḥ* | "8. Thou hast slain Karanja and Parṇaya with the glittering spear of Atithigva. Unyielding, thou hast broken down the hundred cities of Vangṛiḍa, which had been blockaded by Ṛijiśvan. 9. Thou, renowned Indra, hast with thy swift chariot-wheels, crushed those twenty kings of men, who assailed the unaided Suśravas, [and their] sixty thousand and ninety-

[62] This verse is followed almost immediately by the text, i. 51, 8, quoted above, p. 359. "Distinguish between the Āryas," etc.

[63] In R.V., iv. 26, 1 (quoted above, p. 360), also, Kutsa is called the son of Arjuni. Kuhn considers that Kutsa is a personification of the lightning, a view which he considers to be confirmed by his patronymic of Ārjuni, Arjuna being an epithet of Indra, and of the thunderbolt. See Herabkunft des Feuers, pp. 57-62, 65, 140, 176. See also Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.* Kuyava is also mentioned in i. 103, 3: *Kshīreṇa snātaḥ Kuyavasya yoshe, hate te syātām pravaṇe Śiphāyāḥ.* "The two wives of Kuyava bathe with water; may they be drowned in the stream of the Śiphā."

nine [followers]. 10. Thou hast by thy aids protected Suśravas, and by thy help Tūrvayāṇa. To this mighty youthful king thou hast subjected Kutsa, Atithigva, and Āyu."[64] ii. 30, 8: *Sarasvati tvam asmān aviḍḍhi marutvatī dhṛishatī jeshi śatrūn | tyaṁ chit śardhantaṁ tavishīyamāṇam Indro hanti vṛishabhaṁ S'aṇḍikānām |* "Sarasvatī, do thou protect us: impetuous, attended by the Maruts, thou conquerest our enemies. Indra destroys the chief of the S'aṇḍikas, arrogant, and making a display of his strength."[65] iv. 30, 15: *Uta dāsasya Varchinaḥ sahasrāṇi śatā 'vadhīḥ | adhi pancha pradhīn iva | 21 | asvāpayad Dabhītaye sahasrā tṛiṁśataṁ hathaiḥ | dāsānām Indro māyayā |* "Thou hast slain above a thousand and five hundred followers of the Dāsa Varchin like fellies of a wheel [crushed, or whirled round?][66] 21. Indra,

[64] The youthful king, alluded to in the last verse, is said by Roth (Lexicon, under the word "Atithigva") to be Tūrvayāṇa. See, however, under Tūrvayāṇa. Benfey (Or. und Occ., i. 413) says it must be Suśravas. These names occur again in vi. 18, 13. Kutsa is sometimes aided (R.V., i. 63, 3; i. 121, 9; iv. 16, 12; x. 99, 9), and sometimes vanquished (ii. 14, 7; iv. 26, 1; vi. 18, 13; Vāl., 5, 2), by Indra.

[65] Sāyaṇa says that *S'aṇḍāmarkāv Asurapurohitau:* "S'aṇḍa and Marka are the priests of the Asuras." See the story regarding them in Taitt. San., vi. 4, 10, 1, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 230, note, where they appear in the character referred to by Sāyaṇa. The story is somwhat differently told in S'atap. Br., iv. 2, 1, 5: *Yatra vai devāḥ asura-rakshasāni apajaghnire tad etāv eva na śekur apahantum | yad ha sma devāḥ kincha karma kurvate tad ha sma mohayitvā kshipre eva punar apadravataḥ | 6 | te ha devāḥ ūchuḥ | "upajānīta yatha imāv apahanāmahai" iti | te ha ūchuḥ | "grahāv eva ābhyām gṛihṇāma tāv abhyavaishyataḥ | tau svīkṛitya apahanishyāmahe" ita | tābhyāṁ grahau jagṛihuḥ | tāv abhyavaitām | tau svīkṛitya apaghnata | tasmāt S'aṇḍāmarkābhyāṁ gṛihyete devatābhyo hūyete |* "When the gods smote the Asuras and Rakshases, they could not smite these two (S'aṇḍa and Marka, who had just been named). When the gods performed any rite, these two used to come and disturb it, and then run away quickly. 6. The gods said: 'Consider how we shall smite them.' They (the other gods?) said: 'Let us prepare two draughts for them; they will alight; and then we shall master and smite them.' They accordingly prepared libations for these two. They alighted. They (the gods) mastered and smote them. Hence two draughts are prepared for S'aṇḍa and Marka, but are offered to the gods." In the S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 4, 14 (p. 9 of Weber's edition), Kilāta and Ākuli are declared to be the priests of the Asuras: *Kilātākulī iti ha Asura-brahmāv āsatuḥ.* Z. D. M. G. for 1850, p. 302. In Ind. Stud., i. 32, Weber quotes the following words from the Pānchvins'a-brāhmaṇa, 13, 11; *Gaupāvanānām vai satram āsīnānām, Kirātākulyāv asuramāye,* etc. "While the Gaupāvanas were seated at a sacrifice, Kirāta and Ākuli, etc." See also Ind. Stud., i., p. 186, 195, ii. 243. According to the Mahābhārata, i. 2544, Uśanas Kāvya, or S'ukra, son of Bhṛigu (v. 2606) was the teacher (*upādhyāya*) of the Asuras, and his four sons were their priests (*yājakāḥ*). In verses 3188, ff., of the same book, the rivalry of Uśanas and Angiras is referred to. Uśanas Kāvya was the messenger of the Asuras, according to the Taitt. San., i. 5, 8, 5. [66] See also R.V., vii. 99, 5.

by his superhuman power, put to sleep with his weapons thirty thousand Dāsas for Dabhīti." v. 30, 7: *Atra dāsasya Namucheḥ śiro yad avartayo manave gātum ichhan* | 9 | *striyo hi dāsaḥ āyudhāni chakre kim māṁ karann abalāḥ asya senāḥ* | *antar hi akhyad ubhe asya dhene atha upapraid yudhaye dasyum Indraḥ* | "When, designing prosperity for Manu, thou didst strike off the head of the Dāsa Namuchi.[67] 9. The Dāsa took his wives for allies in battle. What will his feeble hosts do to me? He concealed his two fair ones; and then Indra approached to fight with the Dasyu." viii. 32, 26: *Ahan Vṛitram ṛichīshamaḥ Aurṇavābham Ahīśuvaṁ himena avidhyad Arbudam* | "Indra slew Vṛitra, Aurṇavābha, Ahīśuva: with frost he pierced Arbuda." viii. 40, 10: *Yaḥ ojasā S'ushṇasya aṇḍāni bhedati jeshat svarvatīr apaḥ* | "Who by his might crushes the eggs of Sushṇa; he conquered the celestial waters." x. 54, 1: *Prāvo devān ātiro dāsam ojaḥ prajāyai tvasyai yad aśikshaḥ Indra* | "Thou hast protected the gods, thou hast overcome the might of the Dasyus, when thou, O Indra, didst favour some one people." x. 73, 7: *Tvaṁ jaghantha Namuchim makhasyuṁ dāsaṁ kṛiṇvānaḥ ṛishaye vimāyam* | "Thou hast slain the vehement Namuchi, making the Dāsa devoid of power for the ṛishi."[68] x. 95, 7: *Yat tvā Purūravo raṇāya avardhayan dasyuhatyāya devāḥ* | "When, Purūravas, the gods strengthened thee for the conflict with the Dasyus."

I have gone over the names of the Dasyus or Asuras mentioned in the R.V. with the view of discovering whether any of them could be regarded as of non-Arian or indigenous origin; but I have not observed any that appear to be of this character. But we should recollect that the Arians would not unnaturally designate the aboriginal leaders (if they specified any of them in their sacred hymns) by names of Arian origin, or at least softened into an Arian form. The Greeks introduced Greek modifications into Persian and other proper names, and the Chaldeans are stated in the Book of Daniel to have given Chaldean appellations to the Jews.

In some passages the Dasyus are spoken of as monsters.[69] Thus, ii.

[67] There is a legend about Indra and the Asura Namuchi in the S'atap. Brāh., v. 4, 1, 8, p. 459.

[68] See Benfey, Gloss. to S.V. under the word *Namuchi*.

[69] The Dasyus must be evil spirits in A.V., xviii. 2, 28: *Ye dasyavaḥ pitṛishu pravishṭāḥ*, etc. ("the Dasyus who have entered into, or among, the Pitṛis"). They

14, 4: *Yah Uraṇaṁ jaghāna nava chakhvāṁsaṁ navatiṁ cha bāhūn | yo Arbudam ava nīchā babādhe |* "Who slew Uraṇa, displaying ninety-nine arms; who struck down Arbuda," etc. x. 99, 6: *Sa id dāsaṁ tuviravam patir dan shaḍakshaṁ triśīrshāṇaṁ damanyat | asya Trito nu ojasā vṛidhāno vipā varāham ayoagrayā han |* "This lord humbled and subjugated the loud-shouting Dāsa, with six eyes and three heads.[70] Trita, increasing in strength, smote this boar with his iron-tipped shaft." The enemies of Indra are spoken of in a few passages as scaling the sky: thus, ii. 12, 12: *Yo Rauhiṇam asphurad vajrabāhur dyām arohantaṁ sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ |* "O men, he who, armed with the thunder, slew Rauhiṇa as he was scaling the heaven, is Indra." viii. 14, 14: *Māyābhir utsisṛipsataḥ Indra dyām ārurukshataḥ ava dasyūn adhūnuthāḥ |* "Thou, Indra, hast hurled down the Dasyus, who, by their superhuman powers, were mounting upwards, and seeking to scale heaven."[71] In ii. 12, 2, the Dasyus are said to regard themselves as immortal: *Sṛijo mahīr Indra yāḥ apinvaḥ parishṭhitāḥ Ahinā śūra pūrvīḥ | amartyaṁ chid dāsan manyamānam avābhinad ukthair vavṛidhānaḥ |* "Thou hast, O heroic Indra, let loose the abundant waters, which thou augmentedst when they were stopped by Ahi. Gaining vigour by hymns, he shattered the Dāsa, who regarded himself as immortal." In v. 7, 10, the Dasyus are conjoined with men: *Ād Agne apṛiṇato ʼtriḥ sāsahyād dasyūn ishaḥ sāsahyād nṛīn |* "Hereupon, O Agni, may the Atri overcome the illiberal Dasyus, may Isha overcome the men."

I have thus brought under review in this section a variety of passages which bear, or might be conceived to bear, some reference to the conquest of territory by the Āryas and to the condition, colour, speech, religious rites, and castles of the Dasyus. The meaning of many of these texts is, however, as we have seen, extremely doubtful; and some of them are clearly of a mythological import. Such, for instance, are those which describe the contests of Indra with Vṛitra, the demon of

are said to be *parāpuraḥ* and *nipúraḥ*, which the commentary on V.S., 2, 30, explains as having gross or subtile bodies. In that passage the word *asurāḥ* is used instead of *Dasyus*. See also A.V., x. 3, 11, where they are identified with asuras. *Indro dasyūn iva asurān.*

[70] In S'atap. Br., p. 57, a son of Tvashṭri with three heads and six eyes is mentioned as having his three heads cut off by Indra.

[71] In i. 78, 4, the expression *yo dasyūn ava dhūnushe* recurs.

the clouds, who withholds rain; where we are, no doubt, to understand both the god and his adversary as personifications of atmospherical phenomena. In the same way, Śambara, Śushṇa, and Namuchi are to be regarded as mythical personages, of a kindred character with Vṛitra. And yet there are many passages in which the word "vṛitra" has the signification of enemy in general (as R.V. vi. 33, 3; vi. 60, 6; vii. 83, 1, p. 361); and Professor Spiegel, as we have seen (p. 317), is of opinion that the word "vṛitrahan" had originally nothing more than a general signification, and that it was only at a later period that it came to be a special designation of Indra. The word Śambara, again, as Benfey (Glossary to Sāmaveda, p. 181) remarks, is given in the Nighaṇṭus as synonymous with *megha*, "a cloud" (i. 10), with *udaka*, "water" (i. 12), and with *bala*, "force" (ii. 9); while the mythical narrations generally identify him with Vṛitra. In regard to this word Professor Roth remarks as follows (Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 116): "In the passages which speak of Divodāsa, mention is made of his deliverance, by the aid of the gods, from the oppressor Śambara, e.g. R.V. i. 112, 14; ix. 61, 2. It is true that Śambara is employed at a later period to designate an enemy in general, and in particular the enemy of Indra, Vṛitra; but it is not improbable that this may be the transference of the more ancient recollection of a dreaded enemy to the greatest of all enemies, the demon of the clouds." (See, however, p. 368, above.)

Professor Müller (Last Results of the Turanian Researches, pp. 344, ff.) remarks as follows on the use of the words Dasyu, Rakshas, Yātudhāna, etc.: "Dasyu simply means enemy; for instance, when Indra is praised because 'he destroyed the Dasyus and protected the Arian colour.'[72] The 'Dasyus,' in the Veda, may mean non-Arian races in many hymns; yet the mere fact of tribes being called the enemies of certain kings or priests can hardly be said to prove their barbarian origin. Vasishṭha himself, the very type of the Arian Brahman, when in feud with Viśvāmitra, is called not only an enemy but a 'Yātudhāna,' and other names, which in common parlance are only bestowed on barbarian savages and evil spirits." (See the first volume of this work, pp. 326, f.,

[72] [This passage, iii. 34, 9, appears to me to be, rather, one of those in which the contrast is most strongly drawn between the Āryas and the aborigines. See above, pp. 282 and 360.—J.M.]

where the original passage and the translation are given.) "In other passages [of the R.V.] the word . . . devil (rakshas) is clearly applied to barbarous nations. Originally rakshas meant strong and powerful, but it soon took the sense of giant and barbarian,[73] and in this sense it occurs in the Veda, together with Yātudhāna. Another Vaidik epithet applied, as it seems, to wild tribes infesting the seats of the Āryas, is 'anagnitra,' 'they who do not keep the fire.' Thus we read, 'Agni, drive away from us the enemies—tribes who keep no sacred fires came to attack us. Come again to the earth, sacred god, with all the immortals, come to our libation.'[74] The same races are called 'kravyād,' or flesh-eaters. In a famous hymn of Vasishṭha we read: 'Indra and Soma, burn the Rakshas, destroy them, throw them down, ye two Bulls, the people that grow in darkness. Hew down the madmen, suffocate them, kill them, hurl them away, and slay the voracious. Indra and Soma, up together against the cursing demon! may he burn and hiss like an oblation in the fire! Put your everlasting hatred on the villain, who hates the Brahman, who eats flesh, and whose look is abominable.'[75] . . . Kravyād, flesh-eater, means people who eat raw meat, . . . and they are also called *āmādas*, . . . or raw-eaters, for

[73] The Rev. Dr. Wilson (India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 20) thinks that the words Rākshasa, Piśācha, and Asura, were originally names of tribes; but he adduces no proof of this, and I have found none.

[74] R.V. i. 189, 3: *Agne tvam asmad yuyodhi amīvāḥ anagnitrāḥ abhyamanta kṛishṭīḥ | Punar asmabhyan suvitāya Deva kshām viśvebhir amṛitebhir yajatra* ||

[75] [R.V. vii. 104, 1, 2: *Indrā-Somā tapatam raksha ubjatam ni arpayatam vṛishaṇā tamovṛidhaḥ | Parāśṛinītam achito ni oshatam hatam nudethām ni śiśītam atriṇaḥ | Indrā-Somā sam aghaśaṁsam abhy agham tapur yayastu charur agnivān iva | Brahmadvishe kravyāde ghorachakshase dvesho dhattam anavāyam kimīdine* | In a similar strain, Viśvāmitra, the rival of Vasishṭha, says, in R.V. iii. 30, 15–17: *Indra dṛihya yāmakośā abhūvan yajñāya śiksha gṛiṇate sakhibhyaḥ | Durmāyavo durevā martyāso nishangiṇo ripavo hantvāsaḥ | sam ghoshaḥ śṛiṇve avamair amitrair jahi ni eshu aśanim tapishṭhām | Vṛiścha īm adhastād vi ruja sahasva jahi raksho Maghavan randhayasva | Ūdvṛiha rakshaḥ sahamūlam Indra vṛiścha madhyam prati agram śṛiṇīhi | ā kīvataḥ salalūkam chakartha brahmadvishe tapushim hetim asya* | "Indra, be strong; [the Rakshases?] have stopped the road: bestow favour on the sacrifice, and on thy worshipper and his friends: let our mortal foes, bearing quivers, practising wicked deceit, and malicious, be destroyed. A sound has been heard by our nearest foes; hurl upon them thy hottest bolt, cut them up from beneath, shatter them, overpower them; kill and subdue the Rakshas, O Maghavan! Tear up the Rakshas by the roots, Indra, cut him in the midst, destroy him at the extremities. How long dost thou delay? Hurl thy burning shaft against the enemy of devotion." See Roth, Illustr. of Nir., vi. 3, p. 72.—J.M.]

the cooking of meat was a distinguishing feature of civilized nations, and frequently invested with a sacrificial character. Agni, who in the Vedas is the type of the sacrifice, and with it of civilization and social virtues, takes an entirely different character in his capacity of 'kravyād,' or flesh-eater. He is represented under a form as hideous as the beings he is invoked to devour. He sharpens his two iron tusks, puts his enemies into his mouth and swallows them. [R.V., x. 87, 2, ff.] He heats the edges of his shafts, and sends them into the hearts of the Rakshas. He tears their skin, minces their members, and throws them before the wolves to be eaten by them, or by the shrieking vultures. These Rakshas are themselves called 'achitas,' mad, and 'mūradevās,'[76] worshippers of mad gods. Nay, they are even taunted with eating human flesh, and are called 'asutṛipas,' as enjoying the life of other men. In the Rigveda we read [x. 87, 16], 'the Yātudhānas who gloat on the bloody flesh of men or horses, and steal the milk of the cow, O Agni, cut off their heads with thy fiery sword.' All these epithets seem to apply to hostile, and, most likely, aboriginal races, but they are too general to allow us the inference of any ethnological conclusions. The Vaidik ṛishis certainly distinguish between Arian and non-Arian enemies. The gods are praised for destroying enemies, Arian as well as barbarian (*dāsā cha vṛittrā hatam āryāṇi cha*), and we frequently find the expression 'kill our Arian enemies, and the Dāsā enemies; yea, kill all our enemies.' But there is no allusion to any distinct physical features, such as we find in later writers. The only expression that might be interpreted in this way is that of 'suśipra,' as applied to Arian gods. It means 'with a beautiful nose.' As people are fain to transfer the qualities which they are most proud of in themselves to their gods, and as they do not become aware of their own good qualities, except by way of contrast, we might conclude that the

[76] [The far more opprobrious epithet of *śiśnadeva* is applied, apparently, to the same class of people, in R.V. vii. 21, 5; and x. 99, 3. The former of these texts ends thus: *Mā śiśnādevāḥ apigur ṛitam nah:* "let not the lascivious wretches approach our sacred rite." Yāska (Nir. iv. 19) explains *śiśnadeva* by *abrahmacharyya;* Roth (Illustrations to Nir., p. 47) thinks the word is a scornful appellation for priapic, or sensual demons. The last line of the second text (x. 99, 3, apparently spoken of Indra) is as follows: *Anarvā yat śatadurasya vedo ghnan śiśnadevān abhi varpasā bhūt.* "When, smiting the lascivious wretches, the irresistible god by art made himself master of the wealth of [the city] with a hundred portals." (See the fourth volume of this work, pp. 345, ff.)—J.M.]

beautiful nose of Indra was suggested by the flat noses of the aboriginal races. Tribes with flat, or even no noses at all, are mentioned by Alexander's companions in India; and in the hymns of the Rigveda, Manu is said to have conquered Vi-śiśipra (Pada-text, viśi-śipra), which may be translated by 'noseless.' The Dāsa, or barbarian, is also called 'vṛishaśipra' in the Veda, which seems to mean 'goat or bull-nosed,' and the 'anāsas,' enemies whom Indra killed with his weapon (R.V. v. 29, 9, 10), are probably meant for noseless (a-nāsas), not, as the commentator supposes, for faceless (an-āsas) people." (See above, p. 377, f.)

Professor Müller then proceeds to remark that the physical features of the aboriginal tribes are more distinctly described in the Purāṇas. (See the first volume of this work, pp. 301, 303, and a passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which will be quoted further on).

We may, perhaps, be better able to understand many of the expressions and allusions in the hymns, and the manner in which some particular phrases and epithets are applied (as it would appear, indiscriminately, to the different classes of beings, human, ethereal, or demoniacal), if we can first of all obtain an idea of the position in which the Āryas, on their settlement in India, would probably find themselves placed in reference to the aboriginal tribes; and if we, secondly, consider that the hymns in which these phrases are recorded were composed at various dates, ranging over several centuries; that the same words and phrases are perpetually recurring in the different hymns; and that expressions employed in one sense in the earlier hymns may have been transferred, in the compositions of a later date, to a different class of beings. We have further to recollect, that the hymns may not always have been handed down in a complete state, and that portions of different compositions, which had originally a different subject and purpose, may have been erroneously thrown together by compilers in after-ages. I shall say a few words, by way of conjecture, on each of these topics.

First, then, we may conceive the Āryas advancing from the Indus in a south-easterly direction into a country probably covered with forest, and occupied by savage tribes, who lived in rude huts, perhaps defended by entrenchments, and subsisted on the spontaneous products of the woods, or on the produce of the chase, and of fishing; or by some attempts

at agriculture. These barbarians were of dark complexion, perhaps also of uncouth appearance, spoke a language fundamentally distinct from that of the Āryas, differed entirely from them in their religious worship, which no doubt would partake of the most degraded fetishism, and (we can easily suppose) regarded with intense hostility the more civilized invaders who were gradually driving them from their ancient fastnesses. The Āryas, meanwhile, as they advanced, and gradually established themselves in the forests, fields, and villages of the aborigines, would not be able all at once to secure their position, but would be exposed to constant reprisals on the part of their enemies, who would "avail themselves of every opportunity to assail them, to carry off their cattle, disturb their rites, and impede their progress."[77] The black complexion, ferocious aspect, barbarous habits, rude speech, and savage yells of the Dasyus, and the sudden and furtive attacks which, under cover of the impenetrable woods,[78] and the obscurity of night, they would make on the encampments of the Āryas, might naturally lead the latter to speak of them, in the highly figurative language of an imaginative people in the first stage of civilization, as ghosts or demons;[79] or even to conceive of their hidden assailants as possessed of magical and superhuman powers, or as headed by devils. The belief in ghosts is not obsolete (as every one knows) even in modern times and among Christian nations. In the case of nocturnal attacks, the return of day would admonish the assailants to withdraw, and would restore the bewildered and harassed Āryas to security; and, therefore, the rising of the sun in the east would be spoken of as it is

[77] Wilson, R.V. vol. i. Introd. p. xlii. See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 450, ff.

[78] In the Rigveda there is a hymn (x. 146) of six verses, addressed to Araṇyānī, the goddess of forests, which we can conceive to have been composed at a period such as that described above, by a rishi accustomed to live amidst vast woods, and to the terrors incident to wandering through their solitudes. The first and last stanzas of this hymn are as follows: *Araṇyāni Araṇyāni asau yā preva naśyasi | katha grāmam na pṛichhasi na tvā bhīr iva vindati | . . . Añjanagandhiṁ surabhim bahvannām akṛishīvalām | prāham mṛigāṇām mātaram Araṇyānim aśaṁsisham.* "Araṇyānī, Araṇyānī, thou who almost losest thyself, how is it that thou seekest not the hamlet? Doth not fear possess thee? . . . I have celebrated Araṇyānī, the unctuous-scented, the fragrant, abounding in food, destitute of tillage, the mother of wild beasts." See Roth, Illustr. of Nir., p. 132: and the fifth volume of this work, p. 422.

[79] In R.V. viii. 18, 13, human enemies are spoken of as acting like Rakshases: *Yo naḥ kaśchid ririkshati rakshastvena martyaḥ svais sa evaiḥ ririkshīshṭa:* "May the man who seeks, with Rakshas-like atrocity, to injure us, perish by his own misconduct."

in one of the Brāhmaṇas, as driving away or destroying the devils.[80] In a similar way the author of the Rāmāyaṇa (if we suppose that there is any historical basis for his poetical narrative) speaks, as we shall shortly see, of the barbarian tribes encountered by Rāma in the Dekhan as Rākshasas and monkeys.[81] This state of things might last for some time. The Āryas, after advancing some way, might halt, to occupy, to clear and to cultivate the territory they had acquired; and the aborigines might continue in possession of the adjacent tracts, sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with their invaders. At length the further advance of the Āryas would either drive the Dasyus into the remotest corners of the country, or lead to their partial incorporation with the conquerers as the lowest grade in their community. When this stage was reached, the Āryas would have no longer any occasion to compose prayers to the gods for protection against the aboriginal tribes; but their superstitious dread of the evil spirits, with which the popular mind in all ages has been prone to people the night, would still continue.

Secondly. Throughout the whole period (which we may presume to have extended over several centuries) during which the state of things just described continued, the composition of the Vedic hymns was proceeding. These hymns were (as we have supposed, pp. 196, 198) preserved by the descendants of the several bards, who on their part, again, were constantly adding to the collection other new compositions of their own. The authors of these new effusions would naturally incorporate in them many thoughts and phrases borrowed from the older hymns which were preserved in their recollection,[82] and which were now, perhaps, beginning to be invested with a certain sanctity. As circumstances changed, the allusions and references in the older hymns might be forgotten; and it might happen that some of the expressions occurring in them would no longer be distinctly understood, and might in this way be applied to conditions and events to which they had originally no reference. The same thing might also happen by way of accommodation: phrases or epithets referring

[80] Quoted by Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 33, 8: *Ādityō hy eva udyan purastād rakshāṁsy apahanti.* See also Sāyaṇa on R.V., i. 71, 4.

[81] And in our own experience the Chinese speak of Europeans as "foreign devils.'

[82] Compare Renan's Histoire des langues Sémitiques, 2nd ed. p. 120, note 1.

to one class of enemies might be transferred to another, as Professor Roth (see p. 389) supposed to have been the case with the word Śambara. When, in fact, we see that hints and allusions in the Vedas have been often developed in the Purāṇas into legends of an entirely different character and tendency, that the functions and attributes of the Vedic gods were quite changed in later ages, and that even in the Brāhmaṇas the true meaning of many of the Vedic texts has been misunderstood, it becomes quite admissible to suppose, that, even in the age when the later hymns were composed, the process of misapplication may have commenced, and that their authors may, in various instances, have employed the words of the earlier hymns in a different manner from that in which they were at first applied. In this way it is conceivable that what was originally said of the dark-complexioned, degraded, and savage aborigines, of their castles, or rude fortifications, and of their conflicts with the Āryas, may have been at a later period transferred to the foul sprites of darkness, to the hostile demons of the clouds, and to the conflicts of the gods with the Asuras and the Daityas. Or it is, perhaps, a more probable supposition that, in the artless style of early poetry, the earthly enemies of the worshipper were mentioned in the hymns along side of the malicious spirits of darkness (with whom, as we have just seen, p. 393, they might be supposed to have some affinity or alliance), or the aërial foes of Indra. This conjunction or confusion of different kinds of enemies becomes the more intelligible if the word Dasyu, as is supposed by the Indian commentators (page 363, above), originally bore the generic sense of destroyer. (See, however, the remarks of Professor Benfey in p. 367, f.) It might thus come to be applied to all kinds of enemies, as the mention of one description of foes might naturally suggest a reference to the others, and to the epithets applicable to them. We ourselves apply to the devil the appellation of the foul fiend, a word which means enemy (*feind*) in German; and when employing such prayers as "deliver us from the fear of the enemy," we naturally include all disturbers of our peace, outward or inward, physical or ghostly. Epithets like *anyavrata*, "observing different rites," *avrata*, "without rites," *ayajyu*, "not sacrificing," *adeva*, "without gods," which were originally applicable only to men, might thus, in the progress of a fantastic mythology, be afterwards transferred to demons.

That this is not merely a presumption, but that, at least, something like the process in question actually took place in India, may be illustrated by the following curious passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad, p. 585: *Tasmād api adya iha adadānam aśraddadhānam ayajamānam āhur "āsura vata" iti | Asurāṇāṁ hy eshā upanishat pretasya śarīram bhikshayā vasanena alankāreṇa iti saṁskurvanti | etena hy amuṁ lokaṁ jeshyanto manyante |* "Hence even at the present day a person who is destitute of liberality and faith, and who does not sacrifice, is contemptuously addressed as one of the Asura race. This is the sacred doctrine of the Asuras: they adorn the bodies of the dead with gifts, with raiment, and jewels, and imagine that by this means they shall attain the world to come." [83]

The following passage of the Śatap. Br. iii. 2, 1, 23 and 24 (p. 235, Weber's ed.), may also serve to show the connexion between the aborigines and Asuras: *Te Asurāḥ āttavachaso "he alavaḥ he alavaḥ" iti vadantaḥ parābabhūvuḥ | Tatra etām api vācham ūdur upajijñāsyām | sa mlechhas | Tasmād na brāhmaṇo mlechhed | Asuryā ha eshā vāk.* "The Asuras, deprived of speech, and crying *he alavaḥ* ('O enemies,' incorrectly, instead of *he arayaḥ*), were defeated. Here they also spoke this doubtful expression. This is incorrect language [or one who speaks so is a mlechha]. Therefore let no Brahman speak incorrectly; for this is the language of the Asuras." [84]

[83] See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 271, 2, and note. Compare Manu, xi. 20: *Yad dhanaṁ yajñaśīlānām deva-svaṁ tad vidur budhāḥ | Ayajvanāṁ tu yad vittam āsura-svam tad uchyate ||* "The wealth of those who practise sacrifice is regarded by the wise as the property of the gods; but the wealth of those who never sacrifice is called the property of the Asuras." See also Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, xiii, 8, 1, 5 (App. Note N.), and Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 189; as well as the text from the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa cited in the first volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 21.

[84] In the Brāhmaṇas numerous mythical tales occur of battles between the Devas (gods) and Asuras, which Weber (Ind. Stud. i. 186, and ii. 243) thinks are often to be understood of contests between the Arians and the aborigines. This he considers to be proved by the passage about Kilāta (whose name nearly corresponds with that of the Kirātas, an aboriginal race) and Ākuli, priests of the Asuras, quoted above, p. 386, note, from the Śatap. Br., and by the legend of Rāvaṇa. It may be also worthy of note, that the word *krivi*, when occurring in the R.V. (as in ii. 17, 6, and elsewhere), though taken by Roth, in his Lexicon, to mean generally a cloud, is understood by the Commentator as the name of an Asura; while this same word is stated in the Śatap. Br. xiii. 5, 4, 7, to be an old name of the Panchālas; *Krivayaḥ iti ha vai purā Panchālān āchakshate.*

SECT. III.—*The Arians on the Sarasvatī, and their diffusion eastward and southward from that point.*

In the preceding sections we have seen that the Āryas, on penetrating into Hindustan from the north-west, and advancing across the Panjāb from the Indus towards the Sarasvatī, found themselves in contact and conflict with a race of people, apparently aboriginal, who are designated in the Vedic hymns by the appellation of Dasyus. We shall shortly find that at a later period, on their southward progress from the Doab towards and across the Vindhya range, the Arians again began to press upon the aborigines, and drove them further and further into the Dekhan. We shall also, perhaps, find in the epithets applied in the Rāmāyaṇa to the barbarous tribes of the Dekhan, a confirmation of the opinion that in the hymns of the Rigveda the same class of people are designated by such terms as Rakshas, etc. Before proceeding with this investigation, however, we must first pause for a moment with the Brahmanical Indians in the holy land on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and then by the aid of some texts from their ancient writers, trace their advance from that point to the eastward, and their diffusion over northern India generally.

We shall now, therefore, suppose that the Āryas, after traversing the country of the five rivers, have arrived on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and have even extended themselves as far as the Jumna and the Ganges. It would appear that the narrow tract called Brahmāvartta between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛishadvatī, alluded to in the classical passage of Manu, ii. 17–24, must have been for a considerable period the seat of some of the most distinguished Indian priests and sages, that there the Brahmanical institutions must have been developed and matured, and perhaps the collection of the Vedic hymns completed and the canon closed. (See above, pp. 302, 345, 348.) It is not easy to account in any other way for the sacred character attached to this small tract of country.[85] On this subject Lassen remarks as follows (in his

[85] Some texts of the Veda relating to the Sarasvatī have been quoted above, p. 345, f. Weber (Ind. Stud., ii. 311) quotes two passages from the S'ānkhāyana and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas, about the ṛishis holding a sacrifice on the banks of this river. See also Professor Haug's Ait. Br. The commencement of the legend in the Ait. Br., ii. 19, is as follows: *Rishayo vai Sarasvatyām̃ satram āsata, te Kavasham Ailūsham somād anayan: "dāsyaḥ putraḥ kitavo 'brāhmaṇaḥ katham no madhye dīkshishṭa" iti tam bahirdhanva udavahann "atra enam pipāsā hantu | Sarasvatyāḥ*

Zeitschrift, iii. p. 201):—"The holiness [of the Sarasvatī] must also rest on historical grounds, and be referred to an age when the contrast had become strongly marked between the inhabitants of inner India, whose institutions were framed according to rigid sacerdotal principles, and the occupants of the Panjāb, by whom such rules were but imperfectly observed. This contrast, however, was not only applicable to the people of the west: towards the south also the country which was regulated by institutions of a strictly Indian character, terminated with the Sarasvatī: the place where that river disappeared was the door of the Nishāda country; and she disappeared in order that she might not come into contact with that impure race."[86] Of the same locality Professor Wilson (Vishṇu-Purāṇa, Preface, p. lxvii) remarks: "Various adventures of the first princes and most famous sages occur in this vicinity; and the Āśramas, or religious domiciles, of several of the latter are placed on the banks of the Sarasvatī. According to some authorities, it was the abode of Vyāsa, the compiler of the Vedas and Purāṇas; and agreeably to another, when on one occasion the Vedas had fallen into disuse, and been forgotten, the Brahmans were again instructed in them by Sārasvata, the son of Sarasvatī.[87] One of the most distinguished of the tribes of the Brahmans is known as the Sārasvata. . . . . The

udakam māpād" iti | "The ṛishis attended at a sacrifice on the [banks of] the Sarasvatī. They removed Kavasha Ailūsha from the soma, saying, 'This is the son of a bondmaid, a gamester (or deceiver), and no Brāhman; how has he consecrated himself among us in the sacred rite?' Accordingly they took him into the wilderness, saying, 'Let thirst destroy him here; let him not drink the water of the Sarasvatī.'" The Sarasvatī, however, showed him favour, and the Brāhmans in consequence admitted him to their fellowship. In the Mahābh., iii. 5074, quoted by Lassen (Zeitschr., iii. 200), it is said: *Dakshiṇena Sarasvatyāḥ Dṛishadvaty-uttareṇa cha, ye vasanti Kurukshetre te vasanti tripishṭape* | "Those who dwell in Kurukshetra, south of the Sarasvatī, and north of the Dṛishadvatī, dwell in heaven." See also the first volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 421, f.

[86] Mahābh., iii. 10,538: *Etad Vinaśanaṁ nāma Sarasvatyāḥ viśāmpate | dvāram Nishādarāshṭrasya yeshāṁ doshāt Sarasvatī | Pravishṭā pṛithivīṁ vīra mā Nishādāḥ hi mām viduḥ* | "This is the place called the Vinaśana (disappearance) of the Sarasvatī, the gate of the country of the Nishādas, to whose impurity it was due that the Sarasvatī sank into the earth, lest [as she said] the Nishādas should become acquainted with her."

[87] An abstract of the legend here referred to is given by Professor Wilson at p. 285, 1st ed. of his work, note 9; 2nd ed., vol. iii. p. 70. The passage occurs in the ixth or S'alya Parva of the Mahābh., verse 2960. A twelve years' drought

river itself receives its appellation from Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, under whose auspices the sacred literature of the Hindus assumed shape and authority." [May we not with as much probability suppose the converse to have been the case,—especially as her name is derived from *saras*, "water" (Nir., ix. 36),—and that the goddess derived her name from the river on whose banks she may be said to have been born?][88] "These indications render it certain that, whatever seeds were imported, from without, it was in the country adjacent to the Sarasvatī river that they were first planted and cultivated and reared in Hindustan." See also Lassen, Zeitschrift, iii. p. 202.

The high degree of sanctity ascribed by the Indians, at the close of the Vedic era, to the country between the Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī, is further proved by the following passage of Manu, already repeatedly referred to:

Manu, ii. 17–24: *Sarasvatī-Dṛishadvatyor deva-nadyor yad antaram | tañ deva-nirmitañ deśam Brahmāvartam prachakshate* | 18 | *Tasmin deśe yaḥ āchāraḥ pāramparya-kramāgataḥ | varnāṇāñ sāntarālānāñ sa sadāchāra uchyate* | 19 | *Kurukshetrañ cha Matsyāś cha Pañchālāḥ Śūrasenakāḥ | esha Brahmarshi-deśo vai Brahmāvartād anantaraḥ* | 20 | *Etaddeśa-prasūtasya sakāśād agrajanmanaḥ | svañ svañ charitrañ śikṣheran pṛithivyāñ sarva-mānavāḥ* | 21 | *Himavad-Vindhyayor madhyañ yat prāg Vinaśanād api | pratyag eva Prayāgāch cha madhyadeśaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* | 22 | *Ā samudrāt tu vai pūrvād ā samudrāt tu paśchimāt | tayor evāntarañ giryor āryāvartañ vidur budhāḥ* | 23 | *kṛishṇasāras tu charati mṛigo yatra svabhāvataḥ | sa jñeyo yajñiyo deśo Mlechchhadeśas tataḥ paraḥ* | 24 | *Etān dvijātayo deśān samśrayeran prayatnataḥ | śūdras tu yasmin kasmin vā nivased vṛitti-karshitaḥ* | "The tract, fashioned by the gods, which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and

occurred, during which the great ṛishis travelled hither and thither in search of food, and thus lost the Vedas (*teshāṁ kshudā parītānāṁ nashṭāḥ vedā 'bhidhāvatām*). The Muni Sārasvata was about to depart also, but was dissuaded by the Sarasvatī; *na gantavyam itah putra tavāhāram ahañ sadā | dāsyāmi matsyapravarān ushyatām iha Bhārata:* "Go not hence, my son: I will give thee excellent fish for food." He accordingly remained, "preserving his life and the Vedas" (*prāṇān vedāṁścha dhārayan*); and communicated the Vedas again to the other ṛishis at their desire.

[88] See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 338, ff. Professor Weber, however, in his review of that volume in the Lit. Centralblatt of July 28th, 1870, p. 864, objects to the view there stated.

Dṛishadvatī, is called Brahmāvartta. 18. The usage relating to castes and mixed castes which has been traditionally received in that country, is called the pure usage. 19. The country of Kurukshetra, and of the Matsyas, Panchālas, and Śūrasenas, which adjoins Brahmāvartta, is the land of brahmarshis (divine ṛishis). 20. From a Brāhman born in that region let all men upon earth learn their respective duties. 21. The tract situated between the Himavat and the Vindhya ranges to the east of Vinaśana, and to the west of Prayāga, is known as the Madhyadeśa (central region). 22. The wise know as Āryāvartta the country which lies between the same two ranges, and extends from the eastern to the western ocean. 23. The land where the black antelope naturally grazes is to be regarded as the proper region of sacrifice; beyond that limit lies the country of the Mlechhas. 24. Let twice-born men be careful to remain within these (specified) countries. But a Śūdra may dwell anywhere, when drawn to seek subsistence."[89]

From this passage it appears that at the period to which the rules prescribed in these verses are referable the Brāhmans had not ordinarily penetrated to the south of the Vindhya range, though adventurers might have visited, or hermits might have settled, in those regions. And even to the north of the Vindhya we find the country distributed into several tracts more or less holy, according to their distance from the hallowed spot in the north lying on the banks of the Sarasvatī. First, then, we have this small region itself, Brahmāvartta. This name may signify (1) either the region of Brahmā, the creator, in which case it may have been regarded as in some peculiar sense the abode of this god, and possibly the scene of the creation; or (2) the region of devotion or the Vedas (brahma), and then it will rather denote the country which was sanctified by the performance of holy rites and the study of sacred literature. Next in order we have the land of the Brahmarshis, comprising Kurukshetra

[89] I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for the following note: "Pāṇini, ii. 4, 10, says: *Śūdrāṇām aniravasitānām:* the combination into a *dvandva* of Śūdras who are not excluded (Kaiyyaṭa explains *niravasita* by *vahishkṛita*) is put into the singular. On this the Mahābhāshya remarks: *Āryāvartād anirvasitānām | ke punar Āryāvartāḥ | prāg Ādarśāt pratyak Kālakavanād dakshiṇena Himavantam uttareṇa Paripātram |* " The sense is as follows: "'Not excluded' from Āryāvarta. But what are the Āryāvartas? The country east of Ādarśa, west of Kālakavana (or the forest of Kālaka), south of the Himavat, and north of Paripātra."

(the country west of the Jumna, and stretching from the Sarasvatī on the north towards Vṛindāvana and Mathurā),[90] with the country of the Matsyas, Panchālas, and Sūrasenas. The Panchālas are said by Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the commentator on Manu, to have occupied the country about Kānyakubja or Kanauj; and the Sūrasenas to have lived in the neighbourhood of Mathurā.[91] The third tract, called Madhyadeśa, embraces a wider area, and stretches, north and south, from the Himālaya to the Vindhya range, and north-west and south-east, from Vinaśana, where the Sarasvatī disappeared in the desert (see above, p. 398) to Prayāga or Allahabad. The fourth region, Āryāvartta, or the abode of the Āryas, is yet more extensive than the last, and extends within the same limits of latitude from the sea at the mouth of the Indus to the Bay of Bengal (the eastern and western oceans).

The manner in which these several countries are here successively introduced seems to intimate that the Āryas proceeded gradually from the banks of the Sarasvatī (where, as we have supposed, they had established themselves after traversing the Panjāb) towards the east and south; and that the countries farthest to the south and east, as well as to the south-west, of the Sarasvatī, were those with which they had become last acquainted, and were least familiar. Another proof that the Arians had not yet penetrated to the south of the Vindhya, or thoroughly occupied the eastern provinces of Northern India, at the time to which we refer, may be found in Manu, x. 43, 44 (see first volume of this work, second ed., pp. 481, f., 486, ff.), where we are told that the Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, and Draviḍas, who had formerly been Kshatriyas, had, from neglect of religious rites and the absence of Brāhmans, sunk to the state of Vṛishalas, or Śūdras. From this it would appear that some at least of the people of those countries, i.e. of the inhabitants of Bengal proper and of northern Orissa, as well as those of the Coromandel coast,[92] were then living without Brahmanical institutions; and consequently that the Brāhmans had not yet taken complete possession of all those provinces; though, if the definition above given by Manu of the word Āryāvartta may be relied on as proof, the Āryas must have carried their conquests as far eastward as the eastern ocean, or Bay of Bengal.

[90] See the map of Ancient India, in Lassen, Ind. Ant. vol. ii.

[91] *Panchālāḥ Kānyakubja-deśāḥ Śūrasenakāḥ Mathurā-deśāḥ.*

[92] See Wilson's Vishṇu-Purāṇa, 1st ed., pp. 190, 192; 2nd ed. vol. ii., pp. 170, 177, and notes.

In the S'atapatha-brāhmaṉa we find the following remarkable legend, to which attention was first drawn by Weber (in his Ind. Stud., i. 170, ff.),[93] regarding the advance of the Brāhmans, and the spread of their religious rites in an easterly direction from the banks of the Sarasvatī (S'atap. Br., i. 4, 1, 10, ff.):—*Videgho ha Māthavo 'gniṁ Vaiśvānaram mukhe babhāra | tasya Gotamo Rāhūgaṉaḥ ṛishiḥ purohitaḥ āsa | tasmai sma āmantryamāṉo na pratiśṛiṉoti "na id me 'gnir vaiśvānaro mukhād nishpadyātai" iti | tam ṛigbhir hvayituṁ dadhre "'vītihotraṁ tvā kave dyumantaṁ samidhīmahi | Agne bṛihantam adhvare' videgha" iti | sa na pratiśuśrāva "'Ud 'Agne śuchayas tava śukrāḥ bhrājaṉtaḥ īrate | tava jyotīṁshi archayo' videghā" iti | sa ha naiva pratiśuśrāva | "taṁ tvā ghṛitasnav īmahe" ity eva abhivyāharad | atha asya ghṛita-kīrtāv eva Agnir Vaiśvānaro mukhād ujjajvāla | taṁ na śaśāka dhārayitum | so 'sya mukhād nishpede | sa imām pṛithivīm prāpa adaḥ | tarhi Videgho Māthavaḥ āsa sarasvatyām | sa tataḥ eva prāñ dahann abhīyāya imām pṛithivīm | taṁ Gotamaś cha Rāhūgaṉo Videghaś cha Māthavaḥ paśchād dahantam anvīyatuḥ | sa imāḥ sarvāḥ nadīr atidadāha | Sadānīrā ity uttarād girer nirdhāvati | tāṁ ha eva na atidadāha | tāṁ ha sma tām purā brāhmaṉāḥ na taranti "anatidagdhā agninā Vaiśvānareṉa" iti | tataḥ etarhi prāchīnam bahavo brāhmaṉāḥ | tad ha akshetrataram iva āsa srāvitaram iva asvāditam Agninā Vaiśvānareṉa iti | tad u ha etarhi kshetrataram iva brāhmaṉāḥ u hi nūnam etad yajnair asishvidan | sā 'pi jaghanye naidāghe sam iva eva kopayati tāvat śītā 'natidagdhā hy Agninā Vaiśvānareṉa | sa ha uvācha Videgho Māthavaḥ "kva aham bhavāni" iti | "ataḥ eva te prāchīnam bhuvanam" iti ha uvācha | sā eshā 'py etarhi kośala-videhānām maryādā | te hi Māthavāḥ | Atha ha uvācha Gotamo Rāhūgaṉaḥ "Kathaṁ nu me āmantryamāṉo na pratyaśraushīr" iti | Sa ha uvācha "Agnir me Vaiśvānaro mukhe 'bhūt sa na id me mukhād nishpadyātai tasmāt te na pratyaśrausham" iti | "tad u katham abhūd" iti | "Yatra eva tvam 'ghṛitasnav īmahe' iti abhivyāhārshīs tadā eva ghṛita-kīrtāv Agnir Vaiśvānaro mukhād udajvālīt taṁ nāśakaṁ dhārayitum | sa me mukhād nirapādi" iti |* "Videgha[94] the Māthava bore Agni Vaiśvānara in his mouth. The Ṛishi Gotama Rāhūgaṉa[95] was his priest (purohita). Though addressed by him he (Videgha) did not answer, 'lest (he said)

[93] See also Lassen's Ind. Ant. vol. i. (2nd ed.), p. 645.

[94] Afterwards prakritized to Videha?

[95] See R.V. i. 78, 5.

Agni (Fire) should escape from my mouth.' [The priest] began to invoke Agni with verses of the Ṛik; 'We kindle thee at the sacrifice, O wise Agni, the sacrificer, the luminous, the mighty,' (R.V. v. 26, 3) 'O Videgha.' He made no answer. [The priest then repeated,] 'Thy bright, brilliant, flaming beams and rays mount upwards, O Agni,' (R.V. viii. 44, 16) 'O Videgha.' [Still] he made no reply. [The priest then recited:] 'Thee, O dropper of butter, we invoke,' etc. (R.V. v. 26, 2). So far he uttered; when immediately on the mention of butter (ghṛita), Agni Vaiśvānara flashed forth from his mouth: he could not restrain him, so he issued from his mouth, and then fell down to this earth. Videgha the Māthava was then on [or in] the Sarasvatī. [Agni] then traversed this earth, burning towards the east. Gotama Rāhūgaṇa and Videgha the Māthava followed after him as he burned onward. He burnt across all these rivers; but he did not burn across the Sadānīrā, which descends from the northern mountain [the Himālaya]. The Brāhmans formerly did not use to cross this river, because it had not been burnt across by Agni Vaiśvānara. But now many Brāhmans [live] to the east of it. It used to be uninhabitable, and swampy, being untasted by Agni Vaiśvānara. It is now, however, habitable; for Brāhmans have caused it to be tasted by sacrifices. In the end of summer this river is, as it were, incensed, being still cold, not having been burnt across by Agni Vaiśvānara. Videgha the Māthava spake: 'Where shall I abide?' [Agni] replied, 'Thy abode [shall be] to the east of this (river).' This stream is even now the boundary of the Kośalas and Videhas; for they are Māthavas. Gotama Rāhūgaṇa then said: 'How was it that, though addressed by me, thou didst not answer?' He replied: 'Agni Vaiśvānara was in my mouth. I did not answer lest he should escape from my mouth.' 'How then,' [rejoined Gotama] 'did it come to pass [that he escaped]?' [Videgha answered]: 'As thou didst utter the words, "O dropper of butter, we invoke," then, at the mention of butter, Agni Vaiśvānara flashed forth from my mouth: I could not retain him, he issued from my mouth.'"

In this passage the gradual advance of the Āryas with their Brahmanical worship, from the banks of the Sarasvatī eastward to those of the Sadānīrā, and afterwards beyond that stream, is, as I have said, distinctly indicated. At the time when the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa was

composed, the Brāhmans had already (as Weber remarks) dwelt for a long time in the country beyond the Sadānīrā, and it had then become a principal seat of the Brahmanical religion; as Janaka, the king of Videha, appears in that work with the title of "samrāṭ," or emperor. Thus (Śatap. Br. xi. 3, 1, 2), we have the following notice: "Janaka the Vaideha put this question to Yājnavalkya. 'Dost thou, O Yājnavalkya, know the Agnihotra sacrifice?' 'O monarch,' he replied, 'I know it.'"[96] Professor Weber makes the following remarks on the legend I have just quoted: "Under the name of Agni Vaiśvānara (the Fire which burns for all men), the sacrificial worship of the Brāhmans appears to be intended. The part which in the legend the priest plays in reference to the king is mysterious; but I understand it to mean that he compelled him to propagate the Arian worship towards the east. The Sadānīrā presents an obstacle, not from its magnitude or the difficulty of crossing it (which the Ganges and Jumna must have previously done in a greater degree), but from the inhospitable character of the territory beyond; for the word 'srāvitaram,' 'somewhat flowing,' designates the nature of the tract as an inundated swamp.[97] Even after Videgha Māthava had advanced across the river, the Brāhmans (as the Arians are here called) appear to have remained for a long time on its western bank, and to have only crossed in greater numbers after the king with his people had cultivated the country; until, in the time of the Śatap. Br., it had attained such a flourishing condition, that the tradition of its oceanic origin was only indistinctly preserved." Ind. Stud. i. pp. 178, 179.

In the Vocabularies of Amara Sinha, i. 2, 3, 33, and Hemachandra, 4, 150, Sadānīrā is given as a synonym of Karatoyā, a river in the north of Bengal Proper. But as the Sadānīrā is in this passage described as forming the boundary between the Kośalas and Videhas, or the countries of Oudh and North Behar, it seems that the river at present called the Gandak must be meant.—Weber, as above, p. 181.

[96] Śatap. Br. p. 846: *Tad ha etaṁ Janako Vaideho Yājñavalkyam paprachha "vettha agnihotram Yājñavalkya" iti "veda samrāḍ" iti* | See also Śatap. Br. xi. 6, 2, 1, p. 872, where Janaka is addressed by the Brāhmans by the same title.

[97] In illustration of this, a line of the Mahābh. ii. 1078, is referred to by Weber, which states that Bhīmasena, in the course of his conquest of the eastern country, came to the territory bordering on the Himavat, which was of aqueous origin: *tato Himavataḥ pārśvaṁ samabhyetya jalodbhavam.*

Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 64 (2nd ed.), remarks: "Some lexicographers identify the Karatoyā with the Sadānīrā, whilst in other lists they are distinguished from each other. This appears to be the correct view in the present case, especially as Sadānīrā means always 'abounding in water,' and might be applied to any large river."

Lassen (Zeitschrift for 1839, p. 22, f.) quotes, for another purpose, and comments on, the following passage from the Mahābhārata, in which the name of the Sadānīrā occurs; but it throws no light on its position. "Departing from the Kurus (from Indraprastha), they passed through the middle of Kurujāngala, and came to the lovely Padma lake. Then passing Kālakūṭa, they crossed successively on one mountain (or in Ekaparvataka?) the rivers Gandakī, Mahāśōna, and Sadānīrā. Having then crossed the beautiful Sarayū, and seen the eastern Kośalā, they crossed the river Mālā Charmaṇvatī, and came to Mithilā."[98] In this passage (if any order has been preserved), it will be noticed that the Sadānīrā is placed between the Gandakī (whatever stream this name denotes) and the Sarayū, and so to the west of the latter river. Its position does not, therefore, seem to be well defined in the ancient Indian authorities. This, however, is of little consequence for our present purpose, as any uncertainty in regard to the precise locality of the river does not obscure the plain and express purport of the legend, viz., that the Brāhmans with their worship advanced from the Sarasvatī eastward to Behar and Bengal.

Sect. IV.—*Advance of the Arians from the Doab across the Vindhya Mountains; and their conflicts with the aboriginal tribes of the Dekhan.*

It is not essential for the object which I have in view to attempt to trace with any precision the different stages in the progress of the Āryas to the east and south, which a review and comparison of the data supplied by the Brāhmaṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Mahābhārata may enable the careful investigator to determine, and to refer to particular periods.

[98] Mahābh., ii. 793: *Kurubhyaḥ prasthitās te tu madhyena Kurujāngalam | Ramyam Padmasaro gatvā Kālakūṭam atītya cha | Gaṇḍakīṁ cha Mahāśoṇaṁ Sadānīrāṁ tathaiva cha | Ekaparvatake nadyaḥ krameṇaityāvrajanta te | Uttīrya Sarayūṁ ramyām dṛishṭvā pūrvāṁ cha Kośalām | Atītya jagmur Mithilām Mālāṁ Charmaṇvatīṁ nadīm||*

As it is only necessary for my argument to prove that they did advance from the north-west to the east and to the south, and that in so doing they came into contact with aboriginal races who had been in previous occupation of the country, it will suffice for this purpose if (after the foregoing notice of their progress to the eastward) I now pass on to that great southward movement, of which we can perhaps discern the indistinct outlines in the poetic and hyperbolical narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa.

"The Rāmāyaṇa," remarks Professor Lassen (Ind. Ant., first ed., i. 534; second ed., p. 646, f.), "in the proper action of the poem, designates, for the most part, only the north of Hindustan as Arian." "It represents Mithilā and Anga in the east as Arian countries; and regards the Kekayas in the west, though dwelling beyond the Sarasvatī, as a pure Arian race; and to this tribe one of the wives of king Daśaratha belongs." Among the persons who were to be invited to the sacrifice of that monarch are the following, Rāmāyaṇa, Schlegel's ed., i. 12, 20, ff. (=Bombay ed., section 13, 21, ff.; and Gorresio's ed., 12, 18, ff.): *Mithilādhipatiṁ śūraṁ Janakaṁ dṛidha-vikramam | nishṭhitaṁ sarva-śāstreshu | tathā vedeshu nishṭhitam | . . . | tathā Kekaya-rājānaṁ vṛiddham parama-dhārmikam | śvaśuraṁ rāja-siṁhasya sa-putraṁ tvam ihānaya | Angeśvaraṁ cha rājānam Lomapādaṁ susatkṛitam | suvrataṁ deva-sankāśam svayam evānayasva ha | Prāchyāṁś cha Sindhusauvīrān Saurāshṭreyāṁś cha pārthivān | Dākshiṇātyān narendrāṁś cha sarvān ānaya mā chiram |* "[Bring] Janaka, the heroic king of Mithilā, of stubborn valour, versed in all the Sāstras, and in the Vedas. . . . . Bring also the aged and very righteous king of the Kekayas, the father-in-law of the lion-like king, together with his son; and thyself bring Lomapāda, the devout and god-like king of the Angas, paying him all honour. And bring speedily all the eastern, the Sindhusauvīra, the Surāshṭra, and the southern monarchs."

The word "southern kings" may, Lassen says, be employed here in a restricted sense, or inexactly, for from other parts of the poem it appears that the country to the south of the Vindhya was still unoccupied by the Āryas. Even the banks of the Ganges are represented as occupied by a savage race, the Nishādas. Thus we are told in the Rām., ii. 50, 33, ff., Bombay ed. (= ii. 50, 18, ff., Schlegel's ed.; and ii. 47, 9, ff. in Gorresio's ed.) (a curious passage, which I shall

cite at some length): *Tatra rājā Guho nāma Rāmasyātma-samaḥ sakhā | Nishāda-jātyo balavān sthapatiś cheti viśrutaḥ | sa śrutvā purusha-vyāghraṁ Rāmaṁ vishayam āgatam | vṛiddhaiḥ parivṛito 'mātyair jñātibhiś chāpy upāgataḥ | tato Nishādādhipatiṁ dṛishṭvā dūrād upasthitam | saha Saumitriṇā Rāmaḥ samāgachhad Guhena saḥ | tam ārtaḥ samparishvajya Guho Rāghavam abravīt | "yathā 'yodhyā tathedaṁ te Rāma kiṁ karavāṇi te | īdṛiśaṁ hi mahābāho kaḥ prāpsyaty atithim priyam" | tato guṇavad annādyam upādāya pṛithagvidham | arghyaṁ chopānayach chhīghraṁ vākyaṁ chedam uvācha ha | "svāgataṁ te mahābāho tavedyam akhilā mahī | vayam preshyāḥ bhavān bhartā sādhu rājyam praśādhi naḥ" | . . . . Guham evam bruvāṇaṁ tu Rāghavaḥ pratyuvācha ha | "architāś chaiva hṛishṭāś cha bhavatā sarvadā vayam | padbhyām abhigamāch chaiva sneha-sandarśanena cha" | bhujābhyāṁ sādhu-vṛittābhyām pīḍayan vākyam abravīt | "dishṭyā tvāṁ Guha paśyāmi hy arogaṁ saha bāndhavaiḥ" |* "There [there was] a king called Guha, of the race of the Nishādas, a friend whom Rāma regarded as himself, and renowned as a powerful chief (sthapati).[99] He, hearing that the eminent Rāma had come to his country, approached him attended by his aged ministers and relations. Rāma then, along with the son of Sumitrā (i.e. Lakshmaṇa), seeing from a distance that the Nishāda king had arrived, met him. Guha, distressed (at the state in which he saw Rāma), embraced him, and said: 'This country is thine, like (thine own) Ayodhyā. What can I do for thee? For who shall find a guest so dear as thou art?' He then brought excellent food of various sorts, and quickly presented the customary 'arghya' (offering); and then said: 'Welcome, large-armed hero, this whole earth is thine: we are thy servants, thou art our master: rule over our kingdom prosperously.' . . . . Rāma replied thus to this address of Guha: 'We have always been honoured by thee, and we have been delighted with thee; both by thy coming on foot to meet us, and by thy display of affection.' Then pressing (Guha) with his holy arms, he said: 'Happily, O Guha, I behold thee and all thy kinsfolk in good health,'" etc.[100] This chieftain provided a boat to ferry Rāma with

[99] See the first volume of this work, p. 366, note 164, and the gloss of Govinda Ānanda on Brahma Sūtra, i. 3, 34. Bibliotheca Indica, p. 317.

[100] It is singular that a Nishāda should be here represented as a friend of Rāma, "equal to (or, dear as) himself," and whom he affectionately embraces. The commentator thus tries to explain the matter: *Yadyapi īdṛiśa-sakhyaṁ "hīna-preshyaṁ*

his wife and brother across the Ganges (Rām., Schegel's ed. ii. 52, vv. 4–7 and 68, ff., = Bombay ed. ii. 52, 5, ff., 74, ff.): and afterwards attended on his other brother, Bharata, when he also passed the same way. (Rām., Schegel's and Bombay editions; ii. 83, 20, and 84, 1, 10, etc.)

In the same poetical narrative, the Daṇḍaka forest is represented as beginning immediately to the south of the Jumna. The whole country from this point to the Godāvarī is described as a wilderness, over which separate hermitages are scattered,[101] while wild beasts and Rākshasas everywhere abound.[102] "The Rāmāyaṇa," says Lassen (first ed., i. 535; second ed., pp. 647, f.), "contains the narrative of the first attempt of the Arians to extend themselves to the south by

hīna-sakhyam" ity ādinā upapātakeshu gaṇitaṁ tathāpi tad vipra-vishayam | rājnām āṭavika-balena prayojanavattvāt shaḍvidha-bala-sangrahasya rāja-dharmatvāchcha tat-sakhyam eva iti dik | atra idam bodhyam Nishāda-Guha-vishaye Rāmasya "ātmasamaḥ sakhā" ity evaṁ vadatā Vālmīkinā Rāma-samatva-Rāma-samāna-khyātitvoktyā bhagavad-bhaktatvena Nishādatve 'pi pūrva-kṛita-śravaṇādimattvena tasya tattvajnatvaṁ sūchitam | "Although such a friendship is, according to the words (no doubt of some smriti), 'the service of the low, and the friendship of the low,' etc., reckoned among the minor sins, yet this refers to Brāhmans, since in the case of kings such friendship is owing to the need they have of a force of people living in the forests, and it is part of a king's duty to collect a force of six kinds of soldiers. Here it is to be understood that Vālmīki, when he describes the Nishāda Guha as being a 'friend dear to Rāma as his own soul,' by speaking of his equality with Rāma, and of his being in the same category with Rāma, intimates that he had,—through his devotion to the Divine Being, and although now in the state of a Nishāda, yet by what he had formerly done and heard,—attained to a knowledge of the highest truth."

[101] Rām. iii. 1, 1, Bombay ed. (= iii. 6, 1, Gorresio): *Praviśya tu mahāraṇyaṁ Daṇḍakāranyam ātmavān | Rāmo dadarśa durdharshas tāpasāśrama-maṇḍalam* | Rāma alludes to the vastness of the forest, iii. 11, 31, Bombay ed. (= iii. 15, 33, Gorresio): *Na tu jānāmi taṁ deśaṁ vanasyāsya mahattayā | Kutrāśrama-padam ramyam maharshes tasya dhīmataḥ* | "From the vastness of the forest, I cannot discover the spot where the sacred hermitage of the great and wise ṛishi exists.

[102] At a later period, after the commencement of the Mahomedan inroads into Hindustan, southern India came to be regarded as the sanctuary of the Brahmanical religion and learning. Thus in the verse of Vyāsa cited by Weber (Hist. of Ind. Lit., p. 247, note), it is said: *Samprāpte tu kalau kāle Vindhyādrer uttare sthitāḥ | Brāhmaṇāḥ yajñarahitāḥ jyotiḥ-śāstra-parāngmukhāḥ* | "In the Kali age the Brāhmans living to the north of the Vindhya are destitute of sacrifice, and averse to astronomy;" while another law book, quoted by the same writer, says: *Vindhyasya dakshiṇe bhāge yatra Godāvarī sthitā | tatra Vedāścha yajñāścha bhavishyanti Kalau yuge* | "In the Kali age the Vedas and sacrifices will be found to the south of the Vindhya, on the banks of the Godāvarī."

conquest; but it presupposes the peaceable extension of Brahmanical missions in the same direction, as having taken place still earlier. Rāma, when he arrives on the south of the Vindhya range, finds there the sage Agastya, by whom the southern regions had been rendered safe and accessible. Agastya appears as the adviser and guide of Rāma, and as the head of the hermits settled in the south. In this legend we cannot but recognize the recollection that the south was originally a vast forest, which was first brought into cultivation by Brahmanical missions. The Rākṣhasas who are represented as disturbing the sacrifices and devouring the priests, signify here, as often elsewhere, merely the savage tribes which placed themselves in hostile opposition to the Brahmanical institutions. The only other actors who appear in the legend in addition to these inhabitants are the monkeys, which ally themselves to Rāma, and render him assistance. This can only mean that when the Arian Kshatriyas first made hostile incursions into the south, they were aided by another portion of the indigenous tribes. Rāma reinstates in possession of his ancestral kingdom a monkey-king who had been expelled, and in return receives his assistance."

Whether or not we concur with Lassen in thinking that the idea of the monstrous characteristics which are assigned to these gigantic demons, the Rākshasas, have been borrowed from the barbarous tribes whom the Brahmanical anchorites found in occupation of the forests, and from whom they would no doubt suffer continual molestation and cruelty (and perhaps this view derives some confirmation from the fact that both the rude aboriginal races, and cloud-demons, and malignant sprites appear to be denoted by the word Dasyu in the Vedic hymns), —or whether we regard them as poetical creations, in which the Indian imagination runs riot in the description of coarse and grotesque brutality,—there can be no doubt that southern India was at the period referred to but partially cultivated, and that it had only begun to be occupied by Arian colonists. The following are some of the passages of the Rāmāyaṇa in which the atrocities of the Rākshasas are described. An aged ṛishi, the spokesman of the hermits in the neighbourhood of Chitrakūṭa, thus represents to Rāma the sufferings to which they were exposed, Rām., ii. 116, 11, ff. (Bombay ed. Comp. Gorresio's ed., iii. 1, 15, ff.): *Rāvaṇāvarajaḥ kaśchit Kharo nāmeha*

rākshasaḥ | utpāṭya tāpasān sarvān janasthāna-nivāsinaḥ | 12 | dhṛishṭaś cha jitakāśī cha nṛisaṁśaḥ purushādakaḥ | avaliptaś cha pāpaś cha tvāṁ cha tāta na mṛishyate | 13 | tvaṁ yadā-prabhṛiti hy asminn āśrame tāta vartase | tadā-prabhṛiti rakshāṁsi viprakurvanti tāpasān | 14 | darśayanti hi bībhatsaiḥ krūrair bhīshaṇakair api | nānā-rūpair virūpaiś cha rūpair asukha-darśanaiḥ | 15 | apraśastair aśuchibhiḥ samprayujya cha tāpasān | pratighnanty aparān kshipram anāryāḥ puratah sthitān | 16 | teshu teshv āśrama-sthāneshv abuddham avalīya cha | ramante tāpasāṁs tatra nāśayanto 'lpachetasaḥ | 17 | avakshipanti srug-bhāṇḍān agnīn sinchanti vāriṇa | kalaśāṁś cha pramardanti havane samupasthite | 18 | tair durātmabhir āvishṭān āśramān prajighāṁsavaḥ | gamanāyānya-deśasya chodayanty ṛishayo 'dya mām | tat purā Rāma śārīrīm upahiṁsāṁ tapasvishu | darśayanti hi dushṭāś te tyakshyāmaḥ imam āśramam | "11, 12. A certain Rākshasa, called Khara, the younger brother of Rāvaṇa, fierce, esteeming himself victorious, cruel, a man-eater, arrogant, wicked, distresses the devotees dwelling in Janasthāna and cannot endure thee. 13. From the time when thou hast dwelt in this hermitage the Rākshasas distress the devotees. 14. They show themselves in various disgusting, cruel, terrible, and ugly forms. 15. And these base (*anārya*) wretches harass others by bringing them into contact with vile and impure objects. 16. These foolish beings coming unperceived and disguised[103] into different places near the hermitages take delight in destroying the ascetics. 17. They cast away the sacrificial ladles and vessels, put out the fires with water, and smash the water-jars at the time of the oblation. 18. Desiring to desert the hermitages infested by these malignant wretches, the ṛishis to-day are urging me to go to another place. 19. The wicked ones already show a desire to inflict bodily injury on the ascetics: we shall abandon this hermitage."

Proceeding on his journey through the forest, Rāma encounters Virādha, a Rākshasa, who is thus described, Rām. Bombay ed. iii. 2, 4, ff. (Gorresio's ed. iii. 7, 5, ff.): *Dadarśa giriśṛiṅgābham purushādam mahāsvanaṁ | 5 | gabhīrāksham mahāvaktraṁ vikaṭaṁ vikaṭodaram |*

[103] The original words are: *Abuddham* and *avalīya*, which the commentator explains as "*abuddham*" *aviditam yathā bhavati tathā nidrādau* "*avalīya cha*" *nirbhayam āślishya cha* | "Unknown, in sleep, etc.; and fearlessly insinuating themselves." Gorresio's edition substitutes the words *līnāḥ vikṛita-darśanāḥ*, "dissolved" [into air] and "changed in appearance."

bībhatsaṁ vishamaṁ dīrghaṁ vikṛitaṁ ghora-darśanam | 6 | *vasānaṁ charma vaiyāghraṁ vasārdraṁ rudhirokshitam* | *trāsanaṁ sarva-bhūtānāṁ vyāditāsyam ivāntakam* | 7 | *trīn siṁhāṁs chaturo vyāghrān dvau vṛikau pṛishatān daśa* | *savishāṇam vasā-digdhaṁ gajasya cha śiro mahat* | *avasajyāyase śūle vinadantam mahāsvanam* | "He beheld a being like a mountain peak, a man-eater, loud-voiced, (5) hollow-eyed, large-mouthed, huge, huge-bellied, horrible, rude, long, deformed, of dreadful aspect, (6) wearing a tiger's skin, dripping with fat, wetted with blood, terrific to all creatures, like Death with open mouth, (7) bearing three lions, four tigers, two wolves, ten deer, and the great head of an elephant with the tusks, and smeared with fat, on the point of an iron pike, shouting with a loud voice." [104]

This demon, who was slain by Rāma, turned out to be a Gandharva, who by a curse had been transformed into a Rākshasa; but now on his death, regains his primeval form. He, nevertheless, requests that his body shall be buried after the manner of the Rākshasas; Rām., Bomb. ed. iii. 4, 22 (Gorresio iii. 8, 19): *Avaṭe chāpi māṁ Rāma nikshipya kuśalī vraja* | *rakshasāṁ gata-satvānām esha dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ* | 23 | *avaṭe ye nidhīyante teshāṁ lokāḥ satātanāḥ* | . . . . | 27 | *tataḥ khanitram ādāya Lakshmaṇaḥ śvabhram uttamam* | *akhanat pārśvatas tasya Virādhasya mahātmanaḥ* | 28 | *tam mukta-kaṇṭham utkshipya śankukarṇam mahāsvanam* | *Virādham prākshipat śvabhre nadantaṁ bhairavasvanam* | "And, Rama, cast me into a trench, and go away prosperously, for such is the immemorial custom in regard to deceased

[104] The Nishādas also are described in the Purāṇas as very black and ugly, but differ from the Rākshasas in being very short. See the first vol. of this work, pp. 301, 303, and Wilson's Vishṇu-Pur. 2nd ed.. i. 181. The Bhāg.-Pur., iv. 14, 43-46, thus describes them:— "*Viniśchityaivam ṛishayo vipannasya mahīpateḥ* | *mamanthur ūrum tarasā tatrāsīd bāhuko naraḥ* | *kākakṛishṇo 'tihrasvāṅgo hrasvabāhur mahāhanuḥ* | *Hrasvapād nimnanāsāgro raktākshas tāmramūrdhajaḥ* | *Taṁ tu te 'vanatam dīnam kiṁ kāromīti vādinam* | *nishīdety abruvaṁs tāta sa nishādas tato 'bhavat* | *Tasya vaṁśāstu naishādāḥ giri-kānana-gocharāḥ* | "The ṛishis having thus resolved, vigorously rubbed the thigh of the defunct king (Veṇa), when there issued from it a servile man, black as a crow, very short in limb, with short arms, large jaws, short feet, pendent nose, red eyes, and copper-coloured hair. This man, humble and bowed down, asked them what he should do. They answered, 'Sit down' (*nishīda*), and he, in consequence, became a *Nishāda*. His descendants are the Naishādas, who dwell in hills and forests." We are informed by Prof. Wilson that the Padma Purāṇa (Bhū.-K.) "has a similar description, adding to the dwarfish stature and black complexion, a wide mouth, large ears, and a protuberant belly."

Rākshasas; such of them as are so interred attain to ever-enduring worlds." . . . "27. Then Lakshmaṇa, taking a spade, dug a suitable trench by the side of the great Virādha. 28. And raising the pin-eared,[105] loud-voiced Rākshasa, after Rāma had removed his foot from his throat, he cast him into the trench, resounding dreadfully."[106] This may allude (as Weber remarks, Ind. Stud. i. 272, note) to a difference between the funeral rites of the Brahmanical Indians and the aboriginal tribes.

The following are two further passages in which the Rākshasas and their oppression of the anchorites are described. The sufferers, it appears, assert that they possess the power of ridding themselves of their enemies by their superhuman faculties; but these faculties they do not choose to exert, for the reason assigned. Rām., Bombay ed., iii. 6, 15, ff. (Gorresio's ed. iii. 10, 16, ff.): *So 'yam brāhmaṇa-bhūyishṭho vānaprastha-gaṇo mahān | tvannātho 'nāthavad Rāma Rākshasair hanyate bhṛiśam | ehi paśya śarīrāṇi munīnām bhāvitātmanām | hatānāṁ Rākshasair ghorair bahūnām bahudhā vane | Pampā-nadī-nivāsānām anu Mandākinīm api | Chitrakūṭālayānāṁ cha kriyate kadanaṃ mahat |* "This large company of hermits, principally Brāhmans, whose lord thou art, is slaughtered by the Rākshasas, as if they had no protector. Come, Rāma, and behold the bodies of numerous meditative munis, lying slain by the Rākshasas in many parts of the forest. A great slaughter is being perpetrated of the dwellers on the Pampā, and the Mandākinī,[107] and the residents on Chitrakūṭa." Ram. iii. 10, 10, Bombay ed. (=Gorresio's ed. iii. 14, 11, ff.): 10 | *Rākshasair Daṇḍakāraṇye bahubhiḥ kāmarūpibhiḥ* | 11 | *arditāḥ sma bhṛiśam Rāma*

[105] The sense of the epithet *śanku-karṇa* is not clear. It is compounded of *śanku*, a "pin," "peg," or "stake," and *karṇa*, "ear." The commentator explains *śanku* by *śanku-vat kaṭhinam*, "hard as a pin."

[106] In the sequel, however, Rāma encounters Kabandha, another Rākshasa, whom at his request Laksmaṇa burns on a funeral pile in a trench.—Rām. iii. 71, 31; 72, 1, ff. (=Gorr. sec. 75, verses, 45, 50, ff.)

[107] Here it will be observed that the name of a river in the Himālaya [a branch of the Ganges, flowing down from the glacier of Kedarnath; see the first volume of this work, 1st ed., p. 187, note; Rāmāyaṇa, iv. 44, 94, Gorresio's ed. *saptarshi-bhavanaṁ tatra tatra Mandākinī nadī* | "There (in the country of the Uttara Kurus) is the abode of the seven ṛishis; there is the river Mandākinī;" and my "Notes of a trip to Kedarnath," printed in 1855 for private circulation, p. 15, f.] is applied to a river in the centre of India. This illustrates what has been said above (pp. 344, 347 and 349) about the application of the same name to different streams.

bhavān nas tatra rakshatu | homa-kāle tu samprāpte parva-kāleshu chānagha | 12 | dharshayanti sma durdharshāḥ Rākshasāḥ piśitāśanāḥ | Rākshasair dharshitānāṁ cha tāpasānāṁ tapasvinām | 13 | gatim mṛigayamāṇānām bhavān naḥ paramā gatiḥ | kāmaṁ tapaḥ-prabhāvena śaktāḥ hantuṁ niśācharān | 14 | chirārjitaṁ na chechhāmas tapaḥ khaṇḍayituṁ vayam | bahuvighnaṁ tapo nityaṁ duścharaṁ chaiva Rāghava | 15 | tena śāpaṁ na munchāmo bhakshyamāṇāś cha Rākshasaiḥ | 10, 11. "We are greatly harassed by numerous Rākshasas in the Daṇḍaka forest, who change their forms at will. At the time of offering the oblation and our festivals, (12) the fierce, flesh-devouring Rākshasas assail us. Of us, the devout ascetics, thus assailed, and (13) seeking a helper, thou art the supreme defence. It is true that by the power of our austerities we could at will slay these goblins; (14) but we are unwilling to nullify the merit which has been earned by long exertion. The acquisition of such merit is arduous, and attended with many obstacles: (15) it is on that account that, even while being devoured, we abstain from launching curses against our oppressors." The utterance of a curse, it appears from this passage, was an act which neutralized the sanctity of him who pronounced it. Compare the story of Viśvāmitra in the first volume of this work, p. 408. Sītā, however, thinks that her husband Rāma has no right to slay the Rākshasas, who were not in a state of hostility with him, and had done him no injury.[108]

It does not appear, however, why the aid of Rāma should have been so earnestly invoked, as the sage Agastya appears to have been perfectly successful in keeping the Rākshasas under restraint. His prowess is thus described, Rām. iii. 11, 79; Bombay ed. (= Gorresio's ed. iii. 17, 17, ff.): *Agastyaḥ iti vikhyāto loko svenaiva karmaṇā | āśramo dṛiśyate tasya pariśrānta-śramāpahaḥ| . . . . | 81 | Nigṛihya tarasā mṛityuṁ lokānāṁ hita-hāmyaya | dakshiṇā dik kṛitā yena śaraṇyā puṇyakarmaṇā | 82 | Tāsyedam āśrama-padam prabhāvād yasya rākshasaiḥ | dig iyaṁ dakshiṇā trāsād dṛiśyate nopabhujyate | 83 | yadā-prabhṛiti chākrāntā dig iyam puṇyakarmaṇā | tadā-prabhṛiti nirvairāḥ praśāntāḥ rajanīcharāḥ | 84 | Nāmnā cheyam bhagavato dakshiṇā dik*

[108] Rām. iii. 9, 24, Bomb. ed. (=Gorr. ed. iii. 13, 22): *Na kathanchana sā kāryā gṛihīta-dhanushā tvayā | buddhir vairaṁ vinā hantuṁ Rākshasān Daṇḍakāśritān | aparādhaṁ vinā hantum loko vīra na maṁsyate |*

pradakshiṇā | prathitā trishu lokeshu durdharshā krūra-karmabhiḥ | 85 | *Mārgaṁ niroddhuṁ satatam bhāskarasyāchalottamaḥ | sandeśam pālayaṁs tasya Vindhyaśailo na vardhate |* . . . . | 90 | *Nātra jīved mṛishāvādī krūro vā yadivā śaṭhaḥ | nṛiśaṁsaḥ pāpavṛitto vā munir esha tathāvidhaḥ |* "79. The hermitage of Agastya, renowned in the world by his holy acts, (that hermitage) which offers relief to the wearied, is now in view. . . . . 81. [This is the] meritorious sage, who has restrained death by his power, and who, through his benevolence to mankind, has rendered the southern regions perfectly secure (see above, p. 409). 82. This is the hermitage of that saint by whose might it is effected that this southern region is, owing to their dread of him, only gazed upon, and not possessed, by the Rākshasas. 83. Ever since that holy man has visited this region, all the goblins have become devoid of enmity and subdued. 84. Through the name of this saint this southern country has become prosperous, and renowned in the three worlds, as secure against the attacks of the cruel. 85. The lofty Vindhya range (which sought to grow to a great height), with the view of stopping the path of the sun, now, submissive to the sage's command, increases no farther." . . . "90. No liar, or cruel, or wicked, or murderous, or sinful man may dwell here:—such is this muni."

In a preceding part of the same section, iii. 11, 55, f., Bombay ed. (= Gorresio's ed., iii. 16, 13, ff.), the destruction of two Asuras called Vātāpi and Ilvala, by this sage, is described: *Ihaikadā kila krūro Vātāpir api chelvalaḥ | bhrātarau sahitāv āstāṁ brāhmaṇa-ghnau mahāsurau |* 56 | *Dhārayan brāhmaṇaṁ rūpam Ilvalaḥ saṁskṛitaṁ vadan | āmantrayata viprān sa śrāddham uddiśya nirghṛiṇaḥ |* 57 | *Bhrātaraṁ saṁskṛitaṁ kṛitvā tatas tam mesha-rūpiṇam | tān dvijān bhojayāmāsa śrāddha-dṛishṭena karmaṇā |* 58 | *Tato bhuktavatāṁ teshāṁ viprāṇām Ilvalo 'bravīt | "Vātāpe nishkramasv" eti svareṇa mahatā vadan |* 59 | *Tato bhrātur vachaḥ śrutvā Vātāpir mesha-vad nadan | bhitvā bhitvā śarīrāṇi brāhmaṇānāṁ vinish-patat*[109] | . . . . | 61 | *Agastyena tadā devaiḥ prārthitena maharshiṇā |*

[109] We have here a form of the imperfect without the augment, *vinishpatat* for *vinirapatat*, on which the commentator remarks that the absence of the augment is Vedic (*aḍ-abhāvaḥ ārshaḥ*). In Gorresio's edition the perfect *nishpapāta* is substituted. In i. 18, 17, the Bombay edition has similarly *pushpa-vṛishtiś cha khāt patat*, "a shower of flowers fell from the sky," where the commentator makes a similar remark (*aḍ-abhāvaś chhāndasaḥ*).

anubhūya kila śrāddhe bhakshitaḥ sa mahāsuraḥ | 62 | *Tataḥ "sampannam" ity uktvā datvā haste 'vanejanam* | *bhrātaraṁ "niskramasv" eti Ilvalaḥ samabhāshata* | 63 | *Sa tadā bhāshamāṇaṁ tu bhrātaraṁ vipraghātinam* | *abravīt prahasan dhīmān Agastyo munisattamaḥ* | 64 | *"Kuto nishkramituṁ śaktir mayā jīrṇasya Rakshasaḥ* | *bhrātus tu mesharūpasya gatasya Yama-sādanam"* | 65 | *Atha tasya vachaḥ śrutvā bhrātur nidhana-saṁśritam* | *pradharshayitum ārebhe muniṁ krodhād niśācharaḥ* | "55. Formerly the cruel Vātāpi and Ilvala, two brothers, who were great Asuras and slayers of Brāhmans, lived together here. 56. The ruthless Ilvala, assuming the shape of a Brāhman, and speaking Sanskrit, used to invite the Brāhmans to a funeral ceremony (*śrāddha*). 57. He then served up to them, with the rites appropriate to a śrāddha, his brother Vātāpi, who had been transformed into a ram. 58. But after they had eaten him, he called out with a loud voice, 'Vātāpi, issue forth.' 59. Hearing his brother's voice Vātāpi, bleating like a ram, issued forth, rending asunder the Brāhmans' bodies." Thousands of Brāhmans were constantly killed by them in this way. "61. The ṛishi Agastya, however, at the request of the gods, understanding the state of things, devoured Vātāpi. 62. Ilvala then cried, 'All is complete,' gave him water to wash his hands, and called to his brother, 'Issue forth.' 63. The wise ṛishi, however, smiled and said to the Brāhman-slayer who thus addressed his brother, 'How can he come forth, when he has been digested by me in his form of a ram, and has gone to the abode of Yama?' 65. Hearing these words pronouncing his brother's doom, Ilvala began to assail Agastya," but but was burnt up by the flash of his eye.[110]

Agastya is again spoken of (Rām., vi. 117, 14, Bombay ed.) as the conqueror of the south:[111] *Nirjitā jīvalokasya tapasā bhāvitātmanā* | *Agastyena durādharshā muninā dakshiṇeva dik* | "As the southern

[110] An explanation of this legend is suggested by Weber, Ind. Stud., i. 475. He thinks it may partly have taken its rise in the remembrance of some cannibals living in the Dekhan. The story is told more at length in the recension of the text followed by Gorresio, and with a touch of humour. Ilvala asks Agastya, smiling, how he alone will be able to eat a whole ram. Agastya, also smiling, replies that he is hungry, after his many years of fasting and austerities, and will find no difficulty whatever in devouring the entire animal; which he accordingly begs may be served up, and swallows (iii. 16, 22, ff.), with the result already told.

[111] On Agastya see the quotation from Lassen above, p. 409; and Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar.

region, unassailable by living beings, was conquered by the meditative muni Agastya, through his austerities."

Vibhīshaṇa, the brother of Rāvaṇa, is represented by his sister Sūrpaṇakhā, in her interview with Rāma, as virtuous and one who does not follow the practices of the Rākshasas.[112] Can this allude to some of the southern tribes or chiefs, who allied themselves to Rāma, having adopted Brahmanical usages, or is it merely a fictitious portion of the story? Vibhīshaṇa eventually deserts his brother, and is kindly received and embraced as a friend by Rāma.[113] In the Rāmopākhyāna in the Third Book of the Mahābh., verses 15,913–18, while Rāvaṇa asks Brahmā to make him invincible by superhuman beings, Vibhīshaṇa, on the other hand, prays, "that even in the greatest calamity, he may never incline to unrighteousness, and that the Brahmanical weapon may appear to him a thing he had never learned to wield."[114] He thus indicates his submissive disposition towards the Brāhmans.

The Rākshasas are described by Khara, one of their chiefs, Rām. iii. 22, 8, f. (=Gorr. ed. iii. 28, 18), as being "of fearful swiftness, unyielding in battle, in colour like a dark blue cloud."[115]

Khara himself is characterized by Rāma as the "perpetual enemy of the Brāhmans,"[116] as "cruel, hated of the Brāhmans, devoid of righteousness, and wicked."[117] Rāvana is stigmatized as an "overthrower of religious duties, and a ravisher of the wives of others;"[118] as "one who at the sacrifices and oblations polluted the Soma which

[112] Rām., Bombay ed., iii. 17, 22: *Vibhīshaṇas tu dharmātmā na tu Rākshasaceshṭitaḥ* (=Gorresio's ed., iii. 23, 38: *Vibhīshaṇaś cha dharmātmā Rākshasāchāravarjitaḥ*||)

[113] Rām. (Gorresio's ed.), v. 91, 20: *Tañcha Rāmaḥ samutthāpya parishvajya cha Rākshasam | Uvācha madhuraṁ vākyam sakhā mama bhavān iti |* The Bombay ed., vi. 19, 24, has only *iti bruvāṇaṁ Rāmas tu parishvajya Vibhīshaṇam | abravīl Lākshmaṇam ityādi |*

[114] Mahābh., iii. 15,918: *Paramāpadgatasyāpi nādharme me matir bhavet | Aśikshitaṁ cha bhagavan brahmāstram pratibhātu me |* "In verse 15,197 Vibhīshaṇa is styled *dharmagoptā kriyāratiḥ*, "a protector of righteousness, and devoted to religious rites."

[115] *Rakshasāṁ bhīma-vegānāṁ samareshv anivarttinām | Nīlajīmūta-varṇānām*, etc.

[116] Rām., iii. 30, 12 (=Gorr., iii. 35, 68, and 100): *Nityam brāhmaṇakaṇṭaka.*

[117] Gorresio, Ibid., verse 70: *Krūrātman brahmavidvishṭa tyaktadharma supāpakṛit.*

[118] Ibid., 32, 12 (= Gorr. 36, 11): *Uchchetāraṁ cha dharmāṇām paradārābhimardanam.*

the Brāhmans had offered with hymns;" and as a "snatcher away of prepared sacrifices, a killer of Brāhmans, a wicked and cruel being."[119] Nevertheless, to inspire confidence, Rāvaṇa approaches Sītā, pronouncing the Vedas, Rām. iii. 46, 14, (= Gorr. 52, 20).[120]

Under the designation of monkeys, again, which play so important a part in the Rāmāyaṇa, have we another class of the aborigines, who allied themselves to the Brāhmans, and embraced their form of religious worship; or are they, as well as the Rākshasas, merely rude poetical creations? In Rām., iii. 72, 18, f., Bombay ed. (= Gorr., iii. 75, 66), it is said that "Sugrīva, chief of the monkeys, is not to be despised, as he is grateful, can change his form at will, and is active in aiding his friends."[121] And we are told that at the inauguration of this same Sugrīva, who was reinstated by Rāma in his kingdom, from which he had been expelled by Bāli, "the monkeys gratified the Brāhmans according to the prescribed rule, with gifts of jewels, clothes, and food: after which men skilled in the Vedic formulas poured clarified butter, consecrated by sacred texts, upon the kindled fire, under which had been spread kuśa grass."[122]

The monkeys are described as living in a cavern (Rām. (Bombay and Gorresio's editions), iv. 33, 1, ff.), which Lakshmaṇa is represented as entering to convey a message of remonstrance to Sugrīva for his tardiness in aiding Rāma. The cavern, however, is a cave only in name, as, in the usual style of later Indian poetry, it is depicted as filled with trees, flowery thickets, palaces, a mountain stream, etc. This feature of monkey-life (their occupation of a cavern) may be either purely poetical, and intended to be in keeping with their other

[119] Rām., 32, 19 (=Gorr. 36, 11, ff.): *Mantrair abhishṭutam puṇyam adhvareshu dvijātibhiḥ | havirdāneshu yaḥ somam upahanti māhābalaḥ | Prāpta-yajna-haraṁ dushṭam brahmaghnam krūrakāriṇam |*

[120] *Brahma-ghosham udīrayan |* In the Mahābh., iii. 15,981, the sons of Vaiśravaṇa, i.e. Rāvaṇa and his brothers, are said to have been originally *sarve veda-vidaḥ śūrāḥ sarve sucharita-vratāḥ*, "all of them learned in the Vedas, heroic, and attentive to religious rites."

[121] *Na tu te so 'vamantavyaḥ Sugrīvo vānarādhipaḥ | kṛitajnaḥ kāmarūpī cha sahāyārthe cha krityavān |* See above, p. 157.

[122] Rām., iv. 26, 29, ff.(=Gorr. 25, 27, 28): *Tatas te vānaraśreshṭhaṁ abhishektuṁ yathāvidhi | Ratnair vastraiś cha bhakshyaiś cha toshayitvā dvijarshabhān | 30 | Tataḥ kuśa-paristīrṇaṁ samiddham jātavedasam | Mantrapūtena havishā hutvā mantravido janāḥ ||*

characteristics, or it may have reference to the rude habits of the aboriginal inhabitants of the southern forests.

I need not decide whether it is more probable that the extravagant descriptions of the gigantic and sylvan inhabitants of the Dekhan which I have just quoted, should have originated in some actual and hostile contact with the savages who occupied the then uncleared forests of that region, than that they should be the simple offspring of the poet's imagination.

It is certain that the description given of the Rākshasas in the Rāmāyaṇa corresponds in many respects with the epithets applied to the similar class of beings, the Dasyus (whether we take them for men or for demons), who are so often alluded to in the Rigveda. The Rāmāyaṇa, as we have seen, depicts them as infesting the hermitages or settlements of the Arians, as obstructing their sacred rites,[123] as enemies of the Brāhmans, as eaters of men,[124] as horrible in aspect, as changing their shape at will, etc., etc. In the same way the Rigveda (see above, pp. 363, 371, ff., and 390, ff.) speaks of the Dasyus, Rākshasas, or Yātudhānas as being "destitute of, or averse to religious ceremonies" (*akarman*, *avrata*, *apavrata*, *ayajyu*, *ayajvan*), as "practising different rites" (*anyavrata*) as "godless" (*adeva*, *adevayu*), "haters of prayer" (*brahmadvish*), as "inhuman" (*amānusha*), "ferocious looking, or with fierce eyes" (*ghora-chakshas*), as "flesh-eaters" (*kravyād*), "devourers of life," or "insatiable" (*asutṛip*), as "eaters of human and of horse flesh," (R.V. x. 87, 16: *Yaḥ paurusheyeṇa kravishā samankte yo aśvyena paśunā yātudhānaḥ*); as monstrous in form, and possessed of

[123] In the Mahābh., xiv. 2472–74, the same hostile act which is so often assigned in the Rāmāyaṇa to Rākshasas, is attributed to a Nishāda. Arjuna is there said to have arrived in the course of his progress to the south, in the country of Ekalavya, king of the Nishādas; and to have vanquished that king's son, who had come to obstruct a sacrifice (*yajña-vighnārtham āgatam*).

[124] In the story of Gautama, already partially quoted, in p. 365, f. from the Mahābh., the very same epithet of "man-eater" (*purushāda*) which the Rāmāyaṇa applies to the Rākshasas, is employed to characterize the Dasyus, who are regarded in the Mahābh. merely as a tribe of savages, and not as demons. The Brāhman who reproaches Gautama with sinking into the condition of a Dasyu, is said to have seen him 'coming home with a bow in his hand, his limbs besmeared with blood, and in appearance like a man-eater," etc. (. . . . *dhanush-pāṇim dhṛitāyudham | Rudhireṇāvasiktāngaṁ gṛiha-dvāram upāgatam | Taṁ dṛishṭvā purushādābham apadhvastam kshayāgatam*, etc.)

magical or superhuman powers.[125] It is quite possible that the author of the Rāmāyaṇa may have borrowed many of the traits which he ascribes to his Rākshasas from the hymns of the Rigveda.

The last editor and translator of the Rāmāyaṇa, Signor Gorresio, writes as follows in regard to the fabulous races with which that work has peopled the Dekhan (Notes to vol. vi. pp. 401, 402): "The woodland inhabitants of India south of the Vindhya range are called in the Rāmāyaṇa monkeys, in contempt, I conceive, of their savage condition, and also, perhaps, because they were little known at that time. In the same way Homer related fabulous stories about the races who, in his age, were unknown to the Greeks. The occupants of the Dekhan differed from the Sanskrit-speaking Indians in origin, worship, and language." And in regard to the Rākshasas he observes, p. 402: "The author of the Rāmāyaṇa has no doubt, in mythical allegory, applied the hated name of Rākshasas to a barbarous people who were hostile to the Sanskrit-speaking Indians, and differed from them in civilization and religion. These Rākshasas were, I say, robbers or pirates who occupied the southern coasts of India, and the island of Ceylon." In his preface to the last volume (the tenth) of the Rāmāyaṇa (pp. i-ix), Signor Gorresio returns to this subject; and, after remarking that the Arian tribes, on their immigration from Northern Asia into the Panjāb, had to encounter indigenous races of a different origin,[126] whom they partly drove before them, and partly reduced to servitude, he proceeds to make a distinction between the savage tribes occupying the Vindhya and its neighbourhood and those further south. The first, whom the Rāmāyaṇa styles Vānaras or monkeys, though they differed from the Āryas in race, language, colour, and features, must, he thinks, have shown a disposition to receive the Arian civilization; since they entered into league with Rāma, and joined in his expedition against the black tribes further south. The greater part of the tribes

[125] In R.V., iv. 4, 15, another epithet, viz. *aśas*, "one who does not praise [the gods]," is applied to the Rakshases. *Dahâ aśaso Rakshasaḥ pāhi asmān druho nido mitramaho avadyāt:* "Thou who art to be revered by thy friends, burn the Rākshases who offer no praise; deliver us from the reproach of the oppressor and the reviler."

[126] The same thing, he remarks, happened to the Semitic races also, who came into contact with the Hamitic or Cushitic tribes, some of them nearly savage, as the Rephaim and the Zamzummim, Deut., ii. 20.

south of the Vindhya also submitted to the institutions of the Āryas; but towards the extremity of the peninsula and in Ceylon, there was (Gorresio believes) a ferocious black race, opposed to their worship. To this race the Arians applied the name of Rākshasas, an appellation which, in the Veda, is assigned to hostile, savage, and hated beings. It is against this race that the expedition of Rāma, celebrated in the Rāmāyaṇa, was directed. The Arian tradition undoubtedly altered the attributes of these tribes, transforming them into a race of giants, deformed, terrific, truculent, and able to change their form at will. But notwithstanding these exaggerations, the Rāmāyaṇa has (Gorresio thinks) preserved here and there certain traits and peculiarities of the race in question which reveal its real character. It represents these people as black, and compares them sometimes to a black cloud, sometimes to black collyrium; attributes to them crisp and woolly hair, and thick lips; and describes them as wearing gold earrings, necklaces, turbans, and all those brilliant ornaments in which that race has always delighted. These people are also represented as hostile to the religion of the Āryas, and as disturbers of their sacrifices. The god whom they prefer to all others, and specially honour by sacrifices, is the terrible Rudra or S'iva, whom Gorresio believes to be of Hamitic origin.[127] Their emblems and devices are serpents and dragons, symbols employed also by the Hamites.[128] Signor Gorresio considers the story of Rāma's expedition against the Rākshasas to be historical in its foundation, though exaggerated by mythical embellishments; and he observes that the Arian tradition has even preserved the memory of an earlier struggle between the same two races, as some Puranic legends relate that Kārttavīrya, of the Yādava family, a contemporary

[127] In a note (no. 35, vol. x., p. 291), to Rām., vi. 54, 33 (where the disturbance of Daksha's sacrifice by S'iva is alluded to), Gorresio writes: "The fact here alluded to is mentioned rather than described in the First Book, 68, 9, ff. (= Bombay ed., 66, 9, ff.). It appears to me that this fact represents, under a mythical veil, the struggle of the ancient forms of worship. S'iva, a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamite tribes, which preceded the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races, wished to participate in the new worship and sacrifices of the conquerors, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and committing acts of violence at their sacrifices, succeeded in being admitted to share in them." In regard to S'iva's interference with the sacrifice of Daksha, see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i., pp. 120, ff. (Dr. Hall's ed.), and the fourth volume of this work, pp. 168, 203, 226, 241, 312–324.

[128] As Signor Gorresio has not supplied any references to the passages in which these various characteristics of the Rākshasas are described, I am unable to verify his details. See, however, Rām. v. 49, 1, ff. (= Gorr. 45, 1, ff.)

of Paraśurāma, and somewhat anterior to the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, invaded Lankā (Ceylon), and made Rāvaṇa prisoner (Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, 1st ed., pp. 402, 417; Dr. Hall's ed. iv. 22, f., 55, f.; and the first volume of this work, p. 478).[129]

In regard to Signor Gorresio's views as above expounded, I will only observe here, that the aborigines of southern India are not generally regarded as of Hamitic origin; but, as we shall see in a subsequent Section, are considered by other philologists to be of Turanian extraction.

Professor Weber is of opinion (Hist. of Ind. Lit. p. 181), that the principal characters who figure in the Rāmāyaṇa, are not historical personages at all, but mere personifications of certain events and circumstances. Sītā (the furrow), he remarks, occurs both in the Rigveda,[130] and in the Gṛihya ritual, as an object of worship, and represents the Arian agriculture; while he regards Rāma as the ploughman personified. The Rāmāyaṇa has only, he thinks, an historical character in so far as it refers to an actual occurrence, the diffusion of Arian civilization towards the south of the peninsula.[131]

[129] The story is thus told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 11, 4: *Māhishmatyāṁ digvijayābhyāgato Narmadā-jalāvagāhana-kṛīḍā-nipānamadākulēna ayatnenaiva tena aśesha-deva-daitya-gandharveśa-jayodbhūta-madāvalepo 'pi Rāvaṇaḥ paśur iva baddhaḥ sva-nagaraikānte sthāpitaḥ* | "When, in the course of his campaign of conquest, Rāvaṇa came to Mahishmatī (the capital of Kārttavīrya), there he who had become filled with pride from his victories over all the devas, daityas, and the chief of the Gandharvas, was captured without difficulty by Kārttavīrya (who was excited by bathing and sporting in the Narmadā, and by drinking wine), and was confined like a wild beast in a corner of his city." Prof. Wilson (p. 417, note) states that, according to the Vāyu Pur., Kārttavīrya invaded Lankā, and there took Rāvaṇa prisoner; but that the circumstances are more generally related as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

[130] Rigveda, iv. 57, 6, f. (=A.V. iii. 17, 8): *Arvāchī subhage bhava sīte vandāmahe tvā* | *Yathā naḥ sabhagā'sasi yathā naḥ suphalā'sasi* | 17 | (=A.V., iii. 17, 4) *Indraḥ sītāṁ ni gṛihṇātu tāṁ Pūshā anu yachhatu* | (A.V., *abhi rakshatu*) | *Sā naḥ payasvatī duhām uttarām uttarāṁ samām* | "Propitious Furrow, approach; Furrow, we worship thee, that thou mayest be propitious to us, and prolific to us. 7. May Indra plough the Furrow, may Pūshan direct her: may she, full of moisture, milk forth (food) for us in each successive year." See Wilson's translation and note, and Vāj. Sanhitā, 12, 70.

[131] See also the Indische Studien of the same author, vol. i. pp. 175, 277; vol. ii. pp. 292, 410; his dissertation on the Rāmatāpanīya-upanishad (Berlin, 1864), p. 275; and his Essay on the Rāmāyaṇa (Berlin, 1870), p. 7, ff. It would lead me too far to give any summary of the varied contents of this learned treatise. The reader can also consult the views of Mr. Talboys Wheeler in his History of India, vol. 2, The Rāmāyaṇa and the Brahmanic period, pp. 37, f., 315-318.

SECT. V.—*Indian traditions regarding the tribes in the south of the peninsula.*

Having furnished some account of the advance of the Āryas into southern India, and of the races whom they there encountered (if there is any historical basis for the fabulous narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa), I have now to inquire whether the other Hindu traditions offer us any probable explanation of the origin and affinities of the tribes who occupied the Dekhan before its colonization by the Brāhmans.

Among the Dasyu tribes which, according to the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, vii. 18,[132] were descended from the Ṛishi Viśvāmitra, are mentioned the Andhras. And Manu, x. 43, 44,[133] specifies the Draviḍas among the tribes which had once been Kshatriyas, but had sunk into the condition of Vṛishalas (or Sūdras), from the extinction of sacred rites, and the absence of Brāhmans. In like manner the Cholas and Keralas are stated in the Harivaṅśa to have once been Kshatriyas, but to have been deprived of their social and religious position by King Sagara.[134] In the same way it appears that several of the Purāṇas, the Vāyu, Matsya, Agni, and Brahma, claim an Arian descent for the southern races, by making their progenitors, or eponyms, Pāṇḍya, Karṇāṭa, Chola, and Kerala, to be descendants of Dushyanta, the adopted son of Turvasu, a prince of the lunar line of the Kshatriyas. (See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's ed. vol. iv. p. 117, note 1).[135] Turvasu, the Purāṇas say, was appointed by his father to rule over the south-east. Thus the Harivaṅśa relates: "Yayāti, son of Nahusha, having conquered the earth with its seven continents and oceans, divided it into five portions for his sons. This wise monarch placed Turvasu over the south-east region."[136]

According to the legend, Turvasu, in common with most other of

[132] Quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 356, 358; and above, p. 364.

[133] Already quoted in the first volume, pp. 481, f., together with other parallel texts from the Mahābh.

[134] See the first volume, p. 488.

[135] The Harivaṅśa, sect. 32, verse 1836, substitutes Kola for Karnāṭa: *Kuruthāmād ath' Ākrīḍaś chatvāras tasya chh" ātmajāḥ | Pāṇḍyaścha Keralaśchaiva Kolaś Cholaścha pārthivaḥ | Teshaṁ janapadāḥ sphītāḥ Pāṇḍyāś Cholāḥ sakeralāḥ|* "From Kuruthāma sprang Akrīḍa, who had four sons, Pāṇḍya, Kerala, Kola, and Chola, who were the kings of the rich countries of Pāṇḍya, Chola, and Kerala."

[136] Ibid., sect. 30, verses 1616, ff.: *Saptadvīpāṁ Yayātis tu jitvā pṛithvīṁ sasāgarām | vyabhajat panchadhā rājan putrāṇāṁ Nāhushas tadā | Diśi dakshiṇapūrvasyām Turvasam matimān prabhuḥ | . . . . nyayojayat | |*

Yayāti's sons, had declined to accede to his father's request that he should exchange his condition of youthful vigour for his father's decrepitude, and was, in consequence, cursed by the old man. The Mahābh. i. 3478, ff., gives the following particulars of the curse: "Since thou, though born from within me, dost not give me up thy youth, therefore thy offspring shall be cut off. Thou, fool, shalt be king over those degraded men who live like the mixed castes, who marry in the inverse order of the classes, and who eat flesh; thou shalt rule over those wicked Mlechhas who commit adultery with their preceptors' wives, perpetrate nameless offences, and follow the practices of brutes." [137]

The Andhras, Draviḍas, Cholas, and Keralas, who have been mentioned in the preceding passages as degraded Kshatriyas, or as descendants of the adopted son of Turvasu, were the inhabitants of Telingana, of the central and southern parts of the Coromandel coast (or the Tamil country), and of Malabar respectively. It is evident that the legendary notices which I have just quoted do not throw any light on their origin. That these tribes could not have been of Arian descent, I shall proceed to show in the next Section by more satisfactory evidence, derived from the language of their modern descendants.

Sect. VI.—*Languages of the south of India, and their fundamental difference from Sanskrit.*

As I have already intimated in the earlier parts of this volume, there appear in the vernacular dialects of northern India many remains of pre-existing languages, distinct from Sanskrit, which are supposed to have been spoken by non-Arian tribes settled in that portion of the peninsula before the immigration of the Āryas; and I have also alluded to the existence of a class of languages in the south of India, viz., the Telugu, the Tamil, the Malayālim, and the Canarese, which are fundamentally different from the Sanskrit.[138] I shall now proceed to

[137] *Yat tvam me hṛidayāj jāto vayaḥ svam na prayachhasi | tasmāt prajā samuchhedaṁ Turvaso tava yāsyati | Sānkīrṇāchāra-dharmeshu pratilomachareshu cha | Piśitāśishu ch' āntyeshu mūḍha rājā bhavishyasi | Guru-dara-prasakteshu tiryag-yoni-gateshu cha | Paśu-dharmishu pāpeshu Mlechheshu tvam bhavishyasi |* In verse 3533 Turvasu is said to be the progenitor of the Yavanas (*Turvasor Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ |*)

[138] See above, p. 49.

establish in detail the assertions I have made regarding these southern languages.

Various savage tribes are still to be found among the hilly tracts in central India, such as the Gonds, Kols, etc., whose language is quite distinct from any of the ancient or modern Prākrit dialects derived from the Sanskrit. It is not, however, necessary that I should enter into any details regarding the speech of these wild races. It will suffice for the purposes of my argument if I show that the same remark applies equally to the far more numerous, and more cultivated tribes who occupy the Dekhan; and that the various languages which are current in the different provinces of the south, while they have a close affinity to each other and a common origin, are, in their entire character, essentially distinct from Sanskrit and its derivatives. In regard to these languages, information of the most conclusive character may be obtained from the preface to Mr. A. D. Campbell's Telugu Grammar (including the note by Mr. Ellis), as well as from the Rev. Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages. From the last-named work I abstract the following details:—"There are four principal languages current in the different provinces of southern India, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayālim, spoken collectively by upwards of thirty-one millions of people, besides five minor dialects, spoken by 650,000 persons. These forms of speech are not, in the proper sense of the word, dialects of one language, as no one of them is so nearly related to any of the others, as that two persons using different members of the group, the one, for instance, Tamil, and the other Telugu, would be mutually intelligible. The Tamil and the Malayālim have the most affinity to each other, and yet it is only the simplest sentences in one of these languages that would be understood by a person who spoke only the other. The Tamil and the Telugu, on the other hand, are the furthest removed from each other of the four languages; and though the great majority of roots in both are identical, yet they are so disguised by inflection and dialectic changes, that persons speaking each only one of these two languages would be scarcely at all understood by each other. The various Dravidian idioms therefore, though sprung from a common stock, must be regarded as distinct languages.

"The northern Pandits classify the vernacular dialects of India[139]

[139] See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, vol. ii., pp. 21, ff.

in two sets of five, the five Gauras and the five Dravidas. In the latter, they include the Mahratha and Gurjara, as well as the Telinga, the Karṇāṭaka, and the Drāviḍa or Tamil. The first two languages are, however, erroneously coupled with the last three; as, though the Mahratha and Gurjara (Guzeratee) possess certain features of resemblance to the languages of the south, they yet differ from the latter so widely and radically and are so closely allied with the northern group, Hindī, Bengalī, etc., that they must be placed in the same class with the latter. The Drāviḍa proper or Tamil, the Telinga or Telugu, and the Karṇāṭaka, or Canarese, are not, as the northern Pandits suppose, derived from the Sanskrit, like the northern dialects, but, as regards their original and fundamental portion, are quite independent of Sanskrit. The difference between the northern and southern dialects consists in this, that though the former contain a small proportion of aboriginal or non-Sanskrit words, they are mainly composed of words derived by corruption from the Sanskrit,[140] while the Tamil, Telugu, and other southern languages, on the contrary, though they contain a certain amount of Sanskrit words, are yet, both as regards the great bulk of their vocabulary and their whole genius and spirit, totally distinct from the classical speech of the Arians."

On this subject I shall introduce here some quotations from a note by Mr. F. W. Ellis, appended to the preface to Campbell's Telugu Grammar: "In arrangement the two latter [the Carnata and Telingana alphabets], which are nearly the same, certainly follow the Nágari, but in the form of the letters, mode of combination, and other particulars, there is no resemblance; and the Tamil is totally different, rejecting all aspirates, and having many sounds which cannot be expressed by any alphabet in which the Sanscrit is written. . . . . Neither the Tamil, Telugu, nor any of their cognate dialects, are derivations from the Sanscrit; the latter, however it may contribute to their polish, is not necessary for their existence; and they form a distinct family of languages, with which the Sanscrit has, in latter times especially, intermixed, but with which it has no radical connexion."—(p. 2). . . . . "The Telugu, to which attention is here more specially directed, is formed from its own roots, which, in general, have no connexion with the Sanscrit, nor with those of any other language,

[140] See above, p. 32, f.

the cognate dialects of Southern India, the Tamil, Cannaḍi, etc., excepted, with which, allowing for the occasional variation of con-similar sounds, they generally agree; the actual difference in the three dialects here mentioned is in fact to be found only in the affixes used in the formation of words from the roots; the roots themselves are not similar merely, but the same."—(p. 3.)

"To show that no radical connexion exists between the Sanscrit and Telugu, ten roots in alphabetic order, under the letters A, C, P, and V, have been taken from the common Dhātumālā, or list of roots, and with them have been compared the Telugu roots under the same letters taken from a Telugu Dhātumālā. . . . These will be found in the following lists, the mere inspection of which will show, that among the forty Telugu roots not one agrees with any Sanskrit root." These lists I will copy here:—

SANSKRIT.	TELUGU.
Ak, to mark, move, move tortuously.	*Akkalu*, to contract the abdominal muscles.
Ag, to move, move tortuously.	*Agalu*, to separate, break.
Anka, *Anga*, to mark.	*Aggu*, to worship.
Agh, to move, despise, begin, move quickly.	*Aggalu*, to be insufferable, excessive.
Agha, to sin.	*Aṭs*, to give by compulsion, to incur debt.
Ach, to honour, serve.	*Aṇṭu*, to touch, adhere, anoint the head.
Anch, to move, speak unintelligibly, speak intelligibly.	*Aḍangu*, to be destroyed, submit, be subdued.
Aj, to throw, move, shine.	*Aḍaru*, to shine, shoot at.
Aṭ, *Aṭh*, to move.	*Aḍalu*, to weep bitterly.
Aḍ, to occupy, undertake.	*Aḍu*, to slap.
Kak, to hint desire, go.	*Kakku*, to vomit.
Kakk, laugh.	*Kaṭs*, to play dice, chess.
Kakh, laugh.	*Kraṭs*, to want.
Kakkh, laugh.	*Kaṭṭu*, to tie, build, become pregnant.
Kag, to move.	*Kaḍugu*, to wash.
Kach, to tie, shine.	*Kaḍangu*, *Kanangu*, to swell, boil.
Kaj, to hiccup.	*Kaṭaku*, *Kuḍagu*, to lick as a dog.
Kaṭ, to move, screen, rain.	*Kaḍaru*, to call aloud.
Kaṭh, to fear, recollect anxiously.	*Kaḍalu*, to move or shake.
Kaḍ, to eat, rejoice, divide, preserve.	*Kaḍi*, to approach, obtain.
Pach, to cook, explain, stretch.	*Pagalu*, *Pangalu*, to break, make forked.
Paḍ, to shine, move.	*Panchu*, to divide, send away, appoint.
Paṭh, to speak.	*Paṭṭu*, to seize, touch, begin, knead the limbs, understand, unite intimately.
Paṇ, to traffic, praise.	*Paḍu*, to suffer, fall.

SANSKRIT.	TELUGU.
Pat, to rule, move.	*Paṇḍu*, to reprove, produce, lie down.
Path, to move.	*Paḍayu*, to obtain.
Pad, to move, be fixed.	*Paṇtangu*, to vow.
Pan, to praise.	*Paḍaru*, to act precipitately, speak nonsense, threaten.
Pamb, to move.	*Pannu*, to join steers to a plough, prepare.
Parbb, to move.	*Panatsu*, to send, employ.
Vak, to be cooked, move.	*Vaga*, *Vagu*, to grieve, pretend grief, consult.
Vag, to be lame.	*Vagir*, to speak deceitfully, bark as a dog.
Vach, to speak, order.	*Vangu*, to stoop.
Vaj, to move, renew, or repair.	*Vats*, to come.
Vaṭ, to surround, share, speak.	*Vantsu*, to bind, pour out water.
Vaṭa, to surround, share.	*Vrats*, to divide.
Vaṇṭa, to share.	*Vaṭu*, to become lean.
Vaṭh, to go alone, be able.	*Vaṭṭu*, to dry up.
Vaḍ, to shine, surround.	*Vaṭṭru*, to shine.
Vaṇ, to sound.	*Vaḍḍu*, to serve food.

Mr. Ellis then (p. 7) adduces a list of fifteen roots, Telugu, Canarese and Tamil, taken in alphabetical order, "to show that an intimate radical connexion exists between the Telugu and other dialects of Southern India." As I believe the affinity between these languages is admitted by all competent scholars, I do not consider it necessary to quote this comparative list. Mr. Ellis then proceeds (p. 11) to prove by further details that these three languages are not only radically connected, but have also an intimate relation to each other "as regards terms used for the expression of ideas." With this view he first quotes a native writer, Māmidi Vencaya:

"Māmidi Vencaya, the author of the Āndhra Dīpikā, an excellent dictionary of the Telugu, has, in the preface to this work, introduced a concise analysis of the language, the substance of which . . . . is translated in the following paragraph.

"'The modes of derivation in the Andhra [Telugu] language are four; they are Tatsamam, Tadbhavam, Deśyam, and Grāmyam. Tatsamam consists of Sanscrit terms, pure as spoken in heaven, the Telugu terminations being substituted for those of the original language.'"

Of these the following are examples[141]:—

SANSKRIT.	TATSAMAM.	SANSKRIT.	TATSAMAM.
Rāmaḥ	*Rāmaṇḍu.*	*Vāc*	*Vāccu.*
Vanam	*Vanamu.*	*Dyau*	*Divamu.*

[141] [A few examples only are selected under two heads.—J.M.]

"'Tadbhavam consists of terms formed, either from the Sanscrit direct, or through one of the six Pracrits, varied by the interposition of syllables, and by the substitution, increment, and decrement of letters. . . . . The several modes of derivation . . . . are exemplified in the following lists:'"—

SANSKRIT.	TADBHAVAM.	SANSKRIT.	TADBHAVAM.
Samudraḥ	*Sandaramu.*	*Chandraḥ*	*Tsandurundu.*

Separate lists follow of Tadbhava terms introduced from Sanskrit into Telugu through the Mahārāshṭrī, the Saurasenī, the Māgadhī, the Paiśāchī (said to be spoken in the countries of Pāṇḍya and Kekaya), the Chulikā-Paiśāchī (spoken in Gandhāra, Nepāla, and Kuntala), and the Apabhranśa, spoken in the country of Abhīra, and on the coast of the western ocean.

Mr. Ellis proceeds, p. 15, with his extracts from Māmidi Vencaya: "'Deśyam, in other words Āndhra or Telugu, is of two kinds; the language which originated in the country of Telingana, and Anyadeśyam, or the language of foreign countries intermixed with it.'" Previously to showing what part of the language originated in Trilingam, the native author quotes from the "Adharavana Vyācaranam" a description of the country to which this name applies.[142] Mr. Ellis gives the author's definition of the native Telugu, as the language which arose within the boundaries of Trilinga, as follows: "As it is here said, in the country between Śrīsailam, the station of Bhīmeswara at Dracharāmam, the greater Kāleśwaram, and, as the fourth, the

[142] This passage, as quoted in the Andhrakaumudī, is given by Mr. Campbell in the Introduction to his Grammar, p. ii. note. I am indebted to the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, for transcribing it for me from the Telugu into Roman characters: *Śrīśaila-Bhīma-Kāleśa-Mahendra-giri-saṁyutam | Prākāraṁ tu mahat kṛitvā trīṇi dvārāṇi ch' ākarot | Tkilochano maheśasya triśūlaṁcha kare vahan | Trilingarūpī nyavasat tri-dvāreshu gaṇair vṛitaḥ | Āndhra-Vishṇuḥ sura-yuto Danujena Nishambhuna | Yuddhvā trayodaśa yugān hatvā tam Rākshasottamam | Avasat tatra ṛishibhir yuto Godāvarī-taṭe | Tatkāla-prabhṛiti kshetṛam Trilingam iti viśrutam|* I translate this anew as follows:—"He [the Andhrian Vishṇu before mentioned], having constructed a vast wall connecting Śrīśaila, Bhīmeśvara, Kāleśvara, and the Mahendra hills, formed in it three gates. There, in the form of three Lingas, with three eyes, bearing in his hand the trident of Maheśa (Śiva), he dwelt in the three gates surrounded by his hosts. The Andhrian Vishṇu, attended by the Suras, having slain the illustrious Rākshasa Nishambhu, the son of Danu, after a conflict lasting for thirteen yugas, resided there with the ṛishis, on the banks of the Godāvarī. Since that time this sacred territory has been called Trilinga."

mountain of Mahendra, in these holy places were three lingams, and the language which originated in the country known by the name of the Trilinga-dēśam, is that now under consideration; this is the Atsu or pure Telugu, and is thus described in the Appacavīyam (verse): 'All those words which are in use among the several races who are aborigines of the country of Andhra, which are perfectly clear and free from all obscurity, these shine forth to the world as the pure native speech of Andhra (Śuddha-Andhra-Dēśyam).'" The following are some of the examples given, viz., *pālu*, milk, *perugu*, curdled milk, *ney*, clarified butter, *puḍami*, the earth, *paḍatuka*, a woman, *koduku*, a son, *tala*, the head, *nela*, the moon, *maḍi*, a field, *puli*, a tiger, *magavanḍu*, a man. Māmidi Vencaya then proceeds to the terms introduced into Telugu from foreign countries. "The following verse is from the Appacavīyam: 'O Keśava, the natives of Andhra, having resided in various countries, by using Telugu terms conjointly with those of other countries, these have become Andhra terms of foreign origin.'"

This is what Māmidi Vencaya has to say about the Grāmyam terms: "Terms which cannot be subjected to the rules of grammar, and in which an irregular increment or decrement of letters occurs, are called Grāmyam; they are corruptions, and are described in the following verse from the Appacavīyam (verse): 'Such Telugu words as are commonly used by rustic folk are known as Grāmyam terms: these lose some of their regular letters and are not found in poetry, unless, as in abusive language, the use of them cannot be avoided.'"

"In the preceding extracts" (Mr. Ellis proceeds) "the author, supported by due authority, teaches that, rejecting direct and indirect derivatives from the Sanscrit, and words borrowed from foreign languages, what remains is the pure native language of the land: this constitutes the great body of the tongue, and is capable of expressing every mental and bodily operation, every possible relation and existing thing; for, with the exception of some religious and technical terms, no word of Sanscrit derivation is necessary to the Telugu. This pure native language of the land, allowing for dialectic differences and variations of termination, is, with the Telugu, common to the Tamil, Cannaḍi (i.e. Canarese), and the other dialects of southern India: this may be demonstrated by comparing the Dēśyam terms contained in the list taken by Vencaya from the Appacavīyam with the terms

expressive of the same ideas in Tamil and Cannaḍi. It has been already shown that the radicals of these languages mutatis mutandis are the same, and this comparison will show that the native terms in general use in each, also, correspond."

A comparative list of Telugu, Canarese, and Tamil words is then annexed, pp. 19–21, which I omit. Mr. Ellis then goes on (p. 21): "From the preceding extracts and remarks on the composition of the Telugu language, as respects terms, it results that the language may be divided into four branches, of which the following is the natural order. Dēśyam, or Atsu-Telugu, pure native terms, constituting the basis of this language, and, generally also, of the other dialects of southern India: Anya-dēśyam, terms borrowed from other countries, chiefly of the same derivation as the preceding: Tatsamam, pure Sanscrit terms, the Telugu affixes being substituted for those of the original language: Tadbhavam, Sanscrit derivatives, received into the Telugu direct, or through one of the six Pracrits, and in all instances more or less corrupted. The Grāmyam (literally the rustic dialect, from *Grāmam*, Sans. a village), is not a constituent portion of the language, but is formed from the Atsu-Telugu by contraction, or by some permutation of the letters not authorized by the rules of grammar. The proportion of Atsu-Telugu terms to those derived from every other source is one half; of Anya-dēśyam terms one tenth; of Tatsamam terms in general use three twentieths; and of Tadbhavam terms one quarter.

"With little variation, the composition of Tamil and Cannaḍi is the same as the Telugu, and the same distinctions, consequently, are made by their grammatical writers. The Telugu and Cannaḍi both admit of a freer adoption of Tatsamam terms than the Tamil: in the two former, in fact, the discretion of the writer is the only limit of their use; in the high dialect of the latter those only can be used which have been admitted into the dictionaries by which the language has long been fixed, or for which classical authority can be adduced; in the low dialect the use of them is more general; by the Brahmans they are profusely employed, more sparingly by the Sudra tribes. The Cannaḍi has a greater, and the Tamil a less, proportion of Tadbhavam terms than the other dialects; but in the latter all Sanscrit words are liable to greater variation than is produced by the mere difference of

termination, for, as the alphabet of this language rejects all aspirates, expresses the first and third consonants of each regular series by the same character, and admits of no other combination of consonants than the duplication of mutes or the junction of a nasal and a mute, it is obviously incapable of expressing correctly any but the simplest terms of the Sanscrit. All such, however, in this tongue are accounted Tatsamam when the alteration is regular and produced only by the deficiencies of the alphabet.

"But though the derivation and general terms may be the same in cognate dialects, a difference of idiom may exist so great that in the acquisition of one no assistance in this respect can be derived from a knowledge of the other. As regards the dialects of southern India this is by no means the case: in collocation of words, in syntactical government, in phrase, and indeed in all that is comprehended under the term idiom, they are not similar only, but the same. To demonstrate this, and to show how far they agree with, or differ from, the Sanscrit," Mr. Ellis proceeds to give a series of comparative renderings of sentences in Sanskrit, and in the Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese. As, however, it would lengthen this Section too much to cite these details, I must refer the reader who is desirous of pursuing the subject further to Mr. Ellis's "Note" itself.

From Mr. Campbell's Introduction to his Grammar, pp. vii, viii,, ff., I supply some further particulars regarding the early cultivation of Telugu and the belief of the native grammarians as to the origin of their language:—"The most ancient Teloogoo grammarian of whom mention is made in the native books is the sage Kunva, who is said to have been the first that composed a treatise on the principles of the language. It is stated[143] that he executed this work by command of a king of Andhra, named Andhra Royoodoo,[144] son of Soochundra. . . .

[143] "Kunva said: 'He who speaks irreverently of my grammar, composed by the command of Andhra Vishnoo, shall be considered as guilty of irreverence to his priest.' Andhra Cowmudi." The original is as follows: *Kaṇvas tu yathā āha Andhra-vishṇor anujñā-kṛitasya mad-vyākaraṇasyāvadrohī guru-drohīti.*

[144] In regard to this king Mr. Campbell quotes the following passage, which precedes that cited in my former note, p. 428: *Andhra-nātho Mahāvishṇur Nishambhu-danujāpahā | Purā Svayambhuvo Manoḥ kāle Kaliyuge Hariḥ | Kākule rāja-varyasya Suchandrasya tanūbhavaḥ | Abhavat sarva-devaiścha veshṭito loka-pūjitaḥ |* "Formerly, in the time of Manu Svayambhū, in the Kali age, Hari, the lord of Andhra,

The works of Kunva, of Audharvan Achary, and of several other ancient grammarians, are not now to be found. All the treatises on Teloogoo grammar at present extant consist of Sanscrit commentaries on a series of concise apophthegms written in Sanscrit by a Bramin named Nannapa, or Nunniah Bhutt."

"It has been very generally asserted (says Mr. Campbell, p. xv, ff.,) and indeed believed, that the Teloogoo has its origin in the language of the Vedams. . . . I venture publicly to state my inquiries to have led me to a contrary conclusion; but I do so with the less hesitation as I find myself supported by the concurrent evidence of all native authors who have ever written on the subject of the Teloogoo language."

"In common with every other tongue now spoken in India, modern Teloogoo abounds with Sanscrit words; . . . nevertheless there is reason to believe that the origin of the two languages is altogether distinct." "In speaking the Teloogoo the Soodras use very few Sanscrit words: among the superior classes of Vysyas, and pretenders to the Rajah caste, Sanscrit terms are used only in proportion to their greater intimacy with the Bramins, and their books; and when we find even such Sanscrit words as these classes do adopt, pronounced by them in so improper and rude a manner as to be a common jest to the Bramins, who, at the same time, never question their pronunciation of pure Teloogoo words, I think we may fairly infer it to be probable at least that these Sanscrit terms were originally foreign to the language spoken by the great body of the people."

"Some native grammarians maintain that before the king Andhra Royadoo[145] established his residence on the banks of the Godavery, the only Teloogoo words were those peculiar to what is emphatically termed the pure Teloogoo, now generally named the language of the land, which they consider coeval with the people, or, as they express it, 'created by the god Brimha.' The followers of this prince, say they, for the first time began to adopt Sanscrit terms with Teloogoo

the great Vishnu, the slayer of the Dānava Nishambhu, was born in Kākula as the son of the monarch Suchandra, and was attended by all the gods, as well as reverenced by all mankind."

[145] "This is the prince who is now worshipped as a divinity at Siccacollum on the river Krishna, and who was the patron of Kunva, the first Teloogoo grammarian."

terminations, and by degrees corruptions from the Sanscrit crept into the language, from the ignorance of the people respecting the proper pronunciation of the original words.[146] This would imply that the nation still retain some faint remembrance of those times in which their language still existed independent of the Sanscrit; and it is certain that every Teloogoo grammarian, from the days of Nunniah Bhutt to the present period, considers the two languages as derived from sources entirely distinct; for each commences his work by classing the words of the language under four separate heads, which they distinguish by the respective names of Dēshyumoo, language of the land; Tutsumumoo, Sanscrit derivatives; Tudbhuvumoo, Sanscrit corruptions; and Gramyumoo, provincial terms. [Compare the Grammar, p. 37.] To these, later authors have added Anya-dēshyumoo, foreign words."

"The words included in the first class, which I have denominated the language of the land, are . . . the most numerous in the language, and the model by which those included in the other classes are modified and altered from the different languages to which they originally belonged. The name by which they are designated implies 'that which belongs to the country or land;' it marks the words in question not as merely 'current in the country,' but as the growth and produce of the land."

"In the course of this work it will be obvious to the Sanscrit scholar that the declension of the noun by particles or words added to it,—the use of a plural pronoun applicable to the first and second persons conjointly—the conjugation of the affirmative verb—the existence of a negative aorist, a negative imperative, and other negative

[146] The following is the passage referred to, and it follows the one quoted in the note, p. 428: *Tatratyās tatsamālāpās tatkālīnāḥ Harer bhaṭāḥ | Kālena mahatā sarvaṁ tatsamaṁ svalpa-buddhibhiḥ | Aśuddhochchāryamāṇaṁ sat tadbhavañcheti sammatam | Vikarsha-vyatyayābhyāñcha pādārdhokti viśeshataḥ | Tadbhavam iti kathyante kālena mahatā samāḥ | Brahmaṇā nirmitāḥ vāchaḥ pūrvam Andhreśitur Hareḥ | Achchāḥ iti cha kathyante sup-kṛid-dhātu-samanvitāḥ |* "The adherents of Hari who dwelt there (in Trilinga, on the banks of the Godāvarī) at that time, spoke tatsama words. In process of time these tatsama words began to be incorrectly pronounced by simple persons, and were regarded as tadbhava. Tatsama words were denominated tadbhava from loss or substitution [of letters], or from being contracted a fourth or a half. Words, consisting of nouns, verbals, and roots, which were fashioned by Brahmā before the time of Hari, the lord of Andhra, are called achcha (pure)."

forms of the verb—the union of the neuter and feminine genders in the singular, and of the masculine and feminine genders in the plural, of the pronouns and verbs—and the whole body of the syntax, are entirely unconnected with the Sanscrit; while the Tamil and Karnataca scholar will at once recognize their radical connexion with each of these languages. The reader will find all words denoting the different parts of the human frame, the various sorts of food or utensils in common use among the natives, the several parts of their dress, the compartments of their dwellings, the degrees of affinity and consanguinity peculiar to them, in short, all terms expressive of primitive ideas or of things necessarily named in the earlier stages of society, to belong to the pure Teloogoo or language of the land. It is true (so mixed have the two languages now become) that Sanscrit derivatives or corruptions may, without impropriety, be occasionally used to denote some of these. This, however, is not common: the great body of Sanscrit words admitted into the language consists of abstract terms, and of words connected with science, religion, or law, as is the case, in a great degree, with the Greek and Latin words incorporated with our own tongue: but even such Sanscrit words as are thus introduced into Teloogoo are not allowed to retain their original forms; they undergo changes and assume terminations and inflections unknown to the Sanscrit, and, except as foreign quotations, are never admitted into Teloogoo until they appear in the dress peculiar to the language of the land."

At the risk of some repetition, I shall add a few further observations, abstracted from Dr. Caldwell's grammar, pp. 29, ff., and 56, in proof of the radical differences between the Sanskrit and the southern languages:—"No person," he remarks, "who is acquainted with comparative philology, and who has compared the primitive and essential words, and the grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages with those of the Sanskrit, can imagine that the former have been derived from the latter by any known process of corruption or decomposition. We shall first advert to the Sanskrit element which has been introduced into these languages, and then revert to their non-Sanskrit or essential basis." First, the most recent infusion of Sanskrit words into the Tamil, Dr. Caldwell states (p. 56), "was effected by the great religious schools of Śankara Achāryya and Rāmānuja, from about the

tenth to the fifteenth century A.D. The words then introduced (excepting a few points wherein change was unavoidable) are pure, unchanged Sanskrit. Secondly, at a period partly preceding and partly contemporaneous with the above, from the eighth to the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D., the Jainas introduced the largest proportion of the Sanskrit derivatives that are to be found in Tamil. This period of Jaina intellectual predominance was the Augustan age of Tamil literature, a period when the celebrated college of Madura flourished, and the Cuṛaḷ, the Chintāmani, and the classical vocabularies and grammars were written. The Tamilian writers of this period, from national feeling, and their jealousy of Brahminical influence, modified the Sanskrit words which they employed so as to accord with the euphonic rules of Tamil. Thus *loka*, 'world,' becomes *ulagu*[147] in Tamil; *rājā*, 'king,' becomes *araśu*; and *ra*, 'night,' (from *rātri*) becomes *iravu*. Nearly the whole of the Sanskrit words found in the Telugu, Canarese, and Malayālim belong to these two periods, or correspond mainly with the Sanskrit derivatives found in the Tamil of those two periods, especially the more recent. These derivatives are divided into the two classes of Tatsama, words identical or nearly so with pure Sanskrit, and Tadbhava, words which are borrowed from Sanskrit or the northern Prakrits, but have been to some degree modified in form. Thirdly, the Tamil contains many derivatives, belonging to the very earliest period of the literary cultivation of that language, which were probably introduced before Sanskrit words had begun to be imported into the other southern dialects. The Sanskrit of this period is more corrupted than that of the Jaina period, and the corruptions are of a different character. The Jainas altered the Sanskrit words in accordance with the euphonic rules of Tamil, whereas the words introduced in the earliest period have been changed in defiance of all rules; as the Sanskrit *śrī*, 'sacred,' into *tiru*. While, however, a certain proportion of Sanskrit words have been introduced into the Dravidian tongues in the ways just described,—it would be quite a mistake to suppose that these languages are derived from the Sanskrit in the same manner as

[147] It is supposed by some scholars, from the fact that, in most passages of the Rigveda where the word "loka" occurs, it is preceded by "u," that the original form of the word was "uloka," and that in the texts in question "u" is not a particle separate from the word before which it stands. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* "loka."

the Hindī, Mahrattī, and other Gauḍa dialects. For (1) the non-Sanskrit portion of the Dravidian languages exceeds the Sanskrit portion nearly as much as in the North-Indian dialects the Sanskrit element exceeds the indigenous or non-Sanskrit element. (2) The pronouns and numerals of the Dravidian languages, their mode of inflecting verbs and nouns, the syntactic arrangement of their words—everything, in fact, which constitutes the essential structure of a language, are radically different from those of the Sanskrit. The contrary is the case with the vernacular dialects of the north, in which the pronouns, the numerals, and a large proportion of nouns and verbs, have been derived by adoption or gradual transformation from the older Prakrits and ultimately from the Sanskrit. (3) The true Dravidian words, which form the great majority in the southern vocabularies, are placed by the native grammarians in a different class from the Sanskrit derivatives, and are honoured with the epithets 'national words' and 'pure words.'" In support of this Dr. Caldwell refers to the passage already quoted in p. 433; and gives it as his opinion that Andhrarāya probably lived several centuries before the Christian era. "(4) In the uncultivated languages of the Dravidian stock, Sanskrit words are not at all, or very rarely, employed. And further, some of the cultivated Dravidian languages which do make use of Sanskrit derivatives are able to dispense with these altogether. This indeed is not the case with Telugu, Canarese, or Malayālim; but Tamil, the most highly cultivated, as regards its original structure, of all the Dravidian idioms, is not dependent on Sanskrit for the full expression of thought. In fact, the ancient or classical dialect of this language, the Shen-Tamil, in which nearly all the literature has been written, contains very little Sanskrit; and even differs chiefly from the colloquial dialect by the jealous care with which it rejects derivatives from Sanskrit and restricts itself to pure Dravidian elements. So much is this the case that a Tamil composition is regarded as refined and classical, not in proportion to the amount of Sanskrit it contains, but in proportion to the absence of Sanskrit. It is also worthy of remark that though the principal Telugu writers and grammarians have been Brahmans, in Tamil, on the contrary, few Brahmans have written any works of distinction, while the Tamilian Sudras have cultivated and developed their language with great ardour and success; and the finest

compositions in the Tamil language, the Cuṛaḷ and the Chintāmani, are not only independent of the Sanskrit, but original in design and execution."

A few more specimens of Tamil words derived from Dr. Caldwell's book, passim, may be added to show how perfectly distinct they are from the Sanskrit, and North-Indian vernacular, words having the same sense, with which I shall presume the reader to be acquainted.

'NOUNS, ETC.

nān	I	kīṛ	below	illāl	a wife
nām	we	kāl	foot	vannān	a washerman
nī	thou	viṇ	sky	vannātti	a washerwo-
nīr	we	kurudu	blindness	oru	one [man
viral	finger	irumbu	iron	irandu	two
kaḍal	the sea	iruppu	of iron	mūndru	three
maṇal	sand	suvar	a wall	nāngu	four
kuḍal	a bowel	ugir	finger-nail	eindu	five
niṛal	shade	tamir	sweetness	aru	six
sēval	a cock	kiṇaṛu	a well	eṛu	seven
nilam	the ground	īral	the liver	eṭṭu [148]	eight
mādu	an ox	tigil	a fright	onbadu	nine
ādu	a sheep	tinggal	the moon	pattu	ten
kuranju	a monkey	iruḷ	darkness	mupattu	thirty
pagal	a day	toppu	a grove	mūru	a hundred
kaṇ	the eye	magan	a son	munnūṛu	three hundred
mūkku	the nose	magaḷ	a daughter	arubadu	sixty
mēl	above	illān	a husband	eṛubadu	seventy

Tamil declension of *manei*, a house.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
NOM.	manei	maneigal
ACC.	maneiyei	maneigalei
INST.	maneiyāl	maneigalāl
CONJ.	maneiyoḍu	maneigaloḍu
DAT.	maneikku	maneigalukku
ABL.	maneiyilirundu	maneigalirundu
GEN.	maneiyin	maneigalin
LOC.	maneiyiḍattil	maneigaliḍattil
VOC.	maneiye	maneigaḷe

VERBS.

irrukkiṛadu	it is	tuḷir	to sprout
perugugiṛudu	it increases	pugaṛ	to praise
aḍangu	to be contained	magiṛ	to rejoice
aḍakku	to contain	suṛal	to whirl
āgu	to become	kuyil	to sound
ākku	to make	tuval	to bend
nīngu	to quit	uruḷ	to roll
nīkku	to put away	kaḍukku	to suffer pain
nirambu	to be full	tara	to give
nirappu	to fill	vara	to come
vaḷar	to grow		

[148] This word, it must be allowed, is not unlike the Hindī *āṭh*, eight.

"(5) The grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages is radically different from that of the Sanskrit; and proves that they are quite independent of that language." For further illustrations of this fact I must refer to Dr. Caldwell's Grammar, pp. 34, ff., and to the subsequent details given in that work, passim.

Sect. VII.—*Results deducible from the preceding Sections.*

In the last section I have supplied abundant evidence, derived from the best authorities, of the radical differences which exist between the languages of the south of India and the Sanskrit. The evidence which I have adduced is not (as will have been noticed) confined to the fact of those dissimilarities of roots and of structure which are sufficient to convince the comparative philologist that the Dravidian dialects have no original affinity with the Indo-European tongues. We have also the testimony of the native grammarians of the south to the same effect, as far as regards the Sanskrit (as we have seen, pp. 428, 433). The Telugu authors hold that the words of which their language is composed are of four classes, Deśya or Atsu (or aboriginal), Taṭsama (pure Sanskrit), Tadbhava (modified Sanskrit), and Grāmya (or rustic); and they consider that the first class, the Deśya or Atsu-Telugu words, constituted the primeval basis of the language before the introduction of Tatsama words in the time of King Andhrarāya,[149] and were created, with a complete grammatical structure of their own, by the god Brahmā. I am not in a position to cite any similar testimony on the part of the Tamil grammarians; but Mr. Ellis informs us (see p. 430) that the same distinctions are made by them as by the Telugu writers, and their idea of the relation of perfect independence in which their language stands to the Sanskrit is sufficiently shown by the fact that they regard that Tamil as the most pure and classical in which there is the smallest admixture of Sanskrit. It is therefore a fact, established beyond all doubt, that the Dravidian or South-Indian languages have, as regards their original and fundamental portion, no affinity with the

[149] We have already seen, p. 436, that Dr. Caldwell considers this monarch to have flourished several centuries B.C. From the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 24, it appears that an Andhra-bhṛitya dynasty of kings reigned in Magadha, whose accession Wilson (V.P., iv. 203, Dr. Hall's ed.) calculates to have dated from 18 years B.C. See also Lassen, Ind. Ant., ii. 755, 934.

Indo-European languages; and could not, by any modification known to comparative philologists, have been derived from any member of that family. There are certain processes and modes of mutation which are always discoverable when one language springs out of another. The words of the derivative tongue are always, or almost always, recognizable (even if considerably modified), in the new forms which they have assumed; and the steps of their transformation can be either exactly traced, or at least divined with certainty. But the primitive words and forms of the South-Indian dialects could not have issued from the Sanskrit by any known law of modification.

But if the Dravidian languages be of a stock altogether distinct from the Sanskrit, it follows, at least, as a primâ facie inference (see above, p. 267), that the races which originally spoke these two classes of languages must also have been distinct from one another in their descent, and could not have belonged to the same branch of the human family. Had the Dravidian nations been of Arian lineage, the whole of their languages must, in all probability, have more or less closely resembled either the older Prākṛits (described in the early part of this volume) or the later Hindī, Mahrattī, and Bengalī, all of which have evidently arisen, in great part, from the decomposition of Sanskrit. But such (as we have seen) is not the case in regard to those southern dialects.

And as the Dravidians now make use of languages which are radically distinct from Sanskrit, we cannot suppose it probable that the aboriginal part of the nation ever, at any former time, spoke a language which had any affinity to Sanskrit. Such a supposition would be at variance with the traditions preserved by the Telugu grammarians. And no race of mankind has ever been known which (except under the pressure of external influence) has lost, or abandoned, the language which it had derived from its forefathers, and of itself adopted a form of speech fundamentally different. But as we have no proof of any such external influence which could have led the Dravidians to exchange their original language for another, we must conclude that they have derived their existing dialects from their forefathers; and these their forefathers, as their speech was distinct from that of the ancestors of the Arians, must, as we have every reason to conclude, have been distinct in lineage also from the latter. But if

the original Dravidian Indians of the south of India are of a different race from the Arian Indians, they could not, as Manu and the Mahābhārata assert (see above, p. 422), have been degraded Kshatriyas. And this conclusion is not in the slightest degree affected by the fact that a considerable portion of the existing Dravidian communities, though speaking the language of the south, belongs, or claims to belong, to the higher Arian castes. For if the southern Brāhmans, and some of the other castes, be (as in all probability they are) of Arian descent, more or less pure, this does not prove that the same is the case in regard to the great mass of the Dravidian population; for there is every reason to believe that those southern communities existed before the Arians had spread themselves to the south of the Vindhya mountains, and that the Brāhmans emigrated at a comparatively recent period from northern to southern India. On their arrival in the south, these Brāhmans no doubt spoke Sanskrit, or rather one of its derivative Prākṛits. But though, from their superior civilization and energy, they soon succeeded in placing themselves at the head of the Dravidian communities, and in introducing among them the Brahmanical religion and institutions, they must have been so inferior in numbers to the Dravidian inhabitants as to render it impracticable for them to dislodge the primitive speech of the country, and to replace it by their own language. They would therefore be compelled to acquire the Dravidian dialect of the province in which they settled; and in a generation or two, the majority of them would lose the vernacular use of the Prākṛit dialects which they had brought with them. This, however, might not prevent their retaining in use a good many words of Sanskrit origin. And as many of these Brāhmans, or subsequent immigrants from Northern India by whom they were subsequently reinforced, were, no doubt, learned men, and as their religious books were composed in Sanskrit, they would necessarily preserve their acquaintance with that sacred tongue, and with its literature; and would no doubt from time to time introduce fresh Sanskrit words into the local vernacular,[150] just as we see that English is continually enriched by

[150] I may take this opportunity of adverting again to the probability already alluded to above, in note 67, p. 33, that Sanskrit has not only influenced the aboriginal tongues both of northern and southern India, but has also received some influence from one or from both of them in return. Mr. E. Norris observes (Journ. Roy. As. Soc., vol. xv., p. 19): "I will here express my conviction that the sounds

the addition of new Greek and Latin words. The fact that many of the present inhabitants of the south of India are of Arian extraction affords, therefore, no reason for doubting that the primitive language of those provinces was entirely distinct from the Sanskrit, and that the population by whom that language was originally employed was totally unconnected with the Arian race. For even the existence of the limited proportion of non-Sanskrit words which we can discover (see above, p. 31, f.) in the Hindī, Mahrattī, and other northern dialects, seems sufficient to prove that there originally existed in northern India one or more races of non-Arian inhabitants who occupied the country before the immigration into Hindustan of the Sanskrit-speaking Āryas.

It now remains for me to inquire how this important fact that the great bulk of the population of the Dekhan is non-Arian in its descent, affects the results at which I had previously arrived, on the grounds set forth in the foregoing pages, in regard to the trans-Himalayan origin of the Arians, and their immigration into India from the north-west.

In the preceding chapter, we were led by a variety of considerations,

called cerebral are peculiar to the Tartar or Finnish class of languages; that the really Indian [i.e. the aboriginal, or non-Arian—J.M.] languages are all of Tartar origin, or, at least, that their phonetic and grammatical affinities are Tartar; and that the writers of Sanskrit adopted the sound from their Indian neighbours." And Professor Benfey says (Complete Sanskrit Grammar, p. 20): "The mute cerebrals have probably been introduced from the phonetic system of the Indian aborigines into Sanskrit, in which, however, they have become firmly established." And at p. 73 of the same work he thus writes: "Sanskrit is a language of great antiquity and of wide diffusion. Long after it had ceased to be vernacularly spoken, it continued to be employed as the organ of culture and religion, and in this capacity it prevailed over extensive regions where there existed alongside of it, not merely a variety of dialects which had been developed out of it, but also several popular dialects which were originally quite distinct from it. From these circumstances it has resulted, not only that forms which have been admitted into the Prakrit dialects have been afterwards adopted into Sanskrit, but further, that words which were originally quite foreign to the Sanskrit have been included in its vocabulary. To separate these foreign words will only become possible when an accurate knowledge of the dialects which have no affinity with Sanskrit shall have been attained. But it is almost as difficult to distinguish those irregular forms which have originated in the dialects derived from Sanskrit and have been afterwards received into Sanskrit, from those forms which have arisen in Sanskrit itself; because, on the one hand, Sanskrit literature and its history are as yet but little known, and on the other hand, those phonetic changes, which attained their full power in the Prakrits, had already begun to work in Sanskrit itself. See also above, p. 141, f.

all pointing to the same result, to conclude that the Āryas had penetrated into India from the north-west. The facts which have been substantiated in the foregoing sections of the present chapter are in perfect harmony with that conclusion. These facts are (1) that the Āryas, when living in the Panjāb, found themselves in conflict with a class of enemies whom, in contrast to the men of their own race, they called Dasyus: (2) that the Āryas, after occupying the north-west of India, from the Indus to the Sarasvatī, began, at length, to move forward to the east and to the south: (3) that, still later, they crossed the Vindhya range, and commenced to coloniże the Dekhan, which had been previously occupied exclusively by savage or alien tribes: and now we learn (4) that the nations who at the present day inhabit the different provinces of the Dekhan, and who (with the exception of such part of the population as is descended from the later Arian immigrants, or has received an infusion of Arian blood) are the direct descendants of the original tribes, — speak a class of languages which are radically distinct from the Sanskrit. It may be expedient, however, to show somewhat more in detail the manner in which these circumstances corroborate, or at least harmonize with, the theory that the Arians are not autochthonous, but of trans-Himalayan origin, and that they immigrated into Hindustan from the north-west. First, then, the fact that at the dawn of Indian history, the earliest Vedic period, we find the Arian Indians inhabiting the Panjāb; then advancing gradually eastward along the southern border of the Himālaya from the Sarasvatī to the Sadānīrā, and spreading simultaneously, no doubt, over the southern parts of Doab, and in Behar; and at length crossing the Vindhya mountains into the Dekhan;—affords the strongest presumption that they penetrated into India from some quarter closely adjoining the north-western corner of that country, which was the starting-point of their onward course of conquest and colonization. Secondly: the indubitable fact that the Arians found, on advancing into the Dekhan, a people speaking a language radically different from their own, who had been in earlier occupation of the country; and the almost equally certain fact that they had previously encountered similar alien tribes in the Panjāb and in the Doab, add to the probability of the conclusion that they (the Arians) could not have belonged to the race by whom India was originally peopled. For, we

must either suppose that both of these two races, the Arian and the non-Arian, grew up together in India, where we find them in contact from the earliest period, or that one or both of them have immigrated into that country from without. But it seems unlikely that two races whose languages differ so essentially, as those of the Arians and non-Arians do, and whose religions also were, no doubt, originally diverse, should have sprung up, and co-existed, in the same country, and under the same climatic influences. It is much more likely that one or both of them should have been foreign. The fact is that both have probably immigrated into India from the north-west;[151] but the evidence in favour of this supposition is far stronger in the case of the Arian, than in that of the non-Arian tribes. For, besides the proofs derived from the language of the Arians, which clearly connects them with the nations to the west of the Indus, we have the evidence of their complexion, which in the present day is fairer than that of the aborigines, and in earlier times was perhaps still more clearly distinguishable from the dark colour of the latter (see pp. 281, f., 310). But if neither of these two races was indigenous in India, and if they did not at first occupy any portion of that country contemporaneously with each other, which of them is most likely to have been the first possessor? We must, no doubt, conclude that the Dasyus or barbarous races and the Dravidians were the earliest occupants. For, as Lassen observes (see p. 309), we perceive evident traces of the Arians having severed asunder an earlier population, and driven one portion of it towards the northern and another towards the southern hills; and the inhabitants of the Vindhya range, and of the Dekhan, appear always as the weaker and retiring party who were driven back by the Arians. And we cannot ascribe to the non-Arian tribes the power of forcing themselves forward through the midst of an earlier Arian population to the seats which they eventually occupied in the centre and south of the peninsula: for the Arians were from the beginning a more powerful and civilized people than their adversaries, and from a very early period have held them in subjection. It is indeed objected by Mr. Curzon (see above, p. 301), that these rude so-called aboriginal tribes may have been descended from some of the barbaric hordes who under the name of Śakas, Hūṇas, etc., are

[151] In the App., note O, I shall quote the views of the Rev. Dr. Caldwell and other writers, regarding the origin and relations of the different non-Arian tribes.

mentioned by Sanskrit writers as having invaded India, and some of whom, after their defeat, may have taken refuge in the hills and forests of Hindustan. But I apprehend that this explanation will not meet the facts of the case. We can have no assurance, that such legends as that regarding the Sakas, which is quoted in the first volume of this work (pp. 486, ff.), even if they have any historical foundation, can be referred to any very remote period. For the time at which the Indo-Scythians, who were repelled by Vikramaditya, made themselves masters, and retained possession, of the western frontiers of India, cannot be placed much earlier than the commencement of the Christian era. (See Lassen's Ind. Antiq. vol. ii. 365, ff., 398, 408, 409.) But the traces which we discover in Indian literature of the existence of the Dasyus are (as we have seen from the various Vedic texts cited above) much older than this period.

In conclusion, I return to the point from which I started at the commencement of this volume; and, as the result of the preceding investigations, repeat the following propositions: First, that the Hindus of the superior castes are sprung at least partially from the same race with the Indo-European nations of the west: Secondly, that as the parent race appears to have had its origin in Central Asia, the ancestors of the Indian branch of it could not have been indigenous in Hindustan, but must have immigrated into that country from the north-west.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—*Page* 187, *last line.*

On this subject Professor H. Kern remarks in his recent dissertation, "Indische theorieën over de Standenverdeeling" (Indian Theories on the Division of Classes): "That mention is sometimes made [in the Zendavesta] of three, and at other times of four [classes], proves of itself nothing whatever. The case may once have stood on the same footing as the mention sometimes of three, sometimes of four, Vedas. Here also some have thought to discover a contradiction, and have drawn from it the most adventurous conclusions. When the Hindus speak of the three Vedas, they mean that there is a triple Veda, consisting (1) of recited verses (*rich*), (2) of verses sung (*sāman*) and (3) of formulas in prose (*yajush*), all the three words being comprehended under the name of "mantra." Altogether independent of the three sorts of mantras is the number of the collections of them. Though there were a hundred collections of mantras, the Veda is, and remains, threefold. It happens by accident that the Hindus possess four such collections (and in a certain sense, five), which usually bear the name of the Sanhitās of the Rigveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda (white and black), and Atharvaveda. This does not interfere with the fact that the Atharvaveda is almost entirely a Rigveda, though the larger collection is regarded as the Rigveda in the most eminent sense, whilst the Yajurveda only in part consists of yajush-verses. It does not need to be proved that we must know the principle on which any distribution proceeds before we can deduce any conclusion from numbers." p. 13, f.

NOTE B.—*Page* 191, *line* 22.

In his dissertation quoted in the preceding note, pp. 3, f., Professor Kern says of the Atharvaveda: "Sometimes it is difficult to guess what is meant by older and younger. For example, the Atharvaveda is said to be younger than the Rigveda: that has become a sort of article of faith, which some one uninitiated believer receives on the authority of critics; whilst another, again, copies with confidence what has been asserted by the former. Now about half the hymns in the Atharvaveda are, with the exception of an occasional *varietas lectionis*, the same as in the Rigveda, so that *the* Atharvaveda cannot be younger than the Rigveda. And it could only be asserted that the remaining portion of the A.V. is of later date, when grounds for this position, derived from language, versification, and style, etc., had been adduced. But, so far as I know, no one has ever even attempted to seek for such grounds. I will show, by a single example, that even in the remaining portion of the A.V. to which I have referred, somewhat may very well be found which, without the least doubt, was known to the Indians in the oldest Vedic period, and even still earlier, though the Rigveda makes no mention of it. In A.V. v. 22, 5, 7, 14, the Bahlīkas (or Balhikas) are named. As Balkh was conterminous with the most ancient abodes of the Arians in India, the Bahlīkas cannot possibly have been unknown to the oldest Indians. And yet we find in the Rigveda no traces of those neighbours with whom they were constantly coming into contact, whilst there are such traces in the Atharvaveda."

I am unable to agree with Professor Kern when he alleges that no one has ever attempted to seek for proofs of the posteriority of the A.V. to the R.V. from differences in language, versification, style, etc., between the two, although such proofs have not always been stated in detail. See the remarks quoted from Professor Whitney in p. 190, above. In his Dissertations on the Literature and History of the Veda, p. 12, Prof. Roth writes as follows: "In the pieces which are common to it (the A.V.), with the Rik, it allows itself a great many transpositions and alterations, which further appear to be in most cases of an arbitrary character. In the sections which are peculiar to it, the language approaches to the flowing mode of expression belonging to a later period, though it has the grammatical forms of the older hymns. Between it

and the Rik, there subsists, further, the peculiar relation that the latter too, towards the end (in the last anuvāka of the tenth maṇḍala), contains a considerable number of sections which bear completely the character of the Atharva-hymns, and are also actually reproduced in the latter. In addition to these general marks of a later origin of this Veda, we find also a number of special characters, of which I here adduce one: The hymns of the Rik celebrate in various ways the deliverances which Indra, the Aśvins, and other gods had vouchsafed to the forefathers. The names of the persons so rescued, however, lie beyond the times of the authors themselves, and a Vedic rishi is seldom found to be mentioned. But in the fourth book of the Atharva there occurs, for example, a hymn in which Mitra and Varuṇa are invoked so to protect the suppliant,—not as they had preserved, for instance, Dadhyach, Rebha, Pedu, and others, but Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha, Medhātithi, Purumīlha, etc., all these being names of men whom the tradition makes to be composers of hymns in the Rigveda. It thus appears to admit of no doubt that the Atharva has not only been collected later than the Rik, but is also of later origin."

In his Dissertation on the A.V.[1] pp. 22, ff., the same author writes: "If I have above designated the A.V. as a sort of supplement to the R.V., it is already implied that I regard this collection as later. But it would be a useless undertaking to try to determine its date even approximately, as our information regarding the dates of particular Indian writings is far too uncertain. For the rest, this Veda must, without hesitation, be reckoned as part of the old literature. I shall be able in another place to collect, in the form of a survey, the manifold proofs which may be drawn from the contents of the A.V., to establish the assertions that the greater part of its formulas and hymns are later than the hymns of the R.V., and that this collection has been made subsequently to the other. Here I will confine myself to the single, but quite certain proof, that derived from language.

"With a view to the preparation of the Sanskrit Lexicon, the words of all the Vedic Sanhitās have been completely collected by myself and my co-editor of the A.V., Mr. W. D. Whitney. I can, therefore, state, with tolerable exactness, the number of times that particular words occur in these different Sanhitās. Generally regarded, the

[1] Abhandlung über den Atharwaveda, Tübingen, 1856.

language of the A.V. shows itself to be the same which is peculiar to the other Vedas, and thus as very notably distinguished from the so-called classical, or more properly, common, Sanskrit. The A.V. also has very many peculiar Vedic forms, i.e. forms which belong to the old speech; and yet when an opportunity is afforded of comparing parallel passages of the R.V., there may not seldom be observed (*a*) the exchange of the old form for one which prevailed at a later period, e.g. of the absolutive *tvi* or *tvāya* for *tvā*, which alone was in common use at a later period: similarly, (*b*) a treatment of the hiatus in verse which shows how gradually the ancient usage ceases (see the Sanskrit Lexicon, *s.v. iva*). But the tendency towards the later linguistic usage is most of all visible from a lexical point of view" (*i.e.* that which regards not the forms of words, but the words themselves). "This is shown most strikingly in the use of many particles: just as Homer, who is so rich in these small words, is in this respect distinguished from later authors, so is the R.V. distinguished from later books, and already from the A.V. Thus, in those pieces which are peculiar to it, the latter has the particle *itthā* but once, whilst it occurs more than sixty times in the R.V. So, too, it employs the particle *it* much more rarely, whilst *im*, which is found about two hundred times in the R.V., is not used in it at all. On the other hand, the R.V. does not at all know the later form *evam*, but makes use of the older *eva*, whilst the A.V. has *evam* more than forty times, but (and here there may be a trace of a revision of the text) only from the eighth book onward.

"In the same way, certain main conceptions of the older language appear but seldom in the A.V. This case, it is true, is different from that of those particles. These small words may occur anywhere in a book, whatever its contents may be, provided only that it agrees in point of form with another book which is compared with it, which is the case here. Nouns and verbs, on the contrary, cannot occur with equal frequency in books of which the contents are different. Yet even here a comparison between the R.V. and A.V. may be instituted with an approach to correctness. "Ṛita," the fundamental conception in the religious system of the Vedas, could not certainly be so prominent in the A.V. as in the R.V.; yet it must surprise us that this word, with its compounds, is found so very seldom in the former, whilst it is met with more than three hundred times in the latter. So

too *ṛikvan*, which the R.V. has twenty times, is wanting in the A.V.; *ūti*, which is found in above a hundred places in the former, occurs in only six or seven texts of the latter. *Kāru*, which the R.V. has forty-five times, is met with only once in the A.V. So, too, the latter has *ukthya* only once, the former about forty times.

"The old much-employed word *ish* is met with very rarely in the A.V., and nearly always only in connexion with *ūrj*; *udan* but once; the adjective *riśhva* is used forty-eight times in the R.V. and only once in the A.V.; the old adverbial form *uruyā* is unknown to the A.V., whilst in the R.V. we find it perhaps twenty times. The denominative verb *urushyati*, which would have suited perfectly the class of conceptions prevalent in the A.V., is met with there only twice, whilst the R.V. has it thirty-four times. The ancient verb *kan*, which was afterwards entirely lost, is wanting also in the A.V., while we encounter it nearly forty times in the R.V. On the other hand, the A.V. is very liberal in its use of the verb *kalp*, which was so much applied in later times, whilst the R.V. has it only once in the first pine, i.e., the ancient, books; although in the tenth book it certainly uses it fourteen times. The word *indriya*, which occurs indeed very often in the R.V., but never in its later ordinary signification, of "sense," has the latter meaning in the A.V.: in the nineteenth book it is used for the five senses.

"These examples might be increased at pleasure. I have chosen them from the letters already worked out in the Lexicon, in order that an opportunity may be afforded of examining the proofs of them; and they will abundantly suffice for our purpose. It will be observed how the vocabulary of the A.V. approaches to that of the later period of language, of which, so far as we yet know, the Brāhmaṇas, the second class of Vedic books, are the earliest productions. But from this fact it must not be immediately concluded that the hymns preserved in the A.V. are all of them later than those of the R.V., but we must, at the same time, keep in view that in the case of those among them which perhaps date from as early a linguistic period, either revision, or daily usage, may have stripped off the antiquated words. For, according to my view, it is not to be denied that the A.V. contains many pieces which, both by their style of expression, and by their ideas, are shown to be contemporary with the older hymns of the R.V."

I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for the following further detailed proofs of the same point. In the parts of the A.V., which consist of entire hymns common to it and the R.V., there are found not only whole verses, but portions of verses and phrases, which have been borrowed from the R.V., and adapted to certain purposes different from those which they served in the original. That these verses, portions of verses, and phrases, have been taken from the R.V. by the A.V., and not *vice versâ*, from the latter by the former, is shown by the context in each case. It is further to be remarked, that several verses which occur not in the text of the R.V., but only in the Khilas or supplementary hymns of an evidently late character interpolated in it, are found in the A.V. Compare Prof. Müller's Preface to his Rigveda, vol. ii., p. xxxiv., and vol. iv., preface, pp. 13 and 19, lines 12, ff., from the bottom. The Rātrisūkta, one of these Khilas, [printed in the 4th volume of this work, p. 424], is partly found in the A.V. This does not preclude the possibility that a few hymns, especially the magical ones in books i.–ix. of the A.V., but no others, may be as old as certain hymns of the tenth maṇḍala and others of the R.V., which have been attached to the end of other maṇḍalas, such as i. 191, and the last two hymns of the second maṇḍala; or that some ideas of the A.V. may be as ancient as any in those parts of the R.V.

The Rigveda, though the oldest collection, does not necessarily contain everything that is of the greatest age in Indian thought or tradition. We know, for example, that certain legends bearing the impress of the highest antiquity, such as that of the Deluge, appear first in the Brāhmaṇas.

Descending to particulars, we find a great difference between the two Sanhitās.

i. *Religion.*

Do the religious ideas in the A.V. stand at the same point as in the R.V.? or is there a progress towards a systematization of religion; Do we find traces of a development of polytheism, or of an advance towards monotheism? Surely the latter.

1. Vishṇu. The A.V. contains no hymn addressed to this god. He is mentioned merely as one of the οἱ πολλοί, or as a *lokapāla* (guardian of one of the regions of the world), iii. 27, 5; xii. 3, 59.

2. Varuṇa. The A.V. has a hymn to this god, iv. 16, remarkable in some respects (which was employed as an oath to be taken by a witness),[2] but every line of it affords evidence of being copied from the R.V. There is also another hymn, no doubt based upon some old tradition, in which Varuṇa is represented as giving a cow to Atharvan, but apparently spun out with the view of intimating to the faithful that the magician (Atharva-priest) should be rewarded by a donation of cows. For the rest, Varuṇa is treated very much as Vishṇu.

3. Indra. No particular hymn is addressed to him; no feats, no enemies, of his are mentioned beyond such as are found in the Rigveda.

4. The same is the case in regard to Agni. And, further, he no longer appears as the ever youthful mediator between gods and men, but his fire has become formally divided into the Dakshiṇāgni, the Pūrvāgni, the Gārhapatya, etc.

From all this it is clear that the A.V. has no fresh hymns contemporary with older ones of the R.V. or exhibiting distinct and original features of the most ancient gods, but in so far as they are concerned, builds upon the materials supplied by the R.V., while it introduces new and more modern characteristics leading in the direction of, and ultimately developed into, the latter mythology. In fact, the principal gods of the R.V. have sunk down to the same level, which they occupy in the later epic poems, and a new god, Bhava-Śarva, has arrived at supremacy.

The A.V. has, however, besides the last-named Bhava and Śarva (xi. 2, 1, and elsewhere), who occur nowhere in the R.V., its peculiar gods, not such as the bright elementary powers of the R.V., but serpents,[3] sprung from fire, from plants, from the waters, from lightning (*tebhyaḥ sarpebhyo namasā vidhema* | "Let us with reverence worship these serpents"), x. 4, 23; viii. 8, 15; viii. 10, 29 (where Takshaka is mentioned), etc.; and it has hymns to Night, xix. 47–50;[4] and

[2] In the actual application, in particular cases, of the formula in verse 9, *tais tvā sarvair abhi shyāmi pāśair asāv āmushyāyaṇa amushyāḥ putra*, "with all these bonds I bind thee, so and so, son of such and such a man, and of such and such a woman," the real name of the person was substituted for the words *āmushyāyaṇa*, and a definite purpose in the verse is thus evident. Comp. A.V. x. 5, 36, 44; xvi. 7, 8; xvi. 8, 1.

[3] The R.V. has *sarpa*, "serpent," only once, x. 16, 6.

[4] It is true that we have the same in R.V. x. 127; but in the A.V. the adoration is more decided.

pays worship to cows, xii. 4 and 5. On the other hand, the A.V. shows a progress towards monotheism in its celebration of Brahman, Brahma jyeshṭham, Skambha (see the 5th volume of this work, pp. 378, ff.); and has hymns to Kāla and Kāma, divinities unknown to the R.V. (See vol. v., pp. 402, ff.)

ii. *Poetry, Imagination.*

Of poetical sentiment, or imagination (such, for example, as breathes in the beautiful hymns to Ushas in the R.V.), the A.V. has next to nothing. The reader feels himself in a dark suffocating atmosphere, surrounded by domineering priests, who would sternly repress any flights of levity.

iii. *Ritual.*

The development in this department becomes clearer and clearer. Compare terms such as *agnishṭoma*, *anuvāka*, *prayāja*, *anuyāja*,[5] (i. 30, 4), *mahānāmnī*, *mahāvrata*, *rājasūya*, *vājapeya*, *agnihotra*, *ekarātra*, *dvirātra*, *chatūrātra*, *pancharātra*, etc. (x. 7, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11): see also xix. 22 and 23. In xiii. 3, 6, the three words of the sacrifice (*yajnasya trayo 'ksharāḥ*), meaning, it is to be supposed, such directions as *yakshat*, *vashaṭ*, *svāhā*, are mentioned. The whole 20th book is compiled for certain definite sacrificial purposes, which are very minutely stated in the A.V. Sūtras.

iv. *Speculation.*

In the A.V. we encounter the terms (*a*) *nāma* and *rūpa*, "name," and "form," which occur so constantly in the Brāhmaṇas and Vedantic literature; (*b*) *pīlumatī dyauḥ*, "a heaven formed of atoms," (xviii. 2, 48); (*c*) *kshiti* and *akshiti*, "transitoriness," and "eternity" (xi. 7, 25); (*d*) the three *guṇās*, x. 8, 43 (comp. viii. 2, 1, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 309, note 468, and 377, note 562); (*e*) the conception of sleep as being neither life nor death, vi. 46, 1, which is of a modern character.

v. *Language.*

A few points of difference in this respect between the R.V. and the A.V. may be mentioned, to which a multitude of others could easily be added. The root *kṛi* has in the R.V. only the form *kṛiṇoti*, and *kuru* occurs only in x. 145, 2. The A.V. has *kṛiṇoti*, but *karoti* quite as

[5] These two terms occur also in R.V. x. 51, 8, f.

often. The R.V. uses the root *sas*, and not so commonly *svap*, for "to sleep." The A.V. has *sas* only once, iv. 1, 6, and in verses that are borrowed from the R.V. it substitutes *svap*, e.g. iv. 5, 5, 6. The R.V. has only the form *dyut*, "to shine;" the A.V. has this, but also *jyut*, "to shine," vii. 16, 1; iv. 37, 10. The R.V. has never *tadā* for "then," and *tadānīṁ* only in x. 129, 1 (this being one of the points insisted upon for proving the comparatively modern origin of the hymn), while the A.V. has both forms. The use of *tva . . . tva*, "the one . . . the other," is common in R.V., whilst the A.V. has the phrase only once; viii. 9, 9, and there only in what appears to be an imitation of R.V. x. 71, 7, 8. *Divākara*, "the sun," in A.V. iv. 10, 5; xiii. 2, 34, is a word which has quite a modern sound. *Na*, in the sense of "like," "as," disappears in the A.V. gradually, as also the particle *it*, both so very common in the R.V. *Dṛiś*, "to see," of which in the R.V. we have the forms *dṛiśeyam*, *darśam*, *dṛiśan*, *adṛiśran*, *dṛiśāna*, never appears in the A.V., except, as in later Sanskrit, in the perf., etc.; for *jyog eva dṛiśema sūryam*, in i. 31, 4, is an imitation of R.V. i. 24, 1, 2, etc., etc.

vi. *Miscellaneous terms indicating a more modern stage.*

Dvīpin, "a leopard," occurs in iv. 8, 7; vi. 38, 2; xix. 49, 4. (The animal comes from the *dvīpa*, "island," perhaps Ceylon). *Śyāmaṁ lohitam ayas*, "real (black) iron and brass," xi. 3, 7. *Imāni panchendriyāṇi manaḥshashṭhāni*, "these five senses and the mind, *manas*, a sixth." Names of seasons: *grīshma* (R.V. only in the Purusha-sūkta). *Kali*, one of the dice, vii. 109, 1. *Āchārya*, *brahmachārin*,[6] xi. 5, 1. A *Śrotriya* (a priest who has studied the Veda) can alone be a guest, ix. 6, 37. *Dhana*, which in the R.V., especially in old hymns, has the sense of "prize," appears in the A.V. chiefly (only rarely meaning "a stake,") in its later sense of property, wealth, money. The form *dharma* occurs in the A.V. xi. 7, 17; xii. 5, 7; xviii. 3, 1. In R.V. the word appears only in the form *dharman*. *Naga*, "mountain," is found in xix. 8, 1; it signifies "not going," and is a perfectly modern word, as modern as *namura*, xiii. 4, 46, "immortality," for the older *amṛita*. *Puṇḍarīkaṁ navadvāram*, i.e. the body "with the nine openings," x. 8, 43. *Nārakaṁ lokam*, "hell," occurs, xii. 4, 36, whilst there is nothing of the

[6] Brahmachārin occurs also in R.V. x. 109, 5.

kind in the R.V. *Panchāṅguri* (the five-fingered) "man," is modern. *Parameshṭhin*, of a supreme deity (often with *Prajāpati*, iv. 11, 7; viii. 5, 10; ix. 3, 11; or different from him, viii. 7, 1), very frequently occurring, is not found a single time in the R.V. *Paś*, "to see," has, in the R.V., often its oldest form *spaś*, but never in A.V. except in three passages that are taken from the R.V. *Paśupati*, applied to Bhava, e.g. xi. 2, 28; xi. 6, 9; xv. 5, 3, never occurs in the R.V. *Māgadha*, "a bard," xv. 2, 1–4, as in later times.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that the very fact that the A.V. mentions countries like Magadha, Anga, Bahika, v. 22, is a proof that it was composed at a time when the geographical knowledge of the Hindus had become enlarged. Strabo knew more of the world than Herodotus; therefore he was later.

On this subject, a learned correspondent writes: "No one will affirm that every single piece in the A.V. is more recent than every part of the R.V. But every one must see that the great bulk of the R.V. is of a much older character than the bulk of the A.V.; and that the collection of the pieces making up the latter is later than in the case of the R.V. It follows from this, that any one who seeks to represent any part of the A.V. as older than any part of the R.V., must prove this as the exception, and cannot be allowed to throw on his opponent the burden of establishing the contrary. For the rest, it will not aid us much to propound such general rules. In every individual given case, a sufficient number of material proofs will be found to relieve us from such general discussions."

Remarks on Professor Kern's conclusion regarding the antiquity of castes.

The present volume does not treat of caste; but as that is the subject of my first volume, it appears necessary that I should take this opportunity of adverting to Professor Kern's opinions on the antiquity of that institution, as set forth in the dissertation above quoted, which was read before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam on the 13th of March, 1871. First of all I must briefly state the author's positions, and the grounds on which he bases them. He refers, first (p. 6) to the fact that the four castes or classes (Standen) are mentioned in the Purusha-sūkta, which, however, some scholars

regard as one of the most recent in the collection of the Rigveda, whilst others maintain the exact contrary. Neither party, he considers, have proved their assertions. He himself regards the antiquity of the hymn as a matter of indifference, not in itself, but in its bearing upon the question of the antiquity of classes. After quoting and explaining the hymn, he proceeds (p. 8): "We may confidently ask whether the expressions it contains either in themselves, or in connexion with the whole, furnish the least ground even for guessing that the poet intended to register, or to recommend, a new institution? In truth, if anything is plain in the whole poem, it is this, that in the estimation of the author, the division into classes was as old as the sun and moon, as Indra and Agni, as the horse and the cow, in short, as old as the creation. Before such a symbolical theory could arise, all remembrance of the historical origin of classes must have been lost. How is this affected by the question whether the Purusha-sūkta is the latest, or the earliest, hymn in the Rigveda?"

He adds (p. 8): "We are ignorant how long a period intervened between the institution of classes and the composition of the hymn. As little is it shown by the quotation whether all the legal prescriptions regarding the classes were then applied, or even existed theoretically; and we are also left in uncertainty whether, besides the four principal divisions, the intermediate classes also were recognized. But we must of necessity conclude that classes were hereditary, because the once effected division of Purusha is represented as something permanent." Dr. Kern goes on to remark (p. 9) that we must not expect to derive from the hymns a complete picture of the contemporaneous Indian institutions; or persuade ourselves that our conjectures founded on their scanty data possess the certainty of established facts. He had previously said in p. 3, that the argumentum a silentio has been sometimes abused in treating of geographical questions affecting the Vedic Indians.

Secondly, Professor Kern inquires (pp. 9, ff.) whether we find in the Zend Avesta any reference to the existence of the same classes as we meet with in India, as he considers that such reference would afford probable proof of the existence of this division into classes before the separation of the Perso-Arians and the Indo-Arians. This question he answers in the affirmative. He finds that in Yaśna xix.

46, four classes are mentioned: Āthrava, Rathaeshtāo, Vāśtriya-fshuyañṭ, and Hūiti [words which are rendered in Neriosengh's Sanskrit translation by ācārya, kshatriya, kuṭumbin, and prakṛitikarman, i.e. "religious teacher, kshatriya, householder (or peasant), and workman."] On this he remarks, p. 11, "It is thus established that according to the Zend Avesta the first class (pishtra) consists of teachers or priests, of Brāhmans, the second of Knights, Kshatriyas, exactly as in India. Consequently a division of the nobility into Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and the precedence of the former over all the classes, is not the work of the Indian Brahmans." In like manner, Professor Kern considers (p. 11) that the third class, Vāśtriya fshuyañṭ, corresponds to the Indian Vaiśya, being composed of the same elements; and that both designations are very ancient; and further (p. 12) that the fourth class, Hūiti, is that of workmen, servants, and petty traders, and answers to that of the Śūdras. The word pishtra (which Professor Spiegel renders by "trade") Professor Kern regards (p. 13) as probably synonymous with varṇa, the Sanskrit word for caste; and adds: "If we observe that a few lines above the passage which has been cited, it is said, Yaśna xix. 44; 'This word [command] which Ahura Mazda [the creator] has spoken embraces four classes [pishtra],' I think we may assert that there is an unmistakable correspondence in the manner in which the sacred books of the Iranians and of the Indians speak of the institution of classes, although here, as in every other case, the Hindu expresses himself in much more metaphorical language than his kinsman in Iran."

Prof. Kern then proceeds (p. 13) to combat the opinion expressed in a note on the passage by Prof. Spiegel, which I quote at length: "Four trades are known only to the later Iranian State. Older pieces of the Yaśna (comp. xiv. 5, ff.), as of the Vendidad, unequivocally recognize only three. The word by which the fourth class is here designated (Hūiti) is an entirely peculiar one, and does not occur elsewhere. There is no ground for assuming that the remark respecting the fourth class is here interpolated; and consequently the piece before us is shown to be a tolerably late one." Professor Kern demurs to this assertion without proof. He adds that nothing is proved by the circumstance that in some places four, in others only three classes are mentioned; as (p. 14) the three classes referred to in Yaśna xiv. 9,

teachers, knights, and peasants, are spoken of as "the greatest powers of the Mazdayasnian faith;" and that even in India, when reference is made to fellowship in religious worship, the three superior classes alone are mentioned. The same may have been the case in Bactria. Prof. Kern also remarks that four classes are referred to in Vendidad xiii. 125, the fourth being denoted by the word "vaeśu," rendered by Professor Spiegel, "villager." On the preceding grounds Professor Kern maintains that the fourfold division of classes is older than the most ancient Indian documents.

In a communication with which he has favoured me, Prof. Kern maintains that among all Indo-Germanic nations, classes were hereditary at the time when these nations appeared on the stage of history. It is, he says, a novelty to him to learn that anywhere amongst the Indo-Germans of yore, the classes could intermarry without any limit. The Bactrians, it appears to him, were the most exclusive of all the Indo-Germans in their notions about intermarriage, for the Magi of old, and the Parsis of modern times, proceed to such lengths in their apprehension of intermingling pure with impure blood, that they esteem marriages between the nearest relatives to be meritorious. However that may be, he asks (after referring to the Iranian subdivision of classes as above specified), whether the bare facts of the case such as we know them at present, lead to the conclusion that it was only in India that the Brāhmans acquired or usurped a supremacy which did not belong to them before they came to India? This question he finds himself obliged to answer in the negative. The further question, how far the four castes as a legal institution were common to all the Arian nations? Professor Kern leaves undecided, only drawing attention to the fact that hereditary classes with prescriptions regarding marriage, etc., among all the Indo-Germans, deviate less from the character of the existing Hindu castes in proportion as we extend our view further back into the history of the past.

A learned friend has favoured me with some remarks on Dr. Kern's dissertation, of which I will give the substance, with some additions of my own.

The decisive objection against these assertions is, that if castes had existed from the earliest times, they must have been everywhere mentioned in the oldest Indian records. Just as the later books are full of

allusions to them usque ad nauseum, so must in that case the ancient texts also have constantly referred to them. But now the Purusha-sūkta alone takes notice of them. This is strange. Professor Kern considers that the argumentum a silentio may be abused, but in this case its application seems to be perfectly legitimate. For the rest, it should not be necessary to prove to a Sanskrit scholar that this hymn is not old. Does it not read as much like a set of verses from the Mahābhārata as like one of the older hymns?[7] If that be not admitted, and special proofs be required, it is sufficient to draw attention to the fact that the words "vaiśya," "śūdra," "pṛishadājya," "sādhya" (v. 7), occur only in this hymn (verse 16 is here, as also in R.V. i. 164, 50, evidently a subsequent addition); and that in v. 14, we have "loka" not "u loka" (see the St. Petersburg Lexicon, *s.v.*)

Professor Kern urges that in the estimation of the author of the Purusha-sūkta castes are as old as the sun and moon. True; but what does that prove? Is not in India everything as old? Did not the first man compose the well-known institutes of law?

Professor Kern says (p. 10) that the same classes are found among all kinds of nations. This tells more against, than for, him. In these cases it is natural classes, and not unnatural castes, that we find. And if the writer had made this distinction clear to himself, and had sought in his texts for the characteristics of each, he would have seen that there were no grounds for the assertion he has made. For we all know that wherever human society has attained to a settled order, it has become divided into classes; and that privileged orders have everywhere existed. But the transformation of classes into castes is peculiar to India (even in Egypt there were no castes in a strict sense). But this transformation did not cause itself. Did, for instance, the Vaiśya impose on himself the restriction that he was not to

[7] This does not of course mean that the Purusha-sūkta is contemporaneous with the Mahābhārata; and is not in some respects of a more archaic character than even the oldest parts of the latter. The rules of Sandhi, which were in force at the time when the Mahābhārata was composed, are not observed in the Purusha-sūkta (see above p. 161, end of note 181); and neuter plural forms like *viśvā* in verse 3 of the latter are no longer used in the former. In the opinion of my correspondent, the tenth maṇḍala of the R.V. is properly a gleaning of hymns supplementary to the preceding books, and contains compositions in regard to the authorship of which no tradition had been preserved. That such a "gleaning" should contain comparatively recent poems need occasion no surprise.

learn, and to practise, the functions of a priest, not to marry the daughter of a Brāhman, etc.? All this necessarily arose from a legislation which from small beginnings was continually pushing its inroads further and further; that is, it took place artificially. With this process should be compared the privileges which the Romish Church has partly striven after, and partly attained, for its Brāhmans. And who but the Brāhmans themselves were the authors of this legislation?

"The great point, I repeat, is to distinguish between the natural classes or orders, and castes, which cannot have arisen naturally, but are artificial.

"The solution of the question at issue cannot turn on the degree of strictness with which the classes were separated from each other. We have long been acquainted with the fact that classes and races—like nations—were everywhere far more rudely held asunder in ancient than in modern times. It is thus perfectly natural that marriages between persons of different classes were also rare. Let it be recollected what a gulf divided the patricians and plebeians in Rome. Hence the greatest weight is to be attached to an exact definition of the conception of caste. I believe it may be asserted that it is only in India that the conclusions resulting from this conception have been completely drawn, by regarding each caste as a description of men sui generis, as a separate divine creation.

"I am not aware on what evidence Professor Kern founds his opinion that the Bactrians were the most exclusive of all the Indo-Germans in regard to intermarriage. On this subject I would draw attention to the passage of Herodotus, iii. 31, where the marriage of Cambyses with his sister is spoken of at length. What the later Iranian books say of the so-called Khetudas can prove nothing in regard to ancient times. The Avesta gives, so far as I understand of it, no sort of prescription about the marriage of relatives; and the counsellors of Cambyses said to him quite correctly *νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν, ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν ἀδελφεόν*. We must first be told what the word qaêtvadatha (see Justi's Lexicon, p. 86), in the few passages of the Avesta where it occurs, actually signifies. Justi himself understands it as meaning marriage between relatives only in one place. And even that has yet to be proved. The word qaêtu (hvaêtu),—or as it would be more correct, (namely on the ground of

the metre, which everywhere reckons hv [=q] as a syllable; e.g. qâthra [hvâthra] as trisyllabic = huâthra) to write it,—haêtu, means only relationship (and is in the Gāthās always bisyllabic). Any one who wishes to combine with that the idea of marriage, must prove his point. In Spiegel too, I find no example from the old books. In fact, he says in his Introduction to vol. ii. of his translation, p. xxvi., that 'everything relating to marriage appears to date from a very recent period.'

The explanations of the few Avesta passages which Professor Kern adduces are not of importance in their bearing on the main question. Ordinarily, in fact, it is only the three natural classes, Āthrava, Rathesta, and Vāstrya (cattle-farmer), that are mentioned. Though in two passages a "hūiti" or "vaeśa" is added to these, that, too, is only a class. Professor Kern explains "vaeśa" rightly. In the Veda also "veśa" denotes a dependent settler, perhaps an inhabitant, one belonging to somebody, and so a servant. The interpretation of hūiti as a "proletary" does not appear to be in conformity with the conceptions of that period. If it is to have such a signification, why does he not rather derive it from "hu" = "sū" (compare "prasūta," and other forms which frequently occur in the ancient language), which means to command, direct?

I may, in addition to the above remarks, draw attention to the fact, that if the Indian and Iranian classes had a common and simultaneous origin, it is singular that there should be no trace of any similarity in the names by which these classes were permanently denoted, although the Zend and the Sanskrit exhibit so close an affinity in so large a portion of their vocabulary.

It is true that two of the words are common to both languages, as "āthrava" (crude form "atharvan") corresponds to the Sanskrit "atharvan"; while the Zend "rathaēstāo" answers nearly to the Sanskrit "ratheshṭhā." The former word, "atharvan," is thus explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon: "(*a*) The fire and soma priest, R.V. ix. 11, 2; viii. 9, 7 (here Agni is the priest); V.S. viii. 56 (Soma is his own priest); R.V. vi. 47, 24; x. 48, 2; a brāhman, Medinīkosha, n. 164; (*b*) Atharvan personified is the first priest, in an undefined antiquity, who calls down fire from heaven, offers soma, and presents prayers, R.V. vi. 16, 13; vi. 15, 17; x. 21, 5; i. 80, 16; x. 92, 10;

i. 83, 5; A.V. xviii. 3, 54. With miraculous powers he overcomes the demons, and receives from the gods celestial gifts, R.V. x. 87, 12, etc." In Prof. Wilson's Dictionary the word is explained as signifying a brāhman. Prof. Goldstücker, *s.v.* interprets it as "(1) A brāhmaṇa, a priest, probably one connected with offerings to fire, or the attendance on the holy fire. (2) The proper name of a priest who is considered to have obtained fire from heaven," etc., etc. The word is perpetuated in the name of the Atharvaveda (which also bears the name of the "Atharvāngirasas," the hymns or incantations of the Atharvans and of the Angirases, who were another set of ancient sages, or priests). But although we should admit, on the authority of the Medinīkosha, that "atharvan" is a synonym of brāhmana, it cannot be said to have obtained much currency in Sanskrit in this sense, and cannot even be regarded as a generic name for priest. The passages of the R.V. given by Roth (see above), in which it is not employed as a proper name, are the following: ix. 11. 2 (=S.V. ii. 2): *Abhi te madhunā payo atharvāṇo aśiśrayuḥ | devaṁ devāya devayu* | "The atharvans have mingled milk with thy sweet liquor, [milk which is] divine, and devoted to [thee, soma], who art divine." viii. 9, 7: *Ā somam madhumattamaṁ gharmaṁ sinchād atharvaṇi* | "Let him (the ṛishi) pour the sweet soma, the heated potion, into the priest." By the priest is meant Agni, according to Professor Roth. Sāyaṇa explains the word *atharvaṇi* as = *ahiṁsake 'gnau | yadvā 'tharvā ṛishiḥ | tena nirmathito 'gnir upachārād "atharvā" ity uchyate* | "Into the innoxious fire; or, Atharvan was a ṛishi: the fire rubbed forth by him is by a figure called 'atharvan.'" Vāj. S. viii. 56: *Atharvā upāvahriyamāṇaḥ* | "It (soma) becomes 'atharvan' when being brought." Here, Professor Roth says Soma is his own priest. (The commentator's note is as follows: *Kaṇḍanārtham upāvahriyamaṇaḥ ānīyamānaḥ somo 'tharva-nāmako bhavati.*) R.V. vi. 47, 24: *Daśa rathān prashṭimataḥ śatam gāḥ atharvabhyaḥ | Aśvathaḥ Pāyave adāt* | 'Aśvatha has given ten chariots with their horses, and a hundred cows, to the priests, to Pāyu." Sāyaṇa explains *atharvabhyaḥ* as = *atharva-gotrebhyaḥ ṛishibhyaḥ* | "Ṛishis of the family of Atharvan." R.V. x. 48, 2: *Aham Indro rodho vaksho Atharvaṇaḥ* | "I, Indra, am the protecting armour, and strength, of Atharvan [or, of the priest]." Roth, *s.v. vakshaḥ*, seems to take Atharvan in this text for a proper name. The word employed in the

Veda for priest was at first "brahman," and subsequently "brāhmaṇa," the son of a "brahman." See the first vol. of this work, pp. 242, ff. If "atharvan" had been the name of a caste in the Indian sense from a period preceding the separation of the Indo- and Perso-Arians, it could scarcely have been dropped by the former, or made way for "brahman" and "brāhmaṇa."

The crude form of "rathaēstāo," as given in Justi's Dictionary, is "raṯhaēstar," whilst the Sanskrit form is "ratheshṭhā." The words thus differ somewhat in form. In all the passages of the Rig-veda, cited in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, "ratheshṭhā" appears to be an epithet of Indra, "riding in a chariot." The only other text cited in the Lexicon, viz. Vāj. S. 22, 22, is as follows: *Ā brahman brāhmaṇo brahmavarchasī jāyatām | ā rāshṭre rājanyo śūraḥ ishavyo 'tivyādhī mahāratho jāyatām | dogdhrī dhenuḥ | voḍhā 'naḍvān | āśuḥ saptiḥ | purandhir yoshā | jishṇuḥ ratheshṭhāḥ sabheyo yuvā ā'sya yajamānasya jāyatām |* "O priest, may a brāhman be born possessed of the lustre of sacred learning. May a rājanya be born in the kingdom, heroic, a piercing archer, riding on a great chariot ('mahāratha'). May a cow yielding milk, an ox fit to carry a load, a swift horse, a wise woman, a victorious rider in a chariot ('ratheshṭhā,' a polite youth, be born to this sacrificer." Here it will be observed that the word "ratheshṭhā" is not one of the epithets applied to the Rājanya in the early part of the sentence; and although where it is separately introduced afterwards, it probably denotes a person of the warrior class, yet it is evidently not the appellation of a caste, but a synonym for a fighting man. The word does not seem to be known to later Sanskrit; at least, no instance of its occurrence there is adduced by Böhtlingk and Roth, and it does not appear at all in Wilson's Dictionary.

In the first volume of this work, pp. 11, 14, f., 292, ff., the views of Prof. Haug, on the antiquity of caste, as explained in his tract on the "Origin of Brahmanism" (published at Poona, in 1863), have been stated. Dr. Haug returns to the subject in a dissertation ("Brahma und die Brahmanen") read before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, on the 28th March, 1871, in which he maintains, with some modifications, the conclusions at which he had before arrived. Thus, in p. 13, he states—

(*a*) regarding the Puruṣa-sūkta: "In any case it proves that the

caste-system in India is very ancient, and existed already in the Vedic age. Some have sought to disprove its existence at that period, on the ground that, excepting this one, the old hymns contain no distinct reference to it. The hymn itself they assign to the very end of the Vedic era. In its present form, it is true, it is not older than the greater part of the hymns of the tenth book, and than those of the Atharvaveda. But the ideas which it contains are certainly of a primeval antiquity: in particular, the descriptive portion of it looks like a versified sacrificial formula. And in fact the hymn is found in the Yajurveda among the formulas connected with human sacrifices, which were formerly practised in India.

(*b*) "But even if it were to be admitted that this hymn, with its ideas, is but a very recent product of the Vedic age, that would afford no sufficient proof that castes did not exist at all in the earliest period of the Arian immigration into India. As we have seen above, p. 9, the Brāhman already appears [R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., and i. 108, 7] in contrast to the Rājan, i.e. a member of the warrior caste (they are frequently called Rājanyas instead of Kshatriyas),—a circumstance which plainly points to a distinction of castes.

(*c*) "Besides, it is scarcely conceivable that the caste-system, to which reference is made in all the four Vedas, sometimes more frequently, sometimes more rarely, should have been suddenly formed in the later Vedic period.

(*d*) "The reason why the names of the castes are not mentioned in those hymns of the Rigveda which, rightly or wrongly (for a thorough investigation of this point with certain results is as yet wanting), are regarded as the oldest, may be a different one," [i.e. the reason why the castes are not there mentioned need not be that these castes did not then exist]. "The fact, namely, must not be overlooked, that by far the greater part of the Vedic hymns were composed for sacrificial purposes, and partly for quite definite ceremonies, are often merely the poetical variations of primeval sacrificial formulas, and further that the most of them are the compositions of Brāhmans. As the ceremonial is not prescribed in the hymns, where almost everything turns upon the invocation of the most diverse gods, no opportunity was offered to make special mention of the castes. The sacrificers, i.e. those who caused the sacrifice to be offered (yajamānās), are called 'givers' in

general, also 'the rich,' (maghavan) without any mention of their caste. . . . . Now as there were no hymns or sacrificial formulas composed specially for Brāhmans, or Kshatriyas, or Vaiśyas,—as there actually have been for the ceremonies of the Śūdras, who are not allowed to hear verses of the Veda,—the Vedic poets had no opportunity to mention the castes in their hymns. Consequently the fact that the names of the individual castes do not appear there does not by any means prove their non-existence. This conclusion was in any case premature."

(*e*) "Besides the grounds already assigned, a further positive proof can be adduced that castes actually existed already in the most ancient period. In the religious records of the Iranians, who are so nearly allied [to the Indians], in the Zendavesta, the four castes are quite plainly to be found, only under other names, (1) Athrava, 'priest,' (Skr. Atharvan), (2) Rathaēstāo, 'warrior,' (3) Vāstriyo fshuyās, 'cultivator,' (4) Hūitis (Pehl. hutokhsh), 'workman' (Yasna 19, 17, Westerg.) No further data regarding the mutual relations of these castes are contained in the Zend writings; but we can conclude, from various circumstances, that the priests, the Athravas, already formed a caste. So, for example, Zarathustra is forbidden by Ahuramazda to communicate a sacred text to any one else but an Athrava, i.e. priest (Yasht 14, 46, West.)." [See Spiegel's Avesta, iii. 148.] "No one but the son of a priest may be a priest, and the daughters of members of the priestly caste may only be given in marriage within the caste,—a custom which continues to this day. The distinction of the other castes has, however, become obliterated among the Zoroastrians, just in the same way as, among the Hindus, the Brāhman caste alone has on the whole been maintained pure, though split up into innumerable subdivisions, whilst the other three castes have become dissolved into a great number of mixed castes, so that at the present day, properly speaking, four castes only exist in theory, but not in reality. This circumstance, now, that a remnant of the caste-system has still been preserved among the Zoroastrians, speaks strongly in favour of the assumption that that institution already existed among the Indians in the remotest times, in any case ever since their immigration into India. How close the connexion between the old Indians and the Iranians must have remained, even in the Vedic period, is shown by a distinct

allusion which I have lately discovered in the Zendavesta to the initial verse of the Atharvaveda."

(*f*) In an earlier part of his Dissertation (p. 8, f.), Prof. Haug, after explaining that in the Vedic age Kshatriyas as well as Brāhmans could take part in the performance of sacrifice, and were in some cases composers of Ṛik verses; and that even Kavasha Ailūsha, the son of a slave, was the author of a hymn (see above, p. 397, f., note 85), adds: "Notwithstanding that the Brāhmâns in the Vedic age occasionally accorded to distinguished men of other classes a participation in the privileges they claimed, they nevertheless appear, even in the most remote period, to have formed a caste distinguished from the other classes, and already tolerably exclusive, into which no one who was not born in it could, without great difficulty, obtain an entrance." He then quotes the text R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., and refers to and compares i. 108, 7.

I add a few remarks on some portions of Prof. Haug's argument.

(*a*) In regard to the Purusha-sūkta, I refer to what has been said above, in the first volume of this work, p. 11. Prof. Haug now states his opinion that the ideas of the hymn are very old, but not its diction.

(*b*) See the first volume of this work, pp. 246, and 247, note 15 in the latter page, and p. 263, f., also Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* "kshatra." Does not Prof. Haug found too much on the passages to which he refers (R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., and i. 108, 7)? See, however, the verse of Manu, iii. 13, quoted below, where the word "rājan" is employed for Rājanya. In R.V. iv. 50, 8, f., the word seems evidently to denote a "king." In R.V. i. 108, 7, however, it may mean a man of the ruling tribe or class. Comp. Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* "rājan."

(*c*) The Vedic period was of considerable duration. Professor Haug himself estimates the period during which "the bulk of the Sanhitā" was composed to have been from 1400—2000 before our era, and thinks "the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that we would fix the very commencement of Vedic literature between 2400 and 2000." Ait. Br. i. 47, f. The entire Vedic period would thus be a thousand years, which however, is, perhaps, too large an estimate.

(*d*) The reasons here assigned in explanation of the non-occurrence

in the hymns of other references to the castes, supposing them to have then existed, and to have borne the same names as afterwards, seem scarcely sufficient. The hymns do not appear to be so exclusively sacrificial in their character as is here assumed; and might in many passages have admitted of allusions to the existence of castes.

(*e*) The observations already made upon Professor Kern's Dissertation are applicable here.

(*f*) In reference to these remarks, see the first volume of this work, p. 265, ff. Prof. Kern, in his Dissertation, p. 18, cites a passage from the Mahābhārata, xiii. 2505, ff., in regard to the intermarriages of Brāhmans with the other two next classes, one verse of which (2515) is to the following effect: *Abrāhmaṇaṁ tu manyante Śūdrā-putram anaipuṇāt | trishu varṇeshu jāto hi brāhmaṇād brāhmaṇo bhavet |* "They regard from want of skill as not a Brāhman the son of a Śūdrā woman [by a Brāhman father]. A son begotten by a Brāhman in the three castes [i.e. on a woman of either of the upper three classes] will be a Brāhman." And Manu says, iii. 13, *Śūdraiva bhāryā Śūdrasya sā cha svā cha viśah smṛite | te cha svā chaiva rājnaś cha tāś cha svā ch' āgrajanmanaḥ |* "A Śūdrā female only can be the wife of a Śūdra. She and a woman of his own caste may be the wives of a Viś, i.e. Vaiśya. These two and a woman of his own caste may be the wives of a Rājan, i.e. Rājanya; these three and a woman of his own caste may be the wives of a Brāhman." From these texts it would appear that purity of caste blood was not much regarded among the Hindus in early ages.

NOTE C.—*Page* 258.

"The conformities [between the languages of the same family] are astonishing; and especially so, because they enter into the minutest details, and even into the anomalies. It is a curious phenomenon to discover such an inconceivable tenacity in idioms which might appear to be nothing more than passing caprices. The most volatile portion of languages, I mean their pronunciation, has evinced its stability: in the midst of mutations of letters, which are, nevertheless, subject to certain rules, vowels, long or short, have often preserved their quantity." "On the other hand, the disparity is great: the distances which

the languages have traversed in their individual development are immense. After we have exhausted all the analogies, even the most secret, there remains in each of these languages a portion which is no longer susceptible of comparison with the other languages of the same family. We must therefore admit as the causes of that partial incommensurableness, two opposite principles, viz., oblivion and invention. The oblivion of forms and words formerly in use is but too manifest in the languages with whose history we are most intimately acquainted; and it has frequently injured their richness and beauty. Such oblivion must always follow a retrograde movement in civilization: in proportion as the intellectual sphere is contracted, a generation which has relapsed into ignorance and barbarism, abandons expressions which have now become superfluous. And as regards invention, I find no difficulty in that either, since in order to comprehend the absolute origin of language, we have no choice between having recourse to a miracle, and conceding to mankind an instinctive power of inventing language."—A. W. von Schlegel, de l'origine des Hindous, Essais; and in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, vol. ii. p. 433.

NOTE D.—*Page* 277.

Mr. Geldart argues the question both from a negative and a positive point of view. Under the first head, he remarks that "language is too uncertain an ethnological test to be of any practical value," and instances the complete discrepancy which exists between the races and the languages of the British Isles. Cumberland and Cornwall, for example, in language agree with London and disagree with Wales, while as to race, it is directly the reverse." The same thing is shown, he observes, "by many similar examples: the accumulative evidence of all amounted to this, that since in so many cases where the ethnological indications of language can be compared with the actual testimony of history, the latter completely contradicts the former," a common language is "not even primâ facie evidence in favour of a common lineage." "Secondly, in a positive point of view, it was shown that in all the instances above cited, there had taken place between the races a close assimilation of (1) political, (2) religious, (3)

intellectual, or (4) general social relations, or of any, or of all of these combined; and it was suggested that it is such an assimilation, and not unity of race, that unity of language rightly typifies."

"The sum of the whole was, that it is not safe to infer from affinity between the language of two nations more than this, that there was a time when there existed between them civil, religious, or some sort of social relations. Language was the product and token of a nation's political, moral, or intellectual, but not of its physical constitution. It would not reveal a people's genealogy, but its mental and social history.

"Should it ever be proved that all languages were derived from one original, the sole valid inference would be, that at some time one sovereign race had imposed upon all the rest its own political or social institutions, while the great question of the number of races would remain just where it stood."

NOTE D*.—*Page* 287.

"Strabo tells us that the tribes of the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sogdians, spoke nearly the same language. We can have no difficulty in supposing that this similarity of speech which existed in Strabo's age, existed also in earlier times. The old Iranian dialects, of which the monuments have been still preserved to us, justify this assumption. Of these there are four, (1) the speech of the earlier Achæmenidæ, (2) that of the later Achæmenidæ, (3) the dialect of the Gāthās,[8] (4) the old Bactrian, the ordinary language of the Avesta. The last two dialects might perhaps also be embraced under the designation of Avestic. The first two of these dialects belong to western, the last two to eastern, Iran."—Spiegel, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachf. ii. 6. I must refer to the original paper for further details regarding these dialects. I will only quote one or two remarks. In his account of the old Persian or earlier Achæmenidan dialect, Spiegel observes (p. 7), that, "we find in it all the classes of the Sanskrit alphabet represented, excepting the cerebrals, which have a purely local origin." (See above, p. 440,

[8] [It is scarcely necessary to say that this has no connexion with the Indian Gāthā dialect, described above, pp. 115, ff.—J.M.]

note.) At p. 13, he remarks: "We have pointed out in the entire grammar of the old Persian so much that is identical with the Sanskrit, that it may now be time to notice the differences which stamp it as a distinct language from the old Indian. Not a few such peculiarities are to be found in all the departments of grammar. In a phonetic aspect, there is this important deviation that the old Persian has the letter *z*, which is unknown to the Sanskrit, and that it, like the Greek, changes the Indian *s* into *h*."—(See above, pp. 313, and 315).

NOTE E.—*Page* 296.

Rigveda ix. 113, 7–11. *Yatra jyotir ajasraṁ yasmin loke svar hitaṁ | Tasmin mām dhehi pavamāna amṛite loke akshite | Yatra rājā Vaivasvato yatrāvarodhanaṁ divaḥ | Yatrāmūr yahvatīr āpaṣ tatra mām amṛitam kṛidhi | Yatrānukāmaṁ charaṇam trināke tridive divaḥ | Lokāḥ yatra jyotishmantas tatra mām*, etc. | *Yatra kāmāḥ nikāmāścha yatra bradhnasya vishṭapam | Svadhā cha yatra tṛiptiścha tatra mām*, etc. | *Yatrānandāścha modāścha mudaḥ pramuda āsate | Kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmās tatra mām*, etc. | "Place me, O purified (Soma), in that undecaying unchanging region, where perpetual light and glory abide. Make me immortal in the world where king Vaivaśvata (Yama) reigns, where the sanctuary of the sky is, and those great waters are. Make me immortal in the third heaven, where action is at pleasure, where the shining regions exist. Make me immortal in the world where all enjoyments abide, in the realm of the sun, where celestial food and satisfaction are found. Make me immortal in the world where there are manifold pleasures and joys, and where the objects of desire are attained." Benfey, Gloss. to Sāmaveda, under the word *nikāma*, renders *svadhā* and *tṛiptiḥ* by "nectar and ambrosia." See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 284, ff.

NOTE F.—*Page* 297.

I shall here translate or abstract the most important parts of Dr. Windischmann's Dissertation, "On the Soma-worship of the Arians." Dr. Windischmann begins with the following remarks: "If we advert to the striking contrast which exists between the doctrine of Zarathustra and the Brahmanical system, and to the fact that the former

must be looked on as the work of a reformer seeking to preserve the old nature-worship from the mythological transformations with which it was threatened, it must appear as a matter of the greater importance to throw light upon those points in which the two religions agree. For as regards those conceptions which existed before the two systems had developed their opposing principles, we may reasonably assume that they were possessed in common long before the separation of the Arian race into the Indian and Iranian branches, that they formed part of the (already existing, and distinguishable) religions of the Zendavesta and the Veda, and that they had been inherited from the most primitive tradition. Such traditions are, indeed, comparatively few; but the concurrence of those which have been preserved, is so much the more striking; as, for example, Lassen (Ind. Alt. i. 517) has shown in regard to the Iranian legend of king Yima, son of Vivañghat, who corresponds to the Indian Yama, son of Vivasvat. Yima, however, is regarded by the Medo-Persians as the first king, lawgiver, and founder of the Iranian worship, while Yama is looked on by the Brahmans as lord of Hades (R.V. i. 35, 6), and judge of the dead, and it is his brother Manu who plays the same part as 'Yima.'' [See, however, p. 296, above.] "But by far the most remarkable analogy is that which exists between the Haoma of the Zendavesta and the Soma of the most ancient Brahmanical books, an analogy which is not confined to some few features of the legend, but extends to the entire Soma-worship of the early Arian race.

"Haoma and Soma are names etymologically identical. Both come from the root su, in Zend hu, which signifies, 'to beget,' and also, but especially in the Vedic dialect, to 'drop,' or 'to press out juice.' In later Indian mythology Soma means the moon and its deity: but in the Zendavesta and the Vedas it signifies a celebrated plant, and its juice. This is the asclepias acida, or sarcostema viminalis, the expressed juice of which produces a peculiarly astringent, narcotic, and intoxicating effect. The plant,[9] plucked up by the roots, is collected by moonlight on the mountains; stripped of its leaves; carried on a car drawn by two goats to the place of sacrifice (where a spot covered with grass and twigs is prepared); crushed between stones by the

[9] Compare Stevenson's Translation of the Sāmaveda, p. iv. This work is repeatedly referred to in the sequel.

priests; and is then thrown, stalks as well as juice (sprinkled with water) into a sieve, whence, after the whole has been further pressed by the hand of the Brahmans, the juice trickles into a vessel (called *drona*) which is placed beneath. The fluid is then mixed with clarified butter, wheaten and other flour, and brought into a state of fermentation; it is then offered thrice a day, and partaken of by the Brahmans. The Sāmaveda is almost entirely made up of songs to accompany this ceremony; and the Rigveda, too, contains numerous passages which have reference to it. It was unquestionably the greatest and the holiest offering of the ancient Indian worship. The sound of the trickling juice is regarded as a sacred hymn. The gods drink the offered beverage; they long for it (as it does for them); they are nourished by it, and thrown into a joyous intoxication: this is the case with Indra (who performs his great deeds under its influence), with the Aśvins, the Maruts, and Agni. The beverage is divine, it purifies, it inspires greater joy than alcohol, it intoxicates Śakra, it is a water of life, protects and nourishes, gives health and immortality, prepares the way to heaven, destroys enemies, etc. The Sāmaveda distinguishes two kinds of Soma, the green and the yellow: but it is its golden colour which is for the most part celebrated.

"If we compare all this with what the Persians say of the Haoma plant, we find the most surprising agreement. Haoma is the first of the trees, planted by Ahura Mazda in the fountain of life. He who drinks of its juice never dies. According to the Bundehesh, the Gogard or Gokeren tree bears the Haoma, which gives health and generative power, and imparts life at the resurrection. The Haoma plant does not decay, bears no fruit, resembles the vine, is knotty, and has leaves like jessamine; it is yellow and white. Its juice is prepared and offered with sacred rites, and is called Parahaoma. Thus in Yaśna, iii. 5, it is said *haomencha para-haomencha ayēšē*, 'I reverence the Haoma and the Para-haoma.'

"The fact that the Magians offered up a plant was known to Plutarch,[10] but what this plant was is not certain. . . . . The plant

[10] The paragraph in which this information is found (of which Windischmann cites only a few words) is as follows:—

Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. 46. Νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν· οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμείνονα θεὸν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον δαίμονα, καλοῦσιν· ὥσπερ Ζωρόαστρις ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν

seems to have changed with the locality; and the soma-plant of the Indians does not appear to be the same as the haoma of the Persians; at least the latter affirm that their sacrificial plant does not grow in India. Ahura Mazda causes the white haoma to grow among the numerous kinds of trees. . . . . A constant appellation of the haoma is the gold-coloured (*zairigaonō*), just as in the Veda.

"But these are not the only points of resemblance between the Soma worship of the Indians and Persians. There is one other very important particular in which they both agree. In the Vedas, Soma is not merely a sacred sacrificial beverage, but also a god. This is proved by numerous passages of the Veda (Stevenson, p. 98); and in particular by the splendid hymn to Soma, Rigveda, i. 91. Precisely in the same manner, Haoma is, in the Zendavesta, not a plant only, but also a powerful deity; and in both works the conceptions of the god and the sacred juice blend wonderfully with each other. The most important passages regarding this personified Haoma are to be found in the 9th and 10th sections of the Yaśna, which are explained by striking analogies in the hymn of the Veda just referred to. The

Τρωϊκῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. Οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάζην, τὸν δὲ Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προσαπεφαίνετο τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δε ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ· μέσον δὲ ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν· ἐδίδαξε μὲν τῷ εὔκταῖα θύειν καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δὲ ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά. Πόαν γάρ τινα κόπτοντες ὄμωμι καλουμένην ἐν ὅλμῳ, τὸν Ἅδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἶτα μίξαντες αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος, εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ῥίπτουσι. Καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομίζουσι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ζώων, ὥσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· τοῦ δὲ φαύλου τοὺς ἐνύδρους εἶναι, διὸ καὶ τὸν κτείναντα πλείστους εὐδαιμονίζουσι.

"For some think that there are two gods, as it were opposed in their functions, the one the framer of good objects, the other of bad. Some call the more excellent being God, and the other Demon; as Zoroaster, the Magian, who is related to have lived 5000 years before the Trojan war. He called the one Ōromazes, the other Arimanius, and declared that the former resembled light most of all sensible things, and the latter darkness and ignorance. He also said that Mithras was intermediate between them. This is the reason why the Persians call Mithras the mediator. He taught them to sacrifice votive and thank-offerings to the one (Ōromazes), and to the other gloomy oblations to avert his wrath. For after pounding a certain herb called *ŏmōmi* in a mortar, they invoke Pluto and darkness; and when they have mixed it with the blood of a slaughtered wolf, they carry it to a sunless spot and cast it away. For they also regard certain plants as belonging to the good deity, and others to the evil demon; and some animals, as dogs, and birds, and hedgehogs, to the former (and others as) sea-urchins, to the latter; and they felicitate those who have killed the greatest number of these last."

9th section begins thus: 'In early morning Haoma came to Zarathustra, who was consecrating his sacred fire, and repeating prayers. Zarathustra asked him, "What man art thou, whom I see to be the most excellent in the whole existing world on account of his immortal life?" Hereupon Haoma, the pure, the remover of sickness, answered me, "I am, O Zarathustra, the pure, the remover of sickness. Invoke me, holy man, pour me forth to drink, celebrate me with praise, as formerly the holy men used to do." Then Zarathustra said, "Reverence to Haoma."'[11] Haoma is here called 'remover of heat, or sickness,' and in the same way Soma is said in Rigveda, i. 91, 12, to be *amīvahā*, 'the destroyer of suffering.' This passage of the Yaśna clearly shows how, as I have before mentioned, the separate ideas of the god and of the juice are blended. Haoma desires that he himself shall he prepared for sacrifice.

"This passage is followed by a specification of the four original worshippers of Haoma. The first was Vivañhat, who prepared the celestial beverage *hunūta*, and in consequence obtained a blessing, and the fulfilment of his wish that a son should be born to him. This was King Yima, the most glorious of men, in whose realm men and animals never died, water and trees never dried up, food was superabundant, and cold, heat, disease, death, and devilish envy were unknown.

"What has before been said of Yima shows the importance of this passage. The worship of Haoma is placed anterior to Yima, *i.e.* to the commencement of Iranian civilization; and in fact is declared to be the cause of that happy period. The Rigveda also refers to this high antiquity of the Soma worship, when (i. 91, 1) it says of Soma: 'By thy guidance, O brilliant (Soma), our courageous fathers have obtained treasures among the gods.' Like Vivañhat, the next worshippers of Haoma, viz., Athwya and Samanām Sevishta, also obtained

[11] Compare Spiegel's translation of the same passage, and its continuation, Avesta, ii. 68, ff. In note 4 he remarks: "Haoma, like various other deities of the Avesta, is regarded as at once a personal god, and as the thing on account of which this god was imagined. Haoma is at once a Yazata and a drink. The original identity of the Indian Soma with the Haoma of the Avesta has been excellently shown in F. Windischmann's dissertation. Among both nations the healing power of the Haoma is prominently noticed, but among the Parsīs it is particularly the white Haoma which imparts immortality. The Indian plant is the asclepias acida; the Persian is not determined. Both nations notice that the plant grew on mountains, and originally, at least, it must have been the same plant which both employed."

offspring,—Thraētaonō and sons who destroyed the Ahrimanian monster. The heroic age of the conflict of light is thus referred back to Haoma, whilst in the Rigveda (i. 91, 8), Soma is invoked to 'deliver from destruction, to suffer none of his friends to perish;' and (in verse 15) to protect from incantations and from sin; and in the Sāmaveda (Stevenson, p. 259) he is said to drive away the Rakshasas.

"It is interesting to remark, that while Thraētaonō is said here to have been bestowed by Haoma, the Sāmaveda names a Ṛishi Trita as an offerer of Soma.

"The fourth worshipper of Haoma is Pourusaśpa, the father of Zarathustra: his reward was the birth of this illustrious son, the promulgator of the anti-demonic doctrine. Here also the ancient legend confirms the priority of the Haoma worship to the Zoroastrian reformation.

"When Zarathustra has thus learnt that he owes his own existence to Haoma, he celebrates his praises: and the epithets which he here applies to the god agree in a remarkable way with those of the Veda. Some of these parallel epithets are *hvaresa*, Zend, = *svarshā*, Sanskrit (R.V. i. 91, 21), 'giving heaven;' *verethrajao*, Zend, = *vṛitrahā*, Sanskrit (R.V. i. 91, 5), 'destroyer of enemies;' *hukhratus*, Zend, = '*sukratuḥ*, Sanskrit (R.V. i. 91, 2), 'offering good sacrifices,' or 'wise,' or 'strong.' The blessings supplicated by Zarathustra from Haoma also agree in many points with those which the Vedic poet asks from Soma."

It is not necessary, however, to pursue the subject farther. I refer the reader, who wishes further details of this sort, to Dr. Windischmann's dissertation itself.

I copy the following remarks on the Soma worship from Mr. Whitney's "Main Results of the later Vedic Researches in Germany" (Journal of the Amer. Orient. Society, iii. 299, 300). The "hymns, one hundred and fourteen in number [of the 9th book of the Rigveda], are, without exception, addressed to the Soma, and being intended to be sung while that drink was expressed from the plant that afforded it, and was clarified, are called *pāvamānyas*, 'purificational.' . . . . The word *soma* means simply 'extract' (from the root *su*, to express, extract), and is the name of a beverage prepared from a certain herb, the asclepias acida, which grows abundantly upon the mountains of India and Persia. This plant, which by its name should be akin to our common milk-weed, furnishes, like the latter, an abundant milky

juice, which, when fermented, possesses intoxicating qualities. In this circumstance, it is believed, lies the explanation of the whole matter. The simple-minded Arian people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary phrenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine; it was, to their apprehension, a god, endowing those into whom it entered with god-like powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were sacred. The high antiquity of this cultus is attested by the references to it found occurring in the Persian Avesta; it seems, however, to have received a new impulse on Indian territory, as the *pāvamānya* hymns of the Veda exhibit it in a truly remarkable state of development. Soma is there addressed as a god in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers belong to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow. And not only do such hymns compose one whole book of the Ṛik, and occur scattered here and there through other portions of it, but the most numerous single passages and references everywhere appearing, show how closely it had intertwined itself with the whole ritual of the Vedic religion." [See the section on Soma in the fifth volume of this work.]

Lassen remarks in reference to the affinities of the Iranians and Indians (Ind. Ant. 1st ed., i. 516; 2nd ed., i. 617): "It should first be recollected that the Zendavesta shows us the [Iranian] doctrine not in its original, but in a reformed shape; a distinction is made between the pious men who lived before the proclamation of the law by Zoroaster, and the 'nearest relations:' and we may conclude that the points wherein the Brahmanical Indians and the followers of Zoroaster coincide, belong to the old, and those in which they differ, to the new, system. Of the beings who are the objects of veneration in the Avesta, it is the seven highest, i.e. Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentas, who are peculiarly Iranian; their names are unknown to the Brahmans; the Vedas recognize no class of seven divinities of the highest rank who are of the same character. On the other hand, there is no trace of Brahma among the Iranians. The fundamental principle of the Zend doctrine, the

dualistic separation of the good and evil principles, is, in like manner, foreign to Brahmanism. But there are, nevertheless, other deities, who are equally venerated in the Zendavesta and the Veda, viz., fire, the sun, the moon, the earth, and water; a fact which indicates that both religions have a common foundation."

Lassen also treats of the legend of Yima, and of other points of connexion between the Indian and Iranian religions, 1st ed. i. pp. 517–526, and at greater length in the 2nd ed. pp. 619–634; and then observes: "These common reminiscences of the Eastern Iranians, and the Arian Indians, cannot be explained from any communications such as neighbouring nations might make to one another. On the contrary, we perceive sometimes a varying, sometimes a contradictory, conception of important traditions and appellations, which is only intelligible if we presuppose an earlier agreement, which had, in part, become lost and modified in the course of time, after the separation of the two nations; and in part had become converted into a contradiction by a division in their opinions. Even this contradiction indicates a closer connexion between the two nations at an earlier period."

See also Professor R. Roth's articles in the Journal of the 'German' Oriental Society, for 1848 (pp. 216, ff.), 1850 (pp. 417, ff.), and 1852 (pp. 67, ff.), on the legends of Feridūn and Jemshīd, and on the "highest gods of the Arian nations;" and also his paper on Nabānazdista, at p. 243 of the last-named volume; as well as Spiegel's paper in Indische Studien, iii. 448. In the vol. of the Journal of the Germ. Or. Society for 1848, p. 216, Roth proposes to show by an example, "how the Veda and the Avesta flow from one fountain, like two streams, the one of which, the Vedic, has continued fuller, purer, and truer to its original character; while the other has become in many ways polluted, has changed its original course, and consequently cannot always be followed back with equal certainty to its sources." See also Professor Müller's "Last Results of the Persian Researches," reprinted in "Chips," i. 81, ff.

NOTE G.—*Page* 306.

Professor Cowell, editor of the fifth edition of the History of India (1866), has some remarks on this conclusion of Mr. Elphinstone in an additional Appendix, no. viii., pp. 284, ff. He there gives a summary

of the circumstances which lead to the belief that the Indians were immigrants from without, as the most probable inference from the premises. He alludes first to "the fact of a connexion between the original Sanskrit-speaking tribes and the other nations of Western Asia and Europe, as proved by the common origin of their respective languages," as admitted by Mr. Elphinstone, and then proceeds: "It is perhaps going too far to assert that this connexion is thus proved to be one of race; at any rate, this is a question which belongs to physical science rather than to history. It is enough for the historian if it is granted that in some remote prehistoric time the ancestors of these various tribes were living in close political relation to each other; and the similarity which we find in their languages must undoubtedly prove this, even although the problem of race should remain as unsettled a question as before." Compare Mr. Geldart's remarks in note D, above, pp. 467, 468.

Professor Cowell allows that "this similarity and linguistic sympathy proves only the fact of a connexion; but they 'prove nothing regarding the place where it subsisted, nor about the time,' [Elphinstone]; but" (he adds) "perhaps the following considerations may throw some light on this further question," and then goes on to say that "a central home once occupied by the ancestors of these now widely scattered nations seems primâ facie more probable than to suppose that they emigrated from the furthest extremity of the line as India." He then states the considerations which confirm this view.

NOTE H.—*Page* 315.

"The question regarding the time and place of the separation is of yet greater importance than that concerning its cause. For our present inquiry, it is of less consequence to determine the place, than the time, of that separation. As regards the region where the Indians and Iranians dwelt together, several suppositions may be made. The Iranians may have immigrated into the Panjāb along with the Indians, and have turned thence in a westerly direction. But, on the other hand, the Indians might have separated themselves from the Iranians, and travelled towards the east. Thirdly, it might be conjectured that the two races had parted from each other before they migrated towards India and Iran. Be this as it may, though we are unable to assign

any date to the period of the separation, we must decidedly hold it to have occurred before the Vedic era. No such relation exists between the two races as would justify us in assuming that the Iranians formed one community with the Indians during the Vedic period. The great majority of the Vedic gods and of the Vedic conceptions are as little known to the Iranians, as the Iranian conceptions are to the Indians. The ideas which are common to both nations may be most easily and satisfactorily explained by supposing them to have been developed in the ante-Vedic period." Spiegel, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachf. vol ii. pp. 3, 4.

NOTE I.—*Page* 316.

"It is the common view that it was religious grounds which occasioned the separation of the Indians and Iranians. This opinion is supported by the fact that the names of several divinities which have a good signification among the one people, are used in a bad sense by the other, and vice versâ. Thus the Indian *deva* (god), has become a demon among the Iranians under the form of *daeva;* and Indra as Aŭdra has experienced a similar degradation. It must not be denied that these differences of conception may have had their foundation in a religious schism between the two nations; but this opinion should not be regarded as more than a probable conjecture, or held to be an historical fact, which follows from the linguistic data with the same certainty as the proposition that the Indian and Iranian nations had originally the same common ancestors. Other possible modes may be conceived, in which this opposition may have arisen; such as the internal development of the Iranian people itself. We have only to reflect on the case of the German religions, and their ancient gods, who, in presence of Christianity, came to be regarded as evil spirits. Dualism, with its rigorous consequences, was a power which operated in Iran in precisely the same manner as Christianity did in Germany. This dualism, which was a result of the particular development of the Iranian people, was compelled to make room in its system, in the best way it could, for those forms of religious belief which it found already in existence, and did not feel itself strong enough to discard. Many beings formerly regarded as gods may thus have been transformed into

evil spirits, because they stood in too strong a contrast to the new moral system. It appears to me that the opposition between the religious conceptions of the Indians and the Iranians grew up gradually, and not all at once, in consequence of a reform of Zarathustra, as some have assumed." Spiegel, as above, p. 3. On Añdra see the 5th vol. of this work, p. 121, and note 212 there.

NOTE J.—*Page* 327.

Ptolemy, Geogr. vi. 16, has the following notice of Ottorocorra:—

Ὄρη δὲ διέζωκεν τὴν Σηρικὴν, τά τε καλούμενα Ἄννιβα, κ. τ. λ. "The country of Serica is surrounded by mountain ranges," viz., the Annibian, the Auxacian, the Asmiræan, the Casian, the Thagurian, and that of Emodus.

Καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ὀττοροκόρρας, οὗ τὰ πέρατα ἐπέχει μοίρας ρξθ λστ καὶ ροστ λθ. "[Another of these ranges] is that called Ottorocorras, the limits of which extend from 169° 36′ to 176° 39′ east longitude."

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀρκτικώτερα τῆς Σηρικῆς κατανέμονται ἔθνη Ἀνθρωποφαγῶν. "The northern parts of Serica are inhabited by the tribes of the Anthropophagi" (men-eaters). The Annibi, Sizyges, etc. follow.

Καὶ μεσημβρινώτατοι παρὰ τὰ Ἡμωδὰ καὶ Σηρικὰ ὄρη Ὀττοροκόρραι. "And southernmost of all, near the Emodian and Serican mountains, dwell the Ottorocorræ."

Among the cities of Serica is mentioned Ottorocorra, in east longitude 165° 37′ 15″.

Ottorocora is again alluded to by Ptolemy in book viii., in his remarks on the eighth map of Asia:—

Ἡ Ὀττοροκόρα τὴν μεγίστην ἡμέραν ἔχει ὡρῶν ιδγο ἔγγιστα· καὶ διέστηκεν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς ἕω ὥραις ἑπτά. "The greatest length of the day in Ottorocora is nearly 14⅔ hours. It is distant from Alexandria seven hours towards the east."

See, for an account of Ptolemy's geographical system, Lassen's Ind. Ant. iii. 94, ff.; and for the position of Ottorocorra, the map at the end of the same volume.

NOTE K.—*Page* 334.

In regard to Airyanem Vaējo, Lassen observes (Ind. Ant. 1st ed., i., p. 526, ff.; 2nd ed. p. 634, ff.): "If we assume that the Arian Indians and the Iranians had originally the same common abodes, out of India, we should expect to find a tradition on the subject among the latter people rather than among the former. We have already said that the Indians have no longer any legend of this sort, though they imagine a sacred region and the seats of the gods to exist to the north of India.[12] The Iranians, on the contrary, clearly designate Airyanem Vaējo as the first created country: this they place in the extreme east of the Iranian highlands, in the region where the Oxus and Yaxartes take their rise. This country was afflicted with winter by Ahriman, and had only two months of summer, as if the tradition of a decrease in the earth's temperature still floated in the legend. We must suppose the cold highlands on the western slopes of Belurtag and Mustag to be meant," etc. [The next paragraph will be quoted in Note M.] The following remarks are added: "It suffices to have made it probable that the earliest abodes of the Indians and Iranians are to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian highlands; but we may assert it to be more than probable that the Indians were derived from some part of the Iranian

[12] Lassen's idea, quoted in p. 337, that the "daily prospect of the snowy summits of the Himālaya, glittering far and wide over the plains," and the knowledge the Indians had of the "table-land beyond, with its extensive and tranquil domains, its clear and cloudless sky," etc., would point out the "north as the abode of the gods, and the theatre of wonders," is confirmed by Homer's description of Olympus, Odyss. vi. 42, ff.:—

Οὔλυμπόνδ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
Ἔμμεναι· οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται, οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρῳ
Δεύεται, οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλναται· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἴθρη
Πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη.

"Olympus, where they say the blessed gods
Repose for ever in secure abodes:
No stormy blasts athwart those summits sweep,
No showers or snows bedew the sacred steep;
But cloudless skies serene above are spread,
And golden radiance plays around its head."

This, however, is the ideal Olympus. The mountain is styled ἀγάννιφος, "snowy," in Iliad i. 420, where the scholiast explains the discrepancy by saying that the epithet "snowy" applies only to the parts below the clouds, the summits being above the clouds, and exempt from rain or snow.

country. . . . . The means of arriving at a conclusion on this subject are uncertain; we can only form conjectures from a review of the later geographical positions occupied by these nations; and we are thus led to fix on the country lying between the Caspian sea and the highlands before mentioned, as having been most probably their ancient seats."

See also Ariana Antiqua, p. 134, quoted in Note M.

Baron von Bunsen also treats of the First Fargard of the Vendidad in one of the Appendices to his Bibel-werk, vol. v. pp. 315, 316. I abstract the following remarks:—"The sacred books of Zoroaster's followers begin with a description of the gradual diffusion of the Arian races of Bactria, as far as the Penjab. The account of these migrations of the Bactrian Arians is preceded by a remarkable reference to the primeval country in the north-east, from which their forefathers removed to their present abodes, in consequence of a great natural convulsion. It appears that that once perfect primeval country, Airyana, had originally a very mild climate, until the hostile deity created a powerful serpent, and snow; so that only two months of summer remained, while winter prevailed during ten. The country next occupied was Sogdiana; and the third Bactria. The progress of the Arians with their civilization is, as it were, the march of Ahura Mazda, the lord of spirits. This advance has an historical import, for all the countries which are specified form a continuous series, extending towards the south and west, and in all of them the Arian culture is discoverable, and even now (in part exclusively) predominant. The first-named country can be no other than that where the Oxus and Yaxartes take their rise; the table-land of Pamer, and Khokand. Assuming the genuineness and antiquity of the Bactrian tradition, we have here a testimony, deserving of the highest consideration, to the historical character of the Biblical tradition regarding the interruption of the life of the Asiatic population by a great natural convulsion confined to this locality. The country lying between the highlands just mentioned to the east, and the mountains of Caucasus and Ararat to the west, with the Caspian Sea in its centre, is regarded by scientific geologists, such as Humboldt and Murchison, as the very region where the most recent convulsions of nature have occurred. The snow and the prolonged winter alluded to in the oldest Arian tradition must have been the result of an upheaving of the land into mountains."

NOTE L.—*Page* 354.

In the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. 108, Professor H. H. Wilson translates parts of a long passage in the Karṇa Parva, or viii[th] book of the Mahâbh., verses 2025, ff., in which the manners of the Bâhîkas, Madras, Gândhâras, Araṭṭas, and other tribes of the Panjâb are stigmatized as disgraceful. The same text is quoted and translated in the appendix to M. Troyer's Râjataranginî, vol. ii. pp. 549, ff. I will cite a few specimens from this passage. The country where the Bâhîkas dwell is thus defined (verses 2029, ff.): *Vahishkṛitâḥ Himavatâ Gangayâ cha vahishkṛitâḥ | Sarasvatyâ Yamunayâ Kurukshetreṇa châpi ye | Panchânâm Sindhu-shashṭhânâṁ nadînâṁ ye'antarâśṛitâḥ | Tân dharmavâhyân aśuchîn Bâhîkân parivarjayet |* "Let every one avoid those impure Bâhîkas, who are outcasts[13] from righteousness, who are shut out by the Himavat, the Gangâ, the Sarasvatî, the Yamunâ, and Kurukshetra, and who dwell between the five rivers which are associated with the Sindhu (Indus), as the sixth."

Their women are thus described (v. 2035): *Gâyanty athacha nṛityanti striyo mattâḥ vivâsasaḥ | Nagarâgâra-vapreshu vahir mâlyânulepanâḥ*, etc. "The women, drunk and undressed, wearing garlands, and perfumed with unguents, sing and dance in public places, and on the ramparts of the town," etc.; with much more to the same effect.

Again (v. 2063, ff.): *Panchanadyo vahanty etâḥ yatra nissṛitya parvatât | Âraṭṭâḥ nâma Bâhîkâḥ na teshv Âryo dvyaham vaset |* (v. 2068, ff.) *Âraṭṭâḥ nâma te deśâḥ Bâhîkaṁ nâma tajjalam | Brâhmaṇâpasadâḥ yatra tulyakâlâḥ Prajâpateḥ | Vedo na teshâṁ vedyañcha yajño yajanam eva cha | Vrâtyânâṁ dâsamîyânâm annam devâḥ na bhunjate | Prasthalâḥ Madra-Gândhârâḥ Âraṭṭâḥ nâmataḥ Khaśâḥ | Vasâti-Sindhusauvîrâḥ iti prâyo 'tikutsitâḥ |* "In the region where these five rivers flow after issuing from the mountains dwell the Bâhîkas, called Araṭṭas; let no Ârya dwell there even for two days. . . . The name

[13] These expressions, "dharma-*vahyâḥ*" and "*vâhish*-kṛitâḥ," seem to contain a play on the name of the *Bâhîkas*. This tribe is mentioned in the S'. P. Br. i. 7, 3, 8, quoted above, p. 202; where it is said that they gave to Agni the name of Bhava. This reference to their recognition of one of the Indian gods, without any depreciatory allusion to their manners, may perhaps be held to indicate that the author of the Brâhmaṇa did not hold them in such low esteem as the speaker in the Mahâbhârata. See also the quotations from Pâṇini in note 142, p. 354.

of the country is Araṭṭa; the water of it is called Bāhīka. There dwell degraded Brāhmans, contemporary with Prajāpati. They have no Veda, no Vedic ceremony, nor any sacrifice. The gods do not eat the food offered by Vrātyas and servile people. The Prasthalas, Madras, Gandhāras, Araṭṭas, Khaśas, Vasātis, and Sindhusauvīras are nearly all very contemptible." Again it is said of the same country (v. 2076, ff.) *Tatra vai Brāhmaṇo bhūtvā tato bhavati Kshatriyaḥ | Vaiśyaḥ Śūdraścha Bāhīkas 'tato bhavati nāpitaḥ | Nāpitaścha tato bhūtvā punar bhavati Brāhmaṇaḥ | Dvijo bhūtvā cha tatraiva punar dāso 'bhijāyate | Bhavaty ekaḥ kule vipraḥ prasṛishṭāḥ kāmachāriṇaḥ | Gāndhārāḥ Madrakāśchaiva Bāhīkāśchālpachetasaḥ.* "There a Bāhīka, born a Brāhman, becomes afterwards a Kshatriya, a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra, and eventually a barber. And again the barber becomes a Brāhman. And once again the Brāhman there is born a slave. One Brāhman alone is born in a family among the senseless Gāndhāras, Madras, and Bāhīkas; the [other brothers] act as they will without restraint."

In the Rājataraṅginī, i. 307, ff., the Gāndhāra Brāhmans are thus characterized: — *Agrahārān jagṛihire Gāndhāra-brāhmaṇās tataḥ | samāna-śīlās tasyaiva dhruvaṁ te 'pi dvijādhamāḥ | Bhaginī-varga-sambhoga-nirlajjāḥ Mlechha-vaṁśajāḥ | Snushā-sangati-saktāścha dāra-dāḥ santi pāpinaḥ | Vastubhāvais tathā bhāṭya bhāryyā-vikraya-kāriṇaḥ | paropabhogitās teshāṁ nirlajjās tarhi yoshitaḥ |* "Then the Gāndhāra Brāhmans seized upon rent-free lands; for these most degraded of priests were of the same disposition as that [tyrannical prince.] These sinners, sprung from Mlechhas, are so shameless as to corrupt their own sisters and daughters-in-law, and to offer their wives to others, hiring and selling them, like commodities, for money. Their women being thus given up to strangers, are consequently shameless."

M. Troyer remarks (vol. ii. 317) that "the inhabitants of the Panjāb are in this passage of the Mahābh. named generally Bāhīkas and Araṭṭas, while the Gāndhāras are associated with the different tribes into which these inhabitants are subdivided, such as the Prasthalas and Madras, in such a way that it can scarcely be doubted that the former (the Gāndhāras) lived in their neighbourhood, diffused like them between the six rivers of that country. . . The Sindhu-Gāndhāras mentioned, Rāj. i. 66, lived on the Indus."

And Wilson says (As. Res. xv. 105): "According to the Mahābh.

the Gandhari are not only met with upon crossing the Setlej and proceeding towards the Airāvatī (Ravi), or where Strabo places Gandaris, but they are scattered along with other tribes throughout the Panjāb, as far as to the Indus, when we approach Gandaritis. According also to our text (Rāj. i. 66) one body of the Gandhari appear to occupy a division of their own on the last river, which is named after that very circumstance, Sindhu-Gandhar, and these may have extended westward as far as the modern Candahar." In his Vishṇu-Pur., 1st ed., p. 191, note 83, the same writer says of the Gāndhāras: "These are also a people of the north-west, found both on the west of the Indus, and in the Panjāb, and well known to classical authors as the Gandarii and Gandaridæ." See also Rawlinson's Herodotus, iv. pp. 216, 217.

NOTE M.—*Page* 356.

Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 527, remarks as follows: "The opinion that the original seats of these [the Indian and Iranian] nations are to be sought here in [the extreme east of the Iranian highlands], receives great confirmation from the fact, that we find branches of these nations on both sides of this lofty range; for the ancient inhabitants of Casghar, Yarkhand, Khoten, Aksu, Turfān, and Khamil are Tājīks and speak Persian; it is from this point only that they are diffused towards the interior of upland Asia; so that their most powerful germ seems to have been planted on this range."

And Professor H. H. Wilson says: "Without extending the limits of India, however, too far to the north, there is no reason to doubt that the valleys of the Indian Caucasus were properly included within them, and that their inhabitants, as far as to the Pamer mountains and Badakhshān, were Indians, who may have been at first tributary to Persia, and afterwards subjects of some branches of the Greek race of Bactrian kings."—Ariana Antiqua, p. 134.

Badakhshān is the country on the banks of the Oxus near its sources, situated between lat. 36° and 38° north, and lying eastward from Balkh. Pamer lies in the same direction. See the map in Ariana Ant. p. 214, or that of Ancient India in Lassen's Ind. Ant., vol. ii.

NOTE N.—*Page* 396, *note* 83, *line* 6.

The passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa here referred to is as follows: xiii. 8, 1, 5: *Chatussrakti | devāś cha asurāś cha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ dikshv aspardhanta | te devāḥ asurān sapatnān bhrātṛivyān digbhyo 'nudanta | te 'dikkāḥ parābhavan | tasmād yāḥ daivyaḥ prajāś chatussraktīni tāḥ śmaśānāni kurvate | atha yāḥ āsuryaḥ prāchyās tvad ye tvat parimaṇḍalāni | te 'nudanta hy enān digbhyaḥ.* "Four-cornered. The gods and Asuras, both the offspring of Prajāpati, contended in the regions. The gods expelled the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions" [conceived, apparently, as square, or angular]. "They, being regionless, were overcome. Hence, the people who are divine construct their graves four-cornered; whilst the Eastern people, who are akin to the Asuras, construct them round. For the gods drove the Asuras from the regions."

NOTE O.—*Page* 443.

A question of considerable interest here presents itself, on which it may be desirable to make a few remarks, viz., whether the indigenous or non-Arian races, who now speak Tamil, and the other languages of the southern group, are of the same family as those tribes who were brought into contact with the Āryas on their first arrival in India, and the remains of whose languages have survived in the vernacular dialects of northern Hindustan. The late Rev. Dr. J. Stevenson appears to have been of opinion that the non-Sanskrit element in the northern and southern vernacular dialects was originally to a great extent the same, and that the people who spoke them also belonged to one race. He remarks (Art. vii., Journ. Bombay Branch Royal As. Soc., No. XII. for 1849), "It is usually taken also for granted that between the non-Sanskrit parts of the northern and southern families of languages there is no bond of union, and that the only connecting link between the two is their Sanskrit element. It is to this last proposition that the writer of this paper demurs." He afterwards proceeds: "The theory which has suggested itself to the writer as the most probable is, that on the entrance of the tribes which now form the highest castes, those of the Brahmans, Kshattriyas and

Waisyas, into India, they found a rude aboriginal population, speaking a different language, having a different religion, and different customs and manners; that by arms and policy the original inhabitants were all subdued, and in great numbers expelled from the northern regions, those that remained mixing with the new population, and being first their slaves, and then forming the Sudra caste. The language of these aborigines is supposed to have belonged to the southern family of languages, the most perfect remaining type of which family is the Tamil." The fundamental affinities of the northern and southern languages are then discussed by Dr. Stevenson in various papers in the same journal, which appeared in the years 1851 and 1852. Dr. Caldwell, however, has expressed his dissent from Dr. Stevenson, both in regard to the affinities between the pre-Aryan races themselves of the north and of the south, and their original languages. (See pp. 38, ff. and 69, ff. of his Dravidian Grammar). In regard to the languages he remarks (p. 39, ff.) that the hypothesis of their affinity does not appear to him to have been established; as though various analogies in grammatical structure seem to connect the non-Sanskrit element in the north Indian idioms with the Scythian or Tartar tongues, yet that no special relationship of the former to the Dravidian languages has yet been proved to exist. If the non-Sanskrit element in the northern vernaculars (p. 40) had been Dravidian, we might have expected to find in their vocabularies a few primary Dravidian roots such as the words for head, hand, foot, eye, ear; whereas Dr. Caldwell has been unable to discover any trustworthy analogy in words belonging to this class. Further research, he adds (p. 42), may possibly disclose the existence in the northern vernaculars of distinctively Dravidian forms and roots, but their presence does not yet appear to be proved; and he therefore concludes that the non-Sanskrit portion of the northern languages cannot safely be placed in the same class with the southern, except, perhaps, in the sense of both being Scythian rather than Arian. The same is the opinion of the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson, who in his "Notes on the Marāthī Language," in the preface to the second edition of Molesworth's Marāthī Dictionary (p. xxii), thus writes:—"The Scythian words in the Marāthī are, in general, like those of the other Turanian tongues, more in their forms than in their sounds. They differ very much

from the vocables of the Turanian languages in the south of India (the Canarese, Telugu, Tāmul, and Malayālam), the comparison of the dictionaries and grammars of which throws but little light on the Marāthī; and though they may be classed in the same tribe of languages, they evidently belong to a different family, to a different Turanian immigration into India, yet to be explored by the combined labours of the philologist and the ethnographer." Regarding the question whether the non-Arian tribes of the north and the south are themselves of the same stock, Dr. Caldwell remarks (p. 72) that the Dravidians may be confidently regarded as the earliest inhabitants of India, or at least as the earliest that entered from the north-west, but it is not so easy to determine whether they are the people whom the Arians found in possession, or whether they had been already expelled from the north by the irruption of another Scythian race. Without deciding this point positively, Dr. Caldwell is led by the apparent differences between the Dravidian languages and the aboriginal element in the northern vernaculars, to incline to the supposition that the Dravidian idioms belong to an older stage of Scythian speech; and if this view be correct, it seems to follow that the ancestors of the Scythian or non-Arian portion of the north Indian population must have immigrated into India at a later period than the Dravidians, and must have expelled the Dravidians from the greater portion of north India before they were themselves subjugated by a new race of Arian invaders from the north-west. In any case Dr. Caldwell is persuaded that it was not by the Arians that the Dravidians were expelled from northern India, and that, as no reference occurs either in Sanskrit or Dravidian tradition to any hostilities between these two races, their primitive relations could never have been otherwise than amicable. The pre-Arian Scythians, by whom Dr. Caldwell supposes that the Dravidians may have been expelled from the northern provinces, are not, he considers, to be confounded with the Kolas, Santhals, Bhills, Doms, and other aboriginal tribes of the north, who, he supposes, may have retired into the forests before the Dravidians, or, like the Bhotan tribes, have entered into India from the north-east. The languages of these forest tribes Dr. Caldwell conceives to exhibit no affinity with the aboriginal element in the north-Indian vernaculars. We

have therefore, according to the views just summarily expounded, four separate strata, so to speak, of population in India:

First and earliest, the forest-tribes, such as the Kolas, Santhals, Bhills, etc., etc., who may have entered India from the north-east.

Second. The Dravidians, who entered India from the north-west, and either advanced voluntarily towards their ultimate seats in the south of the peninsula, or were driven by the pressure of subsequent hordes, following them from the same direction.

Third. We have the race (alluded to at the end of the preceding head, No. 2) of Scythian or non-Arian immigrants from the north-west, whose language afterwards united with the Sanskrit to form the Prākṛit dialects of northern India.

Fourth. The Arian invaders who (after separating first from the other branches of the Indo-Germanic stock, and last of all from the Persian branch of that family) advanced into India, drove before them the non-Arian tribes who were previously in possession of the Panjāb and other parts of the north-west provinces of India, and after organizing Brahmanical communities, and founding Brahmanical institutions in the north, gradually diffused themselves to the east and south, and eventually extended their discipline, and to some degree their sacred language, to the remotest parts of the peninsula.

To whatever degree the details of this theory may be capable of proof, the general conclusion, at least, seems to be undeniable, viz., that the ancestors, both of the Dravidian nations, and of other non-Sanskritic tribes now occupying different parts of India, were in occupation of that country before the immigration of the Arians; and that the former could not (as is erroneously intimated in various Puranic and other traditions) have been descended from the latter. If the Dravidian Cholas, Keralas, etc., were originally Kshatriyas who fell away from Brahmanism, they must have been reconverted to that system; a double process of which there is no historical proof.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

i. *Page* 47, *lines* 21–24.

This remark seems to be incorrect. The Scholiast could not have meant to denote the Mahārāshṭrī, or any other of the provincial Prākṛits, by the term "*deśi*," as they all embraced a "tatsama" and a "tadbhava" element also. He could only, when using the word "*deśi*," have referred to the local element in each. See pp. 49, 427, ff.

ii. *Page* 249, *lines* 18, ff.

A leanred friend informs me that the Sanskrit *astu* does not correspond to the Latin *esto*, which in old Latin is *estod*; that the latter word coincides with such Sanskrit forms as *yajatāt*, etc.; and that the same holds good of the Greek *estō*. He also states that *santu* (Sanskrit) is not = *sunto* (Latin); and that the Greek *ēs*, *ēn*, do not correspond to the Sanskrit *āsīs*, *āsīt*, but to the Vedic *ās* (compare Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.* 1, *as*; where Pāṇini vii. 3, 97, and R.V. x. 85, 7; x. 129, 3, and x. 149, 2, are referred to). Bopp. Comp. Gr., 2nd ed., ii. p. 410, gives the Sanskrit *āsam*, *āsīs*, *āsīt*, and *ās*, as corresponding to the Greek *ēn*, *ēs*, *ēs*, *ēn*; and Schleicher in the table in p. 710, of his Compendium, 3rd ed., gives *estō* (Gr.) and *esto* (Lat.) as corresponding to the Sanskrit *astu*, and *sunto* (Lat.) as coinciding with the Sanskrit *santu*.

iii. *Page* 250, *line* 14.

Darś, *dadarśa*, correspond both in sense and sound to *derkō*, *dedorka*.

iv. *Page* 251, *lines* 25–27.

Instead of the Sanskrit *navatā*, *samatā*, *lṛghutā*, such Vedic forms as *arishṭatāti*, *devatāti*, *sarvatāti*, should have been given as the more exact equivalents of the Zend, Greek, and Latin words there quoted. See Bopp's Comp. Grammar, 2nd ed., vol. iii. pp. 218 (where the Latin *senecta*, *juventa*, *vindicta*, are specified as the forms corresponding to the

Sanskrit *navatā*, etc.), and 221. See also Schleicher's Compendium, 3rd ed., p. 425. f.

v. *Page* 251, *lines* 28, ff.

Compare with the Sanskrit and Greek forms in *tis* and *sis*, the Latin *mens*, *mentis*; *ars*, *artis*; *fors*, *fortis*; and *vestis*. See Schleicher's Compendium, p. 437.

vi. *Page* 253.

In the appendix to his edition of Ujjvalaladatta, Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out a number of forms which correspond in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin.

vii. *Page* 264, *line* 1; and 289, *line* 6, *and note* 66.

See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* 1, *rudh*; where *rodhati* in R.V. viii. 43, 6, and *vi rodhat*, in R.V. i. 67, 5 (9), are derived from *rudh*, the old form of *ruh*, and are explained in the sense of "growing." See also Benfey's translation of the latter passage in Orient und Occident, i. 596.

viii. *Page* 347, *lines* 8, ff; 348, *lines* 25, ff., *and* 350, f.

Compare note 12 in the first preface above, p. xxv.

ix. *Page* 393, *line* 19; 395, *line* 21; 396, *line* 15; *and* 418, *note* 124.

The points referred to in these passages are further illustrated by the following lines from the Mahābhārata, ii. 1169, ff.: *Tataḥ Śūrpārakaṁ chaiva Tālākaṭam athāpi cha | vaśe chakre mahātejāḥ Daṇḍakāṁś cha mahābalaḥ* | 1170 | *Sāgara-dvīpa-vāsāṁś cha nṛipatīn Mlechha-yoni-jān | Nishādān purushādāṁś cha Karṇaprāvaraṇān api* | 1171 | *Ye cha Kālamukhāḥ nāma nara-rākshasa-yonayaḥ | kṛitsnaṁ Koligiriṁ chaiva Surabhīpattanaṁ tathā* | . . . . 1173 | *Ekapādāṁś cha purushān Kerakān vana-vāsinaḥ | nagarīṁ Sanjayantīṁ cha pāshaṇḍaṁ Karahāṭakam* | 1175 | *Dūtair eva vase chakre-* | 1176 | *Tataḥ kachchha-gato dhīmān dūtān Mādravatī-sutaḥ* | 1177 | *Preshayāmāsa rājendra Paulastyāya mahātmane | Vibhīshaṇāya dharmātmā prīti-pūrvam arindama* | 1178 | *Śa chāsya pratijagrāha śāsanam prīti-pūrvakam* | "1169. Then the glorious and mighty warrior reduced to subjection Śūrpāraka, Tālākaṭa, the Daṇḍakas, (1170) the kings

of Mlechha race, who inhabited the islands of the ocean, the Nishādas, the men-eaters, the Karṇaprāvaraṇas, [men whose ears served them for coverings], (1171) the Kālamukhas sprung from men and Rākshasas, the whole of Kolagiri and Surabhīpattana . . . . 1173. He then by his heralds subjected the Kerakas, one-footed men living in forests, the city Sanjayantī, and the wicked Karahāṭaka . . . 1176. Then the wise and righteous son of Mādravatī, arrived in the low-lying tract, sent messengers amicably to the great son of Pulastya, Vibhīshaṇa, who received his commands in the same spirit." In verse 1837, the "man-eating Romakas," and in v. 1875, the Karṇaprāvaraṇas, are again mentioned.

The monkeys despatched to seek for Sītā are desired to visit among other countries those of the following races:—Rāmayaṇa iv., 40, 26, ff. (Bombay ed., =iv. 40, 29, ff., Gorr. ed.): *Karṇaprāvaraṇāṁś chaiva tathā chāpy Oshṭhakarṇakāḥ | Ghoralohamukhāś chaiva javanāś chaika-pādakāḥ | akshayāḥ balavantaś cha tathaiva purushādakāḥ | Kirātāś tīkshṇachūḍāś cha hemābhāḥ priya-darśanāḥ | āma-mīnāśanāś chāpi Kirātāḥ dvīpavāsinaḥ | antarjalacharāḥ ghorāḥ naravyāghrāḥ iti smṛitāḥ.* "The Kārṇaprāvaraṇas (men whose ears served for coverings), the Oshṭhakarṇakas (people whose ears extended to their lips), the dreadful Lohamukhas (iron-faced-men), swift, and one-footed, undecaying, strong, men-eaters (a kind of Rākshasas according to the commentator), the Kirātās, with sharp-pointed hair-knots, gold-coloured, and pleasant to behold; and the dreadful Kirātas, who are islanders, and eat raw fish, live in the waters, and are men-tigers (men below and tigers above, according to the commentator)." One of the Rākshasīs mentioned in the Mahābh. iii. 6137, is called ekapādā, "the one-footed."

x. *Page* 416, *line* 4.

The Rākshasas are in other places also described as following Brahmanical observances. Thus in the sequel of the story of Gautama (from the Mahābhārata xii. 6293, ff.), above referred to in pp. 365, f., and 418, note 124,—which is told as an illustration of ingratitude,—it is narrated that in consequence of the remonstrances of the other Brāhman, the hero of the story, after pleading poverty as an excuse for his mode of life, left the Dasyu village in which he had been living,

and went towards the ocean. While he is halting in a delightful forest under a tree, a crane, called Rājadharman, son of Kaśyapa and the goddess Dākshāyaṇī, and a friend of Brahmā, arrives in the evening from the heaven of that deity. Gautama, being hungry and thirsty, is tempted to kill and eat him. The bird, however, welcomes him as a guest to his house, and entertains him with the utmost kindness and hospitality. Gautama then, in answer to an inquiry of his host, explains that he is indigent, and on his way to the sea-coast in search of the means of subsistence. The bird promises to procure him riches, and in the morning sends him to a friend of his own, a Rākshasa king, called Virūpaksha, who lived not far off, and who, he said, would fulfil all Gautama's aspirations (v. 6356). The Brāhman accordingly proceeds to the court of the Rākshasa chief, where he is eagerly welcomed. In answer to the Rākshasa's questions, he avows that he has married a Śūdra woman as his second wife (*punarbhū*). Notwithstanding this confession, he is invited to a feast to be given to a thousand learned Brāhmans whom the Rākshasa chief was to entertain on that day (vv. 6376, ff.) These Brāhmans were all well fed, received large presents of jewels, and were assured that on that day they would receive no molestation from any Rākshasas (vv. 6392, f.). Gautama, too, got his share of gold, which weighed so heavily, that he could scarcely carry it away to his place of sojourn in the forest, where he sat down wearied and hungry. He is, however, welcomed and entertained by the crane Rājadharman, but resolves to slay his host, that he may have somewhat to eat on the way home (v. 6401). He accordingly kills the crane while asleep, plucks and roasts him (v. 6403), and sets out on his journey homeward. After a time, the Rākshasa king is apprehensive that something may have befallen his friend Rājadharman, who had not come to visit him as usual, and sends to ascertain the cause of his absence (6407, ff.). The bird's skeleton is discovered, and Gautama is pursued and brought to the Rākshasa king, who, with his ministers and purohitas, weeps at the sight of his friend's remains (v. 6418); and commands the malefactor to be slain and his flesh given to the Rākshasas to eat. They, however, beg to decline eating the flesh of such a sinner, and say it should be given to the Dasyus. But even the latter refuse to eat it. Both Rājadharman and Gautama are, however, afterwards restored to life.

The latter returns to his old haunts, and begets wicked sons on this Śūdra woman, his second wife. He is in consequence cursed by the gods, and doomed to hell (vv. 6445, ff.).

xi. *Page* 343, *lines* 8 *and* 19.

The number of the periodical called "Nature," for 14th Sept., 1871, contains an article by Prof. Max Müller, on Major-General Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," in which R.V. v. 53, 9, and x. 75, 6, are translated, and some remarks on the Kubhā, Krumu, and Gomatī rivers are added.

xii. *Page* 439, *line* 14.

As this sheet is passing through the press, I find that it is stated by a writer in the "Cornhill Magazine" for November, 1871, p. 570, f., that Dr. Caldwell is wrong in asserting that the Dravidians are a Turanian people; and that in reality they "represent lineally an offshoot from the great parent stock which left the fatherland long before Sanskrit was grown into vigour, and about the same period that the Teutonic wave flowed northwards into Europe. There is scarcely a Dravidian root which does not appear in Gothic, Anglosaxon, or Icelandic." As at present informed, I am unable to say whether any detailed proof of these assertions has been, or can be, adduced.

METRICAL TRANSLATIONS.

I REPRINT here two metrical translations from Indian authors, which have already been published, though they are but very slightly connected with the other contents of this volume.

I. *Asita and Buddha, or the Indian Simeon.*

In the Lalita Vistara—a legendary history in prose and verse of the life of Buddha, the great Indian Saint, and founder of the religion which bears his name—it is related that a Ṛishi, or inspired sage, named Asita, who dwelt on the skirts of the Himālaya mountains, became informed, by the occurrence of a variety of portents, of the birth of the future lawgiver, as the son of King Śuddhōdana, in the city of Kapilavastu, in Northern India, and went to pay his homage to the infant. I have tried to reproduce the legend in the following verses. The similarity of some of the incidents to portions of the narrative in St. Luke ii. 25, ff., will strike the reader.

I may mention that the Buddhist books speak also of earlier Buddhas, that the word means "the enlightened," or "the intelligent," and that Buddha also bore the appellations of Gautama, and of Śākyasinha, and Śākyamuni—i.e., the lion, and the devotee, of the tribe of the Śākyas, to which he belonged.

That I have not at all exaggerated the expressions in the text which speak of Buddha as a deliverer or redeemer, or assimilated his character more than was justifiable to the Christian conception of a Saviour, will be clear to any one who can examine the original for himself. In a passage quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 509, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, a renowned Brahmanical opponent of the Buddhists, while charging Buddha with presumption and transgression of the rules of his caste in assuming the functions of a religious teacher (with which, as belonging to the Kshatriya, and not to the Brahmanical, class, he had no right to interfere), ascribes to him these words—"Let all the evils (or sins) flowing from the corruption of the Kali

age" (the fourth, or most degenerate, age of the world) "fall upon me; but let the world be redeemed!" If we were to judge from this passage, it might seem that the character of a vicarious redeemer was claimed by, or at least ascribed to, Buddha. I am informed by Mr. R. C. Childers, however, that in his opinion the idea of Buddha's having suffered vicariously for the sins of men is foreign to Buddhism, and indeed, opposed to the whole spirit and tendency of the system. According to him the Buddhist idea is simply this, that Buddha voluntarily underwent great sufferings and privations during a long course of probation, in order that he might attain the truth, and teach it to men, and so redeem them from worldly existence.

Another valued correspondent, Professor E. B. Cowell, is unable to think that the sentiment ascribed to Buddha by Kumārila is foreign to his system, as it is thoroughly in accordance with the idea of the six *pāramitas*. But he does not understand it as implying any theological notion of vicarious atonement, but rather the enthusiastic utterance of highly-strung moral sympathy and charity; and would compare it with St. Paul's words in Romans ix. 3, and explain it in just the same way as, he thinks, Chrysostom does that verse. He further refers to the existence of numerous Buddhist stories in the Kathāsaritsāgara, among which is one from lvi. 153, viz., the story of the disobedient son with a red-hot iron wheel on his head, who says:—*Pāpino 'nye 'pi* [vi?] *muchyantām pṛithvyām tat-pātakair api | ā pāpakshayam etad me chakram bhrāmyatu mūrdhani |* "Let other sinners on earth be freed from their sins; and until the removal of [their] sin let this wheel turn round upon my head." In either case it is only a wish, and it is not pretended that it really had, or ever could have, any effect on other men. It only expresses a perfection of charity. The same idea (borrowed, as Mr. Cowell supposes, from Buddha) occurs in the Bhāgavata Purāna, ix. ch. 21. The "immortal word" (*amṛitaṁ vachaḥ*, v. 11) contained in the 12th verse, and ascribed to the pious and benevolent king Rantideva,—who himself endured hunger and thirst to relieve others,—is as follows: *Na kāmaye 'haṁ gatim īśvarāt parām ashṭarddhi-yuktām apunarbhavaṁ vā | ārtim prapadye 'khila-dehabhājām antaḥsthito yena bhavanty aduḥkhāḥ |* "I desire not from God that highest destiny which is attended with the eight perfections, nor do I ask to be exempted from future births. I seek to live within all cor-

poreal beings, and endure their pains, that so they may be freed from suffering." On this the commentator annotates thus: *Para-duḥkhā-sahishṉutayā sarveshāṁ duḥkhaṁ svayam bhoktum āśāste | . . . . . "akhiladeha-bhājām ārtiṁ" duḥkhaṁ tat-tad-bhoktṛi-rūpeṇa "antaḥ-sthitaḥ" sann aham "prapadye" prāpnuyām ity evaṁ kāmaye* |)

On Himālaya's lonely steep
There lived of old a holy sage,
Of shrivelled form, and bent with age,
Inured to meditation deep.

He—when great Buddha had been born,
The glory of the Sākya race,
Endowed with every holy grace,
To save the suffering world forlorn—

Beheld strange portents, signs which taught
The wise that that auspicious time
Had witnessed some event sublime,
With universal blessing fraught.

The sky with joyful gods was thronged:
He heard their voice with glad acclaim
Resounding loudly Buddha's name,
While echoes clear their shouts prolonged.

The cause exploring, far and wide
The sage's vision ranged; with awe
Within a cradle laid he saw
Far off the babe, the Sākyas' pride.

With longing seized this child to view
At hand, and clasp, and homage pay,
Athwart the sky he took his way
By magic art, and swan-like flew;

And came to King Suddhōdan's gates,
And entrance craved—"Go, royal page,
And tell thy lord an ancient sage
To see the King permission waits."

The page obeyed, and joined his hands
Before the prince, and said—"A sage,
Of shrivelled form, and bowed with age,
Before the gate, my sovereign, stands,

"And humbly asks to see the King."
To whom Suddhōdan cried—"We greet
All such with joy; with honour meet
The holy man before us bring."

The saint beside the monarch stood,
And spake his blessing—"Thine be health,
With length of life, and might, and wealth;
And ever seek thy people's good."

With all due forms, and meet respect,
The King received the holy man,
And bade him sit; and then began—
"Great sage, I do not recollect

"That I thy venerable face
Have ever seen before; allow
That I inquire what brings thee now
From thy far-distant dwelling-place."

"To see thy babe," the saint replies,
"I come from Himālaya's steeps."
The king rejoined—"My infant sleeps;
A moment wait until he rise."

"Such great ones ne'er," the Ṛiṣhi spake,
"In torpor long their senses steep,
Nor softly love luxurious sleep;
The infant Prince will soon awake."

The wondrous child, alert to rise,
At will his slumbers light dispelled.
His father's arms the infant held
Before the sage's longing eyes.

The babe beholding, passing bright,
More glorious than the race divine,
And marked with every noble sign,[14]
The saint was whelmed with deep delight;

And crying—"Lo! an infant graced
With every charm of form I greet!"
He fell before the Buddha's feet,
With fingers joined, and round him paced.[15]

Next round the babe his arms he wound,
And "One," he said, "of two careers
Of fame awaits in coming years
The child in whom these signs are found.

[14] Certain corporeal marks are supposed by Indian writers to indicate the future greatness of those children in whom they appear. Of these, thirty-two primary, and eighty secondary, marks are referred to in the original as being visible on Buddha's person.

[15] The word here imperfectly translated, means, according to Professor H. H. Wilson's Dictionary, "reverential salutation, by circumambulating a person or object, keeping the right side towards them."

"If such an one at home abide,
He shall become a King, whose sway
Supreme a mighty arm'd array
On earth shall stablish far and wide.

"If, spurning worldly pomp as vain,
He choose to lead a tranquil life,
And wander forth from home and wife,
He then a Buddha's rank shall gain."

He spoke, and on the infant gazed,
When tears suffused his aged eyes;
His bosom heaved with heavy sighs;
Then King Suddhōdan asked, amazed—

"Say, holy man, what makes thee weep,
And deeply sigh? Does any fate
Malign the royal child await?
May heavenly powers my infant keep!"

"For thy fair infant's weal no fears
Disturb me, King," the Rishi cried;
"No ill can such a child betide:
My own sad lot commands my tears.

"In every grace complete, thy son
Of truth shall perfect insight[16] gain,
And far sublimer fame attain
Than ever lawgiver has won.

"He such a Wheel[17] of sacred lore
Shall speed on earth to roll, as yet
Hath never been in motion set
By priest, or sage, or god of yore.

"The world of men and gods to bless,
The way of rest and peace to teach,
A holy law thy son shall preach—
A law of stainless righteousness.

"By him shall suffering men be freed
From weakness, sickness, pain and grief;
From all the ills shall find relief
Which hatred, love, illusion, breed.

"His hand shall loose the chains of all
Who groan in fleshly bonds confined;
With healing touch the wounds shall bind
Of those whom pain's sharp arrows gall.

"His words of power shall put to flight
The dull array of leaden clouds
Which helpless mortals' vision shrouds,
And clear their intellectual sight.

"By him shall men who, now untaught,
In devious paths of error stray,
Be led to find a perfect way—
To final calm[18] at last be brought.

"But once, O King, in many years,
The figtree[19] somewhere flowers perhaps;
So after countless ages' lapse,
A Buddha once on earth appears.

"And now, at length, this blessed time
Has come: for he who cradled lies
An infant there before thine eyes
Shall be a Buddha in his prime.

"Full, perfect, insight gaining, he
Shall rescue endless myriads tost
On life's rough ocean waves, and lost,
And grant them immortality.[20]

"But I am old, and frail, and worn;
I shall not live the day to see
When this thy wondrous child shall free
From woe the suffering world forlorn.

"'Tis this mine own unhappy fate
Which bids me mourn, and weep, and sigh;
The Buddha's triumph now is nigh,
But ah! for me it comes too late!"

When thus the aged saint, inspired,
Had all the infant's greatness told,
The King his wondrous son extolled,
And sang, with pious ardour fired—

"Thee, child, th' immortals worship all,
The great Physician, born to cure
All ills that hapless men endure;
I, too, before thee prostrate fall."

And now—his errand done—the sage,
Dismissed with gifts, and honour due,
Athwart the æther swan-like flew,
And reached again his hermitage.

[16] The term here translated "insight" is derived from the same root as the word "Buddha," and means "intelligence," or "enlightenment."

[17] The term thus rendered, *dharmachakra*, expresses a somewhat singular figure. It denotes the "wheel of the law," or the "wheel of righteousness," or the "wheel of religion."

[18] The word in the original is *nirvâṇa*, a term of which the sense is disputed—some scholars esteeming it to mean absolute annihilation; others explaining it as the extinction of passion, the attainment of perfect dispassion. Mr. Childers informs me that he considers *nirvâṇa* to signify active bliss on earth for a brief period, followed (upon death) by total annihilation. See a letter from him on this subject in No. 62 of "Trübner's Literary Record" for October, 1870, p. 27.

[19] The tree referred to in the original is the Udumbara, the *Ficus glomerata*.

[20] *Amrite cha pratishthâpayishyati.*

II. *Rāvaṇa and Vedavatī.*

The Rāmāyaṇa, as is well known to students of Indian literature, relates the adventures of Rāma, son of the King of Ayodhyā (Oude), who, in consequence of a domestic intrigue, became an exile from his country, and wandered about the southern regions of India in company with his brother Lakshmaṇa and his wife Sītā. Sītā was carried off by Rāvaṇa, King of the Rākshasas (demons or goblins), to his capital Lankā, in the island of Ceylon. Ultimately, Rāvaṇa was slain in battle by Rāma, who (according, at least, to the poem in its existing, and perhaps interpolated, form) was an incarnation of the supreme god Vishṇu, and Sītā was rescued. Rāma returned to Ayodhyā after his father's death, and succeeded him on the throne. The legend now freely translated is taken from the supplementary book of the Rāmāyaṇa, chapter 17, and relates a passage in the earlier life of Rāvaṇa. Vedavatī, the heroine of the story, agreeably to the Indian theory of the transmigration of souls, was subsequently re-born in the form of Sītā.

Where, clothed in everlasting snow,
Himālay's giant peaks arise
Against the ambient azure skies,
And bright as molten silver glow—
While, far beneath, the solitudes
Are green with Devadāru[21] woods—

It chanced that once the demon lord
Who ruled in Lankā's isle afar,
And, mounted on his airy car,
Those northern tracts sublime explored,
Alighted there upon the ground,
And roamed the forests wild around.

And, lo, he saw a maiden, fair
And brilliant as a goddess, clad
In garb ascetic, rude and sad,
Deform with squalid matted hair:
And all at once with passion fired,
The damsel's secret thus inquired:

"How is it, tell me, lovely maid—
Whose virgin charms subdue the heart,
Whose form with every grace of art
In gold and gems should be arrayed—
Thou dost this doleful garb assume,
Which ill beseems thy youthful bloom?

"Whose daughter art thou? What hath led
Thy choice to such a life austere?
O blest were he whom, lady dear
And beauteous, thou should'st deign to wed!"
Him, duly honoured as a guest,
The fair ascetic thus addressed:

"My father was a holy sage;
From him I sprang as, calm, and dead
To earthly aims and joys, he read
Th' eternal Veda's hallowed page:
The voice which spoke within the Book
In me a form corporeal took.

"The gods, enamoured, all aspired
The honour of my hand to gain:
Their ardent pleas were urged in vain;
A loftier aim my father fired;
For he had vowed, with lawful pride,
I could be only Vishnu's bride.

"Incensed at his rejection, one
Among the suitors, proud but base,
The chieftain of the Daitya race,[22]
Avenged the slight the sage had shown:
By night he nigh my father crept,
And vilely slew him while he slept.

[21] *Pinus devadaru*, which signifies, the "divine tree;" the Deodar, a magnificent tree, both n height and girth.

[22] The Daityas in character correspond with the Titans of the Greeks.

"That I my sire's high aim may gain,
And win great Vishnu for my lord,
I lead this life, by thee abhorred,
Of hard austerity and pain;
And, till the god himself impart,
I wed his image in my heart.

"I know thee, Rāvan, who thou art:
By virtue of this life austere
All hidden things to me are clear;
I bid thee hence; avaunt, depart!"
But by the maiden's charms subdued,
The demon still his suit pursued.

"Proud art thou, lady fair, whose soul
So high aspires; but such sublime
Devotion suits not well thy prime,
Nor stern and painful self-control.
The old may so their days employ;
But thou should'st live for love and joy.

"I am the lord of Lankā's isle;
Thy peerless charms my bosom fire;
If thou wilt crown my heart's desire,
And ever on me sweetly smile,
Then thou, my favoured queen, shalt know
The bliss that power and wealth bestow.

"And who is Vishnu, pray, declare,
Whose form thy fancy paints so bright?
Can he in prowess, grandeur, might,
And magic gifts, with me compare?
A phantom vain no longer chase,
The offer of my love embrace."

To whom the holy maid replied—
"Presumptuous fiend, thy boast is loud:
No voice but thine, profanely proud,
Hath ever Vishnu's might defied.
Heaven, earth, and hell, all own him lord—
By all their hosts and powers adored."

She spake; the fiend with rage was fired:
The damsel's hair he rudely grasped;
Thus by his hated fingers clasped,
She tore her locks, and cried, inspired—
"This insult I may not survive:
I enter now this fire, alive.

"Yet though I die, I once again
Shall live to recompense this wrong.
And though my vengeance slumber long,
My pious works their meed shall gain,
And I shall re-appear on earth,
A virgin fair of royal birth."

She ceased. With fixed resolve to die,
The fire she entered, calm, elate;
When all at once, to celebrate
This deed heroic, from the sky
There fell a shower of fragrant flowers,
Rained down by gods from heavenly bowers.

Nor was this maid's prediction vain.
Attaining all her heart's desire,
As Sītā she was born again,
The daughter of a royal sire,
And won great Rāma for her lord,
Whom men as Vishnu's Self adored.

And now the demon-king profane,
Whose coming doom had been foretold
By that insulted maid of old,
By Rāma's hand in fight was slain.
For how could hellish power withstand
Incarnate Vishnu's murderous brand?

INDEX TO PROPER NAMES AND MATTERS.

A
Abhidharmapitaka, 56
Abhīra, 428
Abhīrikā, 46
Ābhīrī, dialect, 46
Abu Sin, 349
Achcha, see Atsu and Utsu
Achitas, 391
Ādarśa, 400
Adharavana Vyākaraṇam, 428
Adhvaryu, 188
Aditi, 297
Āditya (the sun), 188
Æschylus quoted, 293
Agamemnon, 196
Agastya, 409, 413 ff.
Agni, 175, 181, 185, 188 f, 197, 201 f, 211 f, 323, 361, 451, etc.
Agnihotra, 404
Agni purāṇa, 422
Agrāyaṇa, 177
Ahi, 388
Ahīśuva, 387
Ahriman, 480, see Angramainyus
Ahura Mazda, 298 f, 329 ff, 464, 471 ff.
Aindravāyava-graha-brāhmaṇa, 213
Airāvatī, 484, see Irāvatī
Airyama, 298
Airyama-vaējo, 329 ff, 480 f.
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 181
i. 4—172
i. 23, 25—381 f.
ii. 19—397
v. 32—188
vii.
1, 22, 34—183, 353
13—184
18—364, 369
viii. 14, 23—324
38—183
Aitihāsikas, 175 f.
Akesines, 345
Akrīḍa, 422
Aksu, 484
Ākuli, 386, 396
Alexandria, 479
Alexander the Great, 344 f.
Alishung, 345
Allahabad pillar inscription, 104, 109
Āmād, 390
Amarakosha, 255, 404
Ameshaśpentas, 475
Amīr Taimur, 6
Anagnitra, 390
Anāsas, 392
Ānava, 377
Āndhra-dīpikā, 427
Andhrabhritya dynasty, 438
Andhra kaumudī, 428, 431
Andhrian Vishṇu, 428, 431
Andhra Rāya or Andhra Rayadoo, 431, 436, 438
Andhras, 364, 423, 427
Āndhra, 300, 478
Angas, 351 f, 357, 406, 454
Angiras, 197
Angirasas, 189, 383
Anglosaxons, 280
Angramainyus, 299, 330
Anindra, 373 f.
Anitabhā, 343 ff, 348 f
Anjana, 350
Annibi, 479
Annibian mountains, 479
Anthropophagi, 479
Anukramaṇī, 195, 361
Anuyājas, 175 f.
Anyadeśyam, 428
Apabhraṁśa, 46 ff, 52, 259, 428
Āpastamba, 179
Apayā, 345
Appakavīyam, 429
Āptya, 296
Arabic, 218 ff.
Arachosia, 314, 332
Araṇyanī, 393
Ararat, 481
Araṭṭas, 482 ff
Arbuda, 385, 387 f.
Ardhamāgadhī, dialect, 46, 50
Aria, Ariana, 318, 340
Ariabignes, Ariarathes, etc., etc., 293
Arii, 292
Arimanius (Ahriman) 472
Ariomardus, 292
Arizanti, 292
Ārjikīyā, 341, 345, 348
Ārjuni, 385
Arṇa, 347 f, 361
Arrian, Indica, 344
Aryaman, 297 f.
Āryas, 213, 282, 291, 354, 359 ff, 443
Āryāvarta, 303, 340, 400
Ashi, 331
Asiknī, 341, 345
Asita, the Indian Simeon, 494
Asmiræan mountains, 479
Aśoka, 56, 62 ff, 104, 132
Asura, 299
Asuras, 175, 202, 363, 485, etc., etc.
——, their castles, 378 ff.
Asutṛipas, 391, 418
Āśvalāyana, 179, 199, 298
Aśvatha, 461
Aśvins, 176, 360, 447, 471
Atharvan, 451, 460 f, 464
Atharvans, 189, 383
Atharvāngirasas, 460
Atharva Sanhitā, 187 ff, 445 ff.
Atharvaveda.
iii.
17, 4, 8—421

Atharvaveda.—*continued.*
iv.
16, 1, ff.—451
20, 4, 8—368
30, 4—209
v.
4, 1—328
22, 5, 7 f, 12, 14—351, 446
28, 9 f—383
x.
3, 11—388
4. 23—451
6, 10, 20—383
7, 20—189
xi. 7, 24—189
xii.
1, 11—349
1, 45—376
xviii.
2, 28—368, 387.
xix.
47, 50—451
62, 1—368
Āthrava, 456, 460, 464
Athwya, 296, 473
Atithigvā, 379, 385
Atri, 198, 388
Atsu Telugu, 429 f.
Aṭṭhakatha, 56, 62
Attock, 335
Atyarāti, 324
Audharvan Achary, 432
Audumbarāyaṇa, 177
Aufrecht, Prof. Th., his Catalogue, 167
———, art. in Jour. Ger. Or. Society, 343
———, art. in Ind. Stud. 195
———, on age of Atharvaveda, 450 ff.
———, on the relation of Prākṛit to Sanskrit, 131
———, on Vedic forms in Pāli, 72
———, quotations supplied by, 159, 400
———, suggestions by, 205, 238, 359, etc.
———, his Ujjvalaladatta, 142, 490
Aupamanyava, 175, 195
Aurṇavābha, 176 f, 204
———, the demon, 371, 387
Auxasian mountains, 479
Avantī, dialect, 50
Avatārs, 203
Avesta, 459 f, 475 f.
Ayodhyā, 498
Āyu, 386.

B

Bactria, 457, 481
Bactrians, 457, 459
———— kings, 336, 484
———— language, 226
Badakhshan, 319, 484
Badarikā, 329
Bāgh o Bahār quoted, 6
Bachr's Herodotus, 292
Bāhīkas, 202, 352, 354, 482 ff.
Bahlīkas, Bahlikas, Balhikas } 349, 351, 446, 454
Bakhdhī, 330
Bālādichcha, 60
Bālarāmāyaṇa, 78, 89, 103
Balāsa, 351
Bāli 417
Balkh, 332, 446
Ballantine, Rev. H., on relation of Mahrattī to Sanskrit, 26
Ballantyne, Dr. J. R., correction suggested by him, 174
———, his Mahābhāshya, 154, 346
Banga, 64
Bangas, 357
Bauddhas, 259
Bauddhāyana, 179
Beames, Mr. J., art. in Journ. R. A. S., 8, 35, 143 f.
Beeas, 345
Behar, 347, 350, 404, 443
Behat, 345
Belurtagh, 318 f, 334, 480
Benfey, Prof. Th.
——, his art. in Gött. Gel. Anz. 115, 117, 145, 335, 367 f.
——, Griech. Wurzellexikon, 228, 256
——, Indien quoted, 55, 64, 105, 136, 311, 335
——, Orient und Occident, 204, 343, 359, 370, 372, etc.
——, Sāmaveda, 160, 170, 198, 203, 237, 343, 346, 348, etc., etc.
——, Sanskrit grammar, 263, 265, 441
Bengali dialect, 4 ff, 32, 118, 127, 146, 254, 425, 439
Bhabra inscription, 104, 109, 115
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 162
i. 3, 24—350
iv. 14, 43 ff—411
vii. 10, 18—350
ix. 21, 11 f—495
Bhāmaha's Manoramā, 43
Bhāratavarsha, 336
Bhāshā, 46, 67, 130, 136, 151 f.
Bhāskara Āchārya, 161, 178
Bhava, 451
Bhavya, 342
Bhills, 487
Bhīmeśvara, 428
Bhīshma, 365
Bhota, 49
Bhotan, 487
Bhṛigu, 197
Bhṛigus, 279
Bhūr, 188
Bhuvaḥ, 188
Blackie, Prof., his note on Iliad, ii. 813 f—157
Böhtlingk, Dr. O.—
———, his S'akuntalā, 14
———, his Pāṇini, 154
Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, 187, 189, 204, 224, 238, 346, 348, 350, 360, f, 368 f, 460 ff, etc.
Bollensen, Dr., articles by him, 160
Bopp, Dr. F., Comp. Gram. 228, 236, 489
Brahmā, Brahmā jyeshtham, } 195, 452
Brahmā and Brimha, 159, 202, 432 f.
Brāhman (priest), 188, 462
Brāhman (caste) 298, 456 ff, 462
Brāhmaṇas (books), 163, 176, 178 ff.
Brahma purāṇa, 422
Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, 162
Brahmāvarta, 303, 400
Brajbhākhā, 36, 39
Bréal, M., on the geography of the Avesta, 314, 334
Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, 215 f, 361

Bṛihaddevatā, 164
Bṛihat, 156
Brockhaus, H., his Prabodhachandrodaya, 14
Buddha, 55, 115, 153, 350, 494 ff.
Buddhaghosa, 62, 72
Buddhapriya, 60
Buddhism, 55 ff.
Buddhist councils, 56
Buddhists, 53 f, 351
Bundehesh, 471
Bunsen on the geography of the Avesta, 334, 481
Burnouf, M. E., Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 338
——, Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, 116, 123 f.
——, Lotus de la bonne loi, 55, 61, 72, 105 f, 109 ff.
Burnouf and Lassen, on the Pāli, 68, 108
Burrindu, 349

C

Calchas, 196
Caldwell's Dravidian Gram., 53, 415, 424 ff, 486 ff.
Campbell's Telugu Gram., 48 f, 53, 424 f, 434 ff.
Canarese language, 32, 260, 423 ff.
Canoj, 49, see Kanouj
Casian mountains, 479
Caspian Sea, 481
Caucasus, 481
Cawnpore, properly Kānhpur, 17
Celtic languages, 217
Centaurs, 279
Cerebral letters, 441 f.
Chakhra, 330
Chaṇḍālikā, Chāṇḍālī, 46, 50
Chaṇḍālas, 305, 310
Chaṇḍīdevaś Prākṛita dīpikā, 46
Chandrabhāgā, 348
Charaṇavyūha, 192
Charmaśiras, 177
Chhandas, 189
Chhāndogya Upanishad, p. 585—396
iv. 17, 1—188
Chenab, 345
Childers, Mr. R. C., suggestions made, and materials supplied, by him, 22, 24 f, 28 f, 54, 76, 83, 88 f, 110, 495.
Chintāmaṇi, 435
Chitrakūṭa, 409, 412
Chitraratha, 347 f, 361
Cholas, 422 f.
Chorasmians, 292, 342
Chrysostom, 495
Chulikapaiśāchī, dialect, 48, 52, 428
Chumuri, 368
Clough's Pāli Grammar, 65, 70, 73, 76
Colebrooke, Mr. H. T., his Essays, 178, 195, 200, 203, 265, 325, 424
Comparative Philology, remarks on, 217 ff.

Comparative Tables—
i. Sanskrit, Prākṛit and modern vernaculars, 13, 15 ff
ii. Prākṛit and modern vernaculars, 27 ff.
iii.—vii. Sanskrit, Gāthā, Pāli, and Prākṛit, 76 ff.
viii. Sanskrit, rock inscriptions and Pāli, 111 ff.
ix. Sanskrit, Persian, & Arabic words, 220
— Sanskrit, Zend, and Persian, 221 ff.
x. Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, 230 ff.
Sanskrit & Zend, 287 ff.
Sanskrit and Telugu roots, 426 f.
Comparison of Sanskrit and Zend, Greek and Latin pronouns, nouns, verbs, etc., 242 ff.
Cophēn, see Kophēn
Coromandel coast, 401
Cowell, Prof. E. B., his Prākṛitaprakāśa, 14, 43 f, 48, 73 ff, 120.
——, correction made by him, 174
——, note in Elphinstone's history, 476 f.
——, opinion referred to, 495
Crawfurd, Mr. John—
"Language as a test of the races of man," etc., 282, f.
Cural, 435, 437
Curtius, Grundzüge der Griech. Etymologie, 228, 237, 239, 256
Curzon, Mr. A., in Jour. R.A.S., 301 ff, 312 f, 320 f, 357, 441, 443
Cushitic tribes, 419 f.

D

Dabhīti 384, 387
Dadhyach, 447
Daēvas, 299, 330
Dahāka, 330
Daityas, 395, 497
Daksha, 420
Dākshāyaṇī, 492
Dākshiṇātya dialect, 46, 50
Damilas, 60
Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa, 46 f.
Danū, 383
Dānu, 371, 428
Daṇḍaka forest, 408, 413
Daṇḍakas, 490
Daradas, 338, 365
Dasyus, 31, 145, 151, 213 282, 291, 359 ff, 409, 418, 443, 492
Dāsa, 361 f, 367 f, etc.
D'Alwis, Mr. J., his Kachchāyana, 54, 65
Darśanas, 330
Daśaratha, 406
Dehli pillar inscription, 104, 109
Dekhan, 441 ff.
Delius's Radices Praeriticæ, 14
Demodocus, 211
Deotsu, 337
Devāpi, 168
Devas, 175, 299
Desī, Deśyam, 447 ff,
Deshyumoo 427 ff.
Desmoulins, 283
Dharmachakra, 495
Dhātumālā, Sanskrit, 425
————, Telugu, 425
Dhauli inscription, 104, 109, 114
Diespiter, 295
Dīgha Nikāya, 61
Dīpankara, 60

Divodāsa, 379 f, 384, 389
Dracharāmam, 428
Dravida, 260, 401, 422 f.
Drāvidī, dialect, 46, 50, 127, 425
Dravidas, 355
Dravidians, 443
Dṛishadvatī, 311, 345, 397, 399 ff.
Druhyu, 260
Drvaspā, 331
Dualism, 478
Duǰak, 330
Durgā, 201
Durga or Durgāchārya, commentator on the Nirukta, quoted, 156, 165 ff, 173 f, 303 f.
Duryodhana, 353
Dushyanta, 422
Dwarf avatār, 203
Dyaus, 279

E

Ekalavya, 418
Ekaparvataka, 405
Ellis, Mr. F. W.
——, his note on the Dravidian languages, 48, 53, 424 ff.
Elphinstone's (Hon. Mr.) History of India, quoted or referred to, 304, 321, 476 ff.
Emodus, 479
Erinnys, 279
Euaspla, 345
Euripides quoted, 215

F

Faesi, his note on Iliad ii. 813 f.—157
Fargard, 1st, of the Vendidad, 314, 329 ff, 480 f.
Fausböll's Dhammapada, quoted, 71, 76
Feridun, or Frēdun, 296, 476
Fick, August, his Vergl. Wörterbuch, 216, 228, 257
Finnish languages, 441
French language, 261

G

Gālava, 177
Gandak, Gandakī, 404 f.
Gandarii, Gandaritis, 342
Gāndhāra, Gandhāris, 49, 342, 349, 351 ff, 428, 482
Gandharvas, 175, 279
Gangā, 341, 345, 482
Gārgya, 177
Gārhapatya fire, 451
Garrœas, 344
Gāthā dialect (Indian), 10, 115 ff, 207, 210
Gāthās (Zoroastrian), 332, 468
Gāthin, 197
Gāu, 330
Gauḍī dialect, 48, 50
Gaupāyanas, 386
Gaurī, 344
Gautama, 365, 418, 491 f, 494
Gayā, 350
Gayasīras, 204
Geldart, Rev. G. C., his paper "Language no test of race," 277, 467 f.
Germans, 280
Gilgit, 337
Girnār inscription, 104 f, 114
Godāverī, 347, 408, 428
Gogard, or Gokeren tree, 471
Gomal, 343, 348
Gomatī, 343, 348, 493
Gonds, 424
Goldstücker, Dr. Th., his Dictionary, 373, 463
——, his Pāṇini, 153
——, paragraphs contributed by him, 262 ff.
Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 1—156
Gotama, 197
Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, 402
Govinda Ānanda, 307
Govinda deva's Bālarāmāyaṇa and Prasannarāghava, 14
Gorresio's Rāmāyaṇa, 406 ff, 419 f.
Goryaia, 345
Grāmyam, Gramyumoo speech, 49, 427 ff.
Greek, 216, 254 ff.
Greeks, 267 ff.
Gṛihya Sūtras, 186, 421
Guha, 407 f.
Gundert, Dr. H., on the Dravidian elements in Sanskrit, 34
Gurgān, 332
Gurhwal, 335
Guzeratī or Gurjara dialect, 4, 7, 425

H

Haag, Dr. F. Vergleichung des Prākrit mit den Romanischen Sprachen, 147
Haĕtumat, 330
Haiva, 49
Haoma, 297, 470 ff.
Hall, Dr. F., his Vāsavadattā, 152
Hamitic tribes, 419 f.
Hanumān, 157, 159
Hapta Hendu, 295, 300, 331 ff.
Hari, 431
Harivaṅsa—
1616, 1836—422
7799—208
9491—189
Haraqaiti, 330
Harivupīya, 348
Harivarsha, 326
Harōyu, 314, 330
Haug, Prof. M., 199
——, Ait. Brāhmaṇa, 164, 172, 184 f, 382, 397
——, Das Erste Kapitel des Vendidad, 329 ff.
——, Brahma und die Brahmanen, 462
——, Origin of Brahmanism, 462
Hebrew, 218
Hebrew, knowledge of, how preserved, 139
Heeren, Prof., 332
Hemachandra, 44, 51 f, 67, 404
Hermes, 279
Herodotus quoted, 215, 292, 459
Hesiod, 186
Hilmend, 332
Himālaya or Himavat, 303, 310, 324, 328, 335, 340, 349, 400, 412, 480
Hindī dialect, 4 ff, 13, 15 ff, 32, 118, 127, 146, 227, 254, 425, 438 f, 441
Hindukush, 335, 340, 354
Hiran, 340
Hiraṇvatī, 344

Homer, 186, 216
Hotṛi, 188
Hūiti, 456, 460, 464
Humayūn, 6
Humboldt, 481
Hūṇas, 443
Hutokhsh, 464
Huxley, Prof., on the "Methods and results of Ethnology," etc., 282 ff.
Hydaspes, 345
Hyrcania, 332

I

Ilā, 323
Iliad quoted, 157
Ilvala, 159, 414
Indo-European languages, 217 ff.
Indo-Scythians, 444
Indra, 197 f, 201, 212 f, 299, 348, 359, 361, 373, 447, 451, etc.
Indraprastha, 335
Interpretation of the Veda, article on the, in Journ. R. A. S. 173, 210, 255
Iranians, 477 f, 480, and passim
Irāvatī, 342, 345, 348
Īśāna, 294
Īśvarachandra Vidyāsāgara quoted, 162
Italian compared with Prākṛit, 147 ff.
Italians, 280
Itihāsas, 161 f.

J

Jainas, 435
Jamadagni, 447
Janaka, 192, 404, 406
Jānakī (Sītā), 158
Janasthāna, 410
Jemshēd, 331, 476
Jumna, see Yamunā
Jupiter, 295
Justi, Dr., his Handbuch der Zendsprache, 220, 223, 228, 244, 289, 299, 459, 462
Jyotishṭoma, 381

K

Kabandha, 412
Kabul, 332
Kabulistan, 337
Kachchāyana's Pāli Grammar, 54, 60
Kaiyyaṭa, 400
Kakshīvat, 323, 361
Kākula, 432
Kāla, 452
Kālakavana, 400
Kālakūṭa, 405
Kālamukhas, 491
Kāleśvara, 428
Kali, 408, 431, 453
Kālī, 221
Kalinga, 64
Kālidāsa, 180
Kalpasūtras, 180 f.
Kāma, 452
Kambojas, 259, 355, 365
Kampanā, 344
Kandahār, 332
Kanojana
Kanouj } 49, 143, 401
Kānyakubja
Kaṇva or Kunva, 198, 431
Kapardin, 201
Kapurdigiri inscription, 104, 107, 114
Karahāṭaka, 490
Karanja, 385
Karatoyā, 404 f.
Kārṇaprāvaraṇas, 491
Karṇāṭa, 260, 422
Karṇāṭaka dialect, see Canarese.
Kārtavīrya, 420 f.
Kashmīr, 329, 337
Kāśikā, 351
Kaśmīras, 354
Kaśyapa, 492
Kaṭa, 197
Kāṭhaka, 180
Kāṭṭhakya, 177
Kathāsarit-sāgara, 495
Kātyāyana, 58 f, 179, 193
Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, 163, 184, 192, 328
Kaushītakins, 192
Kautsa on the uselessness of the Nirukta, 170 ff.
Kautsa, 177
Kava Uś, 297
Kavasha Ailūsha, 398, 465
Kāverī river, 347
Kāvya chandrikā, 47
Kāvya Uśanas, 297
Kedarnath, 412
Kemaon, 335, 344
Kekaya, 48, 406, 428
Kerakas, 491
Keralas, 422 f.
Kereśāspa, 296
Kern, Prof. H., on the triple Veda, 445
——, on the age of the A.V., 446 f.
——, on the antiquity of castes, 454 ff.
Khamil, 484
Khara, 410, 416
Khaśas, 482
Khetudas, 459
Khila, 193, 199, 450
Khnenta, 330
Khoes, 345
Khoten, 484
Khokand, 481
Khonar, 345
Kiepert, Dr., on the geography of the Vendidad, 332, 334
Kīkaṭa, 347, 350, 357 f.
Kilāta, 386, 396
Kirātas, 365, 396, 491
Koas, 349
Kola, 422
Kolagiri, 491
Kols, 423, 487
Kophēn river, 339, 342 ff.
Koran, 219
Kośalā, 405
Kośalas, 403 f.
Kosti (sacred girdle of Parsees), 298
Kraushṭaki, 177
Kravyād, 390, 418
Kriśāśva, 296
Krivi, 396
Krishṇa, 201
Krishṇā (river), 432
Krumu, 343 ff, 348, 493
Kshatriya, 298, 310, 355, 456, 463, 494
Kubhā, 339, 343 ff, 348, 493
Kuhn, Prof. Adalbert, on the inserted letters in Pāli, 70
——, in Indische Studien, 294
——, in Zeitsch. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 160
——, Herabkunft des Feuers, 279, 361, 377
——and Schleicher's Beiträge, 468, 477 ff.
Kuhn, Dr. Ernest, his translation of Kachchāyana, 54
Kulitara, 383
Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, 401

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, 494
Kuntala, 49, 428
Kurus, 405
Kurujāṅgala, 405
Kurukshetra, 400, 482
Kurum, 343, 348
Kurutthāma, 422
Kutsa, 361, 376, etc.
Kuyava, 385

L

Lakshmaṇa, 407, 412, 417, 498
Lakshmīdhara's Shaḍbhāshā Chandrikā, 44, 48
Lalita vistara, 10, 76, 89, 115 ff, 210
Langlois's Rigveda, 196, 199, 340, 346
Languages derived from Latin, 134, 146
Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde (or, Indian Antiquities), 42, 55, ff, 58, 104 f, 108 f, 124, 132 ff, 153, 158, 281, 308, 336, 342, 347 ff, 406, 408, 444
—— Institutiones linguæ Praeriticæ, 14, 30, 35 ff, 45 f, 58
—— Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 326, 353, 366
Latin, 146, 149, 216, 227, 254 ff.
—— in the middle ages, 139
Letto-Slavonic tongues, 217
Linga, 202
Lit. Centralblatt, 147
Lohamukhas, 491
Lohas, 355
Lomapāda, 406

M

Madhusūdaṇa Sarasvatī, 189
Mādhwāchārya, 163
Madras, 482 ff.
Mādravatī, 491
Madhyadeśa, 303, 400 f.
Magadha, 350 f, 454
Māgadhī dialect, 45 f, 48, 50 f, 54, 58, 60, 63, 108, 114 f, 428
Mahābhārata, 458
i.
732—207
2544, 2606, & 3188 ff —386
2439 ff—353
3478—423
3533—260
4346—327
4719 ff—326
ii.
793 ff—404
1025, 1031 f—364
1045 ff—326
1078—402
1169 ff—490
iii.
5074, 10538—398
10545 f—328
12746 ff—323
15197, 15918—416
15981—417
vi.
333—344
vii.
4747 ff—365
viii.
1407 ff—383
2025 ff—482 f.
ix.
2960—398
x.
785—352
xii.
2429 ff, 6293 ff—365
6293 ff—491 f.
xiii.
2505 ff—466
7458 ff—383
xiv.
180—252
2472—418
Mahābhāshya, 400
pp. 22, & 63—154
p. 62—356
p. 104—161
——, Vivaraṇa, on, 206
Mahādeva, 194, 201 f.
Mahārāshṭrī dialect, 36 ff, 43 ff, 48, 50 f, 56, 65, 428, 488
Mahāvaṅśa (or Mahawanso), 62 f.
Mahendra, 56 f, 61, 63
Mahendra hills, 428
Maheśa, 428
Mahīdhara's commentary, on the Vāj. S., 164, 186, 193
Māhishmatī, 421
Mahmūd of Ghazni, 336
Mahommed, 218
Mahrattī dialect, 4, 7, 15 ff, 32, 118, 127, 146, 254, 425, 438, 486
Maitreya, 183
Mālā Charmaṇvatī, 405
Malantus, 344
Malamantus, 344
Malayālim language, 32, 260, 423 ff.
Māmidi Venkaya, 427 ff.
Mānava dharma śāstra, 138, 141
——, quoted, i 23—188
ii. 17 ff—399
— 23—346
— 69—298
iii. 13—466
x. 12—305
— 45—151, 364
xi. 20—396
Mandākinī, 412
Mantra, 179
Manu, 184, 196, 260, 279, 323, 340, 360 f, 470, etc.
Manu Svayambhū, 431
Manyu, 362
Marka, 386
Maruts, 323, 369
Marudvṛidhā, 341
Marwar, 339
Māthavas, 403
Mathiah pillar, 104
Mathurā, 281, 401
Matsyas, 400
Matsyapurāṇa, 422
Meghavāhana, 132
Medea, 292
Medes, 292
Medhātithi, 447
Medinīkosha, 463
Megasthenes, 327
Mehatnū, 343
Merv, 332
Minos, 279
Mir Amman, 6
Mithilā, 405 f.
Mithra, 297, 472
Mitra, 297
Mlechhas, 151, 213, 365 f.
Molesworth's Mahrathi Dictionary, 266
Monkeys, 417 ff
Mōuru, 300
Mṛichchhakaṭī, 11 f, 14, 151
Mṛidhravāch, 376
Mṛigaya, 375

Mūjavats, 351 f.
Müller, Prof. Max—
——, "Chips," 115, 153, 164 f, 279, 281, 300, 310, 314, 340
——, Essay on the Bengali language, 315
——, Anc. Sansk. Literature, 75, 104, 153, 161, 164, 168, 173 f, 180, 184 f, 187, 189 ff, 310
——, in Journ. Germ. Or. Society, 356
——, Languages of the seat of war, 359
——, Last results of Persian researches, 290, 300
——, of Sanskrit do., 153
——, of Turanian do., 281, 311, 328, etc.
——, Lectures on language, 314
——, Translation of R.V. x. 129—349
—— art. in "Nature," 493
Munjavat, 352
Mūradevas, 391
Murchison, Sir R., 481
Musalmans, 219
Mustagh, 234, 480
Mūtibas, 364

N

Nadir Shah, 336
Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, 206
Nagnajit, 353
Nahusha, 422
Naichaśākha, 350
Naidānas, 176
Nairuktas, 176
Namuchi, 387
Nannapa, or Nunniah Bhut, 432
Nārada, 353
Narmadā, 347, 421
Nāṭī dialect, 48
Nepala, 49, 428
Neriosengh's Sanskrit transl. of the Avesta, 456
Nigama, 179
Nighaṇṭus (or Naighaṇṭuka), 165, 169, 186, 255, 299
Nirukta, 169, 179, 186
i.
1—165
4 f—151
15—169, 171
20—165 f
Nirukta—*continued.*
ii.
2—152, 355
11—195
16—174
23—346
iii.
8—175
iv.
15—344
vi.
7—207
31—377
32—350
vii.
1—195
16—197
viii.
21 f—175
ix.
26—342
8—352
x.
42—195
10, 46—196
xii
1, 19—176
41—177
Niruktapariśishṭa—
i. 9—155
i. 12—177
Nisa, Nisāi, Nisæa, 330, 332
Nishādas, 406 ff, 411, 418
Nishambhu, 428
Nodhas, 197
North Indian Dialects, 4
Nöldeke, Prof., on the Semitic and Indo-European languages, 219
Norris, Mr. E., on the origin of the cerebrals in Sanskrit, 440 f.
Nyāyamālāvistara, quoted, 53, 179

O

Odras, 355, 400
Odyssey, quoted, 211
Œdipus, 196
Olympus, 480
Origin of non-Sanskrit words in vernaculars, 7, 31 f.
Orissa, 401
Ormuzd, Oromazes, 334, 472
Orpheus, 279
Osthakarṇakas, 421
Ottorocorra, 327
Oudh, 404
Oxus, 318, 480 f.

P

Padma lake, 405
—— Purāṇa, 411
Pahlavas, 259
Paingins, 192
Pairika Khnathaiti, 330
Paiśaichī dialect, 43, 48, 50, 52, 428
Pākaśāsani, 364
Pāli language, 10 f, 53 ff, 207, 214, 259
Pāman, 351
Pamer, 481, 484
Pampā, 412
Panchajana, 175
Panchālas, 396, 400
Panchālī dialect, 127
Panchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa 13, 11—386
Pāṇḍya, 48 f, 422, 428
Pāṇini, 153
i. 2, 36—152
i. 4, 20—152
ii. 4, 10—400
iii. 2, 108—152
iii. 3, 78—354
iv. 2, 117 f—354
vi. 3, 20—152
vi. 4, 102—206
vii. 2, 64—206
Panis, 377
Panjāb, 295, 336 f.
Panjkora, 337, 344
Parahaoma, 471
Paramakambojas, 365
Paraśurāma, 421
Paripātra, 400
Parṇaya, 385
Parsees, 298
Parthians, 292, 342
Paruchhepa, 195
Parvata, 353, 373
Parushṇī, 341, 345, 348
Paśūnāmpati, 202
Pathyā Svasti, 328
Paurava, 364
Pāvamānya, 474
Pericles, 186
Persian language, 217 ff.
Persians, 267 ff.
Peukelæotis, 344
Phallus, 202
Phlegyes, 279
Pictet, Ad., Origines Indo-Européennes, 258, 264, 266 ff, 272, 294, 317 ff, 334

Pipru, 375, 378
Pisāchas, 363
Pitakattaya, 56 f.
Pishtra, 456
Pitris, 175
Plutarch, de Isid. et Osir. quoted, 471 f.
Pluto, 472
Portuguese, 281
Pouruśaspa, 474
Prāchyas, 356
Prahrāda, 353
Prahasta, 159
Prajāpati, 185, 188, 372, etc.
Prākrit, meaning of the word, 51, 66 f.
Prākrit, dialects, 10 ff, 214, 221, 260 f.
——, Scenic or Dramatic, were they spoken? 34 ff.
Pramaganda, 350
Prasannarāghava, 76, 89, 103
Prasthalas, 483
Prasthānabheda, quoted, 190
Prātiśākhyas, 186, 355
Prayāga, 400 f.
Prayājas, 175 f.
Priests in the Vedic age, in Journ. R.A.S., 374, 378
Prinsep, Mr. James, decipherer of Indian Inscriptions, 104, 106
Priyadarśin or Piyadasi, 104, 108, 115
Priyamedha, 341
Ptolemy, the geographer, 327, 345, 479
Pukkasas, 50
Pulastya, 491
Pulindas, 364
Punarbhū, 492
Pundras or Paundrakas, 355, 364, 401
Punjshīr, 345
Purānas, 161 f.
Pūru, 260, 376 f. etc.
Purukutsa, 344, 370, etc.
Purumīlha, 447
Purūravas, 387
Purusha, 455
Purushamedha, 193
Purusha-sūkta, 199, 454 f., 458, 462 f.
Pūshan, 201, 421

R

Radhia pillar, 104
Raghā, 330
Raghuvanśa x. 16—173
Rājadharman, 492
Rājan, Rājanya, 463, 465 f.
Rājataranginī, quoted, 483
Rājendralāl Mitra, Babu, his art. in Journ. As. Society, Beng. 115 ff.
Rakshases or Rākshasas, 175, 198, 364, 408 ff, 491
Rāma, 201, 407 ff, 498, 499
Rāma, son of Mrigū, 183
Rāma Tarkavāgīśa's Prākritakalpataru, 46, 52
Rāmānuja, 163, 434
Rāmāyana,—139, 498
————, quoted
i.
12, 20 ff—406
ii.
50, 33 ff—406 f
59, 3—25
116, 11 ff—409
iii.
1, 1—408
2, 4 ff—410
4, 22—411
6, 15 ff—412
9, 24—413
10, 10 ff—412
11, 31—408
11, 55 ff—414
11, 56—159
11, 79—413
17, 22—416
30, 12—416
32, 12, 19—416 f
35, 70—416
46, 14—417
72, 18—417
iv.
26, 29 ff—417
40, 26 ff—491
43, 38, 57—325
v.
18, 18 f—159
30, 17 ff—157
82, 3—159
91, 20—416
vi.
19, 24—416
104, 2—159
117, 14—415

Rantideva, 495
Rasā, 343 ff, 348 f.
Rasavāhinī, 76
Rathaeshtao, } 456, 460,
Ratheshthā, } 462, 464
Rathantara, 156
Rātrisūkta, 450
Rāuhina, 388
Rāvana, 157 f, 416, 421, 498 f.
Ravee (river), 345
Ravi the sun, 189
Rawlinson's (Rev. G.) Herodotus, 292, 314, 342, 356
Regnier. M. Ad. Traité de la formation des mots dans la langue Grecque, 262
———, E'tude sur l'idiome des Vedas, 375
Rei, 332
Renan, E., Histoire des langues Semitiques, 218 f, 269, 394
Rephaim, 419
Rhode, Dr., 333
Ribhu, 279
Rigveda, 188, 445
Rigveda—i.
1, 2—197
—, 4—209
—, 7—209
2, 1—205
3, 7—205
5, 3—209
6, 5—209
16, 3—209
17, 6—209
21, 1—209
22, 16—21—203
24, 1 f—185
27, 13—185
33, 4, 5—363, 371, 384
33, 8—394
35, 6—470
37, 4—211
48, 14—197
51, 5—378
—, 8, 9—291, 359, 363
—, 6—385
53, 8 ff—385
62, 13—197
63, 7—378
64, 14—323
78, 4—388
89, 10—173

Rigveda—*continued.*
91, 1, 5, 8, 12, 21—473 f
100, 8—364
—, 10—370
—, 15—372
—, 18—369
101, 1—375
101, 5—371
103, 3—291, 359, 363, 378
104, 3—385
108, 7—463, 465
112, 14—389
114, 1—201
117, 21—359, 363
126, 1, 7—342
139, 7—384
—, 8—360
131, 4—372, 379
132, 4—372
133, 1—373
164, 45—155
169, 3—173
174, 2—376, 377
—, 8—378
176, 4—384
189, 3—390
ii.
1, 11—323
11, 18—371
12, 2—388
12, 4—282, 371
—, 11—383
—, 12—388
14, 4—388
—, 6—378
15, 4—384
19, 6—378
20, 7—369, 375
—, 8—379
30, 8—386
iii.
12, 6—378
16, 4—209
23, 4—345
30, 15 ff—390
32, 13—197
34, 8, 9—282, 360, 363, 389
53, 14—359
iv.
4, 15—419
5, 3—211
16, 9—372
—, 13—375
23, 7—373
26, 1, 2—360
—, 3—378

Rigveda—*continued.*
28, 4—371
30, 13—384
—, 14—384
—, 15, 21—386
—, 18—347, 361
—, 20—380
41, 2—373
50, 8 f—463, 465
57, 6 f—421
v.
2, 3—373
7, 10—372, 388
20, 2—373
29, 9, 10—376, 377, 392
30, 7, 9—387
32, 8—376
42, 9—372
44, 8—173
52, 17—347
53, 9—343
54, 15—323
70, 3—369
vi.
4, 8—323
12, 4—173
14, 3—372
18, 3—370
20, 10—379
—, 11—361
22, 10—363
23, 4—209
25, 2, 3—361, 363
26, 5—384
31, 4—379
33, 3—361, 363
44, 13—197
45, 31—347
47, 24—461
48, 8—323
60, 6—361, 363
61, 2, 13—346
—, 3, 370
vii.
5, 3—376
—, 6—361
6, 3—377, 378
18, 5—369
—, 6—374
—, 13—377
—, 19—347
19, 3—370
—, 2—385
21, 5—391
22, 9—198
33, 5—205
83, 1—361
95, 1, 2—346

Rigveda—*continued.*
99, 4—362
100, 4—371
104, 1, 2—390
viii.
1, 28—380
7, 9—461
14, 14—388
17, 14—380
18, 13—393
19, 37—344
22, 6—360
24, 27—362
—, 30—344
32, 26—387
40, 6—384
—, 10—387
59, 10, 11—372
62, 18—376
66, 4—173
84, 3—380
87, 6—380
ix.
1, 8—360
11, 2—461
41, 1—375
61, 2—389
73, 5—375
74, 8—323
92, 5—360
113, 7 ff—469
x.
22, 7, 8—373
27, 6—374
34, 1—352
38, 3—362
43, 4—360
48, 1—361
—, 2—461
—, 7—374
49, 3—362
53, 4—175
54, 1—387
64, 9—343
65, 11—362
69, 6—385
71, 3—211
73, 7—387
75, 5—341
—, 6—343
83, 1—362
—, 6—369
86, 19—359
87, 2 ff, 16—391, 418
88, 10—204
89, 7—379
90—454 f, 458
90, 9—189
95, 7—387

Rigveda—*continued.*
99, 3—391
99, 6—388
102, 3—362
103, 1—172
105, 8—374
121, 4—349
125, 4—209
—, 5—211
133, 2—172
138, 3—362
146, 1, 6—393
Rijiśvan, 375, 378, 385
Rishabha, 197
Rishikas, 365
Rishis, 196 ff.
Ritter, Dr., 334
Rock and pillar inscriptions, 59, 104 ff.
Romakas, 491
Romans, 267 ff.
Rosen (Dr.) Rigveda, 370
Roth, Dr. Rudolf, art. in Journ. Ger. Or. Society, quoted, 67, 153, 339
——, Literature and history of the Veda, 170, 191, 335, 338, 341, 347, 351, 355, 369, 446
——, Nirukta, 164, 166, 169, 176, 180 f, 186, 211, 343 f, 348, 356, 360, etc.
——, Dissertation on the A.V., 173, 447
——, art. in Indische Stud., 185
Rudolphi, 283
Rudra, 194, 201, 352, 383, 420
Rudradāman, 132
Rūpasiddhi (a Pāli Grammar), 54, 60

S

S'ābarī or Sāvarī dialect, 46, 50
Sadānīrā, 403 ff, 442
Sagara, 422
Sahasāuka, 160
Sahya, 48
Sāhityadarpaṇa, 50
S'akas, 50, 365, 443
S'ākalikā, S'ākalikī, 354
S'ākalya, 177
S'ākapūni, 177, 204
S'ākārī dialect, 46, 50
S'ākaṭāyana, 177
S'akuni, 353
S'ākuntalā, 14
S'ākyamuni, 494
S'ākyasinha, 494
Sāma Kereśāspa, 296
Samanām Sevishta, 473
Sāmaveda, 188, 191, 445
S'ambara, 368, 378, 389, etc.
Sanakas, 372
Sandhi, 141
S'aṇḍa 386
S'aṇḍikas, 386
Saṅhitās, four Vedic, 187
Sanjayantī, 491
S'aṅkarāchārya, 434
———, on Bṛihad Ār. Up. 164
S'āṅkhāyana Br., 328
Sanskrit, 44, 47 f.
Saptaśataka, 76
Sapta Sindhavas, 295, 300
S'arad, 380
Sārameya, 279
S'araṇyū, 279
Sārasvata, 398
Sarasvat, 346
Sarasvatī (river), 310 f. 338 ff, 345 ff, 370, 397 ff, 441
Sarasvatī (goddess) 329, 399
Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa, 160
Sarayu, 314, 343 ff, 348 f, 361, 405
S'arva, 202, 299, 451
S'atabalāksha, 177
S'atadru, 339
Sātyahavya, 324
S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa—
i. 1, 4, 14—386
— 3, 5, 2—173
— 4, 1, 10 ff—402
— 6, 3, 1 ff—388
— 7, 3, 8—202
ii. 2, 2, 8 ff—372
— 6, 2, 17—352
iii. 2, 1, 23—114
iv. 2, 1, 5 f—386
— 4, 4, 3 ff, 14—381
— 6, 7, 1—187
vii. 1, 4, 10—352
xi. 3, 1, 2—404
— 5, 1, 10, 12—163
— 6, 2, 1—404
xiii. 4, 3, 7 f—189
— 5, 4, 5—184
S'atapatha B.—*cont.*
— 5, 4, 7—396
— 8, 1, 5—485
xiv. 4, 2, 22—184
—6, 11, 2—156
S'ātyāyana Brāhmaṇa, 184
Saujāta, 183
S'aunaka, 164
S'aurasenī dialect, 36 f, 43 ff, 48, 50 f, 59 f, 108, 127, 428
S'avaras, 365
Sāyaṇa's commentary on R.V., quoted, 155, 164, 179, 184, 186, 197, 212, 299, 350, 360, 363, 463, etc.
Schlegel, A. W. von, his Essais, 281, 306, 335, 466
Schleicher, August, Compendium der Vergl. Grammat. der Indog. Sprachen, 216, 229 f, 245, 490
Scythians and their language, 486 ff.
Seleucus, 336
Semiramis, 336
Semitic languages, 217 ff.
Serica, 479
S'esha, 163
Setubandha, 48
Sewat or Suwad, 344 f.
Shen Tamil, 436
Siccacollum, 432
S'imyus, 369
Sindhu (Indus) 341 ff, 482
Sindhugāndhāras, 483
Sindhukshit, 341
Sindhusauvīras, 406, 483
S'iphā, 385
Sirmur, 335
S'isnadeva, 391
Sītā, 157 f, 413, 417, 421, 498
Sītā (the furrow) 421
S'iva, 201 f, 204, 299, 420
Sizyges, 479
Skambha, 452
Slavonic languages, 218
Smṛitis, 163, 179
Soastus, 334
Sobhari, 344
Sogdiana, 332, 481
Sogdians, 342, 468
Soma, 381, 469 ff.
Somagiri, 325
Soochundra, 451

Spiegel, Dr. F., art. in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge, etc., 287, 298, 468 f, 477 ff.
——, Avesta, 293 ff, 298 ff, 312, 329 ff, 456 f.
——, Kammavākya, 63, 76
S'rauta sūtras, 186
S'rīśailam, 428
Stenzler's (Dr. A.) Mrichchhakaṭī, 14
Stevenson, Rev. Dr. J., on the adoption of words into Sanskrit, 33
——, on the affinity of the northern and southern non-Arian languages, 485 f.
——, Sāmaveda, 470
Sthaulāshṭhīvi, 177
Streiter, Dissertatio de Sunahsepho, 185
Subala, 353
Sudās, 361
S'uddhōdana, 494 ff.
Sudhesha, 49
S'ūdras, 304 f, 310, 364, 483
Sudum, 345
Sughdha, 330
Sugrīva, 417
S'ukra, 386
Sultan Mahmud, 6
S'unas'sepa, 184
Surabhīpattana, 491
S'ūrpāraka, 490
Sūrya, 376
Susartu, 343 ff.
S'ushmina, 325
Śushna, 362, etc.
Śushomā, 342, 348
Suśravas, 385
Sutlej, 345 (see S'utudrī)
Sūtras, 179
Sūtrapiṭaka, 56
S'utudrī 341, 345
Suvāstu, 344
Svanaya, 342
Svar, 188
Svarjit, 353
S'vetī, 343, 348 f.
Syriac, 218

T

Tadbhava, Tadbhavam, Tudbhuvumoo, 47 ff. 427 ff.
Taiṭiki, 177
Tājiks, 484
Takman, 351
Takshaka, 451
Tālākaṭa, 490
Tambapanni, 60
Tamil language, 32, 260, 423 ff.
Tamulians, 303
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa—
Commentary on—
i. 5, 9, 2—156
Do. vol. ii. p. 842—346
Taittirīya Sanhitā, 184
i. 2, 1—172
— 5, 1, 1—202
v. 5, 7, 3—203
vi. 2, 3—382
— 4, 7, 3—212
— 4, 10, 1—386
p. 466—202
Comm. on, p. 9—163
Tāṇḍaka Brāhmaṇa, 184
Tartar languages, 441
Tatsama, Tatsamam, Tutsumumoo, 47 ff, 427 ff.
Telinga, Telingana, 260, 428
Telugu language, 32, 127, 260, 423 ff.
Teutonic languages, 218
——— tribes, 280
Tiresias, 196
Thagurian mountains, 479
Thraêtaono, 296, 330, 474
Titans, 363
Trasadasyu, 344, 370
Trayī vidyā, 187, 445
Trilinga, 428 f, 433
Trimūrti, 202
Trishṭāmā, 343, 348
Trita, 296, 388, 474
Tritsus, 205, 377
Trivikrama, 203
Troyer, M., Rājataranginī, 483
Tullberg's Mālavikā Agnimitra, 14
Turfan, 484
Turnour, M., his Mahāwanso, quoted or referred to, 53, 55, 57, 60 f, 76
———, art. in Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal, 110
Turvasu, 260, 348, 422
Tūrvayāna, 386
Tvashṭṛi, 175, 388

U

Uchchhishṭa, 139
Udgātṛi, 188
Udīchyas, 356
Ujjvalaladatta's Unādi Sūtras, Prof. Aufrecht's edition of, 490
Uloka, Ulagu, 435, 458
Unyudeshyumoo, 49
Upanishads, 163, 176, 200
Upasad, 381
Urana, 388
Uranos, 279
Urdu dialect, 6 f.
Urunjirā, 348
Urvā, 330
Uśanas, 361, 386
Ushas, 452
Uśīnaras, 354
Utkalī dialect, 46
Utkila, 197
Utsavasanketas, 364
Utsu-deshyumoo, 49 (see Atsu)
Uttarakurus, 324 ff, 337, 339
Uttara Madras, 324, 339

V

Vāch, 211 ff, 329
Vaēkereta, 330
Vāhlīka, 48 (see Bahlīka); ditto dialect, 50
Vaibhojas, 260
Vaiśravana, 417
Vaiśya, 298, 310, 456, 483
Vaivasvata, 469
Vājasaneyi Yajurveda, 193
Vājasaneyi Sanhitā—
3, 61—352
5, 8 and commentary, 380 f
8, 56—461
16, 54—172
18, 52—198
22, 22—462
23, 22 f—122
Vala, 363
Vālakhilya ii. 8—370
Vālakhilya—
iv. 3—204
xi. 6—211
Vālmīki, 408
Vāmadeva, 184, 211, 361
Vāmadevya, 156
Vānaras, or monkeys, 419
Vangrida, 385

Varāha Mihira, quoted, 5
Varchin, 386
Vararuchi, 12, 14, 43, 52, 59, 75, 148, 264
Varena, 330
Vārshyāyani, 177
Varuna, 212, 279, 297, etc.
Varvaras, 365
Vasishtha, 184, 198, 205, 389, 447
Vāstriya fshuyañt, 456, 460, 464
Vāstu, 344
Vātāpi, 414
Vāyu, 163, 188, 205, 213, 297
Vāyu Purāṇa, 421 f.
Veda, 179 f, 186
Vedāngas, 179
Vedarthā prakāśa, comm. on Taitt. S., quoted, 163
Vedavatī, 498
Vedavyāsa, 199
Vedic Sanskrit, forms of, 206 ff.
Vendidad, 498
Vendidad, first fargard of, 314, 329 ff, 418
—— 2nd do., 331
Verethragna, Verethraya, 317, 474
Vehrkāna, 330
Vernaculars of India, their antiquity, 7 ff.
Vibhāshās, 46
Vibhishana, 416, 490
Vidathin, 375
Videgha, the Māthava, 402
Videhas, 403 f.
Vikramāditya, 135, 160, 444
Vikramorvasī, 12
Vimadas, 198
Vinaśana, 391, 400 f.
Vināyaka Bhatta, 329
Vinayapitaka, 56
Vindhya, 303 f, 309, 339, 349, 408, 414
Vipās, 342, 345, 348
Virādha, 410 f.
Vishnu, 181, 202 ff, 362, etc.
Vishnupada, 204
Vishnupurāna, 162, 259, 421, 484
Viśiśipra, 392
Vis'vāmitra, 178, 197, 364, 379, 389, 413, 422
Vis've-devaḥ, 185, 205, 343
Vitastā, 341, 344, 348
Vivasvat, Vīvanhvañt, 296, 470
Vivien de St. Martin, xxiv. f, 348
Vrātyas, 351, 483
Vrindāvana, 401
Vrishalas, 401, 422
Vritra, 175 f, 363, etc.
Vritrahan 317, 389, 474
Vyāvahārikī (vāk) 67, 156
Vullers, Dr. J. A., his Persian and Latin Lex., and Persian Grammar, 220, 223
Vyāsa, 398
ditto, 408

W

Weber's Bhagavatī, 14
—— Essay on the Rāmāyana, 421
—— Indische Lit. geschichte, 105, 144, 152, 184, 187, 191, 193, 339, 361, 408, 421
—— Indische Skizzen, 217, 309, 317, 339
—— Indische Studien, 62, 105, 107, 125, 129, 152, 154, 192, 202, 265, 324, 328, 339, 351, 354, etc.
—— article in Jour. Ger. Or. Soc. 66, 157
—— Mālavikā and Agnimitra, 105
—— Rāmatāpanīya Upanishad, 421
—— Saptaśataka of Hāla, 14, 75
—— Vājasaneyi Sanhitā specimen, 130
—— in Lit. Centralblatt, 399
Wheeler, Mr. Talboys, his history of India, 421
Whitney, Pr f. W. D., his art. in Jour. Amer. Or. Society, 187, 190, 194, 196, 210, 446, 474
——, art. in North Amer. Review, 286
Wilson, Prof. H. H., Ariana Antiqua, 344
——, Rigveda Sanhitā, 164, 185, 194, 201, 203, 323, 369 f.
——, Sanskrit Gram., 208
——, Vishnu Purāna, 342, 398, 401, 411, 420 f.
——, Theatre of the Hindus, 34, 158.
——, articles and notice in Jour. R.A.S. 104 ff, 106, 109, 111 ff, 185
Wilson, Rev. Dr. J., notes on the Mahrattī language, 26, 486
——, India three thousand years ago, 390
Windischmann, Ueber den Somacultus der Arier, 297, 469 ff.
——, Mithra, 297

Y

Yadu, 260, 348
Yādavas, 260, 420
Yajnaparibhāshā, 179
Yājnavalkya, 192, 298, 404
Yājnikas, 178
Yajurveda, 188, 192, 445
Yama, 296, 415, 469 f.
Yamunā, 341, 345 ff, 482
Yarkhand, 484
Yāska, 151, 153, 164
Yas'na, 456, 472
Yātudhāna, 389 ff, 418
Yavanas, 139, 259 f, 423
Yavyāvatī, 348
Yaxartes, 318, 480 f.
Yayāti, 260, 422
Yazata, 473
Yima, 296, 331, 470, 473, 476

Z

Zamzummim, 419
Zaratushtra or Zoroaster, 299, 315, 331 ff, 464, 472 ff.
Zend, 216, 218, 220 ff, 226, 228 ff, 242, 258 f, 266, 287 ff.
Zendavesta, 216, 226, 258, 455 f, 475
Zeus, 279, 295
Zoroastrians, 314.

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ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS,

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,

BY

J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.

VOLUME THIRD.

THE VEDAS: OPINIONS OF THEIR AUTHORS AND OF LATER INDIAN WRITERS ON THEIR ORIGIN, INSPIRATION, AND AUTHORITY.

SECOND EDITION,
REVISED AND ENLARGED.

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Arthepsavaḥ ṛishayo devatāś chhandobhir abhyadhāvan |
Anukramaṇikā.

"Rishis, seeking to obtain the various objects of their desire, hastened to the deities with metrical compositions."

(See p. 211 of this volume.)

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PREFACE.

THE object which I have had in view in the series of of treatises which this volume forms a part, has been to investigate critically the most important points in the civil and religious history of the Hindus. Having shown in the First Volume that the mythical and legendary accounts given in the Purāṇas, etc., regarding the origin of the caste system which has long prevailed in India, are mutually contradictory and insufficient to establish the early existence of the popular belief regarding the distinct creation of four separate tribes, as an original and essential article of the Brahmanical creed; and having endeavoured to prove, in the Second Volume, by a variety of arguments, drawn chiefly from comparative philology and from the contents of the Rigveda, that the Hindus are descended from a branch of the Indo-European stock, which dwelt originally along with the other cognate races in Central Asia, and subsequently migrated into Northern Hindustan, where the Brahmanical religion and institutions were developed and matured;—I now come, in this Third Volume, to consider more particularly the history of the Vedas, regarded as the sacred Scriptures of the Hindus, and the inspired source from which their religious and philosophical systems (though,

to a great extent, founded also on reasoning and speculation) profess to be mainly derived; or with which, at least, they all claim to be in harmony.

When I speak, however, of the history of the Veda, I am reminded that I am employing a term which will suggest to the philosophical reader the idea of a minute and systematic account of the various opinions which the Indians have held in regard to their sacred books from the commencement, through all the successive stages of their theological development, down to the present time. To do anything like this, however, would be a task demanding an extent of research far exceeding any to which I can pretend. At some future time, indeed, we may hope that a history of the theological and speculative ideas of the Indians, which shall treat this branch also of the subject, may be written by some competent scholar. My own design is much more modest. I only attempt to show what are the opinions on the subject of the Veda, which have been entertained by certain distinct sets of writers whom I may broadly divide into three classes—(1) the mythological, (2) the scholastic, and (3) the Vedic.

The first, or mythological class, embraces the writers of the different Purāṇas and Itihāsas, and partially those of the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, who, like the compilers of the Purāṇas, frequently combine the mythological with the theosophic element.

The second, or scholastic class, includes the authors of the different philosophical schools, or Darśanas, with their scholiasts and expositors, and the commentators

on the Vedas. The whole of these writers belong to the class of systematic or philosophical theologians; but as their speculative principles differ, it is the object of each particular school to explain and establish the origin and authority of the Vedas on grounds conformable to its own fundamental dogmas, as well as to expound the doctrines of the sacred books in such a way as to harmonize with its own special tenets.

The third class of writers, whose opinions in regard to the Vedas I have attempted to exhibit, is composed (1) of the rishis themselves, the authors of the Vedic hymns, and (2) of the authors of the Upanishads, which, though works of a much more recent date, and for the most part of a different character from the hymns, are yet regarded by later Indian writers as forming, equally with the latter, a part of the Veda. As the authors of the hymns, the earliest of them at least, lived in an age of simple conceptions and of spontaneous and childlike devotion, we shall find that, though some of them appear, in conformity with the spirit of their times, to have regarded their compositions as in a certain degree the result of divine inspiration, their primitive and elementary ideas on this subject form a strong contrast to the artificial and systematic definitions of the later scholastic writers. And even the authors of the Upanishads, though they, in a more distinct manner, claim a superhuman authority for their own productions, are very far from recognizing the rigid classification which, at a subsequent period, divided the Vedic writings from all other religious works, by a broad line of demarcation.

It may conduce to the convenience of the reader, if I furnish here a brief survey of the opinions of the three classes of writers above described, in regard to the Vedas, as these opinions are shown in the passages which are collected in the present volume.

The first chapter (pp. 1–217) contains texts exhibiting the opinions on the origin, division, inspiration, and authority of the Vedas, which have been held by Indian authors shortly before, or subsequent to, the collection of the Vedic hymns, and consequently embraces the views of the first two of the classes of writers above specified, viz. (1) the mythological and (2) the scholastic. In the first Section (pp. 3–10), I adduce texts from the Purusha Sūkta, the Atharva-veda, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Chhāndogya Upanishad, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, and the Institutes of Manu, which variously represent the Vedas (*a*) as springing from the mystical sacrifice of Purusha; (*b*) as resting on (or inhering in) Skambha; (*c*) as cut or scraped off from him, as being his hair, and his mouth; (*d*) as springing from Indra; (*e*) as produced from time; (*f*) as produced from Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya; (*g*) as springing from Prajāpati, and the waters; (*h*) as being the breathing of the Great Being; (*i*) as being dug by the gods out of the mind-ocean; (*j*) as being the hair of Prajāpati's beard, and (*k*) as being the offspring of Vāch.

In page 287 of the Appendix a further verse of the Atharva-veda is cited, in which the Vedas are declared to have sprung from the leavings of the sacrifice (*uchchhishṭa*).

In the second Section (pp. 10–14) are quoted passages from the Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, which represent the four Vedas as having issued from the mouth of Brahmā at the creation; several from the Harivaṁśa, which speak of the Vedas as created by Brahmā, or as produced from the Gāyatrī; another from the Mahābhārata, which describes them as created by Vishṇu, or as having Sarasvatī for their mother; with one from Manu, which declares the Vedas, along with certain other objects, to be the second manifestation of the Sattva-guṇa, or pure principle, while Brahmā is one of its first manifestations.

The third Section (pp. 14–18) contains passages from the Brāhmaṇas, the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and the Mahābhārata, in which the Vedas are celebrated as comprehending all beings, as being the soul of metres, hymns, breaths, and gods, as imperishable, as the source of form, motion, and heat, of the names, forms, and functions of all creatures, as infinite in extent, as infinite in their essence (*brahma*), though limited in their forms as Rich, Yajush, and Sāman verses, as eternal, and as forming the essence of Vishṇu.

The fourth Section (pp. 18–36) contains passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Manu, in which the great benefits resulting from the study of the Vedas, and the dignity, power, authority, and efficacy of these works are celebrated; together with two other texts from the latter author and the Vishṇu Purāṇa, in which a certain impurity is predicated of the Sāma-veda (compare the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, as quoted in p. 12, where the four

Vedas are described as respectively partaking differently of the character of the three Guṇas, or Qualities); and some others from the Vāyu, Padma, Matsya, and Brahma-vaivartta Purāṇas, and the Mahābhārata, and Rāmāyaṇa, which derogate greatly from the consideration of the Vedas, by claiming for the Purāṇas and Itihāsas an equality with, if not a superiority to, the older scriptures. A passage is next quoted from the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, in which the Vedas and their appendages are designated as the "inferior science," in contrast to the "superior science," the knowledge of Soul; and is followed by others from the Bhagavad Gītā, the Chhāndogya Upanishad and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, in which the ceremonial and polytheistic portions of the Veda are depreciated in comparison with the knowledge of the supreme Spirit.

The fifth Section (pp. 36–49) describes the division of the Vedas in the third or Dvāpara age, by Vedavyāsa and his four pupils, according to texts of the Vishṇu, Vāyu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇas; and then adduces a different account, asserting their division in the second or Tretā age, by the King Purūravas, according to another passage of the same Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and a text of the Mahābhārata (though the latter is silent regarding Purūravas).

Section vi. (pp. 49–57) contains passages from the Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, regarding the schism between the adherents of the Yajurveda, as represented by the different schools of Vaiśampāyana and Yājnavalkya, and quotes certain remarks of

Prof. Weber on the same subject, and on the relation of the Rig and Sāma Vedas to each other, together with some other texts, adduced and illustrated by that scholar, on the hostility of the Ātharvaṇas towards the other Vedas, and of the Chandogas towards the Rig-veda.

Section vii. (pp. 57–70) contains extracts from the works of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava, the commentators on the Rig and Taittirīya Yajur Vedas, in which they both define the characteristics of the Veda, and state certain arguments in support of its authority. Sāyaṇa (pp. 58–66), after noticing the objections urged against his views by persons of a different school, and defining the Veda as a work consisting of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, asserts that it is not derived from any personal, or at least not from any human, author (compare the further extract from him in p. 105); and rests its authority on its own declarations, on its self-proving power, on the Smṛiti (*i.e.* non-vedic writings of eminent saints), and on common notoriety. He then encounters some other objections raised against the Veda on the score of its containing passages which are unintelligible, dubious, absurd, contradictory, or superfluous. Mādhava (pp. 66–70) defines the Veda as the work which alone reveals the supernatural means of attaining future felicity; explains that males only, belonging to the three superior castes, are competent to study its contents; and asserts that, inasmuch as it is eternal, it is a primary and infallible authority. This eternity of the Veda, however, he appears to interpret as not being absolute, but as dating from the first creation, when it was produced from Brahmā,

though, as he is free from defects, the Veda, as his work, is self-proved.

Section viii. (pp. 70–108) contains the views of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, the (alleged) authors of the Mīmānsā and Brahma (or Vedānta) Sūtras on the eternity of the Veda. Jaimini asserts that sound, or words, are eternal, that the connection between words and the objects they represent also, is not arbitrary or conventional, but eternal, and that consequently the Vedas convey unerring information in regard to unseen objects. This view he defends against the Naiyāyikas, answering their other objections, and insisting that the names, derived from those of certain sages, by which particular parts of the Vedas are designated, do not prove those sages to have been their authors, but merely the teachers who studied and handed them down; while none of the names occurring in the Veda are those of temporal beings, but all denote some objects which have existed eternally. Two quotations in support of the supernatural origin of the Veda are next introduced from the Nyāya-mālā-vistara (a condensed account of the Mīmāṅsā system) and from the Vedārtha-prakāśa (the commentary on the Taittirīya Yajur-veda). The arguments in both passages (pp. 86–89) are to the same effect, and contain nothing that has not been already in substance anticipated in preceding summaries of the Mīmānsā doctrine. In reference to their argument that no author of the Veda is remembered, I have noticed here that the supposition which an objector might urge, that the ṛishis, the acknowledged utterers of the hymns,

might also have been their authors, is guarded against by the tenet, elsewhere maintained by Indian writers, that the rishis were merely seers of the pre-existing sacred texts. Some of the opinions quoted from the Sūtras of Jaimini are further enforced in a passage from the summary of the Mīmānṣā doctrine, which I have quoted from the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha. The writer first notices the Naiyāyika objections to the Mīmānsaka tenet that the Veda had no personal author, viz. (1) that any tradition to this effect must have been interrupted at the past dissolution of the universe; (2) that it would be impossible to prove that no one had ever recollected any such author; (3) that the sentences of the Veda have the same character as all other sentences; (4) that the inference,—drawn from the present mode of transmitting the Vedas from teacher to pupil,—that the same mode of transmission must have gone on from eternity, breaks down by being equally applicable to any other book; (5) that the Veda is in fact ascribed to a personal author in a passage of the book itself; (6) that sound is not eternal, and that when we recognize letters as the same we have heard before, this does not prove their identity or eternity, but is merely a recognition of them as belonging to the same species as other letters we have heard before; (7) that though Parameśvara (God) is naturally incorporeal, he may have assumed a body in order to reveal the Veda, etc. The writer then states the Mīmānsaka answers to these arguments thus: What does this alleged 'production by a personal author' (*pauruṣheyatva*) mean? The Veda, if supposed to be so pro-

duced, cannot derive its authority (*a*) from inference (or reasoning), as fallible books employ the same process. Nor will it suffice to say (*b*) that it derives its authority from its truth: for the Veda is defined to be a book which proves that which can be proved in no other way. And even if Parameśvara (God) were to assume a body, he would not, in that state of limitation, have any access to supernatural knowledge. Further, the fact that different śākhās or recensions of the Vedas are called after the names of particular sages, proves no more than that these recensions were studied by those sages, and affords no ground for questioning the eternity of the Vedas,—an eternity which is proved by the fact of our recognizing letters when we meet with them. These letters are the very identical letters we had heard before, for there is no evidence to show either that letters of the same sort (G's, for instance,) are numerically different from each other, or that they are generic terms, denoting a species. The apparent differences which are observable in the same letter, result merely from the particular characteristics of the persons who utter it, and do not affect its identity. This is followed by further reasoning in support of the same general view; and the writer then arrives at the conclusion, which he seems to himself to have triumphantly established, that the Veda is underived and authoritative.

The question of the effect produced on the Vedas by the dissolutions of the world is noticed in some extracts from Patanjali's Mahābhāshya and its commentators, which have been adduced by Prof. Goldstücker

in the Preface to his Mānava-kalpa Sūtra, and which I have partly reprinted in pp. 95 ff. It is admitted by Patañjali, that, though the sense of the Vedas is permanent, the order of their letters has not always remained the same, and that this difference is exhibited in the different recensions of the Kāṭhakas and other schools. Patañjali himself does not say what is the cause of this alteration in the order of the letters; but his commentator, Kaiyyaṭa, states that the order was disturbed during the great mundane dissolutions, etc., and had to be restored (though with variations) by the eminent science of the rishis. Kullūka, the commentator on Manu (see p. 6), maintains that the Veda was preserved in the memory of Brahmā during the period of dissolution; and promulgated again at the beginning of the Kalpa, but whether in an altered form, or not, he does not tell us. The latter point is also left unsolved in Śankara's commentary on Brahma Sūtra i. 3, 30, which I quote in the Appendix, pp. 300 ff. Pages 93 ff. contain some remarks (by way of parenthesis) on the question whether or not the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā admits the existence of a Deity.

In the extract given in pp. 98–105 from his commentary on the Brahma Sūtras,[1] Śankara, who follows the author of those Sūtras, and Jaimini, in basing the authority of the Vedas on the eternity of sound, finds it necessary to meet an objection that, as the gods mentioned in the Veda had confessedly an origin in time, the

[1] My attention was originally drawn to this passage by a treatise, then unpublished, by the Rev. Prof. Banerjea, formerly of Bishop's College, Calcutta.

words which designate those gods cannot be eternal, but must have originated co-evally with the created objects which they denote, since eternal words could not have an eternal connection with non-eternal objects. This difficulty he tries to overcome (ignoring the ground taken by Jaimini, that the Veda contains no references to non-eternal objects) by asserting that the eternal connection of words is not with individual objects, but with the species to which these objects belong, and that Indra and the other gods are proved by the Veda to belong to species. Śankara then goes on to assert, on the authority of Brahma Sūtra, i. 3, 28, fortified by various texts from the Vedas and the Smṛitis, that the gods and the world generally are produced (though not in the sense of evolution out of a material cause) from the word of the Vedas (see pp. 6 and 16) in the form of *sphoṭa*. This last term will be explained below. This subject above referred to, of the eternal connection of the words of the Veda with the objects they represent, is further pursued in a passage which I have quoted in the Appendix, p. 300, where an answer is given to the objection that the objects denoted by the words of the Veda cannot be eternal, as a total destruction of everything takes place (not, indeed, at the intermediate, but) at the great mundane dissolutions. The solution given is that, by the favour of the supreme Lord, the inferior lords Brahmā, etc., retain a recollection of the previous mundane conditions; and that in each successive creation everything is produced exactly the same as it had previously been. I then proceed in p. 105 to adduce a passage from Sāyaṇa, the

commentator on the Rig-veda, who refers to another of the Brahma Sūtras, i. 1, 3 (quoted in p. 106), declaring that Brahma was the source of the Veda, which Śankara interprets as containing a proof of the omniscience of Brahma. Sāyaṇa understands this text as establishing the superhuman origin of the Veda, though not its eternity in the proper sense, it being only meant, according to him (as well as to Mādhava; see p. xi.), that the Veda is eternal in the same sense as the æther is eternal, *i.e.* during the period between each creation and dissolution of the universe.

In opposition to the tenets of the Mīmānsakas, who hold the eternity (or the eternal self-existence) of the Veda, and to the dogmas of the Vedānta, as just expounded, Gotama, the author of the Nyāya aphorisms, denies (Section ix. pp. 108–118) the eternity of sound; and after vindicating the Veda from the charges of falsehood, self-contradiction, and tautology, deduces its authority from the authority of the wise, or competent, person or persons who were its authors, as proved by the efficacy of such of the Vedic prescriptions as relate to mundane matters, and can be tested by experience. It does not distinctly result from Gotama's aphorism that God is the competent person whom he regards as the maker of the Veda. If he did not refer to God, he must have regarded the rishis as its authors. The authors of the Vaiśeshika Sūtras, and of the Tarka Sangraha, as well as the writer of the Kusumānjali, however, clearly refer the Veda to Īśvara (God) as its framer (pp. 118–133). Udayana, the author of the latter

work (pp. 128–133), controverts the opinion that the existence of the Veda from eternity can be proved by a continuous tradition, as such a tradition must, he says, have been interrupted at the dissolution of the world, which preceded the existing creation. He, therefore (as explained by his commentator), infers an eternal (and omniscient author of the Veda; asserting that the Veda is *paurusheya*, or derived from a personal author; that many of its own texts establish this; and that the appellations given to its particular śākhās or recensions, are derived from the names of those sages whose persons were assumed by Īśvara, when he uttered them at the creation. In pp. 125 ff. I have quoted one of the Vaiśeshika Sūtras, with some passages from the commentator, to show the conceptions the writers entertained of the nature of the supernatural knowledge, or intuition, of the rishis.

Kapila, the author of the Sānkhya Aphorisms (pp. 133–138), agrees with the Nyāya and Vaiśeshika aphorists in denying the eternity of the Veda, but, in conformity with his own principles, differs from Gotama and Kaṇāda in denying its derivation from a personal (*i.e.* here, a divine) author, because there was no person (*i.e.* as his commentator explains, no God) to make it. Vishṇu, the chief of the liberated beings, though omniscient, could not, he argues, have made the Veda, owing to his impassiveness, and no other person could have done so from want of omniscience. And even if the Veda have been uttered by the primæval Purusha, it cannot be called his work, as it was breathed forth by him unconsciously. Kapila agrees

with Jaimini in ascribing a self-demonstrating power to the Veda, and differs from the Vaiśeshikas in not deriving its authority from correct knowledge possessed by a conscious utterer. He proceeds to controvert the existence of such a thing as *sphoṭa* (a modification of sound which is assumed by the Mīmānsakas, and described as single, indivisible, distinct from individual letters, existing in the form of words, and constituting a whole), and to deny the eternity of sound.

In the tenth Section (pp. 138–179) I shew (*a*) by quotations from the aphorisms of the Vedānta and their commentator (pp. 140–145), that the author and expounder of the Uttara Mīmāṁsā (the Vedānta) frequently differ from Jaimini the author of the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā in the interpretation of the same texts of the Upanishads. A similar diversity is next (*b*) proved at greater length (pp. 145-173), by quotations from the aphorisms and commentaries of the Vedānta and the Sānkhya, to characterize the expositions proposed by the adherents of those two systems respectively. One quotation is given in pp. 175 ff. to shew (*c*) that the same is true in regard to the followers of the Vaiśeshika philosophy, who distinctly reject the Vedāntic explanations; and last of all (*d*) I have made some extracts (pp. 177 ff.) from the Bhakti Sūtras of Sāṇḍilya to exhibit the wide divergence of that writer from the orthodox views of the Vedānta regarding the sense of the Vedas. In pp. 173–175 I quote some remarks of Dr. E. Roer, and Prof. Max Müller, regarding the doctrines of the Upanishads, and their relations to the different philosophical schools.

In the facts brought forward in this section we find another illustration (1) of the tendency common to all dogmatic theologians to interpret in strict conformity with their own opinions the unsystematic and not always consistent texts of an earlier age which have been handed down by tradition as sacred and infallible, and to represent them as containing, or as necessarily implying, fixed and consistent systems of doctrine; as well as (2) of the diversity of view which so generally prevails in regard to the sense of such texts among writers of different schools, who adduce them with equal positiveness of assertion as establishing tenets and principles which are mutually contradictory or inconsistent.

In the eleventh Section (pp. 179–207) some passages are adduced from the Nyāya-mālā-vistara, and from Kullūka's commentary on Manu, to show that a distinct line of demarcation is drawn by the scholastic writers between the Vedas on the one hand, and all other classes of Indian scriptures, embraced under the designation of Smṛiti (including the Darśanas, the Institutes of Manu, the Purāṇas, and Itihāsas, etc.), on the other, the first being regarded as independent and infallible guides, while the others are (in theory) held to be authoritative only in so far as they are founded on, and coincide with, the Veda. The practical effect of this distinction is, however, much lessened by the fact that the ancient sages, the authors of the Smṛitis, such of them, I mean, as, like Manu, are recognized as orthodox, are looked upon by Mādhava and Śaṅkara as having had access to Vedic texts now no longer extant, as having held communion with the gods,

and as having enjoyed a clearness of intuition into divine mysteries which is denied to later mortals (pp. 181–185). Sankara, however (as shewn in pp. 184–192), does not regard all the ancients as having possessed this infallible insight into truth, but exerts all his ingenuity to explain away the claims (though clearly sanctioned by an Upanishad) of Kapila, who was not orthodox according to his Vedāntic standard, to rank as an authority. In his depreciation of Kapila, however, Sankara is opposed to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (p. 192). I then proceed to observe (pp. 194–196) that although in ancient times the authors of the different philosophical systems (*Darśanas*) no doubt put forward their respective opinions as true, in opposition to all the antagonistic systems, yet in modern times the superior orthodoxy of the Vedānta appears to be generally recognized; while the authors of the other systems are regarded, *e.g.* by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, as, amid all their diversities, having in view, as their ultimate scope, the support of the Vedāntic theory. The same view, in substance, is taken by Vijnāna Bhikshu, the commentator on the Sānkhya Sūtras, who (pp. 196–203) maintains that Kapila's system, though atheistic, is not irreconcilable with the Vedānta and other theistic schools, as its denial of an Īśvara (God) is only practical, or regulative, and merely enforced in order to withdraw men from the too earnest contemplation of an eternal and perfect Deity, which would impede their study of the distinction between matter and spirit. To teach men this discrimination, as the great means of attaining final liberation, is one of the two main objects, and strong

points, of the Sānkhya philosophy, and here it is authoritative; while its atheism is admitted to be its weak side, and on this subject it has no authority. Vijnāna Bhikshu goes on to say that it is even supposable that theistic systems, in order to prevent sinners from attaining knowledge, may lay down doctrines partially opposed to the Vedas; and that though in these portions they are erroneous, they will still possess authority in the portions conformable to the Śruti and Smṛiti. He then quotes a passage from the Padma Purāṇa, in which the god Śiva tells his consort Pārvatī that the Vaiśeshika, the Nyāya, the Sānkhya, the Purva-mīmānsā Darśanas, and the Vedāntic theory of illusion, are all systems infected by the dark (or *tāmasa*) principle, and consequently more or less unauthoritative. All orthodox (*āstika*) theories, however, are, as Vijnāna Bhikshu considers, authoritative, and free from error on their own special subject. And as respects the discrepancy between the Sānkhya and the Vedānta, regarding the unity of Soul, he concludes that the former is not devoid of authority, as the apparent diversity of souls is acknowledged by the Vedānta, and the discriminative knowledge which the Sānkhya teaches is an instrument of liberation to the embodied soul; and thus the two varying doctrines, if regarded as, the one practical (or regulative), and the other real (or transcendental), will not be contradictory. At the close of Section eleventh (pp. 204–207) it is shewn that the distinction drawn by the Indian commentators between the superhuman Veda and its human appendages, the Kalpa Sūtras, etc., as well as the Smṛitis, is not borne out by

certain texts which I had previously cited. The Bṛihad Āraṇyaka and Muṇḍaka Upanishads (pp. 8, 31) seem to place all the different sorts of Śāstras or scriptures (including the four Vedas) in one and the same class, the former speaking of them all promiscuously as being the breathing of Brahma, while the latter describes them all (except the Upanishads) as being parts of the "inferior science," in opposition to the "superior science," or knowledge of Brahma. In the same spirit as the Muṇḍaka, the Chhāndogya Upanishad also (quoted in p. 32 f.) includes the four Vedas in the same list with a variety of miscellaneous Śāstras (which Nārada has studied without getting beyond the confines of exoteric knowledge), and never intimates (unless it be by placing them at the head of the list) that the former can claim any superiority over the other works with which they are associated. As, however, Śaṅkara could not, in consistency with the current scholastic theory regarding the wide difference between the Vedas and all other Śāstras, admit that the latter could have had a common origin with the former, he endeavours in his comment on the passage of the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad to which I have adverted, to shew that the other works, which are there said to have been breathed out by the great Being along with the Vedas, were in reality portions of the Brāhmaṇas. This explanation can scarcely apply to all the works enumerated, and its force is weakened by the tenor of the other passages from the Muṇḍaka and Chhāndogya Upanishads, while any such distinction is repudiated in the statements of the Itihāsas and Purāṇas quoted in pp. 27–30 and 105.

In the twelfth Section (pp. 207–217) the arguments in support of the Veda, adduced in the philosophical systems, and by the various commentators, as above summarised, are recapitulated, and some remarks are made on these reasonings. My observations are intended to shew that the arguments in question are inconclusive, or assume the points to be established; that the rishis are proved by the contents of the hymns to have been their real authors; and that numerous events which have occurred in time, are undoubtedly mentioned in the Vedas. This as we have seen (above, p. xvi.) is admitted by Sankara.

The Second Chapter (pp. 217–286) exhibits the opinions of the rishis in regard to the origin of the Vedic hymns. Its object is to shew in detail that, though some at least of the rishis appear to have imagined themselves to be inspired by the gods in the expression of their religious emotions and ideas, they at the same time regarded the hymns as their own compositions, or as (presumably) the compositions of their forefathers, distinguishing between them as new and old, and describing their own authorship in terms which could only have been dictated by a consciousness of its reality. The first, second, and third Sections (pp. 218–244) contain a collection of passages from the Rig-veda in which a distinction is drawn (1) between the rishis as ancient and modern, and (2) between the hymns as older and more recent; and in which (3) the rishis describe themselves as the makers, fabricators, or generators of the hymns; with some additional texts in which such authorship appears

to be implied, though it is not expressed. Section fourth (pp. 245–283) contains a variety of passages from the same Veda, in which (1) a superhuman character or supernatural faculties are ascribed to the earlier rishis; and (2) the idea is expressed that the praises and ceremonies of the rishis were suggested and directed by the gods in general, or, in particular, by the goddess of speech, or by some other or others of the different deities of the Vedic pantheon. To illustrate, and render more intelligible and probable, the opinions which I have ascribed to the old Indian rishis regarding their own inspiration, I have quoted in the same Section (pp. 267 - 273) a number of passages from Hesiod and Homer to shew that the early Greek bards entertained a similar belief. I then advert (pp. 273 - 274) to the remarkable divergence between the later religious histories of Greece and of India. I next enquire briefly (in pp. 274 - 275) in what way we can reconcile the apparently conflicting ideas of the rishis on the subject of the hymns, considered, on the one hand, as their own productions, and, on the other, as inspired by the gods. Then follow (pp. 275 - 279) some further texts from the Rig-veda, in which a mystical, magical, or supernatural efficacy is ascribed to the hymns. These are succeeded (pp. 279-283) by a few quotations from the same Veda, in which the authors complain of their own ignorance; and by a reference to the contrast between these humble confessions and the proud pretensions set up by later theologians in behalf of the Veda, and its capability of imparting universal knowledge. The ideas of the rishis regarding their own inspiration differ widely from the conceptions

of later theorists; for while the former looked upon the gods, who were confessedly mere created beings, as the sources of supernal illumination, the latter either regard the Veda as eternal, or refer it to the eternal Brahma, or Īśvara, as its author. The fifth and last Section (pp. 283-286) adduces some texts from the Śvetāśvatara, Muṇḍaka and Chhāndogya Upanishads, which show the opinions of the writers regarding the inspiration, of their predecessors; and refers to the similar claims set up on their own behalf by the writers of the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, as shewn in the passages quoted in pp. 27-30.

With all its imperfections this volume may perhaps possess a certain interest, not only for the student of Indian history, but also for the divine and the philosopher, as furnishing a few documents to illustrate the course of theological opinion in a sphere far removed from the ordinary observation of the European student, —a course which, quite independently of the merits of the different tenets involved in the enquiry, will, I think, be found to present a remarkable parallel in various respects to that which is traceable in the history of those religious systems with which we are most familiar. In both cases we find that a primitive age of ardent emotion, of simple faith, and of unarticulated beliefs, was succeeded by a period of criticism and speculation, when the floating materials handed down by preceding generations were compared, classified, reconciled, developed into their consequences, and elaborated into a variety of scholastic systems.

In the Preface to the first edition I stated as follows: "In regard to the texts quoted from the Rig-veda, I

have derived the same sort of assistance from the French version of M. Langlois, which has been acknowledged in the Preface to the Second Volume, p. vi. I am also indebted for some of the Vedic texts to Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon."

A comparison of the former edition with the present will shew that considerable alterations and additions have been made in the latter. The texts which formerly stood in the Appendix have now been transferred to their proper places in the body of the work; and various other passages have been transposed. The principal additions will be found in the first four sections, in the ninth (pp. 115-127), tenth (which is altogether new), eleventh (pp. 185 ff.), and in the Appendix.

I am indebted to various learned friends for assistance in different parts of the work, which I have acknowledged in the notes. My thanks are especially due to Professors Goldstücker and Cowell for various important corrections which they have suggested in my translations of passages of a scholastic and philosophical character, quoted either in the body of the volume or in the Appendix,—corrections which are incorporated in the text,—as well as for some further remarks and suggestions which will be found in the notes or Appendix. I am also under obligations to Professor Aufrecht for some emendations of my renderings in the early part of the work, as well as for his explanations of many of the texts of the Rig-veda cited in the Second Chapter.

EDINBURGH,
November, 1868.

J. MUIR.

CONTENTS.

PAGES.

v.—xxviii. PREFACE.

1—217. CHAPTER I. OPINIONS REGARDING THE ORIGIN, DIVISION, INSPIRATION, AND AUTHORITY OF THE VEDAS, HELD BY INDIAN AUTHORS SHORTLY BEFORE, OR SUBSEQUENT TO, THE COLLECTION OF THE HYMNS OF THE RIG-VEDA.

3—10. SECT. I. Origin of the Vedas according to the Purusha-sūkta, the Atharva-veda, the Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads, and Institutes of Manu.

10—14. SECT. II. Origin of the Vedas according to the Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, the Harivaṁśa, the Mahābhārata; eternity of the Veda; miscellaneous statements regarding it.

14—18. SECT. III. Passages of the Brāhmaṇas and other works in which the Vedas are spoken of as being the sources of all things, and as infinite and eternal.

18—36. SECT. IV. Passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Manu eulogistic of the Veda, with some statements of a different tenor from Manu and other writers.

36—49. SECT. V. Division of the Vedas, according to the Vishṇu, Vāyu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and the Mahābhārata.

49—57. SECT. VI. Accounts in the Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas of the schisms between the adherents of the Yajur-veda, Vaiśampāyana, and Yājnavalkya; hostility of the Ātharvaṇas towards the other Vedas; and of the Chhandogas towards the Rig-veda.

PAGES.

57—70. Sect. VII. Reasonings of the Commentators on the Vedas, in support of the authority of the Vedas.

70—108. Sect. VIII. Arguments of the Mīmānsakas and Vedāntins in support of the eternity and authority of the Vedas.

108—138. Sect. IX. Arguments of the followers of the Nyāya, Vaiśeshika, and Sānkhya systems in support of the authority of the Vedas, but against eternity of sound, and of the Vedas; Vaiśeshika conception of the intuitive knowledge of the rishis.

138—179. Sect. X. Extracts from the Vedānta, Sānkhya, Vaiśeshika, and Bhakti aphorisms, and their commentators, illustrative of the use which the authors of the different Darśanas make of Vedic texts, and the different modes of interpretation which they adopt.

179—207. Sect. XI. Distinction in point of authority between the Veda and the Smṛitis or non-Vedic Śāstras, as stated in the Nyāya-mālā-vistara, and by the commentators on Manu, and the Vedānta; Vijnāna Bhikshu's view of the Sānkhya; opinion of Śankara regarding the authority of the orthodox rishis; difference of view between him and Madhusūdana regarding the orthodoxy of Kapila and Kaṇāda, etc.: the distinction between the Vedas and other Śāstras, drawn by later writers, not borne out by the Upanishads.

207—217. Sect. XII. Recapitulation of the arguments urged in the Darśanas, and by commentators, in support of the authority of the Vedas, with some remarks on these reasonings.

217—286. CHAPTER II. The Rishis, and their Opinions in regard to the Origin of the Vedic Hymns.

218—224. Sect. I. Passages from the Hymns of the Veda which distinguish between the Rishis as Ancient and Modern.

224—232. Sect. II. Passages from the Veda in which a distinction is drawn between the older and the more recent hymns.

PAGES.

232—244. SECT. III. Passages of the Rig-veda in which the Rishis describe themselves as the composers of the Hymns, or intimate nothing to the contrary.

245—283. SECT. IV. Passages of the Rig-veda in which a supernatural character is ascribed to the Rishis or the Hymns; similar conceptions of inspiration entertained by the Greeks of the Homeric age; limitations of this opinion in the case of the Vedic Rishis.

283—286. SECT. V. Texts from the Upanishads, showing the opinions of the authors regarding the inspiration of their predecessors.

287—312. APPENDIX.

287. Quotation from the Atharva-veda xi. 7, 24.

287—288. Amended translations by Professor Aufrecht.

288—289. Quotations from Manu and the Mahābhārata on Vedic and other study.

289—290. Various illustrative quotations and references.

290. Amended translation by Professor Cowell.

290. Note by Professor Cowell on the phrase *Kālātyayāpadishṭa.*

291. Amended translation by Professor Cowell.

292—300. Quotation of Brahma Sūtras, i. 3, 34–38, with S'ankara's comments, shewing the incompetence of S'ūdras to acquire the highest divine knowledge, with a short passage of a contrary tenor from the Bhagavat Gītā.

300—308. Quotation from Brahma Sūtras, i. 3, 30, with S'ankara's comment, in continuation of the reasoning in pp. 101–105 in support of the eternity of the words of the Veda, and in refutation of the objections derived from the alleged non-eternity of creation; with Brahma Sūtra, ii. 1, 36, and part of S'ankara's comment.

308—309. Quotation from Manu, ii. 14 f.; and from Kullūka in explanation of the term *samayādhyushita.*

PAGES.

309—10. Corrections by Professors Cowell and Goldstücker.

310. Quotation from Commentary on Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 17, 54.

310. Quotation from Vājasaneyi Saṁhita, xiii. 45, and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 21.

311. Additional texts (i. 67, 4; i. 109, 1, 2; and x. 66, 5) from the Rig-veda, regarding the composition of the hymns.

312. Supplementary note by Prof. Goldstücker, on *Kālātyayāpadishṭa.*

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 24, line 11. For Brahmā read Brahmă.
„ 45, „ 15. For *Yayush* read *Yajush.*
„ 53, „ 8. For theologicans read theologians.
„ 62, „ 2 from foot: For its author read their authors.
„ 85, „ 4 „ Before *Prajāpatir* insert xi. 243.
„ 95, „ 2 „ For *dhvanitvam* read *dhvanitam.*
„ 96, „ 16. The same correction.
„ 101, „ 22. For Vanap. read S'āntip.
„ 149, „ 6. For *śabdādikshiter* read *śabdād ikshiteḥ.*
„ 159, „ 16. For *chaindri-* read *cha indri-.*
„ 159, „ 31. For *paratvou-* read *paratvo-.*
„ 160, „ 18. For *punar-utpattir* read *punar-anutpattir.*
„ 213, „ 16. For p. 120 read p. 118.
„ 221, „ 24. For vi. 21, 1 read vi. 21, 8.
„ 224, „ 7 from foot. Omit *dhishaṇā.*
„ 261, „ 12. For vi. 62, 3 read vi. 26, 3.

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

VOLUME THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

OPINIONS REGARDING THE ORIGIN, DIVISION, INSPIRATION, AND AUTHORITY OF THE VEDAS, HELD BY INDIAN AUTHORS SHORTLY BEFORE, OR SUBSEQUENT TO, THE COLLECTION OF THE HYMNS OF THE RIG-VEDA.

In the preceding volumes of this work[1] I have furnished a general account of the ancient Indian writings, which are comprehended under the designation of Veda or Śruti. These works, which, as we have seen, constitute the earliest literature of the Hindus, are broadly divisible into two classes: (1) The Mantras or hymns, in which the praises of the gods are celebrated and their blessing is invoked; (2) the Brāhmaṇas, which embrace (*a*) the liturgical institutes in which the ceremonial application of these hymns is declared, the various rites of sacrifice are prescribed, and the origin and hidden import of the different forms are explained, and (*b*) the Āraṇyakas,[2] and Upanishads (called also Vedāntas, *i.e.* concluding portions of the Vedas), which in part possess the same character as some of the earlier portions of the Brāhmaṇas, and are in part theological treatises in which the spiritual aspirations which

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 2 ff. and Vol. II. pp. 169 ff. See also Professor Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.

[2] For more precise information see Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 313 ff. from which it will be perceived that only some of the Āraṇyakas form part of the Brāhmaṇas, and that two of the Upanishads are included in a Saṅhitā.

were gradually developed in the minds of the more devout of the Indian sages are preserved. It is, therefore, clear that the hymns constitute the original and, in some respects, the most essential portion of the Veda; that the Brāhmaṇas arose out of the hymns, and are subservient to their employment for the purposes of worship; while the Upanishads give expression to ideas of a speculative and mystical character which, though to some extent discoverable in the hymns and in the older portion of the Brāhmaṇas, are much further matured, and assume a more exclusive importance, in these later treatises.

I content myself here with referring the reader who desires to obtain a fuller idea of the nature of the hymns, and of the mythology which they embody, to the late Professor H. H. Wilson's translation of the earlier portion of the Rig-veda, to his prefaces to the several volumes, to Professor Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, and to two papers of my own in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, entitled Contributions to a knowledge of the Cosmogony and Mythology of the Rig-veda. In the fourth volume of this work I return to the latter branch of the subject, and compare the conceptions which the rishis entertained of the different objects of their worship, with those representations of the deities who bore the same names, which occur in Indian writings of a later date, whether mythological or theological.

The task to which I propose in the meantime to devote myself, is to supply some account of the opinions entertained by Hindu writers, ancient and modern, in regard to the origin and authority of the Vedas. With this view I have collected from some of the later hymns, from the Indian writings of the middle and later Vedic era (the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads) as well as from the books, whether popular or scientific, of the post-vedic period (the Purāṇas, the Itihāsas, the Institutes of Manu, the aphorisms of the Darśanas, or systems of philosophy, and their commentators, and the commentaries on the Vedas) such passages as I have discovered which have reference to these subjects, and propose to compare the opinions there set forth with the ideas entertained on some of these points by the writers of the more ancient hymns, as deducible from numerous passages in their own compositions.

The mythical accounts which are given of the origin of the Vedas

are mutually conflicting. In some passages they are said to have been created by Prajāpati from fire, air, and the sun, or by some other process. In other texts they are said to have been produced by Brahmā from his different mouths, or by the intervention of the Gāyatrī, or to have sprung from the goddess Sarasvatī, or to have otherwise arisen. I proceed to adduce these several passages.

SECT. I.—*Origin of the Vedas according to the Purusha-sūkta, the Atharva-veda, the Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads, and Institutes of Manu.*

Purusha-sūkta.—In the ninth verse of this hymn (Rig-veda, x. 90, already quoted in Vol. I. pp. 8 and 9) the three Vedas are said to have been produced from the mystical victim Purusha: *Tasmād yajnāt sarva-hutaḥ ṛichaḥ sāmāni jajnire | chhandāṁsi jajnire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata |* "From that universal sacrifice sprang the ṛich and sāman verses: the metres sprang from it: from it the yajush arose."[3]

This is the only passage in the hymns of the Rig-veda in which the creation of the Vedas is described.

In the Atharva-veda the following texts refer to that subject:

x. 7, 14. *Yattra ṛishayaḥ prathamajāḥ ṛichaḥ sāma yajur mahī, | ekarshir yasminn ārpitaḥ Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ |* . . . . 20. *Yasmād ṛicho apātakshan yajur yasmād apākashan | sāmāni yasya lomāni atharvāṅgiraso mukham | Skambham tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ |*

"Declare who that Skambha (supporting-principle) is in whom the primeval rishis, the ṛich, sāman, and yajush, the earth, and the one rishi, are sustained. . . . . 20. Declare who is that Skambha from whom they cut off the ṛich verses, from whom they scraped off the yajush, of whom the sāman verses are the hairs, and the verses of Atharvan and Angiras the mouth."

[3] The word *veda*, in whatever sense we are to understand it, occurs in R.V. viii. 19, 5: *Yaḥ samidhā yaḥ āhutī yo vedena dadāśa martyo agnaye | yo namasā svadhvaraḥ |* 6. *Tasya id arvanto raṁhayante āśavas tasya dyumnitamaṁ yaśaḥ | na tam aṁho deva-kṛitaṁ kutaś chana na martya-kṛitam naśat |* "The horses of that mortal who, devoted to sacrifice, does homage to Agni with fuel, with an oblation, with ritual knowledge (?), with reverence,—(6) speed forward impetuously; and his renown is most glorious. No calamity, caused either by god or by man, can assail him from any quarter."

xiii. 4, 38. *Sa vai ṛigbhyo ajāyata tasmād ṛicho ajāyanta* |

"He (apparently Indra, see verse 44) sprang from the ṛich verses: the ṛich verses sprang from him."

xix. 54, 3. *Kālād ṛichaḥ samabhavan yajuḥ kālād ajāyata* |

"From Time the ṛich verses sprang: the yajush sprang from Time."[4]

The following texts from the same Veda may also be introduced here:

iv. 35, 6. *Yasmāt pakvād amṛitaṁ sambabhūva yo gāyatryāḥ adhipatir babhūva* | *yasmin vedāḥ nihitāḥ viśvarūpās tenaudanenāti tarāmi mṛityum* |

"I overpass death by means of that oblation (*odana*), from which, when cooked, ambrosia (*amṛita*) was produced, which became the lord of the Gāyatrī, and in which the omniform Vedas are comprehended."

vii. 54, 1. *Ṛichaṁ sāma yajāmahe yābhyāṁ karmāṇi kurvate* | *ete sadasi rājato yajñaṁ deveshu yachhataḥ* | 2. *Ṛichaṁ sāma yad aprāksham havir ojo yajur balam* | *esha mā tasmād mā himsīd vedaḥ pṛishṭaḥ śachīpate* |

"We worship the Ṛich and the Sāman, wherewith men celebrate religious rites, which shine in the assembly, and convey sacrifices to the gods. 2. Inasmuch as I have asked the Ṛich and the Sāman for butter and for vigour, and the Yajush for strength,—let not the Veda, so asked, destroy me, o lord of strength (Indra)."

The next passage is from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 8, 1 ff.:

Prajāpatir vai idam agre āsīd ekaḥ eva | *so 'kāmayata syām prajāyeya iti* | *So 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata* | *tasmāch chrāntāt tepānāt trayo lokāḥ asṛijyanta pṛithivy antarikshaṁ dyauḥ* | *sa imāṁs trīn lokān abhitatāpa* | *tebhyas taptebhyas trīṇi jyotīṁshy ajāyanta agnir yo 'yam pavate sūryaḥ* | *sa imāni trīṇi jyotīṁshy abhitatāpa* | *tebhyas taptebhyas trayo vedāḥ ajāyanta agner ṛigvedo vāyor yajurvedaḥ sūryāt sāmavedaḥ* | *sa imāṁs trīn vedān abhitatāpa* | *tebhyas taptebhyas trīṇi śukrāṇy ajāyanta bhūr ity ṛigvedād bhuvaḥ iti yajurvedāt svar iti sāmavedāt* | *Tad ṛigvedenaiva hotram akurvata yajurvedena ādhvaryavaṁ sāmavedena udgītham* | *yad eva trayyai vidyāyai śukraṁ tena brahmatvam uchchakrāma.*

"Prajāpati was formerly this universe [*i.e.* the sole existence], one only. He desired, 'may I become, may I be propagated.' He toiled

[4] See my translation of the entire hymn in the Journal of the Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, p. 381. The Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 2, 13, says: *Tad eva sarvam evaitad vyaktāvyakta-svarūpavat* | *tathā purusha-rūpeṇa kāla-rūpeṇa cha sthitam* | "This (Brahma) is all this universe, existing both as the perceptible and the imperceptible; existing also in the forms of Purusha and of Kāla (Time)."

in devotion, he performed austerity. From him, when he had so toiled, and performed austerity, three worlds were created,—earth, air, and sky. He infused warmth into these three worlds. From them, thus heated, three lights were produced,—Agni (fire), this which purifies (*i.e.* Pavana, or Vāyu, the wind),[5] and Sūrya (the sun). He infused heat into these three lights. From them so heated the three Vedas were produced,—the Rig-veda from Agni (fire), the Yajur-veda from Vāyu (wind), and the Sāma-veda from Sūrya (the sun). He infused warmth into these three Vedas. From them so heated three luminous essences were produced,—bhūḥ from the Rig-veda, bhuvaḥ from the Yajur-veda, and svar from the Sāma-veda. Hence, with the Rig-veda they performed the function of the hotṛi; with the Yajur-veda, the office of the adhvaryu; with the Sāma-veda, the duty of the udgātṛi; while the function of the brahman arose through the luminous essence of the triple science [*i.e.* the three Vedas combined]."

Chhāndogya Upanishad.—A similar passage (already quoted in Volume Second, p. 200) occurs in the Chhāndogya Upanishad (p. 288 of Dr. Röer's ed.):

Prajāpatir lokān abhyatapat | teshāṁ tapyamānānāṁ rasān prābṛihad agnim pṛithivyāḥ vāyum antarikshād ādityaṁ divaḥ | sa etās tisro devatāḥ abhyatapat | tāsāṁ tapyamānānāṁ rasān prābṛihad agner ṛicho vāyor yajūṁshi sāma ādityāt | sa etāṁ trayīṁ vidyām abhyatapat | tasyās tapyamānāyāḥ rasān prābṛihad bhūr iti ṛigbhyo bhuvar iti yajurbhyaḥ svar iti sāmabhyaḥ |

"Prajāpati infused warmth into the worlds, and from them so heated he drew forth their essences, viz. Agni (fire) from the earth, Vāyu (wind) from the air, and Sūrya (the sun) from the sky. He infused warmth into these three deities, and from them so heated he drew forth their essences,—from Agni the ṛich verses, from Vāyu the yajush verses, and from Sūrya the sāman verses. He then infused heat into this triple science, and from it so heated he drew forth its essences,—from ṛich verses the syllable bhūḥ, from yajush verses bhuvaḥ, and from sāman verses svar."[6]

[5] See S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 2, 19: . . . *ayam eva sa Vāyur yo 'yam pavate* . . . "This is that Vāyu, he who purifies."

[6] Passages to the same effect occur also in the Aitareya (v. 32–34) and Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇas. That in the former will be found in Dr. Haug's translation of the

Manu.—The same origin is assigned to the three Vedas in the following verses from the account of the creation in Manu, i. 21–23, where the idea is no doubt borrowed from the Brāhmaṇas:

Sarveshāṁ tu sa nāmāni karmāṇi cha pṛithak pṛithak | Veda-śabdebhya evādau pṛithak saṁsthāś cha nirmame | Karmātmakāṁ cha devānāṁ so 'sṛijat prāṇinām prabhuḥ | sādhyānāṁ cha gaṇaṁ sūkshmaṁ yajñaṁ chaiva sanātanam | Agni-vāyu-ravibhyas tu trayaṁ brâhma sanātanam | dudoha yajña-siddhyartham ṛig-yajuḥ-sāma-lakshaṇam |

"He [Brahmā] in the beginning fashioned from the words of the Veda[7] the several names, functions, and separate conditions of all [creatures]. That Lord also created the subtile host of active and living deities, and of Sādhyas, and eternal sacrifice. And in order to the performance of sacrifice, he drew forth from Agni, from Vāyu, and from Sūrya, the triple eternal Veda, distinguished as Rich, Yajush, and Sāman."

Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the commentator, annotates thus on this passage:

Sanātanaṁ nityam | vedāpaurusheyatva-paksho Manor abhimataḥ | pūrva-kalpe ye vedās te eva Paramātma-mūrtter Brahmaṇaḥ sarvajnasya smṛity-ārūḍhāḥ | tān eva kalpādāv agni-vāyu-ravibhyaḥ āchakarsha | śrautaś cha ayam artho na śaṅkanīyaḥ | tathācha śrutiḥ | "agner ṛigvedo vāyor yajurvedaḥ ādityāt sāmavedaḥ" iti |

"The word *sanātana* means 'eternally pre-existing.' The doctrine of the superhuman origin of the Vedas is maintained by Manu. The same Vedas which [existed] in the previous mundane era (Kalpa) were preserved in the memory of the omniscient Brahmā, who was one with the supreme Spirit. It was those same Vedas that, in the beginning of the [present] Kalpa, he drew forth from Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya: and this dogma, which is founded upon the Veda, is not to be questioned, for the Veda says, 'the Rig-veda comes from Agni, the Yajur-veda from Vāyu, and the Sāma-veda from Sūrya.'"

Another commentator on Manu, Medhātithi, explains this passage in a more rationalistic fashion, "by remarking that the Rig-veda opens with a hymn to fire, and the Yajur-veda with one in which air is mentioned."—Colebr. Misc. Ess. i. p. 11, note.

Brāhmaṇa; and the one in the latter is rendered into German by Weber in his Ind. Stud. ii. 363 ff.

[7] Kullūka explains this to mean, "Having understood them from the words of the Veda" (*Veda-śabdebhyaḥ eva avagamya*).

To the verses from Manu (i. 21–23) just cited, the following from the second book may be added, partly for the purpose of completing the parallel with the passages previously adduced from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Chhāndogya Upanishad:

Manu, ii. 76 ff. *Akāraṁ chāpy ukāraṁ cha makāraṁ cha Prajāpatiḥ | Veda-trayād niraduhad bhūr bhuvaḥ svar itīti cha | 77. Tribhyaḥ eva tu vedebhyaḥ pādam pādam adūduhat | "tad" ity ṛicho 'syāḥ sāvitryāḥ parameshṭhī prājāpatiḥ | . . . . 81. Oṁkāra-pūrvikās tisro mahāvyāhṛitayo 'vyayāḥ | Tripadā chaiva gāyatrī vijneyaṁ Brahmaṇo mukham.*

76. "Prajāpati also milked out of the three Vedas the letters *a*, *u*, and *m*, together with the words *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ*, and *svar*. 77. The same supreme Prajāpati also milked from each of the three Vedas one of the [three] portions of the text called *sāvitrī* [or *gāyatrī*], beginning with the word *tat*.[8] . . . . 81. The three great imperishable particles (*bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ*, *svar*) preceded by *om*, and the *gāyatrī* of three lines, are to be regarded as the mouth of Brahmā."

The next passage, from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 8, first speaks generally of Prajāpati creating the three Vedas, and then afterwards, with some inconsistency, describes their production from the waters:[9]

So 'yam purushaḥ Prajāpatir akāmayata "bhūyān syāṁ prajāyeya" iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa śrāntas tepāno brahma eva prathamam asṛijata trayīm eva vidyām | sā eva asmai pratishṭhā 'bhavat | tasmād āhur "brahma asya sarvasya pratishṭhā" iti | tasmād anūchya pratitishṭhati | pratishṭhā hy eshā yad brahma | tasyām pratishṭhāyām pratishṭhito 'tapyata | 9. So 'po 'sṛijata vāchaḥ eva lokāt | vāg eva asya sā 'sṛijyata | sā idaṁ sarvam āpnod yad idaṁ kincha | yad āpnot tasmād āpaḥ | yad avṛiṇot tasmād vāḥ | 10. So 'kāmayatā "ābhyo 'dbhyo 'dhi prajāyeya" iti | so 'nayā trayyā vidyayā saha apaḥ prāviśat | tataḥ āṇḍaṁ samavarttata | tad abhyamṛiśat | "astv" ity "astu bhūyo 'stv" ity eva tad abravīt | tato brahma eva prathamam asṛijyata trayy eva vidyā | tasmād āhur "brahma asya sarvasya prathamajam" iti | api hi tasmāt purushād brahma eva pūrvam asṛijyata tad asya tad mukham eva asṛijyata | tasmād anūchānam āhur "agni-kalpaḥ" iti | mukhaṁ hy etad agner yad brahma |

[8] This text, Rig-veda, iii. 62, 10, will be quoted in the sequel.

[9] This passage with the preceding context is given in the Fourth Volume of this work, pp. 18 f.

"This Male, Prajāpati, desired, 'May I multiply, may I be propagated.' He toiled in devotion; he practised austere-fervour. Having done so he first of all created sacred knowledge, the triple Vedic science. This became a basis for him. Wherefore men say, 'Sacred knowledge is the basis of this universe.' Hence after studying the Veda a man has a standing ground; for sacred knowledge is his foundation. Resting on this basis he (Prajāpati) practised austere-fervour. 9. He created the waters from Vāch (speech), as their world. Vāch was his: she was created. She pervaded all this whatever exists. As she pervaded (*āpnot*), waters were called 'āpaḥ.' As she covered (*avriṇot*) all, water was called 'vār.' 10. He desired, 'May I be propagated from these waters.' Along with this triple Vedic science he entered the waters. Thence sprang an egg. He gave it an impulse; and said, 'Let there be, let there be, let there be again.' Thence was first created sacred knowledge, the triple Vedic science. Wherefore men say, 'Sacred knowledge is the first-born thing in this universe. Moreover, it was sacred knowledge which was created from that Male in front, wherefore it was created as his mouth. Hence they say of a man learned in the Veda, 'He is like Agni; for sacred knowledge is Agni's mouth.'"

The next passage from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 3, 10, 1, briefly states that the Vedas were created after Soma:

Prajāpatiḥ Somaṁ rājānam asṛijata | taṁ trayo vedāḥ anv asṛijyanta |

"Prajāpati created king Soma. After him the three Vedas were created."

The same Brāhmaṇa in other places, as iii. 3, 2, 1, speaks of the Veda as derived from Prajāpati (*Prājāpatyo vedaḥ*).

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.—According to the following passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 5, 4, 10 (= Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, p. 455 of Röer's ed. and p. 179 of trans.) the Vedas, as well as other Śāstras, are the breath of Brahma:

Sa yathā ārdredhāgner abhyāhitāt pṛithag dhūmāḥ viniścharanti evaṁ vai are 'sya mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yad rigvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvāṅgirasaḥ itihāsaḥ purāṇaṁ vidyā upanishadaḥ ślokāḥ sūtrāṇy anuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāni asyaiva etāni sarvāṇi niśvasitāni |

"As from a fire made of moist wood various modifications of smoke proceed, so is the breathing of this great Being the Rig-veda, the

Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Atharvāngirases, the Itihāsas, Purāṇas, science, the Upanishads, verses (*ślokas*), aphorisms, comments of different kinds—all these are his breathings."

It is curious that in this passage the Vedas appear to be classed in the same category with various other works, such as the Sūtras, from some at least of which (as we shall see further on), they are broadly distinguished by later writers, who regard the former (including the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads) as of superhuman origin, and infallible correctness, while this character is expressly denied to the latter, which are represented as *paurusheya*, or merely human compositions, possessed of no independent authority.

In the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad (pp. 50–53 of Dr. Röer's ed.) Prajāpati [identified with Death, or the Devourer] is said to have produced *Vāch* (speech), and through her, together with soul, to have created all things, including the Vedas:

Sa tayā vāchā tena ātmanā idaṁ sarvam asṛijata yad idaṁ kincha ṛicho yajūṁshi sāmāni chhandāṁsi yajnān prajāḥ paśūn |

"By that speech and that soul he created all things whatsoever, ṛich, yajush, and sāman texts, metres, sacrifices, creatures, and animals."

And in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 4, 3, 12 (p. 290 of the same Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad) it is said:

Trayo vedāḥ ete eva | *vāg eva ṛig-vedo manô yajur-vedaḥ prānaḥ sāma-vedaḥ* |

"The three Vedas are [identifiable with] these three things [speech, mind, and breath]. Speech is the Rig-veda, mind the Yajur-veda, and breath the Sāma-veda."

The following text, from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 52, gives a singular account of the production of the Vedas:

"*Samudre tvā sadane sādayāmi*" *iti* | *Mano vai samudraḥ* | *manaso vai samudrād vāchā 'bhryā devās trayīṁ vidyāṁ nirakhanan* | *tad esha śloko 'bhyuktaḥ* "*ye* (*yat?*) *samudrād nirakhanan devās tīkshṇābhir abhribhiḥ* | *sudevo adya tad vidyād yatra nirvapaṇaṁ ādhur*" *iti* | *manaḥ samudro vāk tikshṇā 'bhris trayī vidyā nirvapaṇam* | *etad esha śloko 'bhyuktaḥ* | *manasi tāṁ sādayati* |

"'I settle thee in the ocean as thy seat.'[10] Mind is the ocean.

[10] I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for the following explanation of this formula, which is taken from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, xiii. 53. The words are addressed to a

From the mind-ocean with speech for a shovel the gods dug out the triple Vedic science. Hence this verse has been uttered: 'May the brilliant deity to-day know where they placed that offering which the gods dug out with sharp shovels.' Mind is the ocean; speech is the sharp shovel; the triple Vedic science is the offering. In reference to this the verse has been uttered. He settles it in Mind."

The next passage from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 39, 1, speaks of the Veda as being "the hair of Prajāpati's beard" (*Prajāpater vai etāni śmaśrūṇi yad vedaḥ*). The process of its germination is left to the imagination of the reader.

In another text of the same Brāhmaṇa, Vāch (speech) is called the mother of the Vedas:

ii. 8, 8, 5. *Vāg aksharam prathamajā ṛitasya vedānām mātā amṛitasya nābhiḥ | sā no jushāṇā upa yajnam āgād avantī devī suhavā me astu | yām ṛishayo mantra-kṛito manīshiṇaḥ anvaichhan devās tapasā śrameṇa |*

"Vāch (speech) is an imperishable thing, and the first-born of the ceremonial, the mother of the Vedas, and the centre-point of immortality. Delighting in us, she came to the sacrifice. May the protecting goddess be ready to listen to my invocation,—she whom the wise rishis, the composers of hymns, the gods, sought by austere fervour, and by laborious devotion."

Sect. II.—*Origin of the Vedas according to the Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, the Harivaṁśa, the Mahābhārata; eternity of the Veda; miscellaneous statements regarding it.*

In the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas we find a quite different tradition regarding the origin of the Vedas, which in these works are said to have been created by the four-faced Brahmā from his several mouths. Thus the Vishṇu Purāṇa says, i. 5, 48 ff.:

Gāyatraṁ cha ṛichaś chaiva trivṛit-sāma-rathantaram | Agnishṭomaṁ cha yajnānāṁ nirmame prathamād mukhāt | yajūṁshi traiṣṭubhaṁ chhandaḥ stomaṁ panchadaśaṁ tathā | Vṛihat sāma tathokthyaṁ cha dakshiṇād asṛijad mukhāt | sāmāni jagatī-chhandaḥ stomaṁ saptadaśaṁ

brick at the time when the hearth (*chityā*) for the reception of the sacred fires is being constructed. As the bricks are severally called *apasyā* (properly 'efficacious,' but erroneously derived from *ap*) they are addressed as if placed in various parts of water

tathā | vairūpam atirātraṁ cha paśchimād asṛijad mukhāt | ekaviṁśam atharvāṇam āptoryāmāṇam eva cha | Anushṭubhaṁ sa vairājam uttarād asṛijad mukhāt |

"From his eastern mouth Brahmā formed the gāyatra, the ṛich verses, the trivṛit, the sāma-rathantara, and of sacrifices, the agnishṭoma. From his southern mouth he created the yajush verses, the trishṭubh metre, the pancḥadaśa-stoma, the vṛihat-sāman, and the ukthya. From his western mouth he formed the sāman verses, the jagatī metre, the saptadaśa-stoma, the vairūpa, and the atirātra. From his northern mouth he framed the ekavinśa, the atharvan, the āptoryāman, with the anushṭubh and virāj metres." [11]

In like manner it is said but with variations, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, iii. 12, 34, and 37 ff.:

Kadāchid dhyāyataḥ srashṭur vedāḥ āsaṁś chaturmukhāt | kathaṁ srakshyāmy ahaṁ lokān samavetān yathā purā | . . . . Ṛig-yajuḥ-sāmātharvākhyān vedān pūrvādibhir mukhaiḥ | śastram ijyāṁ stuti-stomam prāyaśchittaṁ vyadhāt kramāt |

"Once the Vedas sprang from the four-faced creator, as he was meditating 'how shall I create the aggregate worlds as before?' . . . . He formed from his eastern and other mouths the Vedas called ṛich, yajush, sāman, and atharvan, together with praise, sacrifice, hymns, and expiation."

And in verse 45 it is stated that the ushṇih metre issued from his hairs, the gāyatrī from his skin, the trishṭubh from his flesh, the anushṭubh from his tendons, the jagatī from his bones (*Tasyoshṇig āsīl lomebhyo gāyātrī cha tvacho vibhoḥ | trishṭup māṁsāt snuto 'nushṭup jagaty asthnaḥ Prajāpateḥ*).

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa says on the same subject, 102, 1:

Tasmād aṇḍād vibhinnāt tu Brahmaṇo 'vyakta-janmanaḥ | ṛicho babhūvaḥ prathamam prathamād vadanād mune | 2. Javā-pushpa-nibhāḥ sadyas tejo-rūpānta-saṁhatāḥ | pṛithak pṛithag vibhinnāś cha rajo-rūpa-vahās tataḥ | 3. Yajūṁshi dakshiṇād vaktrād anirūddhāni kānchanam | yādṛig-varṇaṁ tathā-varṇāny asaṁhati-dharāṇi cha | 4. Paśchimaṁ yad vibhor vaktram Brahmaṇaḥ parameshṭhinaḥ | āvirbhūtāni sāmāni tataś chhandāṁsi tāny atha | 5. Ātharvaṇam aśeshaṁ cha bhṛingāñjana-chaya-prabham | ghorāghora-svarūpaṁ tad ābhichārika-śāntikam | 6. Uttarāt pra-

[11] See Wilson's Transl. vol. i. p. 84.

kaṭībhūtaṁ vadanāt tasya vedhasaḥ | sukha-sattva-tamaḥ-prāyaṁ saumyā-saumya-svarūpavat | 7. Ṛicho rajo-guṇāḥ sattvaṁ yajushāṁ cha guṇo mune | tamo-guṇāni sāmāni tamaḥ-sattvam atharvasu |

1. "From the eastern mouth of Brahmā, who sprang by an imperceptible birth from that divided egg (Manu, i. 9, 12), there suddenly issued first of all the ṛich verses, (2) resembling China roses, brilliant in appearance, internally united, though separated from each other, and characterized by the quality of passion (*rajas*). 3. From his southern mouth came, unrestrained, the yajush verses of the colour of gold, and disunited. 4. From the western mouth of the supreme Brahmā appeared the sāman verses and the metres. 5 and 6. From the northern mouth of Vedhas (Brahmā) was manifested the entire Ātharvaṇa of the colour of black bees and collyrium, having a character at once terrible and not terrible,[12] capable of neutralizing the arts of enchanters, pleasant, characterized by the qualities both of purity and darkness, and both beautiful and the contrary. 7. The verses of the ṛich are distinguished by the quality of passion (*rajas*), those of the yajush by purity (*sattva*), those of the sāman by darkness (*tamas*), and those of the atharvan by both darkness and purity."

Harivaṁśa.—In the first section of the Harivaṁśa, verse 47, the creation of the Vedas by Brahmā is thus briefly alluded to:

Ṛicho yajūṁshi sāmāni nirmame yajna-siddhaye | sādhyās tair ayajan devān ity evam anuśuśruma |

"In order to the accomplishment of sacrifice, he formed the ṛich, yajush, and sāman verses: with these the Sādhyas worshipped the gods, as we have heard."

The following is the account of the same event given in another part of the same work; Harivaṁśa, verse 11,516:

Tato 'sṛijad vai tripadām gāyatrīṁ veda-mātaram | Akaroch chaiva chaturo vedān gāyatri-sambhavān |

After framing the world, Brahmā "next created the gāyatrī of three lines, mother of the Vedas, and also the four Vedas which sprang from the gāyatrī."[13]

[12] *Ghorāghora* is the correct MS. reading, as I learn from Dr. Hall, and not *yāvaddhora*, as given in Professor Banerjea's printed text.

[13] The same words *gāyatrīṁ veda-mātaram* also occur in the M.Bh. Vanaparvan, verse 13,432; and the same title is applied to Vāch in the Taitt. Br. as quoted above, p 10.

A little further on we find this expanded into the following piece of mysticism, verse 11,665 ff.:

Samāhita-manā Brahmā mokshạ-prāptena hetunā | chandra-maṇḍala-saṁsthānāj jyotis-tejo mahat tadā | Praviśya hṛidayaṁ kshipraṁ gāyatryāḥ nayanāntare | Garbhasya sambhavo yaś cha chaturdhā purushātmakaḥ | Brahma-tejomayo 'vyaktaḥ śāśvato 'tha dhruvo 'vyayaḥ | na chendriya-guṇair yukto yuktas tejo-guṇena cha | chandrāṁśu-vimala-prakhyo bhrājishṇur varṇa-saṁsthitaḥ | Netrābhyāṁ janayad devaḥ ṛig-vedaṁ yajushā saha | sāmavedaṁ cha jihvāgrād atharvāṇaṁ cha mūrddhataḥ | Jāta-mātrās tu te vedāḥ kshetraṁ vindanti tattvataḥ | Tena vedatvam āpannā yasmād vindanti tat padam | Te sṛijanti tadā vedāḥ brahma pūrvaṁ sanātanam | Purushaṁ divya-rūpābhaṁ svaiḥ svair bhāvair mano-bhavaiḥ |

"For the emancipation of the world, Brahmā, sunk in contemplation, issuing in a luminous form from the region of the moon, penetrated into the heart of Gāyatrī, entering between her eyes. From her there was then produced a quadruple being in the form of a Male, lustrous as Brahmā, undefined, eternal, undecaying, devoid of bodily senses or qualities, distinguished by the attribute of brilliancy, pure as the rays of the moon, radiant, and embodied in letters. The god fashioned the Rig-veda, with the Yajush from his eyes, the Sāma-veda from the tip of his tongue, and the Atharvan from his head. These Vedas, as soon as they are born, find a body (*kshetra*). Hence they obtain their character of Vedas, because they find (*vindanti*) that abode. These Vedas then create the pre-existent eternal brahma (sacred science), a Male of celestial form, with their own mind-born qualities."

I extract another passage on the same subject from a later section of the same work, verses 12,425 ff. When the Supreme Being was intent on creating the universe, Hiraṇyagarbha, or Prajāpati, issued from his mouth, and was desired to divide himself,—a process which he was in great doubt how he should effect. The text then proceeds:

Iti chintayatas tasya "om" ity evotthitaḥ svaraḥ | sa bhūmāv antarīkshe cha nāke cha kṛitavān svanam | Taṁ chaivābhyasatas tasya manaḥ-sāramayam punaḥ | hṛidayād deva-devasya vashaṭkāraḥ samutthitaḥ | bhūmy-antarīksha-nākānām bhūyaḥ svarātmakāḥ parāḥ | mahāsmṛitimayāḥ punyāḥ mahāvyāhṛitayo 'bhavan | chhandasāṁ pravarā devī chaturviṁśākshara 'bhavat | Tat-padaṁ saṁsmaran divyaṁ sāvitrīm akarot prabhuḥ |

ṛik-sāmātharva-yajushaś chaturo bhagavān prabhuḥ | chakāra nikhilān vedān brahma-yuktena karmaṇā |

"While he was thus reflecting, the sound "om" issued from him, and resounded through the earth, air, and sky. While the god of gods was again and again repeating this, the essence of mind, the vashaṭkāra proceeded from his heart. Next, the sacred and transcendent vyāhṛitis, (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svar), formed of the great smṛiti, in the form of sound, were produced from earth, air, and sky. Then appeared the goddess, the most excellent of metres, with twenty-four syllables [the gāyatrī]. Reflecting on the divine text [beginning with] "tat," the Lord formed the sāvitrī. He then produced all the Vedas, the Ṛich, Sāman, Atharvan, and Yajush, with their prayers and rites." (See also the passage from the Bhāg. Pur. xii. 6, 37 ff., which will be quoted in a following section.)

Mahābhārata.—The Mahābhārata in one passage speaks of Sarasvatī and the Vedas as being both created by Achyuta (Vishṇu) from his mind (Bhīshma-parvan, verse 3019: *Sarasvatīṁ cha vedāṁś cha manasaḥ sasṛije 'chyutaḥ*). In another place, Śānti-parvan, verse 12,920, Sarasvatī is said, in conformity with the texts quoted above, pp. 10 and 12, from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, the Vana-parvan, and the Harivaṁśa, to be the mother of the Vedas:

Vedānām mātaraṁ paśya mat-sthām devīṁ Sarasvatīm |

"Behold Sarasvatī, mother of the Vedas, abiding in me."

Manu.—According to the verses in Manu, xii. 49, 50, quoted in the First Volume of this work, p. 41, the Vedas, with the other beings and objects named along with them, constitute the second manifestation of the sattva guṇa, or pure principle; while Brahmā is placed in a higher rank, as one of the first manifestations of the same principle. The word Veda in this passage is explained by Kullūka of those "embodied deities, celebrated in the Itihāsas, who preside over the Vedas" (*Vedābhimāninyaś cha devatāḥ vigrahavatyaḥ itihāsa-prasiddāḥ*).

SECT. III.—*Passages of the Brāhmaṇas and other Works in which the Vedas are spoken of as being the sources of all things, and as infinite and eternal.*

The first text of this sort which I shall cite is from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 4, 2, 21:

Atha sarvāṇi bhūtāni paryaikshat | sa trayyām eva vidyāyāṁ sarvāṇi bhūtāny apaśyat | attra hi sarveshāṁ chhandasāṁ ātmā sarveshāṁ stomānāṁ sarveshām prāṇāpāṁ sarveshāṁ devānām | etad vai asti | etad hy amṛitam | yad hy amṛitam tad hy asti | etad u tad yad martyam | 22. Sa aikshata Prajāpatiḥ "trayyāṁ vāva vidyāyāṁ sarvāṇi bhūtāni | hanta trayīm eva vidyām ātmānam abhisaṁskaravai" iti | 23. Sa ṛicho vyauhat | dvādaśa bṛihatī-sahasrāṇy etāvatyo ha ṛicho yāḥ Prajāpati-sṛishṭās tās triṁśattame vyūhe panktishv atishṭhanta | tāḥ yat triṁśattame vyūhe tishṭhanta tasmāt triṁśad māsasya rātrayaḥ | atha yat panktishu tasmāt pānktaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | tāḥ ashṭāśataṁ śatāni panktayo 'bhavan |

21. "Then he looked around upon all beings. He beheld all beings in this triple Vedic science. For in it is the soul of all metres, of all hymns of praise, of all breaths, of all the gods. This, indeed, exists.[14] It is an undying thing. For that which is undying (really) exists. This is that which is mortal.[15] Prajāpati reflected, 'All beings are comprehended in the triple Vedic science: come let me dispose myself in the shape of the triple Vedic science.[16] He arranged the verses of the Rig-veda. Twelve thousand Bṛihatīs, and as many Ṛich-verses which were created by Prajāpati, stood in rows in the thirtieth class. Since they stood in the thirtieth class there are thirty nights in the month. Since they stood in rows (*pankti*) Prajāpati is called Pānkta. They formed eighteen hundreds of rows."

The next text, from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 12, 9, 1, speaks of the three Vedas as being respectively the sources of form, motion, and heat, or brilliancy:

Ṛigbhyo jātām sarvaśo mūrttim āhuḥ sarvā gatir yājushī haiva śaśvat | sarvaṁ tejaḥ sāma-rūpyaṁ ha śaśvat |

"They say that form universally proceeds from ṛich verses; that motion is always connected with the yajush, and that all heat has the nature of the sāman."

We have already seen, p. 6, that Manu (i. 21) speaks of the names,

[14] "Always exists" (*sarvadā vidyate*).—Comm.

[15] On this the commentator remarks: *Yach cha martyam maraṇa-dharmakam manushyādi tad apy etat trayī-bhūtam eva | ato marttyāmṛitātmakaṁ sarvaṁ jagad attrāntarbhūtam |* "And that which is mortal, subject to death, the human race, etc., is also one with the triple Vedic science. Hence the latter includes all the world both mortal and immortal."

[16] I owe this interpretation of this clause to Prof. Aufrecht.

functions, and conditions of all things as fashioned from the words of the Veda. It is similarly said in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 5, 58:

Nāma rūpaṁ cha bhūtānāṁ kṛityānāṁ cha pravṛttanaṁ | Veda-śabdebhya evādau devādīnāṁ chakāra saḥ | ṛishīṇāṁ nāmadheyāni yathā veda-śrutāni vai | yathā-niyoga-yogyāni sarveshām api so 'karot |

"In the beginning he created from the words of the Veda the names, forms, and functions of the gods and other beings. He also assigned the names of all the rishis as indicated in the Vedas, and as appropriate to their respective offices."

The same idea is repeated in the Mahābhārata, Sāntiparvan, 8533:

Ṛishayas tapasā vedān adhyaishanta divāniśam | An-ādi-nidhanā vidyā vāg utsṛishṭā Svayambhuvā | ādau vedamayī divyā yataḥ sarvāḥ pravṛittayaḥ | ṛishīṇām nāmadheyāni yāś cha vedeshu sṛishṭayaḥ | nānā-rūpaṁ cha bhūtānām karmaṇāṁ cha pravarttayan (pravarttanam?) | veda-śabdebhya evādau nirmimīte sa īśvaraḥ |

"Through austere-fervour (*tapas*) the rishis studied the Vedas, both day and night. In the beginning knowledge (*vidyā*)[17] without beginning or end, divine speech, formed of the Vedas, was sent forth by Svayambhū (= Brahmā, the self-existent): from her all activities are derived. It is from the words of the Veda that the lord in the beginning frames the names of the rishis, the creations which (exist) in the Vedas, the various forms of beings, and the activity manifested in works."

The Mangalācharaṇa, or prayer prefixed to their commentaries on the Rik Sanhitā and Taittirīya Sanhitā, by both Sāyaṇa and Mādhava, is as follows:

Yasya niśśvasitaṁ vedāḥ yo vedebhyo 'khilaṁ jagat | nirmame tam ahaṁ vande vidyā-tīrtham maheśvaram |

"I reverence Maheśvara the hallowed abode of sacred knowledge, of whom the Vedas are the breathings, and who from the Vedas formed the whole universe."

The following passage from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 10, 11, 3, asserts that the Vedas are infinite in extent:

Bharadvājo ha tribhir āyurbhir brahmacharyyam uvāsa | taṁ ha jīrṇiṁ

[17] In quoting this line in a passage of his Vedārtha-prakāśa, or commentary on the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, which I shall adduce further on, Mādhava Āchāryya gives the reading *nityā*, 'eternal,' instead of *vidyā*, 'knowledge.' It is possible that the line may be taken from some other book.

sthaviraṁ śayānam Indraḥ upavrajya uvācha | "Bharadvāja yat te chaturtham āyur dadyāṁ kim etena kuryyāḥ" iti | "brahmacharyyam eva enena chareyam" iti ha uvācha | 4. Taṁ ha trīn giri-rūpān avijñātān iva darśayāñchakāra | teshāṁ ha ekaikasmād mushṭim ādade | sa ha uvācha "Bharadvāja" ity āmantrya | "vedāḥ vai ete | anantāḥ vai vedāḥ | etad vai etais tribhir āyurbhir anvavochathāḥ | atha te itarad ananūktam eva | ehi imaṁ viddhi | ayaṁ vai sarva-vidyā" iti | 5. Tasmai ha etam agnim sāvitraṃ uvācha | taṁ sa viditvā amṛito bhūtvā svargaṁ lokam iyāya ādityasya sāyujyam | amṛito ha eva bhūtvā svargaṁ lokam ety ādityasya sāyujyaṁ yaḥ evaṁ veda | eshā u eva trayī vidyā | 6. Yāvantaṁ ha vai trayyā vidyayā lokaṁ jayati tāvantam lokaṁ jayati yaḥ evaṁ veda |

"Bharadvāja lived through three lives[18] in the state of a religious student (*brahmacharyya*). Indra approached him when he was lying old and decrepit, and said to him: 'Bharadvāja, if I give thee a fourth life, how wilt thou employ it?' 'I will lead the life of a religious student,' he replied. 4. He (Indra) showed him three mountain-like objects, as it were unknown. From each of them he took a handful: and, calling to him, 'Bharadvāja,' said, 'These are the Vedas. The Vedas are infinite. This is what thou hast studied during these three lives. Now there is another thing which thou hast not studied, come and learn it. This is the universal science.' 5. He declared to him this Agni Sāvitra. Having known it he (Bharadvāja) became immortal, and ascended to the heavenly world, to union with the sun. He who knows this ascends to heaven, to union with the sun. This is the triple Vedic science. He who knows this conquers a world as great as he would gain by the triple Vedic science."

Another text from the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vii. 3, 1, 4, puts the matter somewhat differently:

Atha brahmā (brahma-vādino?) vadanti parimitāḥ vai richaḥ parimitāni sāmāni parimitāni yajūṁshi atha tasya eva anto nāsti yad brahma |

"The expounders of sacred science say, 'Rich verses are limited, sāman verses are limited, yajush verses are limited; but there is no end of sacred knowledge."

Vishṇu Purāṇa.—At the end of Section 6 of the third book of the

[18] This does not appear to mean, three lives in three different births, but a life of thrice the usual length, or already twice renewed.

Vishṇu Purāṇa we have the following assertion of the eternity of the Veda:

Iti śākhāḥ prasankhyātāḥ śākhā-bhedās tathaiva cha | karttāraś chaiva śākhānām bheda-hetus tathoditaḥ | sarvā-manvantareshv eva śākhā-bhedāḥ samāḥ smritāḥ | Prājāpatyā śrutir nityā tad-vikalpās tv ime dvija |

"Thus the Śākhās, their divisions, their authors, and the cause of the division have been declared. In all the manvantaras the divisions of the Śākhās are recorded to be the same. The śruti (Veda) derived from Prajāpati (Brahmā) is eternal: these, o Brāhman, are only its modifications."

In another passage of the same book, Vishṇu is identified with the Vedas: Vishṇu Purāṇa, iii. 3, 19 ff.:

Sa ṛiṅ-mayaḥ sa sāmamayaḥ sa chātmā sa yajurmayaḥ | ṛig-yajuḥ-sāma-sārātmā sa evātmā śarīriṇām | sa bhidyate vedamayaḥ sa vedaṁ karoti bhedair bahubhiḥ saśākham | śākhā-praṇetā sa samasta-śākhāḥ jñāna-svarūpo bhagavān anantaḥ |

"He is composed of the Rich, of the Sāman, of the Yajush; he is the soul. Consisting of the essence of the Rich, Yajush, and Sāman, he is the soul of embodied spirits. Formed of the Veda, he is divided; he forms the Veda and its branches (*śākhās*) into many divisions. Framer of the Śākhās, he is also their entirety, the infinite lord, whose essence is knowledge."

Sect. IV.—*Passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Manu, eulogistic of the Veda, with some statements of a different tenor from Manu and other writers.*

The following panegyric on Vedic study is taken from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 6, 1:

Pancha eva mahāyajñāḥ | tāny eva mahāsattrāṇi bhūta-yajno manushya-yajnaḥ pitṛi-yajno deva-yajno brahma-yajnaḥ iti | 2. Ahar ahar bhūtebhyo baliṁ haret | tathā etam bhūta-yajnaṁ samāpnoti | ahar ahar dadyād ā uda-pātrāt tathā etam manushya-yajnaṁ samāpnoti | ahar ahaḥ svadhākuryād ā uda-pātrāt tathā etaṁ pitṛi-yajnaṁ samāpnoti | ahar ahaḥ svāhākuryād ā kāshṭhāt tathā etaṁ deva-yajnaṁ samāpnoti | 3. Atha brahma-yajnaḥ | svādhyāyo vai brahma-yajnaḥ | tasya vai etasya brahma-

yajnasya vāg eva juhūr manaḥ upabhṛich chakshur dhruvā medhā sruvaḥ satyam avabhṛithaḥ svargo lokaḥ udayanam | yāvantaṁ ha vai imām pṛithivīṁ vittena pūrṇāṁ dadaṁ lokaṁ jayati tris tāvantaṁ jayati bhūyāṁsaṁ cha akshayyaṁ yaḥ evaṁ vidvān ahar ahaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte | tasmāt svādhyāyo 'dhetavyaḥ | 4. Paya-āhutayo ha vai etāḥ devānāṁ yad ṛichaḥ | sa yaḥ evaṁ vidvān ṛicho 'har ahaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte payaāhutibhir eva tad devāṁs tarpayati | te enaṁ tṛiptās tarpayanti yogakshemeṇa prāṇena retasā sarvātmanā sarvābhiḥ puṇyābhiḥ sampadbhiḥ | ghṛita-kulyāḥ madhu-kulyāḥ pitṛīn svadhā abhivahanti | 5. Ājyāhutayo ha vai etāḥ devānāṁ yad yajūṁshi | sa yaḥ evaṁ vidvān yajūṁshy ahar ahaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte ājyāhutibhir eva tad devāṁs tarpayati te enam tṛiptās tarpayanti yoga-kshemeṇa ityādi | 6. Somāhutayo ha vai etāḥ devānāṁ yat sāmāni | sa yaḥ evaṁ vidvān sāmāny ahar ahaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte somāhutibhir eva tad devāṁs tarpayati ityādi | 7. Meda-āhutayo ha vai etāḥ devānāṁ yad atharvāṅgirasaḥ | sa yaḥ evaṁ vidvān atharvāṅgiraso 'har ahaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte meda-āhutibhir eva tad devāṁs tarpayati ityādi | 8. Madhv-āhutayo ha vai etāḥ devānāṁ yad anuśāsanāni vidyā vākovākyam itihāsa-purāṇaṁ gāthāḥ nārāśaṁsyaḥ | sa yaḥ evaṁ vidvān ityādi | 9. Tasya vai etasya brahma-yajnasya chatvāro vashaṭkārāḥ yad vāto vāti yad vidyotate yat stanayati yad avasphūrjati | tasmād evaṁ vidvān vāte vāti vidyotamāne stanayaty avasphūrjaty adhīyīta eva vashaṭkārāṇām achhaṁbaṭkārāya | ati ha vai punar mṛityum muchyate gachhati Brahmaṇaḥ sātmatām | sa ched api prabalam iva na śaknuyād apy ekaṁ deva-padam adhīyīta eva tathā hūtebhyo na hīyate | xi. 5, 7, 1: Atha ataḥ svādhyāya-praśaṁsā | priye svādhyāya-pravachane bhavataḥ | yuktamānāḥ bhavaty aparādhīno 'har ahar arthān sādhayate sukhaṁ svapiti parama-chikitsakaḥ ātmano bhavati | indriya-saṁyamaś cha ekārāmatā cha prajnā-vṛiddhir yaśo loka-paktiḥ | prajnā varddhamānā chaturo dharmān brāhmaṇam abhinishpādayati brāhmaṇyam pratirūpa-charyyāṁ yaśo loka-paktim | lokaḥ pachyamānaś chaturbhir dharmair brāhmaṇam bhunakty archayā cha dānena cha ajyeyatayā cha abadhyatayā cha | 2. Ye ha vai ke cha śramaṇāḥ ime dyāvā-pṛithivī antareṇa svādhyāyo ha eva teshām paramatā kāshṭhā yaḥ evam vidvān svādhyāyam adhīte | tasmāt svādhyāyo 'dhetavyaḥ | 3. Yad yad ha vai ayaṁ chhandasaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte tena tena ha eva asya yajna-kratunā ishṭam bhavati yaḥ evaṁ vidvān svādhyāyam adhīte | tasmāt svādhyāyo 'dhetavyaḥ | 4. Yadi ha vai apy abhyaktaḥ alankṛitaḥ suhitaḥ sukhe śayane śayānaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte ā ha

eva sa nakhāgrebhyas tapyate yaḥ evaṁ vidvāṅ svādhyāyam adhīte | tasmāt svādhyāyo 'dhetavyaḥ | 5. Madhu ha vai ṛicho ghṛitaṁ ha sāmāny amṛitaṁ yajūṁshi | yad ha vai ayaṅ vākovākyaṁ adhīte kshīraudana-māṁsaudanau ha eva tau | 6. Madhunā ha vai esha devāṁs tarpayati yaḥ evaṁ vidvān ṛicho 'har ahaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte | te enaṁ tṛiptās tarpayanti sārvaiḥ kāmaiḥ sarvair bhogaiḥ | 7. Ghṛitena ha vai eshā devāṁs tarpayati yaḥ evaṁ vidvān sāmāny ahar ahaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte | te enaṁ tṛiptāḥ ityādi | 8. Amṛitena ha vai esha devāṁs tarpayati yaḥ evam vidvān yajūṁshy ahar ahaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte | te enaṁ tṛiptāḥ ityādi | 9. Kshīraudana-māṁsaudanābhyāṁ ha vai esha devāṁs tarpayati yaḥ evaṁ vidvān vākovākyam itihāsa-purāṇam ity ahar ahaḥ svādhyāyam adhīte | te enaṁ tṛiptāḥ ityādi | 10. Yanti vai āpaḥ | ety ādityaḥ | eti chandramāḥ | yanti nakshattrāṇi | yathā ha vai na iyur na kuryur evaṁ ha eva tad ahar brāhmaṇo bhavati yad ahaḥ svādhyāyaṁ na adhīte | tasmāt svādhyāyo 'dhetavyaḥ | tasmād apy ṛichaṁ vā yajur vā sāma vā gāthāṁ vā kuṁvyāṁ vā abhivyāhared vratasya avyavachhedāya |

"There are only five great sacrifices, which are the great ceremonies, viz., the offering to living creatures,[19] the offering to men, the offering to the fathers, the offering to the gods, and the Veda-offering (*brahma-yajña*). 2. Let an oblation be daily presented to living creatures. Thus the offering to them is fulfilled. Let (hospitality) be daily bestowed even down to the bowl of water. Thus is the offering to men fulfilled. Let the oblation to the fathers be daily presented,[20] down to the bowl of water with the svadhā formula. Thus is the offering to the fathers fulfilled. Let the oblation to the gods be daily presented as far as the faggot of wood. Thus is the offering to the gods fulfilled. 3. Next is the Veda-offering. This means private study[21] (of the sacred books). In this Veda-sacrifice speech is the juhū, the soul the upabhṛit, the eye the dhruvā, intelligence the sruva,[22] truth the ablution, and paradise

[19] This sacrifice, as I learn from Prof. Aufrecht, consists in scattering grain for the benefit of birds, etc. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v. bali*. In regard to the other sacrifices see Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. pp. 150, 152, 182 ff., 203 ff.

[20] In explanation of this Professor Aufrecht refers to Kātyāyana's Śrauta Sūtras, iv. 1, 10, and Manu, iii. 210, 214, 218.

[21] *Svādhyāyaḥ sva-śākhādhyanam* | "Reading of the Veda in one's own śākhā."—Comm.

[22] These words denote sacrificial spoons or ladles of different kinds of wood. See the drawings of them in Prof. Müller's article on the funeral rites of the Brāhmans, Journ. of the Germ. Or. Soc. vol. ix. pp. lxxviii. and lxxx.

the conclusion. He who, knowing this, daily studies the Veda, conquers an undecaying world more than thrice as great as that which he acquires who bestows this whole earth filled with riches. Wherefore the Veda should be studied. 4. Verses of the Rig-veda are milk-oblations to the gods. He who, knowing this, daily reads these verses, satisfies the gods with milk-oblations; and they being satisfied, satisfy him with property, with breath, with generative power, with complete bodily soundness, with all excellent blessings. Streams of butter, streams of honey flow as svadhā-oblations to the fathers. 5. Yajush-verses are offerings of butter to the gods. He who, knowing this, daily reads these verses, satisfies the gods with offerings of butter; and they, being satisfied, satisfy him, etc. (as in the preceding paragraph). 6. Sāman-verses are soma-libations to the gods. He who, knowing this, daily reads these verses, satisfies the gods with soma-libations; and they being satisfied, satisfy him, etc. (as above). 7. Verses of Atharvan and Angiras (*atharvāngirasaḥ*[23]) are oblations of fat to the gods. He who, knowing this, daily reads these verses, satisfies the gods with oblations of fat; and they etc. (as above). 8. Prescriptive and scientific treatises, dialogues, traditions, tales, verses, and eulogistic texts are oblations of honey to the gods. He who, knowing this, daily reads these, satisfies the gods with oblations of honey; and they etc. (as above). 9. Of this Veda-sacrifice there are four Vashaṭkāras, when the wind blows, when it lightens, when it thunders, when it crashes; wherefore when it blows, lightens, thunders, or crashes, let the man, who knows this, read, in order that these Vashaṭkāras may not be interrupted.[24] He who does so is freed from dying a second time, and attains to an union with Brahma. Even if he cannot read vigorously, let him read one text relating to the gods. Thus he is not deprived of his living creatures."

xi. 5, 7, 1: "Now comes an encomium upon Vedic study. Study and teaching are loved. He (who practises them) becomes composed in mind. Independent of others, he daily attains his objects, sleeps pleasantly, becomes his own best physician. Control of his senses, concentration of mind, increase of intelligence, renown, capacity to educate mankind [are the results of study]. Increasing intelligence secures for

[23] The Atharva Sanhitā is so called.

[24] See Böthlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v. chhambaṭ*.

the Brāhman the four attributes of saintliness, suitable conduct, renown, and capacity for educating mankind. When so educated, men guarantee to the Brāhman the enjoyment of the four prerogatives which are his due, reverence, the receipt of gifts, freedom from oppression, and from death by violence. 2. Of all the modes of exertion, which are known between heaven and earth, study of the Veda occupies the highest rank, (in the case of him) who, knowing this, studies it. Wherefore this study is to be practised. 3. On every occasion when a man studies the Vedic hymns he (in fact) performs a complete ceremonial of sacrifice, *i.e.* whosoever, knowing this, so studies. Wherefore this study, etc., etc. 4. And even when a man, perfumed with unguents, adorned with jewels, satiated with food, and reposing on a comfortable couch, studies the Veda he (has all the merit of one who) performs penance (felt) to the very tips of his nails:[25] (such is the case with him) who, knowing this, studies. Wherefore etc. 5. Rig-veda-verses are honey, Sāma-verses butter, yajus-verses nectar (*amṛita*). When a man reads dialogues (*vākovākya*) [and legends], these two sorts of composition are respectively oblations of cooked milk and cooked flesh. 6. He who, knowing this, daily reads Rig-veda-verses, satisfies the gods with honey; and they, when satisfied, satisfy him with all objects of desire, and with all enjoyments. 7. He who, knowing this, daily reads Sāma-verses, satisfies the gods with butter; and they, when satisfied, etc. (as before). 8. He who, knowing this, daily reads Yajus-verses, satisfies the gods with nectar; and they, etc. (as before). 9. He who, knowing this, daily studies dialogues and the different classes of ancient stories, satisfies the gods with milk- and flesh-oblations; and they, etc. (as before). 10. The waters move. The sun moves. The moon moves. The constellations move. The Brāhman who on any day does not study the Veda, is on that day like what these moving bodies would be if the ceased to move or act. Wherefore such study is to be practised. Let

[25] This sentence is differently rendered by Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. x. p. 112, as follows: "He burns (with sacred fire) to the very tips of his nails." In a later page of the same Essay we are told that according to the doctrine of a teacher called Nāka Maudgalya as stated in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the study and teaching of the Veda are the real *tapas* (*svādhyāya-pravachane eva tad hi tapaḥ*). In the text of the Āraṇyaka itself, vii. 8, it is declared that study and teaching should always accompany such spiritual or ritual acts as *ṛitam*, *satyam*, *tapas*, *dama*, *śama*, the *agnihotra* sacrifice, etc. See Indische Studien, ii. 214, and x. 113.

a man therefore present as his offering a verse of the Rig-veda, or the Sāman, or the Yajush, or a Gāthā, or a Kunīvyā, in order that the course of his observances may not be interrupted."

Manu employs the following honorific expressions in reference to the Vedas (xii. 94 ff.):

Pitṛi-deva-manushyāṇāṁ vedaś chakshuḥ sanātanam | aśakyaṁ chāprameyaṁ cha veda-śāstram iti sthitiḥ | Yā veda-vāhyāḥ smṛitayo yāś cha kāścha kudṛishṭayaḥ |[26] *sarvās tā niṣhphalāḥ pretya tamo-niṣhṭhāḥ hi tāḥ smṛitaḥ | Utpadyante chyavante cha yāny ato 'nyāni kānichit | Tāny arvāk-kālikatayā*[27] *niṣhphalāny anṛitāni cha | Chāturvarṇyaṁ trayo lokāś chatvāraś chāśramāḥ pṛithak | Bhūtam bhavad bhavishyaṁ cha sarvaṁ vedāt prasiddhyati | śabdaḥ sparśaś cha rūpaṁ cha raso gandhaś cha panchamaḥ | vedād eva prasiddhyanti prasūti-guṇa-karmataḥ | Bibhartti*[28] *sarva-bhūtāni veda-śāstraṁ sanātanam | Tasmād etat param manye yaj jantor asya sādhanam | Saināpatyaṁ cha rājyaṁ cha daṇḍa-netṛitvam eva cha | sarva-lokādhipatyaṁ cha veda-śāstra-vid arhati | Yathā jāta-balo vahnir dahaty ārdrān api drumān | tathā dahati veda-jñaḥ karma-jaṁ dosham ātmanaḥ | veda-śāstrārtha-tattva-jño yatra tatrāśrame vasan | ihaiva loke tiṣhṭhan sa brahmabhūyāya kalpate |*

"The Veda is the eternal eye of the fathers, of gods, and of men; it is beyond human power and comprehension; this is a certain conclusion. Whatever traditions are apart from the Veda, and all heretical views, are fruitless in the next world, for they are declared to be founded on darkness. All other [books] external to the Veda, which arise and pass away, are worthless and false from their recentness of date. The system of the four castes, the three worlds, the four states of life, all that has been, now is, or shall be, is made manifest by the

[26] *Dṛishṭārtha-vākyāni "chaitya-vandanāt svargo bhavati" ity ādīni yāni cha asat-tarka-mūlāni devatā-'pūrvādi-nirākaraṇātmakāni veda-viruddhāni chārvāka-darśanani |* "That is, deductions from experience of the visible world; such doctrines as that 'heaven is attained by obeisance to a chaitya,' and similar Chārvāka tenets founded on false reasonings, contradicting the existence of the gods, and the efficacy of religious rites, and contrary to the Vedas."—Kullūka.

[27] *Idānīntanatvāt |* "From their modernness."—Kullūka.

[28] "*Haviṣ agnau hūyate | so 'gnir ādityam upasarpati | tat sūryo raśmibhir varshati | tenānnam bhavati | atha iha bhūtānām utpatti-sthitiś cheti havir jāyate" iti brāhmaṇam |* "'The oblation is cast into the fire; fire reaches the sun; the sun causes rain by his rays; thence food is produced; thus the oblation becomes the cause of the generation and maintenance of creatures on this earth;' so says a Brāhmaṇa."—Kullūka.

Veda. The objects of touch and taste, sound, form, and odour, as the fifth, are made known by the Veda, together with their products, qualities, and the character of their action. The eternal Veda supports all beings: hence I regard it as the principal instrument of well-being to this creature, man. Command of armies, royal authority, the administration of criminal justice, and the sovereignty of all worlds, he alone deserves who knows the Veda. As fire, when it has acquired force, burns up even green trees, so he who knows the Veda consumes the taint of his soul which has been contracted from works. He who comprehends the essential meaning of the Veda, in whatever order of life he may be, is prepared for absorption into Brahmā, even while abiding in this lower world."

The following are some further miscellaneous passages of the same tenor, scattered throughout the Institutes (Manu, ii. 10 ff.):

Śrutis tu vedo vijneyo dharma-śāstraṁ tu vai smṛitiḥ | te sarvārtheshv amīmāṁsye tābhyāṁ dharmo hi nirbabhau | 11. *Yo 'vamanyeta te mūle hetu-śāstrāśrayād dvijaḥ | sa sādhubhir vahishkāryyo nāstiko veda-nindakaḥ* | . . . . 13. *Dharmaṁ jijnāsamānānām pramāṇam paramaṁ śrutiḥ* |

"By śruti is meant the Veda, and by smṛiti the institutes of law: the contents of these are not to be questioned by reason, since from them [a knowledge of] duty has shone forth. The Brāhman who, relying on rationalistic treatises,[29] shall contemn these two primary sources of knowledge, must be excommunicated by the virtuous as a sceptic and reviler of the Vedas. . . . . 13. To those who are seeking a knowledge of duty, the śruti is the supreme authority."

In the following passage, the necessity of a knowledge of Brahma is asserted, though the practice of ritual observances is also inculcated (vi. 82 ff.):

Dhyānikaṁ sarvam evaitad yad etad abhiśabditam | na hy anadhyātmavit kaschit kriyā-phalam upāśnute | adhiyajnam brahma japed ādhidaivikam eva cha | ādhyatmikaṁ cha satataṁ vedāntābhihitaṁ cha yat | Idaṁ śaraṇam ajnānām idam eva vijānatām | idam anvichchhatāṁ svargam idam ānantyam ichchhatām |

[29] This, however, must be read in conjunction with the precept in xii. 106, which declares: *ārshaṁ dharmopadeśaṁ cha veda-śāstrāvirodhinā | yas tarkenānusandhatte sa dharmaṁ veda nāparaḥ* | "He, and he only is acquainted with duty, who investigates the injunctions of the rishis, and the precepts of the smṛiti, by reasonings which do not contradict the Veda."

"All this which has been now declared is dependant on devout meditation: no one who is ignorant of the supreme Spirit can reap the fruit of ceremonial acts. Let a man repeat texts relating to sacrifice, texts relating to deities, texts relating to the supreme Spirit, and whatever is declared in the concluding portions of the Veda (the Upanishads). This [Veda] is the refuge of the ignorant, as well as of the understanding; it is the refuge of those who are seeking after paradise, as well as of those who are desiring infinity."

The following text breathes a moral spirit, by representing purity of life as essential to the reception of benefit from religious observances (ii. 97):

Vedās tyāgaś cha yajñāś cha niyamāś cha tapāṁsi cha | na vipradushṭa-bhāvasya siddhiṁ gachhanti karchichit |

"The Vedas, almsgiving, sacrifices, observances, austerities, are ineffectual to a man of depraved disposition."

The doctrine which may be drawn from the following lines does not seem so favourable to morality (xi. 261 ff.):

Hatvā lokān apīmāṁs trīn aśnann api yatastataḥ | Ṛigvedaṁ dhārayan vipro nainaḥ prāpnoti kinchana | Ṛiksaṁhitāṁ trir abhyasya yajushāṁ va samāhitaḥ | sāmnāṁ vā sa-rahasyānāṁ sarva-pāpaiḥ pramuchyate | yathā mahā-hradam prāpya kshiptam loshṭaṁ vinaśyati | tathā duścharitaṁ sarvaṁ vede trivṛiti majjati |

"A Brāhman who should destroy these three worlds, and eat food received from any quarter whatever, would incur no guilt if he retained in his memory the Rig-veda. Repeating thrice with intent mind the Sanhitā of the Rik, or the Yajush, or the Sāman, with the Upanishads, he is freed from all his sins. Just as a clod thrown into a great lake is dissolved when it touches the water, so does all sin sink in the triple Veda."

Considering the sacredness ascribed in the preceding passages to all the Vedas, the characteristics assigned to three of them in the passage quoted above (p. 12) from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, as well as the epithet applied to the Sāma-veda in the second of the following verses are certainly remarkable; (Manu, iv. 123 ff.):

Sāma-dhvanāv ṛig-yajushī nādhīyīta kadāchana | vedasyādhīṭya vā 'py antam āraṇyakam adhītya cha | Ṛigvedo deva-daivatyo yajurvedas tu mānushaḥ | Sāmavedaḥ smṛitaḥ pitryas tasmāt tasyāśuchir dhvaniḥ |

"Let no one read the Rich or the Yajush while the Sāman is sounding in his ears, or after he has read the conclusion of the Veda (*i.e.* the Upanishads) or an Āraṇyaka. The Rig-veda has the gods for its deities; the Yajur-veda has men for its objects; the Sāma-veda has the pitṛis for its divinities, wherefore its sound is impure."

The scholiast Kullūka, however, will not allow that the sound of the Sāma-veda can be really "impure." "It has," he says, "only a semblance of impurity" (*tasmāt tasya aśuchir iva dhvaniḥ | na tv aśuchir eva*). In this remark he evinces the tendency, incident to so many systematic theologians, to ignore all those features of the sacred text on which they are commenting which are at variance with their theories regarding its absolute perfection. As it was the opinion of his age that the Veda was eternal and divine, it was, he considered, impossible that impurity or any species of defect could be predicated of any of its parts; and every expression, even of the highest authorities, which contradicted this opinion, had to be explained away. I am not in a position to state how this notion of impurity came to be attached to the Sāma-veda. The passage perhaps proceeded from the adherents of some particular Vedic school adverse to the Sāma-veda; but its substance being found recorded in some earlier work, it was deemed of sufficient authority to find a place in the miscellaneous collection of precepts,—gathered no doubt from different quarters, and perhaps not always strictly consistent with each other, — which make up the Mānava-dharma-śāstra.

Vishṇu Purāṇa.—The following passage from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, at the close, ascribes the same character of impurity to the Sāma-veda, though on different grounds, Vish. Pur. ii. 11, 5 :

Yā tu śaktiḥ parā Vishṇor ṛig-yajuḥ-sāma-sanjnitā | saishā trayī tapaty aṁho jagataś cha hinasti yat | saiva Vishṇuḥ sthitaḥ sthityāṁ jagataḥ pālanodyataḥ | ṛig-yajuḥ-sāma-bhūto 'ntaḥ savitur dvija tishṭhati | māsi māsi ravir yo yas tatra tatra hi sā parā | trayīmayī Vishṇu-śaktir avasthānaṁ karoti vai | Ṛichas tapanti pūrvāhne madhyāhne 'tha yajūṁshy atha | vṛihadrathantarādīni sāmāny ahnaḥ kshaye ravau | angam eshā trayī Vishṇor ṛig-yajuḥ-sāma-sanjnitā | Vishṇu-śaktir avasthānam māsāditye karoti sā | na kevalaṁ ravau śaktir vaishṇavī sā trayīmayī | Brahmā 'tha Purusho Rudras trayam etat trayīmayam | sargādāv ṛiṅmayo Brahmā sthitau Vishṇur yajurmayaḥ | Rudraḥ sāmamayo 'ntāya tasmāt tasyāśuchir dhvaniḥ |

"The supreme energy of Vishṇu, called the Rich, Yajush, and Sāman—this triad burns up sin and all things injurious to the world. During the continuance of the world, this triad exists as Vishṇu, who is occupied in the preservation of the universe, and who in the form of the Rich, Yajush, and Sāman, abides within the sun. That supreme energy of Vishṇu, consisting of the triple Veda, dwells in the particular form of the sun, which presides over each month. The Rich verses shine in the morning sun, the Yajush verses in the meridian beams, and the Vṛihad-rathantara and other Sāma verses in his declining rays. This triple Veda is the body of Vishṇu, and this his energy abides in the monthly sun. But not only does this energy of Vishṇu, formed of the triple Veda, reside in the sun: Brahmā, Purusha (Vishṇu), and Rudra also constitute a triad formed of the triple Veda. Acting in creation, Brahmā is formed of the Rig-veda; presiding over the continuance of the universe, Vishṇu is composed of the Yajur-veda; and for the destruction of the worlds, Rudra is made up of the Sāma-veda; hence the sound of this Veda is impure."

Vāyu Purāṇa.—Other passages also may be found in works which are far from being reputed as heretical, in which the Vedas, or particular parts of them, are not spoken of with the same degree of respect as they are by Manu. Thus the Vāyu Purāṇa gives precedence to the Purāṇas over the Vedas in the order of creation (i. 56[30]):

Prathamaṁ sarva-śāstrāṇāṁ Purāṇaṁ Brahmaṇā smṛitam | anantaraṁ cha vaktrebhyo vedās tasya viniḥsṛitāḥ |

"First of all the Śaśtras, the Purāṇa was uttered by Brahmā. Subsequently the Vedas issued from his mouths."

Similarly the Padma Purāṇa says:

Purāṇaṁ sarva-śāstrāṇām prathamaṁ Brahmaṇā smṛitam | tri-varga-sādhanaṁ puṇyaṁ śata-koṭi-pravistaram | nirdagdheshu cha lokeshu vājī-rūpeṇa Keśavaḥ | Brahmaṇas tu samādeśād vedān ahṛitavān asau | angāni chaturo vedān purāṇa-nyāya-vistarā[n?] | mīmāṁsā[ṁ?] dharma-śāstraṁ cha pariṛihyātha sāmpratam | matsya-rūpeṇa cha punaḥ kalpādāv uda-kāntare | aśesham etat kathitam ityādi |[31]

"The Purāṇa, which is an instrument for effecting the three objects

[30] Page 48 of Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

[31] See the same Catalogue p. 12, col. i.

of life, which is pure, and extends to the length of a hundred crores of verses, was the first of all the Śāstras which Brahmā uttered. When the worlds had been burnt up, Keśava (Kṛishṇa), in the form of a horse, and obeying Brahmā's command, rescued the Vedas. Having taken them with their appendages, the Purāṇas, the Nyāya, the Mīmānsā, and the Institutes of Law, he now at the beginning of the Kalpa promulgated them all again in the form of a Fish from the midst of the waters."

In the Matsya Purāṇa, iii. 2 ff., not only is priority of creation claimed for the Purāṇas, but also the qualities of eternity and identity with sound, which are generally predicated of the Vedas alone:

Rūpaṁ dadhāra[32] *prathamam amarāṇam Pitāmahaḥ | āvirbhūtās tato vedāḥ sāṅgopāṅga-pada-kramāḥ | 3. Purāṇaṁ sarva-śāstrāṇām prathamam Brahmaṇā smṛitam | nityaṁ śabdamayam puṇyam śata-koṭi-pravistaram | 4. Anantaraṁ cha vaktrebhyo vedās tasya vinissṛitāḥ | mīmāṁsā nyāya-vidyā cha pramāṇāshṭaka-saṁyutā | 5. Vedābhyāsa-ratasyāsya prajā-kāmasya mānasāḥ | manasā pūrva-sṛishṭāḥ vai jātāḥ ye tena mānasāḥ |*

2. "Pitāmaha (Brahmā), first of all the immortals, took shape: then the Vedas with their Angas and Upāngas (appendages and minor appendages), and the various modes of their textual arrangement, were manifested. 3. The Purāṇa, eternal, formed of sound, pure, extending to the length of a hundred crores of verses, was the first of the Śāstras which Brahmā uttered: and afterwards the Vedas, issued from his mouth; and also the Mīmānsā and the Nyāya with its eightfold system of proofs. 5. From him (Brahmā), who was devoted to the study of the Vedas, and desirous of offspring, sprang mind-born sons, so called because they were at first created by his mind."

The Vāyu Purāṇa says further on in the same section from which I have already quoted:[33]

Yo vidyāch chaturo vedān sāṅgopanishado dvijaḥ | na chet purāṇaṁ saṁvidyād naiva sa syād vichakshaṇaḥ | Itihāsa-purāṇābhyāṁ vedān samupavṛiṁhayet | vibhety alpa-śrutād vedo mām ayaṁ praharishyati |

[32] This quotation is made from the Taylor MS. No. 1918 of the India Office Library. The Guikowar MS. No. 3032 of the same collection, reads here *tapas chachāra*, "practised austerity," instead of *rūpaṁ dadhāra*, "took shape," and has besides a number of other various readings in these few lines.

[33] See p. 50 of Dr. Aufrecht's Catalogue.

"He who knows the four Vedas, with their supplements and Upanishads is not really learned, unless he know also the Purāṇas. Let a man, therefore, complete the Veda by adding the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. The Veda is afraid of a man of little learning, lest he should treat it injuriously."

The first of these verses is repeated in the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan verse 645, with a variation in the first half of the second line *na chākhyānaṃ idaṁ vidyāt*, "unless he know also this narrative" (*i.e.* the Mahābhārata). The second of the verses of the Vāyu Purāṇa also is to be found in the same book of the Mahābhārata verse 260, and is followed by these lines:

261. *Kārshṇaṁ vedam imaṁ vidvān śrāvayitvā 'nnam aśnute* | . . . . 264. *Ekataś chaturo vedāṅ Bhārataṁ chaitad ekataḥ* | *purā kila suraiḥ sarvaiḥ sametya tulayā dhṛitam* | *chaturbhyaḥ sa-rahasyebhyo vedebhyo hy adhikaṁ yadā* | *tadā-prabhṛiti loke 'smin mahābhāratam uchyate* |

"The man who knows this Veda relating to Kṛishṇa (the Mahābhārata), and repeats it to others, obtains food. . . . . 264. All the collected gods formerly weighed in a balance the four Vedas which they placed in the one scale, and this Bhārata which they put into the other. When the latter was found to exceed (in weight) the four Vedas with the Upanishads, it was thenceforward called in this world the Mahābhārata."

Here there is a play upon the word Bhārata, as in part identical with *bhāra*, "weight."

The following verses of the same Ādiparvan and many others are also eulogistic of the great epic poem:

2298. *Idaṁ hi vedaiḥ sammitam pavitram api chottamam* | *śrāvyāṇām uttamaṁ chedaṁ purāṇam ṛishi-saṁstutam* |

"This (Mahābhārata) is on an equality with the Veda, pure, most excellent, the best of all works that are to be recited, ancient, and praised by rishis."

2314. *Vijneyaḥ sa cha vedānām pārago Bhāratam paṭhan* |

The reader of the Bhārata is to be regarded as having gone through the Vedas."

The benefits derivable from a perusal of the same poem are also set forth in the Svargārohaṇika-parvan, verses 200 ff.

In the same way the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 1, 94, speaks of itself, as "this

pure and holy narrative, which is on an equality with the Vedas" (*idam pavitram ākhyānam puṇyaṁ vedaiś cha sammitam*).

And in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 8, 28, it is said: *Prāha bhāgavataṁ nāma purāṇam brahma-saṁmitam | Brahmaṇe Bhagavat-proktaṁ Brahma-kalpe upāgate |*

"(Brahmarāta) declared the Purāṇa called the Bhāgavata, which stands on an equality with the Veda (*brahma*), and was declared by Bhagavat to Brahmā when the Brahma-kalpa had arrived."

Brahma-vaivartta Purāṇa.—The Brahma-vaivartta Purāṇa asserts in a most audacious manner its own superiority to the Veda (i. 48 ff.):

Bhavagan yat tvayā pṛishṭaṁ jñātaṁ sarvam abhīpsitam | sāra-bhūtaṁ purāṇeshu Brahma-vaivarttam uttamam | Purāṇopapurāṇānāṁ vedānām bhrama-bhanjanaṁ |

"That about which, venerable sage, you have inquired, and which you desire, is all known to me, the essence of the Purāṇas, the pre-eminent Brahma-vaivartta, which refutes the errors of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, and of the Vedas." (Professor Aufrecht's Cat. p. 21.)

In the following passage also, from the commencement of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, the Vedic hymns (though a divine origin would no doubt be allowed to them [34]) are at all events depreciated, by being classed among other works as part of the inferior science, in contrast to the Brahma-vidyā or knowledge of Brahma, the highest of all knowledge, which is expressly ascribed to Brahmā as its author:

1. *Brahmā devānām prathamaḥ sambabhūva víśvasya karttā bhuvanasya goptā | sa brahma-vidyāṁ sarva-vidyā-pratishṭhām Atharvāya jyeshṭha-putrāya prāha | 2. Atharvaṇe yām pravadeta Brahmā Atharvā tām purovāchāṅgire brahma-vidyām | sa Bhāradvājāya Satyavāhāya prāha Bhāradvājo 'ṅgirase parāvarāṁ | 3. Śaunako ha vai Mahāśālo 'ṅgirasaṁ*

[34] In fact the following verses (4 and 6) occur in the second chapter of the same Mund. Up.: *Agnir mūrddhā chakshushī chandra-sūryyau dishaḥ śrotre vāg vivritāś cha vedāḥ | vāyuḥ prāṇo hṛidayaṁ víśvam asya padbhyām pṛithivī hy esha sarva-bhūtāntarātmā | . . . . 6. Tasmād ṛichaḥ sāma yájūṁshi dīkshā yajñāś cha sarve kratavo dakshiṇās cha | saṁvatsaraṁ cha yajamānaś cha lokāḥ somo yatra pávate yatra sūryaḥ |* "Agni is his [Brahma's] head, the sun and moon are his eyes, the four points of the compass are his ears, the uttered Vedas are his voice, the wind is his breath, the universe is his heart, the earth issued from his feet: he is the inner soul of all creatures. . . . 6. From him came the Rich verses, the Sāman verses, the Yajush verses, initiatory rites, all oblations, sacrifices, and gifts, the year, the sacrificer, and the worlds where the moon and sun purify."

vidhivad upapannaḥ prapachchha | kasmin nu bhagavo vijñāte sarvam idaṁ vijñātam bhavatīti | 4. Tasmai sa hovācha | dve vidye veditavye iti ha sma yad brahma-vido vadanti parā chaivāparā cha | 5. Tatrāparā "ṛigvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvavedaḥ śikshā kalpo vyākaraṇaṁ niruktaṁ chhando jyotisham" iti | atha parā yayā tad aksharam adhigamyate |

"Brāhmā was produced the first among the gods, maker of the universe, preserver of the world. He revealed to his eldest son Atharva, the science of Brahma, the basis of all knowledge. 2. Atharvan of old declared to Angis this science, which Brahmā had unfolded to him; and Angis, in turn, explained it to Satyavāha, descendant of Bharadvāja, who delivered this traditional lore, in succession, to Angiras. 3. Mahāśāla Śaunaka, approaching Angiras with the proper formalities, inquired, 'What is that, o venerable sage, through the knowledge of which all this [universe] becomes known?' 4. [Angiras] answered, 'Two sciences are to be known—this is what the sages versed in sacred knowledge declare—the superior and the inferior. 5. The inferior [consists of] the Rig-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Atharva-veda, accentuation, ritual, grammar, commentary, prosody, and astronomy. The superior science is that by which the imperishable is apprehended.[35]

I adduce some further passages which depreciate the ceremonial, or exoteric parts of the Vedas, in comparison with the esoteric knowledge of Brahma.

My attention was drawn to the following passage of the Bhagavad Gītā, ii. 42 ff., by its quotation in the Rev. Professor K. M. Banerjea's Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy:

Yām imām pushpitām vācham pravadanty avipaśchitaḥ | veda-vāda-ratāḥ pārtha nānyad astīti vādinaḥ | kāmātmānaḥ svarga-parāḥ janma-karma-phala-pradāṁ | kriyā-viśesha-bahulām bhogaiśvarya-gatim prati | bhogaiśvarya-prasaktānām tayā 'pahṛita-chetasām | vyavasāyātmikā buddhiḥ samādhau na vidhīyate | traiguṇya-vishayāḥ vedāḥ nistraiguṇyo bhavār-

[35] Compare the Mahābhārata, Ādip. verse 258, which speaks of the Āraṇyakas as superior to (the other parts of) the Vedas, and amṛita as the best of medicines (*āraṇyakaṁ cha vedebhyaś chaushadhibhyo 'mṛitaṁ yathā*). Similarly the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 3, 5, 12 (quoted in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 315, note), speaks of the Upanishads as being the essence of the Yajush: *Tasya vai etasya yajusho rasaḥ eva upanishat |*

juna | . . . . yāvān arthaḥ udapāne sarvataḥ samplutodake | tāvān sarveshu vedeshu brāhmaṇasya vijānataḥ |

"A flowery doctrine, promising the reward of works performed in this embodied state, prescribing numerous ceremonies, with a view to future gratification and glory, is preached by unlearned men, devoted to the injunctions of the Veda, assertors of its exclusive importance, lovers of enjoyment, and seekers after paradise. The restless minds of the men who, through this flowery doctrine, have become bereft of wisdom, and are ardent in the pursuit of future gratification and glory, are not applied to contemplation. The Vedas have for their objects the three qualities (*sattva, rajas, tamas*, or 'goodness,' 'passion,' and 'darkness'); but be thou, Arjuna, free from these three qualities . . . . As great as is the use of a well which is surrounded on every side by overflowing waters, so great [and no greater] is the use of the Vedas to a Brāhman endowed with true knowledge."

Chhāndogya Upanishad, vii. 1, 1, p. 473 (Colebrooke's Essays, i. 12):

"Adhīhi bhagavaḥ" iti ha upasasāda Sanatkumāraṁ Nāradaḥ | taṁ ha uvācha "yad vettha tena mā upasīda tatas te ūrddhvaṁ vakshyāmi" iti | 2. Sa ha uvācha "ṛigvedam bhagavo'dhyemi yajurvedaṁ sāmavedam ātharvaṇaṁ chaturtham itihāsa-purāṇam panchamaṁ vedānāṁ vedam pitryaṁ rāśiṁ daivaṁ nidhiṁ vākovākyam ekāyanaṁ deva-vidyām brahma-vidyām bhūta-vidyāṁ kshatra-vidyāṁ nakshatra-vidyāṁ sarpa-deva-jana-vidyām etad bhagavo'dhyemi | 3. So'ham bhagavo mantra-vid evāsmi na ātma-vit | śrutaṁ hy eva me bhagavaddṛiśebhyas 'tarati śokam ātma-vid' iti so'ham bhagavaḥ śochāmi tam mā bhagavān śokasya pāraṁ tārayatv" iti | taṁ ha uvācha "yad vai kincha etad adhyagīshṭhāḥ nāma evaitat | 4. Nāma vai ṛigvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedaḥ ātharvaṇaś chaturthaḥ itihāsa-purāṇaḥ panchamo vedānāṁ vedaḥ pitryo rāśir daivo nidhir vākovākyam ekāyanaṁ deva-vidyā brahma-vidyā bhūta-vidyā kshatra-vidyā nakshatra-vidyā sarpa-deva-jana-vidyā nāma evaitad nāma upāsva" iti | 5. "Sa yo nāma brahma ity upāste yāvad nāmno gataṁ tatra asya yathā kāmachāro bhavati yo nāma brahma ity upāste" | "asti bhagavo nāmno bhūyaḥ" iti | "nāmno vāva bhūyo'sti" iti | "tan me bhagavān bravītv" iti |

1. "Nārada approached Sanatkumāra, saying, 'Instruct me, venerable sage.' He received for answer, 'Approach me with [*i.e.* tell me] that which thou knowest; and I will declare to thee whatever more is to be learnt.' 2. Nārada replied, 'I am instructed, venerable sage, in the

Rig-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Ātharvaṇa, [which is] the fourth, the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, [which are] the fifth Veda of the Vedas, the rites of the pitṛis, arithmetic, the knowledge of portents, and of great periods, the art of reasoning,[36] ethics, the science of the gods, the knowledge of Scripture, demonology, the science of war, the knowledge of the stars, the sciences of serpents and deities; this is what I have studied. 3. I, venerable man, know only the hymns (*mantras*); while I am ignorant of soul. But I have heard from reverend sages like thyself that 'the man who is acquainted with soul overpasses grief.' Now I, venerable man, am afflicted; but do thou transport me over my grief.' Sanatkumāra answered, 'That which thou hast studied is nothing but name. 4. The Rig-veda is name; and so are the Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Ātharvaṇa, which is the fourth, and the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, the fifth Veda of the Vedas, etc. [all the other branches of knowledge are here enumerated just as above],—all these are but name: worship name. 5. He who worships name (with the persuasion that it is) Brahma, ranges as it were at will over all which that name comprehends;—such is the prerogative of him who worships name (with the persuasion that it is) Brahma.' 'Is there anything, venerable man,' asked Nārada, 'which is more than name?' 'There is,' he replied, 'something which is more than name.' 'Tell it to me,' rejoined Nārada."

(Śankara interprets the words *panchamaṁ vedānāṁ vedam* differently from what I have done. He separates the words *vedānāṁ vedam* from *panchamaṁ* and makes them to mean "the means of knowing the Vedas," *i.e.* grammar. See, however, the Bhāg. Pur. i. 4, 20, below, p. 42, and iii. 12, 39, to be quoted further on.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 7, 1, 22 (= Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, iv. 3, 22, p. 792 ff., p. 228–9 of Dr. Röer's English): *Atra pitā apitā bhavati mātā amātā lokāḥ alokāḥ devāḥ adevāḥ vedāḥ avedāḥ yajnāḥ ayajnāḥ | atra steno 'steno bhavati bhrūṇa-hā abhrūṇa-hā paulkaso 'paulkasaś chāṇḍālo 'chāṇḍālaḥ śramaṇo 'śramaṇas tāpaso 'tāpaso nanvāgatam punyena ananvāgatam pāpena*[37] *tīrṇo hi tadā sarvān śokān hṛidayasya bhavati |*

[36] *Vākovākyam = tarka-śāstram* — Sāyaṇa. The word is elsewhere explained as meaning "dialogues" (*ukti-pratyukti-rūpam prakaraṇam*—Comm. on S'. P. Br. xi. 5, 6, 8). The sense of some of the terms in this list of sciences is obscure; but exactness is not of any great importance to the general drift of the passage.

[37] I give here the reading of the Br. Ār. Up. The S'. P. Br. in Professor Weber's

"In that [condition of profound slumber, *sushupti*,] a father is no father, a mother is no mother, the worlds are no worlds, the gods are no gods, and the Vedas are no Vedas, sacrifices are no sacrifices. In that condition a thief is no thief, a murderer of embryos is no murderer of embryos, a Paulkasa no Paulkasa, a Chāṇḍāla no Chāṇḍāla, a Śramaṇa no Śramaṇa, a devotee no devotee; the saint has then no relation, either of advantage or disadvantage, to merit or to sin; for he then crosses over all griefs of the heart."

(I quote from the commentary on the Br. Ār. Up. Śankara's explanation of the unusual words *nanvāgata* and *ananvāgata*: *Nanvāgataṁ na anvāgatam ananvāgatam asambaddham ity etat puṇyena śāstra-vihitena karmaṇā tathā pāpena vihitākaraṇa-pratishiddha-kriyā-lakshaṇena* | "*Nanvāgata*=*na* (not) *anvāgata*, and *ananvāgata*=*asambaddha*, unconnected. This condition is unconnected either with merit, *i.e.* action enjoined by the śāstra, or with sin, *i.e.* action defined as the neglect of what is enjoined, or the doing of what is forbidden."

To the same effect the great sage Nārada is made to speak in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, iv. 29, 42 ff.:

Prajāpati-patiḥ sākshād bhagavān Giriśo Manuḥ | *Dakshādayaḥ prajādhyakshāḥ naishṭhikāḥ Sanakādayaḥ* | *Marīchir Atry-angirasau Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ* | *Bhṛigur Vaśishṭhaḥ ity ete mad-antāḥ brahmavādinaḥ* | *adyāpi vāchaspatayas tapo-vidyā-samādhibhiḥ* | *paśyanto 'py na paśyanti paśyantam Parameśvaram* | *śabda-brahmaṇi dushpāre charantaḥ uruvistare* | *mantra-lingair vyavachchhinnam bhajanto na viduḥ param* | *yadā yasyānugṛihṇāti bhagavān ātma-bhāvitaḥ* | *sa jahāti matiṁ loke vede cha parinishṭhitāṁ* | *tasmāt karmasu varhishmann ajnānād artha-kāśishu* | *mā 'rtha-dṛishṭiṁ kṛithāḥ śrotra-sparśishv aśprishta-vastushu* | *sva-lokaṁ na vidus te vai yatra devo Janārdanaḥ* | *āhur dhūmradhiyo vedaṁ sa-karmakam a-tad-vidaḥ* | *āstīrya darbhaiḥ prāg-agraiḥ kārtsnyena kshiti-maṇḍalam* | *stabdho vṛihad-vadhād mānī karma nāvaishi yat param* | *tat karma Hari-toshaṁ yat sā vidyā tan-matir yayā* |

"Brahmā himself, the divine Giriśa (Śiva), Manu, Daksha and the other Prajāpatis, Sanaka and other devotees, Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Bhṛigu, Vaśishṭha—all these expounders of sacred knowledge, and masters of speech, including myself (Nārada) as

text gives *ananvāgataḥ puṇyena ananvāgataḥ pāpena*. And yet the commentary alludes to the word *ananvāgata* being in the neuter.

the last, though seeing, are yet, to this day, unable, by austerity, by science, by contemplation, to see Parameśvara (the supreme God), who sees all things. Wandering in the vast field of the verbal brahma (the Veda), which is difficult to traverse, men do not recognise the Supreme, while they worship him as he is circumscribed by the attributes specified in the hymns (*mantras*). When the Divine Being regards any man with favour, that man, sunk in the contemplation of soul, abandons all thoughts which are set upon the world and the Veda. Cease, therefore, Varhishmat, through ignorance, to look upon works which merely seem to promote the chief good, as if they truly effected that object, (works) which only touch the ear, but do not touch the reality. The misty-minded men, who, ignorant of the Veda, declare that works are its object, do not know [his] own world, where the divine Janārdana abides. Thou who, obstinate man that thou art, strewest the whole earth with sacrificial grass, with its ends turned to the east, and art proud of thy numerous immolations,—thou knowest not what is the highest work of all. That by which Hari (Vishṇu) is pleased, is work; that by which the thoughts are fixed on him, is science."

I copy the comment on a part of this passage, viz. on verses 45 and 46:

Śabda-brahmaṇi vede urur vistāro yasya arthato 'pi pāra-śūnye tasmin varttamānāḥ mantrāṇāṁ lingair vajra-hastatvādi-guṇa-yukta-vividha-devatā-'bhidhāna-sāmarthyaiḥ parichchhinnam eva Indrādi-rūpam tat-tat-karmāgraheṇa bhajantaḥ param Parameśvaraṁ na viduḥ | Tarhy anyaḥ ko nāma | karmādy-āgrahaṁ hitvā parameśvaram eva bhajed ity ata āha "yadā yam anugṛhṇāti" | anugrahe hetuḥ | ātmani bhāvitaḥ san sa tadā loke loka-vyavahāre vede cha karma-mārge parinishṭhitām matiṁ tyajati |

"Men, conversant with the verbal brahma, the Veda, of which the extent is vast, and which, in fact, is boundless, worshipping Parameśvara [the supreme God] under the form of Indra, etc., circumscribed by the marks specified in the hymns, *i.e.* limited to various particular energies denominated deities, who are characterised by such attributes as 'wielder of the thunderbolt,' etc.; worshipping Him, I say, thus, with an addiction to particular rites, men do not know the supreme God. What other [god], then, [is there]? He therefore, in the words, 'When he regards any one with favour,' etc., says, let a man, abandoning all addiction to works, etc., worship the supreme God alone. The reason for this favour [is supplied in the following words]:

'Sunk in the contemplation of soul, he then relinquishes his regard directed to the business of the world and to the Veda, *i.e.* to the method of works.'"

The following passage from the Kaṭha Upanishad (ii. 23) is of a somewhat similar tendency (p. 107 of Roër's ed. and p. 106 of Eng. trans.):

Nāyam ātmā pravachanena labhyo na medhayā na bahunā śrutena | yam evaisha vṛinute tena labhyas tasyaisha ātmā vṛinute tanūṁ svām |

"This Soul is not to be attained by instruction, nor by understanding, nor by much scripture. He is attainable by him whom he chooses. The Soul chooses that man's body as his own abode."

The scholiast interprets thus the first part of this text:

Yadyapi durvijneyo 'yam ātmā tathāpy upāyena suvijneyaḥ eva ity āha nāyam ātmā pravachanena aneka-veda-svīkaraṇena labhyo jneyo nāpi medhayā granthārtha-dhāraṇā-śaktyā na bahunā śrutena kevalena | kena tarhi labhyaḥ ity uchyate |

"Although this soul is difficult to know, still it may easily be known by the use of proper means. This is what [the author] proceeds to say. This soul is not to be attained, known, by instruction, by the acknowledgement of many Vedas; nor by understanding, by the power of recollecting the contents of books; nor by much scripture alone. By what, then, is it to be attained? This he declares."

It is not necessary to follow the scholiast into the Vedantic explanation of the rest of the passage.[38]

The preceding passages, emanating from two different classes of writers, both distinguished by the spirituality of their aspirations, manifest a depreciation, more or less distinct and emphatic, of the polytheism of the Vedic hymns, as obstructive rather than promotive, of divine knowledge, and express disregard, if not contempt, of the ceremonies founded on that polytheism, and performed with a view to the enjoyments of paradise.

Sect. V.—*Division of the Vedas, according to the Viṣhṇu, Vāyu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and the Mahābhārata.*

Some of the Purāṇas, as we have seen above, represent the four Vedas as having issued from Brahmā's different mouths. If they had

[38] See Prof. Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. 1st ed. p. 320, and p. 109.

each a separate origin of this kind, it would seem that they must have had from the time of their production a distinct existence also. And yet it is elsewhere said that there was originally but one Veda, which was subsequently divided into four portions.

Thus the Vishṇu Purāṇa gives the following account of the division of the Veda, described as having been originally but one, into four parts, iii. 2, 18:

Kṛite yuge paraṁ jñānaṁ Kapilādi-svarūpa-dhṛik | dadāti sarva-bhūtānāṁ sarva-bhūta-hite rataḥ | chakravartti-svarūpeṇa tretāyām api sa prabhuḥ | Dushṭānāṁ nigrahaṁ kurvan paripāti jagattrayam | Vedam ekaṁ chatur-bhedaṁ kṛitvā śākhā-śatair vibhuḥ | karoti bahulam bhūyo Vedavyāsa-svarūpa-dhṛik | vedāṁs tu dvāpare vyasya, etc.

"In the Kṛita age, Vishṇu, devoted to the welfare of all creatures, assumes the form of Kapila and others to confer upon them the highest knowledge. In the Tretā age the Supreme Lord, in the form of a universal potentate, represses the violence of the wicked, and protects the three worlds. Assuming the form of Vedavyāsa, the all-pervading Being repeatedly divides the single Veda into four parts, and multiplies it by distributing it into hundreds of śākhās. Having thus divided the Vedas in the Dvāpara age," etc.[39]

This is repeated more at length in the following section (Vish. Pur. iii. 3, 4 ff.):

Veda-drumasya Maitreya śākhā-bhedaiḥ sahasraśaḥ | na śakyo vistaro vaktuṁ sankshepeṇa śṛiṇushva tam | Dvāpare dvāpare Vishṇur Vyāsa-rūpī mahāmune | Vedam ekam sa bahudhā kurute jagato hitaḥ | vīryaṁ tejo balaṁ chālpam manushyāṇām avekshya vai | hitāya sarva-bhūtānāṁ veda-bhedān karoti saḥ | yayā sa kurute tanvā vedam ekaṁ pṛithak prabhuḥ | Vedavyāsābhidhānā tu sā mūrttir Madhuvidvishaḥ | . . . . Ashṭā-viṁśati-kṛitvo vai vedāḥ vyastāḥ maharshibhiḥ | Vaivasvate 'ntare tasmin dvāpareshu punaḥ punaḥ |

"It is not possible, Maitreya, to describe in detail the tree of the Vedas with its thousand branches (*śākhās*); but listen to a summary. A friend to the world, Vishṇu, in the form of Vyāsa, divides the single Veda into many parts. He does so for the good of all creatures, because he perceives the vigour, energy, and strength of men to have become

[39] Compare on this subject portions of the passage of the Mahābhārata quoted in the First Volume of this work, pp. 144–146.

decreased. Vedavyāsa, in whose person he performs this division, is an impersonation of the enemy of Madhu (Vishṇu). . . . . Eight-and-twenty times in the Dvāpara ages of this Vaivasvata Manvantara[40] have the Vedas been divided by great sages." These sages are then enumerated, and Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana[41] is the twenty-eighth.

The subject is resumed at the beginning of the next section (Vish. Pur. iii. 4, 1 ff.):

Ādyo vedaś chatushpādaḥ śata-sāhasra-saṃmitaḥ | Tato daśa-guṇaḥ kṛitsno yajño 'yaṁ sarva-kāmadhuk | Tato 'tra mat-suto Vyāso 'ṣṭāviṁśatitame 'ntare | vedam ekam chatushpādaṁ chaturdhā vyabhajat prabhuḥ | yathā tu tena vai vyastāḥ Vedavyāsena dhīmatā | Vedās tathā samastais tair vyastāḥ Vyāsais tathā mayā | tad anenaiva vedānāṁ śākhābhedān dvijottama | chaturyugeshu rachitān samasteshv avadhāraya | Kṛishṇa-dvaipāyanaṁ Vyāsam viddhi Nārāyaṇam prabhum | ko 'nyo hi bhuvi Maitreya Mahābhārata-kṛid bhavet | Tena vyastāḥ yathā Vedāḥ mat-putreṇa mahātmanā | Dvāpare hy atra Maitreya tad me śṛiṇu yathārthataḥ | Brahmaṇā chodito Vyāso vedān vyastum prachakrame | Atha śishyān sa jagrāha chaturo veda-pāra-gān | Ṛigveda-śrāvakam Pailaṁ jagrāha sa mahāmuniḥ | Vaiśampāyana-nāmānaṁ Yajurvedasya chāgrahīt | Jaiminiṁ Sāma-vedasya tathaivātharvaveda-vit | Sumantus tasya śishyo 'bhūd Vedavyāsasya dhīmataḥ | Romaharshaṇa-nāmānam mahābuddhim mahāmunim | Sūtaṁ jagrāha śishyaṁ sa itihāsa-purāṇayoḥ |

"The original Veda, consisting of four quarters, contained a hundred thousand verses. From it arose the entire system of sacrifice, tenfold (compared with the present) and yielding all the objects of desire. Subsequently, in the twenty-eighth manvantara my son, [Parāśara is the speaker] the mighty Vyāsa, divided into four parts the Veda which was one, with four quarters. In the same way as the Vedas were divided

[40] For an account of the Manvantaras, see the First Part of this work, pp. 39, 43 ff.

[41] Lassen (Ind. Ant. 2nd ed. i. 777, note) remarks: "Vyāsa signifies arrangement, and this signification had still retained its place in the recollection of the ancient recorders of the legend, who have formed from his name an irregular perfect, viz. *vivyāsa*." Lassen refers to two passages of the Mahābhārata in which the name is explained, viz. (i. 2417), *Vivyāsa vedān yasmāt sa tasmād Vyāsaḥ iti smṛitaḥ* | "He is called Vyāsa because he divided the Veda." And (i. 4236) *Yo vyasya vedāṁś chaturas tapasā bhagavān ṛishiḥ | loke vyāsatvam āpede kārshṇyat kṛishṇatvam eva cha* | "The divine sage (Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa) who, through fervid devotion, divided the four Vedas, and so obtained in the world the title of Vyāsa, and from his blackness, the name of Kṛishṇa."

by the wise Vyāsa, so had they been divided by all the [preceding] Vyāsas, including myself. And know that the śākhā divisions [formed] by him [were the same as those] formed in all the periods of four yugas. Learn, too, that Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa was the lord Nārāyaṇa; for who else on earth could have composed the Mahābhārata? Hear now correctly how the Vedas were divided by him, my great son, in this Dvāpara age. When, commanded by Brahmā, Vyāsa undertook to divide the Vedas, he took four disciples who had read through those books. The great muni took Paila as teacher of the Rich, Vaiśampāyana of the Yajush, and Jaimini of the Sāman, while Sumantu, skilled in the Atharva-veda, was also his disciple. He took, too, as his pupil for the Itihāsas and Purāṇas the great and intelligent muni, Sūta, called Romaharshaṇa."[42]

Vāyu Purāṇa.—In the same way, and partly in the same words, the Vāyu Purāṇa (section lx.) represents the Vedas to have been divided in the Dvāpara age. It first describes how this was done by Manu in the Svāyambhuva, or first manvantara, and then recounts how Vyāsa performed the same task in the existing seventh, or Vaivasvata manvantara; and, no doubt, also in the Dvāpara age, though this is not expressly stated in regard to Vyāsa.

The following is an extract from this passage (as given in Dr. Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskrit MSS. p. 54):

Dvāpare tu purāvṛitte Manoḥ svāyambhuve 'ntare | Brahmā Manum uvāchedam vedaṁ vyasya mahāmate | Parivṛittaṁ yugaṁ tāta svalpa-vīryāḥ dvijātayaḥ | saṁvṛittāḥ yuga-doshena sarvaṁ chaiva yathākramam | bhrashṭa-mānaṁ yuga-vaśād alpa-śishṭaṁ hi dṛiśyate | Daśa-sāhasra-bhāgena hy avaśishṭam kṛitād idam | vīryaṁ tejo balaṁ chālpaṁ sarvaṁ chaiva praṇaśyati | vede vedāḥ hi kāryyāḥ syur mā bhūd veda-vināśanaṁ | vede nāśam anuprāpte yajño nāśaṁ gamishyati | yajne nashṭe deva-nāśas

[42] Mahīdhara on the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (Weber's ed. p. 1) says, in regard to the division of the Vedas: *Tatrādau Brahma-paramparayā praptaṁ Vedaṁ Vedavyāso manda-matīn manushyān vichintya tat-kṛipayā chaturdhā vyasya Ṛig-yajuḥ-sāma-tharvākhyāṁś chaturo vedān Paila-Vaiśampāyana-Jaimini-Sumantubhyaḥ kramād upadideśa te cha sva-śishebhyaḥ | Evam paramparayā sahasra-śākho Vedo jātaḥ |* "Vedavyāsa, having regard to men of dull understanding, in kindness to them, divided into four parts the Veda which had been originally handed down by tradition from Brahmā, and taught the four Vedas, called Rich, Yajush, Sāman, and Atharvan, in order, to Paila, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini, and Sumantu; and they again to their disciples. In this way, by tradition, the Veda of a thousand śākhās was produced."

tataḥ sarvam praṇaśyati | Ādyo vedaś chatush-pādo śata-sāhasra-sammitaḥ | Punar daśa-guṇaḥ kṛitsno yajno vai sarva-kāma-dhuk | Evam uktas tathety uktvā Manur loka-hite rataḥ | vedam ekam chatush-pādaṁ chaturdhā vyabhajat prabhuḥ | Brahmaṇo vachanāt tāta lokānāṁ hita-kāmyayā | tad aham varttamānena yushmākam veda-kalpanam | manvantareṇa vakshyāmi vyatītānām prakalpanam | pratyakshenā parokshaṁ vai tad vibodhata sattamāḥ | Asmin yuge kṛito Vyāsaḥ Pārāśaryaḥ parantapaḥ | "Dvaipāyanaḥ" iti khyāto Vishṇor aṁśaḥ prakīrtitaḥ | Brahmaṇā choditaḥ so 'smin vedaṁ vyastuṁ prachakrame | Atha śishyān sa jagrāha chaturo veda-kāraṇāt | Jaiminiṁ cha Sumantuṁ cha Vaiśampāyanam eva cha | Pailaṁ teshāṁ chaturthaṁ tu panchamaṁ Lomaharshaṇam |

"In the former Dvāpara of the Svāyambhuva manvantara, Brahmā said to Manu, 'Divide the Veda, o sage. The age is changed; through its baneful influence the Brāhmans have become feeble, and from the same cause the measure of everything has gradually declined, so that little is seen remaining. A part (of the Veda) consisting of only these ten thousand (verses) is now left to us from the Kṛita age; vigour, fire, and energy are diminished; and everything is on the road to destruction. A plurality of Vedas must be made out of the one Veda, lest the Veda be destroyed. The destruction of the Veda would involve the destruction of sacrifice; that again would occasion the annihilation of the gods, and then everything would go to ruin. The primeval Veda consisted of four quarters and extended to one hundred thousand verses, while sacrifice was tenfold, and yielded every object of desire.' Being thus addressed, Manu, the lord, devoted to the good of the world, replied, 'Be it so,' and in conformity with the command of Brahmā, divided the one Veda, which consisted of four quarters, into four parts.[43] I shall, therefore, narrate to you the division of the Veda in the existing manvantara; from which visible division you, virtuous sages, can understand those invisible arrangements of the same kind which were made in past manvantaras. In this Yuga, the victorious son of Parāśara, who is called Dvaipāyana, and is celebrated as a portion of Vishṇu, has been made the Vyāsa. In this Yuga, he, being commanded by Brahmā, began to divide the Vedas. For this purpose he took four pupils, Jaimini, Sumantu, Vaiśampāyana,

[43] The Mahābhārata, S'āntip. verse 13,678, says the Vedas were divided in the Svāyambhuva manvantara by Apāntaratamas, son of Sarasvatī (*Tena bhinnās tadā vedā manoḥ svāyambhuvo 'ntare*).

and Paila, and, as a fifth, Lomaharshana" [for the Purāṇas and Itihāsas, etc.]

Bhāgavata Purāṇa.—It is in its third book, where the different manvantaras are described, that the Vishṇu Purāṇa gives an account of the division of the Vedas. In the book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa where the manvantaras are enumerated, there is no corresponding allusion to the division of the Vedas; but a passage to the same effect occurs in the fourth section of the first book, verses 14 ff.:

Dvāpare samanuprāpte tṛitīya-yuga-paryaye | jātaḥ Parāśarād yogī Vāsavyāṁ kalayā Hareḥ | 15. Sa kadāchit Sarasvatyāḥ upaspṛiśya jalaṁ śuchi | viviktaḥ ekaḥ āsīnaḥ udite ravi-maṇḍale | 16. Parāvara-jnaḥ sa ṛishiḥ kālenāvyakta-raṁhasā | yuga-dharma-vyatikaram prāptam bhuvi yuge yuge | 17. Bhautikānāṁ cha bhāvānāṁ śakti-hrāsaṁ cha tat-kṛitam | aśraddhadhānān nissatvān durmedhān hrasitāyushaḥ | 18. Durbhagāṁs janān vīkshya munir divyena chakshushā | sarva-varṇāśramāṇāṁ yad dadhyau hitam amogha-dṛik | 19. Chāturhotraṁ karma śuddham prajānāṁ vīkshya vaidikam | vyadadhād yajna-santatyai vedam ekaṁ chaturvidham | 20. Ṛig-yajuḥ-sāmātharvākhyāḥ vedāś chatvāra uddhṛitāḥ | itihāsa-purāṇaṁ cha panchamo veda uchyate | 21. Tattrarg-veda-dharaḥ Pailaḥ sāmago Jaiminiḥ kaviḥ | Vaiśampāyana evaiko nishṇāto yajushām uta | 22. Atharvāṅgirasām āsīt Sumantur dāruṇo muniḥ | itihāsa-purāṇānām pitā me Romaharshaṇaḥ | 23. Te ete ṛishayo vedaṁ svaṁ svaṁ vyasyann anekadhā | śishyaiḥ praśishyais tach-chhishyair vedās te śākhino 'bhavan | 24. Te eva vedāḥ durmedhair dhāryante purushair yathā | evaṁ chakāra bhagavān Vyāsaḥ kṛipaṇa-vatsalaḥ | 25. Strī-śūdra-dvijabandhūnāṁ trayī na śruti-gocharā | karma-śreyasi mūḍhānāṁ śreyaḥ eva bhaved iha | iti Bhāratam ākhyānaṁ kṛipayā muninā kṛitam |

14. "When the Dvāpara age had arrived, during the revolution of that third yuga, the Yogin (Vyāsa) was born, a portion of Hari, as the son of Parāśara and Vāsavyā. 15. As on one occasion he was sitting solitary at sunrise, after touching the pure waters of the Sarasvatī, (16) this rishi, who knew the past and the future, perceiving, with the eye of divine intelligence, that disorder had in each yuga been introduced into the duties proper to each, through the action of time, whose march is imperceptible, (17) that the strength of beings formed of the elements had in consequence declined, that men were destitute of faith, vigour, and intelligence, that their lives were shortened, (18) and that they

were miserable,—reflected with unerring insight on the means of benefitting the several castes and orders. 19. Discerning that the pure Vedic ceremonies ought to be performed for men by the agency of four classes of priests, he divided the one Veda into four parts, with a view to the performance of sacrifice. 20. Four Vedas, called the Rich, Yajush, Sāman, and Atharvan, were drawn forth from it; while the Itihāsas and Purāṇas are called the fifth Veda. 21. Of these the Rich was held by Paila, the sage Jaimini chanted the Sāman, Vaiśampāyana alone was versed in the Yajush, (22) the dreadful muni Sumantu in the verses of Atharvan and Angiras, and my father Romaharshaṇa in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. 23. Each of these rishis arranged his own Veda in many ways; and by the successive generations of their disciples the Vedas were separated into branches (*śākhās*). 24. The venerable Vyāsa, kind to the wretched, acted thus in order that the Vedas might be recollected by men of enfeebled understanding. 25. And as women, Śūdras, and the inferior members of the twice-born classes were unfitted for hearing the Veda, and were infatuated in desiring the blessings arising from ceremonies, the muni, with a view to their felicity, in his kindness composed the narrative called the Mahābhārata."

But notwithstanding the magnitude of the great legendary and theological repertory which he had thus compiled, Vyāsa, we are told, was dissatisfied with his own contributions to sacred science until he had produced the Bhāgavata Purāṇa consecrated to the glory of Bhagavat (Kṛishṇa).[41] The completion of this design is thus narrated, Bhāg. Pur. i. 7, 6:

Anarthopaśamaṁ sākshād bhakti-yogam Adhokshaje | lokasyājānato vidvāṁś chakre Sātvata-saṁhitām | 7. Yasyāṁ vai śrūyamāṇāyāṁ Kṛishṇe parama-pūrushe | bhaktir udpatyate puṁsaḥ śoka-moha-bhayāpahā | 8. Sa saṁhitām Bhāgavatīṁ kṛitvā 'nukramya chātmajam | Śukam adhyāpayāmāsa nivṛitti-niratam muniḥ |

"Knowing that devotion to Adhokshaja (Kṛishṇa) was the evident means of putting an end to the folly of the world, which was ignorant of this, he composed the Sātvata-Sanhitā (the Bhāgavata). 7. When a man listens to this work, devotion to Kṛishṇa, the supreme Purusha, arises in his mind, and frees him from grief, delusion, and fear. Having

[41] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, Preface, p. xlvi.

completed and arranged this Sanhitā, the muni taught it to his son Śuka, who was indisposed to the pursuit of secular objects."

Towards the close of this Purāṇa also, in the sixth section of the twelfth book (verses 37 ff.), there is to be found what Professor Wilson (Vish. Pur. Pref.) calls "a rather awkwardly introduced description of the arrangement of the Vedas and Purāṇas by Vyāsa."

The passage (as given in the Bombay lithographed edition) is as follows:

Sūta uvācha | samāhitātmano brahman Brahmaṇaḥ parameshṭhinaḥ | hṛid-ākāśād abhūd'nādo vṛitti-rodhād vibhāvyate | yad-upāsanayā brahman yogino malam ātmanaḥ | dravya-kriyā-kārakākhyaṁ dhūtvā yānty apanurbhavam | Tato 'bhūt trivṛid oṁkāro yo 'vyakta-prabhavaḥ svarāṭ | yat tal lingam Bhagavato Brahmaṇaḥ paramātmanaḥ | sṛiṇoti yaḥ imaṁ sphoṭaṁ supta-śrotre cha śūnya-dṛik | yena vāg vyajyate yasya vyaktir ākāśe ātmanaḥ | svadhāmno brahmaṇaḥ sākshād vāchakaḥ paramātmanaḥ | sa-sarva-mantropanishad-veda-vījaṁ sanātanam | tasya hy āsaṁs trayo varṇāḥ a-kārādyāḥ Bhṛigūdvaha | dhāryante yais trayo bhāvāḥ guṇāḥ nāmārtha-vṛittayaḥ | tato 'kshara-samāmnāyam asṛijad bhagavān ajaḥ | Antassthoshma-svara-sparśa-hrasva-dīrghādi-lakshaṇam | tenāsau chaturo vedāṁs chaturbhir vadanair vibhuḥ | sa-vyāhṛitikān soṁkārāṁś chāturhotra-vivakshayā | putrān adhyāpayat tāṁs tu brahmarshīn brahmakovidān | te tu dharmopadeshṭāraḥ sva-putrebhyaḥ samādiśan | te paramparayā prāptās tat-tach-chhishyair dhṛita-vrataiḥ | chaturyugeshv atha vyastāḥ dvāparādau maharshibhiḥ | kshīṇāyushaḥ kshīṇā-sattvān durmedhān vīkshya kālatataḥ | vedān brahmarshayo vyasyan hṛidisthāchyuta-noditāḥ | Asminn apy antare brahman bhagavān loka-bhāvanaḥ | brahmeśādyair lokapālair yāchito dharma-guptaye | Parāśarāt Satyavatyām aṁśāṁśa-kalayā vibhuḥ | avatīrṇo mahābhāga vedaṁ chakre chaturvidham | ṛig-atharva-yajuḥ-sāmnāṁ rāśīn uddhṛitya vargaśaḥ | chatasraḥ saṁhitās chakre mantrair maṇigaṇāḥ iva | tāsāṁ sa chaturaḥ śishyān upāhūya mahāmatiḥ | Ekaikāṁ saṁhitāṁ brahman ekaikasmai dadau vibhuḥ | Pailāya saṁhitām ādyām bahvṛichākhyām uvācha ha | Vaiśampāyana-sanjnāya nigadākhyaṁ yajur-gaṇam | sāmnāṁ Jaiminaye prāha tathā chhandoga-saṁhitām | Atharvāṅgirasīṁ nāma sva-śishāya Sumantave |

"Sūta speaks: 'From the æther of the supreme Brahma's heart, when he was plunged in meditation, there issued a sound, which is

perceived [by the devout] when they close their organs of sense. By adoring this sound, devotees destroy the soul's threefold taint, extrinsic, inherent, and superhuman,[45] and become exempt from future birth. From this sound sprang the *oṁkāra*, composed of three elements, self-resplendent, of imperceptible origin, that which is the emblem of the divine Brahma, the supreme spirit. He it is who hears this sound (*sphoṭa*), when the ears are insensible and the vision inactive,—(this *sphoṭa* or *oṁkāra*) through which speech is revealed, and which is manifested in the æther, from the Soul.[46] This [*oṁkāra*] is the sensible exponent of Brahma, the self-sustained, the supreme spirit; and it is the eternal seed of the Vedas, including all the Mantras and Upanishads. In this [*oṁkāra*] there were, o descendant of Bhṛigu, three letters, *A* and the rest, by which the three conditions, the [three] qualities, the [three] names, the [three] significations, the [three] states[47] are maintained. From these [three letters] the divine and unborn being created the traditional system of the letters of the alphabet, distinguished as inner (*y, r, l, v*), *ushmas* (*ś, sh, s, h*), vowels, long and short, and consonants. With this [alphabet] the omnipresent Being, desiring to reveal the functions of the four classes of priests, [created] from his four mouths the four Vedas with the three sacred syllables (*vyāhṛitis*) and the *oṁkāra*.[48] These he taught to his sons, the brahmarshis, skilled in sacred lore; and these teachers of duty, in turn declared them to their sons. The Vedas were thus received by each succeeding generation of devout pupils from their

[45] *Dravya-kriyā-kāraka*, which the scholiast interprets as answering to *adhibhūta*, *adhyātma*, and *adhidaiva*. See the explanation of these terms in Wilson's Sānkhya-kārikā, pp. 2 and 9.

[46] I quote the scholiast's explanation of this obscure verse: *Ko 'sau paramātmā tam āha 'sṛiṇoti' iti | imam sphoṭam avyaktam oṁkāram | nanu jīvaḥ evo taṁ sṛiṇotu | na ity āha | supta-śrotre karṇa-pidhānādinā avṛittike 'pi śrotre sati | jīvas tu karaṇādīnatvād na tadā śrotā | tad-upalabdhis tu tasya paramātma-dvārikā eva iti bhāvaḥ | Īśvaras tu naivam | yataḥ śūnya-dṛik śūnye 'pi indriya-varge dṛik jñānaṁ yasya | tathā hi supto yadā śabdaṁ śrutvā prabuddhyate na tadā jīvaḥ śrotā līnendriyatvāt | ato yas tadā śabdaṁ śrutvā jīvam prabodhayati sa yathā paramātmā eva tadvat | ko 'sāv oṁkāras taṁ viśinashṭi sārdhena yena vāg bṛihatī vyajyate yasya cha hṛidayākāśe ātmanaḥ sakāśād vyaktir abhivyaktiḥ.* The word *sphoṭa* will be explained below, in a future section.

[47] These the scholiast explains thus: *Guṇāḥ sattvādayaḥ | nāmāni ṛig-yajuḥ-sāmāni | arthāḥ bhūr-bhuvaḥ-svar-lokāḥ | vṛittayo jāgrad-ādyāḥ |*

[48] If I have translated this correctly, the *oṁkāra* is both the source of the alphabet, and the alphabet of the *oṁkāra !*

predecessors, and in each of the systems of four yugas were divided by great sages at the beginning of the Dvāpara.[49] The Brahmarshis, impelled by Achyuta, who resided in their hearts, divided the Vedas, because they perceived that men had declined in age, in power, and in understanding. In this manvantara also,[50] the divine and omnipresent Being, the author of the universe, being supplicated by Brahmā, Īśa (Śiva), and the other guardians of the world, to maintain righteousness, became partially incarnate as the son of Parāśara and Satyavatī, and divided the Veda into four parts. Selecting aggregates of Ṛich, Atharvan, Yajush, and Sāman verses, and arranging them in sections (*vargas*), he formed four *sanhitās* (collections) of the hymns, as gems [of the same description are gathered together in separate heaps]. Having summoned four disciples, the wise lord gave to each of them one of these sanhitās. To Paila he declared the first sanhitā, called that of the Bahvṛichas; to Vaiśampāyana the assemblage of Yayush verses, called Nigada; to Jaimini the Chhandoga collection of Sāman verses; and to his pupil, Sumantu, the Atharvāngirasī."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, however, is not consistent in the account which it gives of the division of the Vedas. In a passage already quoted in the First Volume of this work, p. 158, it speaks of that division as having been the work of the monarch Purūravas, and as having taken place in the beginning of the Tretā age. From the importance of this text I will extract it here again at greater length.

The celestial nymph Urvaśī, the Purāṇa tells us, had been doomed, in consequence of a curse, to take up her abode upon earth. She there

[49] *Dvāparādau* can only mean the "beginning of the Dvāpara;" but the scholiast undertakes by the following process of reasoning to show that it means the *end* of that yuga: *Dvāparādau dvāparam ādir yasya tad-antyāṁśa-lakshaṇasya kālasya | tasmin dvāparānte veda-vibhāga-prasiddheḥ S'antanu-sama-kāla-Vyāsāvatāra-prasiddheś cha | vyastā vibhaktāḥ |* "Dvāparādau means the period of which the dvāpara was the beginning, *i.e.* the time distinguished as the concluding portion of that yuga; since it is notorious that the Vedas were divided at the end of the Dvāpara, and that the incarnation of Vyāsa was contemporaneous with S'antanu. *Vyastāḥ = vibhaktāḥ*, divided."

[50] From this it appears that hitherto the account had not referred to the present manvantara. The scholiast remarks: *Evaṁ sāmānyato veda-vibhāga-kramam uktvā vaivasvata-manvantare viśeshato nirūpayitum āha |* "Having thus [in the preceding verses] generally described the manner in which the Vedas are divided, [the author] now states [as follows], with the view of determining particularly [what was done] in the Vaivasvata manvantara."

fell in love with King Purūravas, the report of whose manly beauty had touched her heart, even before she had been banished from paradise. After spending many happy days in the society of her lover, she forsook him in consequence of his having infringed one of the conditions of their cohabitation, and Purūravas was in consequence rendered very miserable. He at length, however, obtained a renewal of their intercourse, and she finally recommended him to worship the Gandharvas, who would then re-unite him with her indissolubly.

The Purāṇa then proceeds (ix. 14, 43 ff.):

Tasya saṁstuvatas tushṭāḥ agnisthālīṁ dadur nṛipa | Urvaśīm manyamānas tāṁ so 'budhyata charan vane | Sthālīṁ nyasya vane gatvā gṛihān ādhyāyato niśi | Tretāyāṁ sampravṛittāyām manasi trayy avarttata | Sthālī-sthānaṁ gato 'śvatthaṁ śamī-garbhaṁ vilakshya saḥ | Tena dve araṇī kṛitvā Urvaśī-loka-kāmyayā | Urvaśīm mantrato dhyāyann adharāraṇim uttarām | Ātmānam ubhayor madhye yat tat prajananaṁ prabhuḥ | Tasya nirmathanāj jāto jātavedāḥ vibhāvasuḥ | Trayyā cha vidyayā rājnā putratve kalpitas trivṛit | Tenāyajata yajneśaṁ bhagavantam adhokshajam | Urvaśī-lokam anvichhan sarva-devamayaṁ Harim | Ekaḥ eva purā vedaḥ praṇavaḥ sarva-vāṅmayaḥ | Devo nārāyaṇo nānyaḥ eko 'gnir varṇaḥ eva cha | Purūravasa evāsīt trayī tretā-mukhe nṛipa | Agninā prajayā rājā lokaṁ gāndharvam eyivān |

"The Gandharvas, gratified by his praises, gave him a platter containing fire. This he [at first] supposed to be Urvaśī, but became aware [of his mistake], as he wandered in the wood. Having placed the platter in the forest, Purūravas went home; and as he was meditating in the night, after the Tretā age had commenced, the triple Veda appeared before his mind.[51] Returning to the spot where he had placed the platter, he beheld an *aśvattha* tree springing out of a *śamī* tree, and formed from it two pieces of wood. Longing to attain the world where Urvaśī dwelt, he imagined to himself, according to the sacred text, Urvaśī as the lower and himself as the upper piece of wood, and the place of generation as situated between the two.[52] Agni was produced from its

[51] *Karma-bodhakam veda-trayaṁ prādurabhūt* | "The three Vedas, expounders of rites, were manifested to him," as the scholiast explains."

[52] Allusion is here made to a part of the ceremonial for kindling a particular sacrificial fire; one of the formulas employed at which, as given in the Vāj. Sanhitā, 5, 2, is, "thou art Urvaśī" (*Urvaśy asi*), and another, "thou art Purūravas" (*Purūravōḥ*

friction, and, according to the threefold science [Veda], was under his triple form, adopted by the king as his son. With this fire, seeking to attain the heaven of Urvaśī, he worshipped the divine Hari, the lord of sacrifice, Adhokshaja, formed of the substance of all the gods. There was formerly but one Veda, the sacred monosyllable *om*, the essence of all speech; one god, Nārāyaṇa; one Agni, and [one] caste. From Purūravas came the triple Veda in the beginning of the Tretā age. Through Agni, his son, the king attained the heaven of the Gandharvas."[53]

On the close of this passage the commentator remarks:

Nanv anādir veda-traya-bodhito brāhmaṇādīnām Indrādy-aneka-deva-yajanena svarga-prāpti-hetuḥ karma-mārgaḥ kathaṁ sādir iva varṇyate | Tatrāha "eka eva" iti dvābhyām | Purā kṛita-yuge sarva-vāṅmayaḥ sarvāsāṁ vāchāṁ vīja-bhūtaḥ praṇavaḥ eka eva vedaḥ | Devaś cha Nārāyaṇaḥ eka eva | Agniś cha eka eva laukikaḥ | Varṇaś cha eka eva haṁso nāma | Veda-trayī tu Purūravasaḥ sakāśād āsīt . . . . Ayam bhāvaḥ | kṛita-yuge sattva-pradhānāḥ prāyaśaḥ sarve 'pi dhyāna-nishṭhāḥ | rajaḥ-pradhāne tu Tretā-yuge vedādi-vibhāgena karma-mārgaḥ prakaṭo babhūva ity arthaḥ |

"How is it that the eternal method of works, which is pointed out by the three Vedas, and through which Brāhmans and others, by worshipping Indra and many other gods, attain to paradise, is spoken of [in the preceding verses] as if it had a beginning in time? He [the author of the Purāṇa] answers this in these two verses. Formerly, *i.e.* in the Kṛita age, there was only one Veda, the sacred monosyllable *om*, the essence of all words, *i.e.* that which is the seed of all words; and there was only one god, Nārāyaṇa; only one fire, that for common uses; and

asi), the former denoting the lower (*adharāraṇi*), and the latter the upper, piece of wood (*uttarāraṇi*), by the friction of which the fire was to be produced. See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 197, and note; Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 154; the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 4, 1, 22, and Kātyāyana's S'rauta Sūtras, v. 1, 28 ff. The commentator on the Vājanasaneyi Sanhitā explains the formula *Urvasy asi* thus: *Yathā Urvaśī Purūravo-nṛipasya bhogāya adhastāt śete tadvat tvam adho 'vasthitā 'si* | "As Urvasī lies under King Purūravas for sexual connection, so thou art placed underneath."

[53] This story is also told in a prose passage in the Vish. Pur. iv. 6. It is there stated that Purūravas divided fire, which was originally one, in a threefold manner (*Eko 'gnir ādāv abhavad Ailena tu atra manvantare traitā pravarttitā*). No mention, however, is there made of his having divided the Vedas, or partitioned society into castes.

only one caste, the Hansa. But the triple Veda came from Purūravas. . . . . The meaning is this: in the Kṛita age the quality of goodness predominated in men, who were almost all absorbed in meditation. But in the Tretā age, when passion (*rajas*) prevailed, the method of works was manifested by the division of the Vedas." [54]

This last quoted passage of the Bhāgavata gives, as I have intimated, a different account of the division of the Vedas from that contained in the other two texts previously adduced from the same work, and in the citations from the Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas. The one set of passages speak of the Veda as having been divided by Vyāsa into four parts in the Dvāpara age; while the text last cited speaks of the triple Veda as having originated with Purūravas in the Tretā age; and evidently belonged to a different tradition from the former three. The legend which speaks of three Vedas may possibly have a somewhat more ancient source than that which speaks of four, as it was not till a later date that the Atharva asserted its right to be ranked with the three others as a fourth Veda. The former tradition, however, would appear to have had its origin partly in etymological considerations. The word Tretā, though designating the second Yuga, means a triad, and seems to have been suggested to the writer's mind by the triple fire mentioned in the legend.

Mahābhārata.—The following passage from the Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan (verses 13,088 ff.), agrees partially in tenor with the last passage from the Bhāgavata, but is silent regarding Purūravas:

Idaṁ kṛita-yugaṁ nāma kālaḥ śreshṭhaḥ pravarttitaḥ | Ahiṁsyāḥ yajna-paśavo yuge 'smin na tad anyathā | Chatushpāt sakalo dharmo bhavishyaty atra vai surāḥ | Tatas Tretā-yugaṁ nāma trayī yatra bhavishyati | Prokshitāḥ yajna-paśavo badhaṁ prāpsyanti vai makhe [55] *| Yatra*

[54] This legend is borrowed from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 1 ff. (pp. 855–858 Weber's ed.), where the motive for its introduction is to describe the process by which fire was generated by Purūravas in obedience to the command of the Gandharvas, as the means of his admission into their paradise. See Professor Müller's translation of this story in the Oxford Essays for 1856, pp. 62, 63, or the reprint in his Chips from a German Workshop; and the First Volume of this work, p. 226. The legend is founded on the 95th hymn of the tenth book of the Rig-veda.

[55] Manu (i. 85, 86) differs from this passage of the Mahābhārata in making the Dvāpara the age of sacrifice: *Anye kṛitayuge dharmās Tretāyāṁ Dvāpare pare | Anye kaliyuge nṛīṇāṁ yuga-hrāsānurūpataḥ | Tapaḥ pareṁ Kṛitayuge Tretāyāṁ jñānam uchyate | Dvāpare yajnam evāhur dānam ekaṁ kalau yuge |* "Different duties are practised by men in the Kṛita age, and different duties in the Tretā, Dvāpara, and

pādaś chaturtho vai dharmasya na bhavishyati | Tato vai dvāparaṁ nāma miśraḥ kālo bhavishyati |

"This present Kṛita age is the best of all the yugas; in it it will be unlawful to slay any animals for sacrifice; in this age righteousness shall consist of all its four portions and be entire. Then shall follow the Tretā age, in which the triple Veda shall come into existence, and animals fit for sacrifice shall be slaughtered as oblations. In that age the fourth part of righteousness shall be wanting. Next shall succeed the Dvāpara, a mixed period."

The M. Bh. (Śāntip. 13,475) relates that two Asuras, who beheld Brahmā creating the Vedas, suddenly snatched them up and ran off. Brahmā laments their loss, exclaiming:

Vedo me paramāṁ chakshur vedo me paramam balam | . . . . Vedān ṛite hi kiṁ kuryāṁ lokānāṁ śrishtim uttamām |

"The Veda is my principal eye; the Veda is my principal strength. . . . . What shall I do without the Vedas, the most excellent creation in the universe?" They were, however, recovered and restored to Brahmā (verses 13,506 ff.).

Vishṇu Purāṇa.—The following verse, Vish. Pur. iii. 2, 12, refers to the periodical disappearance of the Vedas:

Chaturyugānte vedānāṁ jāyate kali-viplavaḥ | pravarttayanti tān etya bhuvi saptarshayo divaḥ |

"At the end of the four ages (*yugas*) the disappearance of the Vedas, incident to the Kali, takes place. The seven rishis come from heaven to earth, and again give them currency." (Compare M. Bh. Śāntip. verse 7660, which will be quoted further on.)

SECT. VI.—*Accounts in the Vishṇu and Vāyu Purāṇas of the schisms between the adherents of the Yajur-veda, Vaiśampāyana and Yājnavalkya; hostility of the Atharvaṇas towards the other Vedas; and of the Chhandogas towards the Rig-veda.*

The Vishṇu Purāṇa, iii. 5, 2 ff., gives the following legend regarding

Kali ages, in proportion to the decline in those yugas. Devotion is said to be supreme in the Kṛita, knowledge in the Tretā, sacrifice in the Dvāpara, and liberality alone in the Kali." See also Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, verse 8505, which agrees with Manu. See also the First Volume of this work, pp. 39 ff.

the way in which the Yajur-veda came to be divided into two schools, the black and the white:

Yājnavalkyas tu tasyābhūd Brahmarāta-suto dvija | Śishyaḥ paramadharma-jño guru-vṛitti-paraḥ sadā | Ṛishir yo 'dya mahāmeruṁ samāje nāgamishyati | Tasya vai sapta-rātraṁ tu brahma-hatyā bhavishyati | Pūrvam eva muni-gaṇaiḥ samayo 'bhūt kṛito dvija | Vaiśampāyana ekas tu taṁ vyatikrāntavāṁs tadā | Śvaśrīyam bālakaṁ so 'tha padā spṛishṭam aghātayat | Śishyān āhaśa "bhoḥ śishyāḥ brahma-hatyāpahaṁ vratam | Charadhvam mat-kṛite sarve na vichāryyam idam tathā" | Athāha Yājnavalkyas taṁ "kim ebhir bhagavan dvijaiḥ | Kleśitair alpatejobhir charishye 'ham idaṁ vratam" | Tataḥ kruddho guruḥ prāha Yājnavalkyam mahāmatiḥ | "Muchyatāṁ yat tvayā 'dhītam matto viprāvamanyaka | Nisteja so vadasy etān yas tvam brāhmaṇa-pungavān | Tena śishyeṇa nārtho 'sti mamājnā-bhanga-kāriṇā" | Yājnavalkyas tataḥ prāha bhaktau tat te mayoditam | Mamāpy alaṁ tvayā 'dhītaṁ yad mayā tad idaṁ dvija | Ity uktvā rudhirāktāni sarūpāṇi yajūṁshi saḥ | Chhardayitvā dadau tasmai yayau cha svechhayā muniḥ | yajūṁshy atha visṛishṭāni Yājnavalkyena vai dvija | Jagṛihus tittirībhūtvā Taittirīyās tu te tataḥ | Brahma-hatyā-vratam chīrṇam guruṇā choditais tu yaiḥ | Charakādhvaryavas te tu charaṇād munisattamāḥ | Yājnavalkyo 'tha Maitreya prāṇāyāma-parāyaṇaḥ | tushṭāva prayatāḥ sūryam yajūṁshy abhilashaṁs tataḥ | . . . . Ity evamādibhis tena stūyamanaḥ stavaiḥ raviḥ | vāji-rūpa-dharaḥ prāha "vṛiyatām" iti "vānchhitam" | Yājnavalkyas tadā prāha praṇipatya divākaram | yajūṁshi tāni me dehi yāni santi na me gurau | Evam ukto dadau tasmai yajūṁshi bhagavān raviḥ | ayātayāma-sanjnāni yāni vetti na tad-guruḥ | Yajūṁshi yair adhītāni tāni viprair dvijottama | vājinas te samākhyātāḥ sūryo 'śvaḥ so 'bhavad yataḥ |

"Yājnavalkya, son of Brahmarāta, was his [Vaiśampāyana's] disciple, eminently versed in duty, and always attentive to his teacher. An agreement had formerly been made by the Munis that any one of their number who should fail to attend at an assembly on Mount Meru on a certain day should incur the guilt of Brahmanicide during a period of seven nights. Vaiśampāyana was the only person who infringed this agreement, and he in consequence occasioned the death of his sister's child by touching it with his foot. He then desired all his disciples to perform on his behalf an expiation which should take away his guilt, and forbade any hesitation. Yājnavalkya then said to him,

'Reverend sir, what is the necessity for these faint and feeble Brahmins? I will perform the expiation.' The wise teacher, incensed, replied to Yājnavalkya, 'Contemner of Brāhmans, give up all that thou hast learnt from me; I have no need of a disobedient disciple, who, like thee, stigmatizes these eminent Brāhmans as feeble.' Yājnavalkya rejoined, 'It was from devotion [to thee] that I said what I did; but I, too, have done with thee; here is all that I have learnt from thee.' Having spoken, he vomited forth the identical Yajush texts tainted with blood, and giving them to his master, he departed at his will. [The other pupils] having then become transformed into partridges (*tittiri*), picked up the Yajush texts, which were given up by Yājnavalkya, and were thence called Taittirīyas. And those who by their teacher's command had performed the expiation for Brahmanicide, were from this performance (*charaṇa*) called Charakādhvaryus. Yājnavalkya then, who was habituated to the exercise of suppressing his breath, devoutly hymned the sun, desiring to obtain Yajush texts.... [I pass over the hymn.] Thus celebrated with these and other praises, the sun assumed the form of a horse, and said, 'Ask whatever boon thou desirest.' Yājnavalkya then, bowing down before the lord of day, replied, 'Give me such Yajush texts as my teacher does not possess.' Thus supplicated, the sun gave him the Yajush texts called Ayātayāma, which were not known to his master. Those by whom these texts were studied were called Vājins, because the sun (when he gave them) assumed the shape of a horse (*vājin*)."

I quote also the parallel text from the Vāyu Purāṇa, as it exhibits some slight variations from the preceding (Aufr. Cat. p. 55):

Kāryam āsīd ṛishīṇāṁ cha kinchid brāhmaṇa-sattamāḥ | Meru-pṛishṭhaṁ samāsādya tais tadā "'stv" iti mantritam | Yo no 'tra sapta-rātreṇa nāgachhed dvija-sattamāḥ | sa kuryād brahma-badhyāṁ vai samayo naḥ prakīrttitaḥ | Tatas te sa-yaṇāḥ sarve Vaiśampāyana-varjitāḥ | Prayayuḥ saptarātreṇa yatra sandhiḥ kṛito 'bhavat | Brāhmaṇānāṁ tu vachanād brahma-badhyāṁ chakāra saḥ | Śishyān atha samānīya sa Vaiśampāyano 'bravīt | "Brahma-badhyāṁ charadhvaṁ vai mat-kṛite dvijaḥ-sattamāḥ | sarve yūyaṁ samāgamya brūta me tad-hitaṁ vachaḥ" | Yājnavalkyaḥ uvācha | Aham eva charishyāmi tishṭhantu munayas tv ime | bālaṁ chotthāpayishyāmi tapasā svena bhāvitaḥ | Evam uktas tataḥ krudhdho Yājnavalkyam athābravīt | uvācha "yat tvayā 'dhītaṁ sarvam praty-

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arpayasva me" | Evam uktaḥ sarūpāṇi yajūṁshi pradadau guroḥ | rudhireṇa tathā 'ktāni chharditvā brahma-vittamaḥ | Tataḥ sa dhyānam āsthāya sūryam ārādhayad dvijaḥ.| "sūrya bṛahma yad uchchhinnaṁ khaṁ gatvā pratitishṭhati" | Tato yāni yatāny ūrddhaṁ yajūṁshy āditya-maṇḍalam | Tāni tasmai dadau tushṭaḥ sūryo vai Brāhmarātaye | Aśva-rūpaś cha mārttaṇḍo Yājnavalkyāya dhīmate | Yajūṁshy adhīyate yāni brāhmaṇāḥ yena kenachit (yani kānichit?) |aśva-rūpāṇi (-rūpeṇa?) dattāni tatas te Vājino 'bhavan[56] *| brahma-hatyā tu yaiś chīrṇā charaṇāt charakāḥ smṛitāḥ | Vaiśampāyana-śishyās te charakāḥ samudāhṛitāḥ |*

"The rishis having a certain occasion, met on the summit of Mount Meru, when, after consultation, they resolved and agreed together that any one of their number who should fail to attend there for seven nights should become involved in the guilt of brahmanicide. They all in consequence resorted to the appointed place for seven nights along with their attendants. Vaiśampāyana alone was absent, and he, according to the word of the Brāhmans, committed brahmanicide. He then assembled his disciples, and desired them to perform, on his behalf, an expiation for his offence, and to meet and tell him what was salutary for the purpose. Yājnavalkya then said, 'I myself will perform the penance; let all these munis refrain: inspired by my own austere-fervour I shall raise up the boy (whom thou hast slain).' Incensed at this speech of Yājnavalkya [Vaiśampāyana] said to him, 'Restore all that thou hast learned (from me).' Thus addressed, the sage, deeply versed in sacred lore, vomited forth the identical Yajush texts stained with blood, and delivered them to his teacher. Plunged in meditation, the Brāhman (Yājnavalkya) then adored the sun, saying, 'Sun, every sacred text which disappears [from the earth] goes to the sky, and there abides.' The sun, gratified, and [appearing] in the form of a horse, bestowed on Yājnavalkya, son of Brahmarāta, all the Yajush texts which had ascended to the solar region. As all the Yajush texts which these Brāhmans study were given by him in the form of a horse, they in consequence became Vājins. And the disciples of Vaiśampāyana, by whom the expiatory rite was accomplished, were called *Charakas*, from its accomplishment (*charaṇa*)."[57]

[56] I am indebted to Dr. Hall for communicating to me the various readings of this verse in the India Office Library MSS., but some parts of it seem to be corrupt.

[57] In a note to p. 461 (4to. ed.) of his Translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Prof. Wilson

It is sufficiently evident from the preceding legend that the adherents of the two different divisions of the Yajurveda (the Taittirīya or black, and the Vājasaneyi or white), must in ancient times have regarded each other with feelings of the greatest hostility—feelings akin to those with which the followers of the rival deities, Vishṇu and Śiva, look upon each other in modern days. On this subject I translate a passage from Professor Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 84:

"Whilst the theologicians of the Ṛich, are called Bahvṛichas, and those of the Sāman Chhandogas, the old name for the divines of the Yajush is Adhvaryu: and these ancient appellations are to be found in the Sanhitā of the Black Yajush (the Taittirīya), and in the Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajush (the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa). The latter work applies the term Adhvaryus to its own adherents, whilst their opponents are denominated Charakādhvaryus, and are the objects of censure. This hostility is also exhibited in a passage of the Sanhitā of the White Yajush, where the Charakāchārya, as one of the human sacrifices to be offered at the Purushamedha, is devoted to Dushkṛita or Sin." [58]

In his Indische Studien (iii. 454) Professor Weber specifies the following passages in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as those in which the Charakas, or Charakādhvaryus are censured, viz. iii. 8, 2, 24; iv. 1, 2, 19; iv. 2, 3, 15; iv. 2, 4, 1; vi. 2, 2, 1, 10; viii. 1, 3, 7; viii. 7, 1, 14, 24. Of these I quote one specimen (iv. 1, 2, 19):

mentions the following legend illustrative of the effects of this schism. "The Vāyu and Matsya relate, rather obscurely, a dispute between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana, in consequence of the former's patronage of the Brāhmans of the Vājasaneyi branch of the Yajur-veda, in opposition to the latter, who was the author of the Black or original Yajush. Janamejaya twice performed the Aśvamedha according to the Vājasaneyi ritual, and established the Trisarvī, or use of certain texts by Aśmaka and others, by the Brāhmans of Anga, and by those of the middle country. He perished, however, in consequence, being cursed by Vaiśampāyana. Before their disagreement, Vaiśampāyana related the Mahābhārata to Janamejaya."

[58] Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, xxx. 18 (p. 846 of Weber's ed.): *Dushkṛitāya charakāchāryyam* | (*charakāṇāṁ gurum*—Scholiast). Prof. Müller also says (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 350), "This name Charaka is used in one of the Khilas (the passage just quoted) of the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā as a term of reproach. In the 30th Adhyāya a list of people is given who are to be sacrificed at the Purushamedha, and among them we find the Charakāchārya as the proper victim to be offered to Dushkṛita or Sin. This passage, together with similar hostile expressions in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, were evidently dictated by a feeling of animosity against the ancient schools of the Adhvaryus, whose sacred texts we possess in the Taittirīya-veda, and from whom Yājnavalkya seceded in order to become himself the founder of the new Charaṇas of the Vājasaneyins."

Tāḥ u ha Charakāḥ nānā eva mantrābhyāṁ juhvati "prāṇodānau vai asya etau | nānā-vīryau prāṇodānau kurmaḥ" iti vadantaḥ | Tad u tathā na kuryāt | mohayanti ha te yajamānasya prāṇodānau | api id vai enam tūshṇīṁ juhuyāt |

"These the Charakas offer respectively with two mantras, saying thus: 'These are his two breathings,' and 'we thus make these two breathings endowed with their respective powers.' But let no one adopt this procedure, for they confound the breathings of the worshipper. Wherefore let this libation be offered in silence."

But these sectarian jealousies were not confined to the different schools of the Yajur-veda; the adherents of the Atharva-veda seem to have evinced a similar spirit of hostility towards the followers of the other Vedas. On this subject Professor Weber remarks as follows in his Indische Studien, i. 296: "A good deal of animosity is generally displayed in most of the writings connected with the Atharvan towards the other three Vedas; but the strongest expression is given to this feeling in the first of the Atharva Pariśishṭas (Chambers Coll. No. 112)."

He then proceeds to quote the following passage from that work:

Bahvṛicho hanti vai rāshṭram adhvaryur nāśayet sutān | Chhandogo dhanaṁ nāśayet tasmād Ātharvaṇo guruḥ | Ajnānād vā pramādād vā yasya syād bahvṛicho guruḥ | deśa-rāshṭra-purāmātya-nāśas tasya na saṁśayaḥ | yadi vā 'dhvaryavaṁ rājā niyunakti purohitam | śastrena badhyate kshipram parikshīṇārtha-vāhanaḥ | yathaiva pangur adhvānam apakshī chāṇḍa-bhojanam (chāṇḍa-jo nabhaḥ?)[59] *| evaṁ chhandoga-guruṇā rājā vṛiddhiṁ na gachhati | purodhā jalado yasya maudo vā syāt kathanchana | abdād daśabhyo māsebhyo rāshṭra-bhraṁśaṁ sa gachhati |*

"A Bahvṛicha (Rig-veda priest) will destroy a kingdom; an Adhvaryu (Yajur-veda priest) will destroy offspring; and a Chhandoga (Sāma-veda priest) will destroy wealth;—hence an Ātharvaṇa priest is the [proper] spiritual adviser. (The king) who, through ignorance or mistake, takes a Bahvṛicha priest for his guide will, without doubt, lose his country, kingdom, cities, and ministers. Or if a king appoints an Adhvaryu priest to be his domestic chaplain, he forfeits his wealth and his chariots, and is speedily slain by the sword. As a lame man makes no progress on a road, and an egg-born creature which is without wings

[59] For the ingenious conjectural emendation in brackets, I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht. I adopt it in my translation.

cannot soar into the sky, so no king prospers who has a Chhandoga for his teacher. He who has a Jalada or a Mauda for his priest, loses his kingdom after a year or ten months."

"Thus," continues Professor Weber, "the author of the Pariśishṭa attacks the adherents of certain Śākhās of the Atharva-veda itself, for such are the Jaladas and the Maudas, and admits only a Bhārgava, a Paippalāda, or a Saunaka to be a properly qualified teacher. He further declares that the Atharva-veda is intended only for the highest order of priest, the brahman, not for the three other inferior sorts."

The following passage is then quoted:

Atharvā śrijate ghoram adbhutaṁ śamayet tathā | atharvā rakshate yajnam yajnasya patir Angirāḥ | Divyāntariksha-bhaumānām utpātānām anekadhā | śamayitā brahma-veda-jnas tāsmād dakshiṇato Bhṛiguḥ | Brahmā śamayed nādhvaryur na chhandogo na bahvṛichaḥ | rakshāṁsi rakshati brahmā brahmā tasmād atharva-vit |

"The Atharva priest creates horrors, and he also allays alarming occurrences; he protects the sacrifice, of which Angiras is the lord. He who is skilled in the Brahma-veda (the Atharva) can allay manifold portents, celestial, aërial, and terrestial; wherefore the Bhṛigu [is to be placed] on the right hand. It is the brahman, and not the adhvaryu, the chhandoga, or the bahvṛicha, who can allay [portents]; the brahman wards off Rakshases, wherefore the brahman is he who knows the Atharvan."

I subjoin another extract from Professor Weber's Indische Studien, i. 63 ff., which illustrates the relation of the Sāma-veda to the Rig-veda,[60] as well as the mutual hostility of the different schools: "To understand the relation of the Sāma-veda to the Rig-veda, we have only to form to ourselves a clear and distinct idea of the manner in which these hymns in general arose, how they were then carried to a distance by those tribes which emigrated onward, and how they were by them regarded as sacred, whilst in their original home, they were either—as living in the immediate consciousness of the people—subjected to modifications corresponding to the lapse of time, or made way for new hymns by which they were pushed aside, and so became forgotten. It is a foreign country which first surrounds familiar things with a sacred charm; emigrants continue to occupy their ancient men-

[60] See the Second Volume of this work, pp. 202 f.

tal position, preserving what is old with painful exactness, while at home life opens out for itself new paths. New emigrants follow those who had first left their home, and unite with those who are already settlers in a new country. And now the old and the new hymns and usages are fused into one mass, and are faithfully, but uncritically, learned and imbibed by travelling pupils from different masters;—several stories in the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka are especially instructive on this point, see Ind. Stud. p. 83;—so that a varied intermixture arises. Others again, more learned, then strive to introduce arrangement, to bring together what is homogeneous, to separate what is distinct; and in this way theological intolerance springs up; without which the rigid formation of a text or a canon is impossible. The influence of courts on this process is not to be overlooked; as, for example, in the case of Janaka, King of Videha, who in Yājnavalkya had found his Homer. Anything approaching to a clear insight into the reciprocal relations of the different schools will in vain be sought either from the Purāṇas or the Charaṇavyūha, and can only be attained by comparing the teachers named in the different Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, partly with each other and partly with the text of Pāṇini and the gaṇapāṭha and commentary connected therewith (for the correction of which a thorough examination of Patanjali would offer the only sufficient guarantee). For the rest, the relation between the S.V. and the R.V. is in a certain degree analogous to that between the White and the Black Yajush; and, as in the Brāhmaṇa of the former, (the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa), we often find those teachers who are the representatives of the latter, mentioned with contempt, it cannot surprise us, if in the Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-veda, the Paingins and Kaushītakins are similarly treated."

It is sufficiently manifest from the preceding passages of the Purāṇas concerning the division and different Śākhās of the Vedas, that the traditions which they embody contain no information in regard to the composition of the hymns, and nothing tangible or authentic regarding the manner in which they were preserved, collected, or arranged. In fact, I have not adduced these passages for the purpose of elucidating those points, but to show the legendary character of the narratives, and their discrepancies in matters of detail. For an account of the Śākhās of the Vedas, the ancient schools of the Brāhmans, and other matters of a similar nature, I must refer to the excellent work of Professor Müller,

the "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 119–132 and 364–388 and elsewhere.

SECT. VII.—*Reasonings of the Commentators on the Vedas, in support of the authority of the Vedas.*

I proceed now to adduce some extracts from the works of the more systematic authors who have treated of the origin and authority of the Vedas, I mean the commentators on these books themselves, and the authors and expositors of the aphorisms of several of the schools of Hindu philosophy.[61] Whatever we may think of the premises from which these writers set out, or of the conclusions at which they arrive,

[61] Although the authors of the different schools of Hindu philosophy (as we shall see) expressly defend (on grounds which vary according to the principles of the several systems) the authority of the Vedas, they do not consider themselves as at all bound to assert that the different portions of those works are all of equal value: nor do they treat their sacred scriptures as the exclusive sources out of which their own theology or philosophy are to be evolved. On the relation of Indian thinkers generally to the Vedas, I quote some remarks from an article of my own in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1862, pp. 310 f.: "It is evident from some of the hymns of the Veda (see Müller's Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 556 ff.) that theological speculation has been practised in India from a very early period. . . . . As, therefore, the religious or mythological systems of India became developed, it was to be expected that they should exhibit numerous variations springing out of the particular genius of different writers; and more especially that, whenever the speculative element predominated in any author, he should give utterance to ideas on the origin of the world, and the nature and action of the Deity or deities, more or less opposed to those commonly received. In the stage here supposed, a fixed and authoritative system of belief or institutions had not yet been constructed, but was only in process of construction, and therefore considerable liberty of individual thought, expression, and action would be allowed; as is, indeed, also shown by the existence of different schools of Brāhmans, not merely attached to one or other of the particular Vedas, but even restricting their allegiance to some particular recension of one of the Vedas. Even after the Brahmanical system had been more firmly established, and its details more minutely prescribed, it is clear that the same strictness was not extended to speculation, but that if a Brāhman was only an observer of the established ceremonial, and an assertor of the privileges of his own order, he might entertain and even profess almost any philosophical opinion which he pleased (Colebrooke, Misc. Ess. i. 379; Müller, Anc. Sansk. Lit. 79). In this way the tradition of free thought was preserved, and speculative principles of every character continued to be maintained and taught without hindrance or scandal. Meanwhile the authority of the Vedas had come to be generally regarded as paramount and divine, but so long as this authority was nominally acknowledged, independent thinkers were permitted to propound a variety of speculative principles, at variance with their general tenor, though perhaps not inconsistent with some isolated

we cannot fail to be struck with the contrast which their speculations exhibit to the loose and mystical ideas of the Purāṇas and Upanishads, or to admire the acuteness of their reasoning, the logical precision with which their arguments are presented, and the occasional liveliness and ingenuity of their illustrations.

I.—The first passage which I shall adduce is from Sāyaṇa's introduction to his commentary on the Rig-veda, the Vedārthaprakāśa, pp. 3 ff. (Sāyaṇa, as we have seen in the Second Volume of this work, p. 172, lived in the 14th century, A.D.):

Nanu Vedaḥ eva tāvad nāsti | kutas tad-avāntara-viśeshaḥ ṛigvedaḥ | Tathā hi | ko 'yaṁ vedo nāma | na hi tatra lakshaṇaṁ pramāṇaṁ vā 'sti | nacha tad-ubhaya-vyatirekeṇa kinchid vastu prasidhyati | Lakshaṇa-pramāṇābhyāṁ hi vastu-siddhir iti nyāya-vidāṁ matam | "Pratyakshānumānāgameshu pramāṇa-viśesheshv antimo Vedaḥ iti tallakshaṇam" iti chet | na | Manv-ādi-smṛitishv ativyāpteḥ | Samaya-balena samyak parokshānubhava-sādhanam ity etasya āgama-lakshaṇasya tāsv api sadbhāvāt | "apaurusheyatve sati iti viśeshaṇād adoshaḥ" iti chet | na | Vedasyāpi parameśvara-nirmitatvena paurusheyatvāt | "Śarīra-dhāri-jīva-nirmitatvābhāvād apaurusheyatvam" iti chet | [na] | "Sahasra-śīrshā purushaḥ" ityādi-śrutibhir īśvarasyāpi śarīritvāt | "Karma-phala-rūpa-śarīra-dhāri-jīva-nirmitatvābhāva-mātreṇa apaurusheyatvaṁ vivakshitam" iti chet | na | Jīva-viśeshair Agni-Vāyv-Ādityair vedānām utpāditatvāt | "Ṛigvedaḥ eva Agner ajāyata Yajurvedo Vāyoḥ Sāmavedaḥ Ādityād" iti śruter īśvarasya agny-ādi-prerakatvena nirmātritvaṁ drashṭavyam | "mantra-brāhmaṇātmakaḥ śabda-rāśir vedaḥ" iti chet | na | Īdṛiśo mantraḥ | īdṛiśam brāhmaṇam ity anayor adyāpi anirṇītatvāt | Tasmād nāsti kinchid vedasya lakshaṇam | Nāpi tat-sadbhāve pramāṇaṁ paśyāmaḥ | "'Ṛigvedaṁ bhagavo 'dhyemi Yajurvedaṁ Sāmavedam Ātharvaṇam chaturtham' ityādi vākyaṁ pramāṇaṁ" iti chet | na | tasyāpi vākyasya vedāntaḥpātitvena ātmāśrayatva-prasangāt | Na khalu nipuṇo 'pi svaskandham ārodhuṁ prabhaved iti | "'Vedaḥ eva dvijātīnāṁ niḥśreyasakaraḥ paraḥ' iti ādi smṛiti-vākyaṁ pramāṇam" iti chet | na | tasyāpy ukta-śruti-mūlatvena nirākṛitatvāt | pratyakshādikaṁ śankitum apy ayo-

portions of their contents. It was only when the authority of the sacred books was not merely tacitly set aside or undermined, but openly discarded and denied, and the institutions founded on them were abandoned and assailed by the Buddhists, that the orthodox party took the alarm."

gyam | Veda-vishayā loka-prasiddhiḥ sārvajanīnā 'pi "nīlaṁ nabhaḥ" ityādi-vad bhrāntā | Tasmāl lakshaṇa-pramāṇa-rahitasya vedasya sadbhāvo na angīkartuṁ śakyate iti pūrva-pakshaḥ |

Atra uchyate | mantrā-brāhmaṇātmakaṁ tāvad adushṭaṁ lakshaṇam | ata eva Āpastambo yajna-paribhāshāyām evāha "mantra-brāhmaṇayor veda-nāmadheyam" iti | tayos tu rūpam uparishṭhād nirṇeshyate | apaurusheya-vākyatvaṁ iti idam api yādrišam asmābhir vivakshitaṁ tādrišam uttaratra spashṭībhavishyati | pramāṇāny api yathoktāni śruti-smṛiti-loka-prasiddhi-rūpāṇi veda-sadbhāve drashṭavyāni | Yathā ghaṭa-paṭādi-dravyāṇām sva-prakāśatvābhāve 'pi sūrya-chandrādīnāṁ sva-prakāśatvam avirudham tathā manushyādīnāṁ sva-skandhārohāsambhave 'py akuṇṭhita-śakter vedasya itara-vastu-pratipādakatva-vat sva-pratipādakatvam apy astu | Ata eva sampradāya-vido 'kuṇṭhitāṁ śaktim vedasya darśayanti "chodanā hi bhūtam bhavishyantaṁ sūkshmaṁ vyavahitaṁ viprakṛishtam ity evanjātīyam artham śaknoty avagamayitum" iti | Tathā sati veda-mūlāyāḥ smṛites tad-ubhaya-mūlāyāḥ loka-prasiddheś cha prāmāṇyaṁ durvāram | Tasmāl lakshaṇa-pramāṇa-siddho vedo na kenāpi chārvākādinā 'podhuṁ śakyate iti sthitam |

Nanv astu nāma Vedākhyaḥ kaśchit padārthaḥ | tathāpi nāsau vyākhyānam arhati apramāṇatvena anupayuktatvāt | Na hi Vedaḥ pramāṇaṁ tal-lakshaṇasya tatra duḥsampādatvāt | tathā hi "samyag anubhava-sādhanaṁ pramāṇam" iti kechil lakshaṇam āhuḥ | apare tu "anadhigatārtha-gantṛi pramāṇam" ity āchakshate | na chaitad ubhayam vede sambhavati | mantra-brāhmaṇātmako hi vedaḥ | tatra mantrāḥ kechid abodhakāḥ | "amyak sā te Indra ṛishṭir" (R.V. i. 169, 3) ity eko mantraḥ | "Yādṛiśmin dhāyi tam apasyayā vidad" (R.V. v. 44, 8) ity anyaḥ | "Sṛiṇyā iva jarbharī turpharītū" (R.V. x. 106, 6) ity aparaḥ | "Āpānta-manyus tṛipala-prabharmā" (R.V. x. 89, 5) ity-ādayaḥ udāhāryāḥ | na hy etair mantraiḥ kaśchid apy artho 'vabudhyate | eteshv anubhavo eva yadā nāsti tadā tat-samyaktvaṁ tadīya-sādhanatvaṁ cha dūrāpetam | "Adhaḥ svid āsīd" (R.V. x. 129, 5) iti mantrasya bodhakatve 'pi "sthāṇur vā purusho vā" ityādi-vākya-vat sandigdhārtha-bodhakatvād nāsti prāmāṇyam | "Oshadhe trāyasva enam" (Taitt. Sanh. i. 2, 1, 1) iti mantro darbha-vishayaḥ | "Svadhite mā enaṁ hiṁsīr" (Taitt. Sanh. i. 2, 1, 1) iti kshura-vishayaḥ | "Sṛiṇota grāvāṇaḥ" iti pāshāṇa-vishayaḥ | Eteshv achetanāṇāṁ darbha-kshura-pāshāṇānāṁ chetana-vat sambodhanaṁ śrūyate | tato "dvau chandramasāv" iti vākya-vad viparītārtha-bodhakatvād aprāmāṇ-

yam | "Ekaḥ eva Rudro na dvitīyo 'vatasthe" | "sahasrāṇi sahasraśo ye Rudrāḥ adhi bhūmyām"[62] *ity anayos tu mantrayor "yāvajjīvam aham maunī" ity vākya-vad vyāghāta-bodhakatvād aprāmāṇyam | "Āpaḥ undantu"* (Taitt. Sanh. i. 2, 1, 1) *iti mantro yajamānasya kshaura-kāle jalena śiraśaḥ kledanam brūte | "S'ubhike śiraḥ āroha śobhayantī mukham mama" iti mantro vivāha-kāle mangalāchāraṇārtham pushpa-nirmitāyāḥ śubhikāyāḥ vara-badhvoḥ śirasy avasthānam brūte | tayoś cha mantrayor loka-prasiddhārthānuvāditvād anadhigatārtha-grantṛitvam nāsti | tasmād mantra-bhāgo na pramāṇam |*

Atra uchyate | "Amyag"-ādi-mantrāṇām artho Yāskena niruktagranthe 'vabodhitaḥ | tat-parichaya-rahitānām anavabodho na mantrānāṁ dosham āvahati | Ata eva atra loka-nyāyam udāharanti "na esha sthāṇor aparādho yad enam andho na paśyati | purushāparādho sambhavati" iti | "Adhaḥ svid āsīd" iti mantraś cha na sandeha-prabodhanāya pravṛittaḥ kiṁtarhi jagat-kāraṇasya para-vastuno 'tigambhīratvaṁ niśchetum eva pravṛittaḥ | tad-artham eva hi guru-śāstra-sampradāya-rahitair durbodhyatvam "adhaḥ svid" ity anayā vacho-bhangyā upanyasyati | Sa eva abhiprāyaḥ uparitaneshu "ko addhā veda" (R.V. x. 129, 6) *ity ādimantreshu spashṭīkṛitaḥ | "Oshadhy"-ādi mantreshv api chetanāḥ eva tat-tād-abhimāni-devatās tena tena nāmnā sambodhyante | tāś cha devatāḥ bhagavatā Bādarāyaṇena "abhimāni-vyapadeśas tu" iti sūtre sūtritāḥ | Ekasyāpi Rudrasya sva-mahimnā sahasra-mūrtti-svīkārād nāsti parasparaṁ vyāghātaḥ | Jalādi-dravyeṇa śiraḥ-kledanāder loka-siddhatve 'pi tad-abhimāni-devatānugrahasya aprasiddhatvāt tad-vishayatvena ajnātārtha-jnāpakatvam | tato lakshaṇa-sadbhāvād asti mantra-bhāgasya pramāṇyam |*

"But, some will say, there is no such thing as a Veda; how, then, can there be a Rig-veda, forming a particular part of it? For what is this Veda? It has no characteristic sign or evidence; and without these two conditions, nothing can be proved to exist. For logicians hold that 'a thing is established by characteristic signs and by proof.' If you answer that 'of the three kinds of proof, perception, inference, and scripture, the Veda is the last, and that this is its sign;' then the objectors rejoin that this is not true, for this sign extends too far, and includes also Manu's and the other Smṛitis; since there exists in them

[62] The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, xvi. 53, has, *asankhyātā sahasrāṇi ye Rudrāḥ adhi bhūmyām |*

also this characteristic of Scripture, viz. that in virtue of common consent it is a perfect instrument for the discovery of what is invisible.' If you proceed, 'the Veda is faultless, in consequence of its characteristic that it has no person (*purusha*) for its author;'[63] they again reply, 'Not so; for as the Veda likewise was formed by Parameśvara (God), it had a person (*purusha*) for its author.' If you rejoin, 'It had no person (*purusha*) for its author, for it was not made by any embodied living being;' [they refuse[64] to admit this] on the ground that, according to such Vedic texts as 'Purusha has a thousand heads,' it is clear that Īśvara (God) also has a body. If you urge that *apaurusheyatva* ('the having had no personal author') means that it was not composed by a living being endowed with a body which was the result of works;—the opponent denies this also, inasmuch as the Vedas were created by particular living beings—Agni (fire), Vāyu (wind), and Āditya (the sun); for from the text 'the Rig-veda sprang from Agni, the Yajur-veda from Vāyu, and the Sāma-veda from Sūrya,' etc., it will be seen that Īśvara was the maker, by inciting Agni and the others. If you next say that the Veda is a collection of words in the form of Mantras and Brāhmaṇas, the objectors rejoin, 'Not so, for it has never yet been defined that a Mantra is so and so, and a Brāhmaṇa so and so.' There exists, therefore, no characteristic mark of a Veda. Nor do we see any proof that a Veda exists. If you say that the text, 'I peruse, reverend sir, the Rig-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sāma-veda, and the Ātharvaṇa as the fourth,' is a proof, the antagonist answers, 'No, for as that text is part of the Veda, the latter would be open to the objection of depending upon itself; for no one, be he ever so clever, can mount upon his own shoulders.' If you again urge that such texts of the Smṛiti as this, 'It is the Veda alone which is the source of blessedness to twice-born men, and transcendent,' are proofs, the objector rejoins,' 'Not so; since these too must be rejected, as being founded on the same Veda.' The

[63] Or, the meaning of this may be, "If you urge that, as the Veda has no personal author, there is—in consequence of this peculiar characteristic—no flaw (in the proposed definition), etc."

[64] I have translated this, as if it there had been (which there is not) a negative particle *na* in the printed text, after the *iti chet*, as this seems to me to be necessary to the sense. I understand from Prof. Müller that the negative particle is found in some of the MSS. [I am, however, informed by Prof. Goldstücker that *na* is often omitted, though understood, after *iti chet*.]

evidence of the senses and other ordinary sources of knowledge ought not even to be doubted.[65] And common report in reference to the Veda, though universal, is erroneous, like such phrases as 'the blue sky,' etc. Wherefore, as the Veda is destitute of characteristic sign and proof, its existence cannot be admitted. Such is the first side of the question.

"To this we reply: The definition of the Veda, as a work composed of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, is unobjectionable. Hence Āpastamba says in the Yajnaparibhāshā, 'the name of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa is Veda.' The nature of these two things will be settled hereafter.[66] The sense we attach to the expression 'consisting of sentences which had no personal author' will also be declared further on. Let the proofs which have been specified of the existence of the Veda, viz. the Veda (itself), the Smṛiti, and common notoriety, be duly weighed. Although jars, cloth, and other such [dark] objects have no inherent property of making themselves visible, it is no absurdity to speak of the sun, moon, and other luminous bodies, as shining by their own light. Just in the same way, though it is impossible for men or any other beings to mount on their own shoulders, let the Veda through the keenness of its power be held to have the power of proving itself, as it has of proving other things.[67] Hence traditionists set forth this penetrating force of the Veda; thus, 'Scripture is able to make known the past, the future, the minute, the distant, the remote.' Such being the case, the authority of the Smṛiti, which is based on the Veda, and that of common notoriety, which is based on both, is irresistible. Wherefore it stands fast that the Veda, which is

[65] The drift of this sentence does not seem to me clear. From what immediately follows it would rather appear that the evidence of the senses may be doubted. Can the passage be corrupt?

[66] See the First Volume of this work, pp. 2 ff. and the Second Volume, p. 172.

[67] The same thing had been said before by S'ankāra Achāryya (who lived at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century, A.D. See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. 332), in his commentary on the Brahma Sūtras, ii. 1, 1: *Vedasya hi nirapeksham svārthe prāmāṇyaṁ raver iva rūpa-vishaye | purusha-vachasāṁ tu mūlāntarāpekshaṁ svārthe prāmāṇyaṁ vaktṛi-smṛiti-vyavahitaṁ cha iti viprakarshaḥ* | "For the Veda has an independent authority in respect of its own sense, as the sun has of manifesting forms. The words of men on the other hand, have, as regards their own sense, an authority which is dependent upon another source [the Veda], and which is separated [from the authority of the Veda] by the fact of its author being remembered. Herein consists the distinction [between the two kinds of authority]."

established by characteristic sign, and by proof, cannot be overturned by the Chārvākas or any other opponents.

"But let it be admitted that there is a thing called a Veda. Still, the opponents say, it does not deserve explanation, being unsuited for it, since it does not constitute proof. The Veda, they urge, is no proof, as it is difficult to show that it has any sign of that character. Now, some define proof as the instrument of perfect apprehension; others say, it is that which arrives at what was not before ascertained. But neither of these definitions can be reasonably applied to the Veda. For the Veda consists of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa. Of these mantras some convey no meaning. Thus one is *amyak sā te Indra ṛishtir*, etc.; another is *yādṛiśmin*, etc.; a third is *śṛinyā iva*, etc. The texts *āpāntu-manyuḥ*,[68] etc., and others may be adduced as further examples. Now no meaning whatever is to be perceived through these mantras; and when they do not even convey an idea at all, much less can they convey a perfect idea, or be instruments of apprehension. Even if the mantra *adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīd*, 'was it below or above?' (R.V. x. 129, 5) convey a meaning, still, like such sayings as 'either a post or a man,' it conveys a dubious meaning, and so possesses no authority. The mantra, 'deliver him, o plant,' has for its subject grass. Another, 'do not hurt him, axe,' has for its subject an axe (*kshura*). A third, 'hear, stones,' has for its subject stones. In these cases, grass, an axe, and stones, though insensible objects, are addressed in the Veda as if they were intelligent. Hence these passages have no authority, because, like the saying, 'two moons,' their import is absurd. So also the two texts, 'there is one Rudra; no second has existed,' and 'the thousand Rudras who are over the earth,' involving, as they do, a mutual contradiction (just as if one were to say, 'I have been silent all my life'), cannot be authoritative. The mantra *āpaḥ undantu* expresses the wetting of the sacrificer's head with water at the time of tonsure; while the text '*śubhike*,' etc. ('garland, mount on my head and decorate my face') expresses the placing of a garland formed of flowers on the heads of the bridegroom and bride, by way of blessing, at the time of marriage. Now, as these two last texts merely repeat a matter of

[68] See Nirukta, v. 12, and vi. 15, and Roth's Illustrations. It is not necessary for my purpose to inquire whether the charge of intelligibility brought against these different texts is just or not.

common notoriety, they cannot be said to attain to what was not before ascertained. Wherefore the Mantra portion of the Veda is destitute of authority.

"To this we reply, the meaning of these texts, '*amyak*,' and the others, has been explained by Yāska in the Nirukta.[69] The fact that they are not understood by persons ignorant of that explanation, does not prove any defect in the mantras. It is customary to quote here the popular maxim, 'it is not the fault of the post that the blind man does not see it; the reasonable thing to say is that it is the man's fault.' The mantra '*adhaḥ svid*,' etc. ('was it above or below?') (R.V. x. 129, 5) is not intended to convey doubt, but rather to signify the extreme profundity of the supreme Essence, the cause of the world. With this view the author intimates by this turn of expression the difficulty which persons who are not versed in the deep Scriptures have, in comprehending such subjects. The same intention is manifested in the following mantras *ko addhā veda*, etc. (R.V. x. 129, 6) ('who knows?' etc.) In the texts *oshadhe*, etc. ('o herb,' etc.), the deities who preside over these various objects are addressed by these several names. These deities are referred to by the venerable Bādarāyaṇa in the aphorism *abhimāni-vyapadeśaḥ*. As Rudra, though only one, assumes by his power a thousand forms, there is no contradiction between the different texts which relate to him. And though the moistening, etc., of the head by water, etc., is a matter of common notoriety, yet as the good-will of the deities who preside over these objects is not generally known, the texts in question, by having this for their subject, are declaratory of what is unknown. Hence the Mantra portion of the Veda, being shown to have a characteristic mark, is authoritative."

Sāyaṇa then, in p. 11 of his Preface, proceeds to extend his argument to the Brāhmaṇas. These are divisible into two parts, Precepts (*vidhi*), and Explanatory remarks (*arthavāda*). Precepts again are either (*a*) incitements to perform some act in which a man has not yet engaged (*apravṛitta-pravarttanam*), such as are contained in the ceremonial sections (*Karma-kāṇḍa*); or (*b*) revelations of something previously unknown (*ajnāta-jnāpanam*), such as are found in the portions which treat of sacred knowledge or the supreme spirit (*Brahma-kāṇḍa*). Both these parts

[69] See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, pp. 323, 329, 334, and 337.

are objected to as unauthoritative. The former is said (1) to enjoin things afterwards declared to be improper; and (2) to prescribe in some texts things which are prohibited in others. Thus in the Aitareya, Taittirīya, and other Brāhmaṇas, many injunctions given in other places are controverted in such phrases as, "This or that must not be regarded;" "This must not be done in that way" (*tat tad na ādṛityam | tat tathā na kāryyam*).[70] And again prescriptions are given which are mutually contradictory. Another objection is that no result, such as the attainment of paradise, is perceived to follow the celebration of a jyotishṭoma or other sacrifice; whilst satisfaction never fails to be experienced immediately after eating (*jyotishṭomādishv apy anushṭhānānantaram eva cha svargādi-phalaṁ na upalabhyate | na hi bhojanānantaraṁ tṛipter anupalambho 'sti |*). The answer given to the earlier of these objections is that the discrepant injunctions and prohibitions are respectively applicable to people belonging to different Śākhās or Vedic schools; just as things forbidden to a man in one state of life (*āśrama*) are permitted to one who is in another. It is thus the difference of persons which gives rise to the apparent opposition between the precepts (*tathā jarttilādi-vidhir attra nindyamāno 'pi kvachit śākhāntare bhaved iti chet | bhavatu nāma | prāmāṇyam api tach-chhākhādhyāyinam prati bhavishyati | yathā gṛihasthāśrame nishiddham api parānna-bhojanam āśramāntareshu prāmāṇikaṁ tad-vat | anena nyāyena sarvattra parasparaviruddhau vidhi-nishedhau purusha-bhedena vyavasthāpanīyau yathā mantreshu pāṭha-bhedaḥ |*). In the same way, it is remarked, the different Śākhās adopt different readings in the mantras. As regards the objection raised to the authoritativeness of the revelations of things hitherto unknown, which are made in the Brahma-kāṇḍa, that they are mutually contradictory—as when the Aitareyins say, *Ātmā vai idam ekaḥ eva agre āsīt*, "This was in the beginning soul only;" whilst the Taittirīyakas on the other hand affirm, *asad vai idam agre āsīt*, "This was in the beginning non-existent;"—the answer is given that it is determined by a particular aphorism (which is quoted)[71] that in the latter passage the word *asat* does not mean absolute vacuity or nothingness, but merely an

[70] Compare the quotation given above, p. 54, from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 2, 19.

[71] Brahma Sūtra, ii. 1, 7, appears to be intended; but the text of it as given by Sāyaṇa does not correspond with that in the Bibliotheca Indica.

undeveloped condition (. . . . *iti sūtre Taittirīya-gata-vākyasya asachchhabdasya na śūnya-paratvaṁ kintv avyaktāvasthā-paratvam iti nirṇītam* |).[72] Sāyaṇa accordingly concludes (p. 19 of his Preface) that the authority of the whole Veda is proved.

II.—The second passage which I shall quote is from the Vedārtha-prakāśa of Mādhava Āchāryya on the Taittirīya Yajur-veda (p. 1 ff. in the Bibliotheca Indica). Mādhava was the brother of Sāyaṇa,[73] and flourished in the middle of the 14th century (Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 301):

Nanu ko 'yaṁ vedo nāma ke vā asya vishaya-prayojana-sambandhādhikāriṇaḥ kathaṁ vā tasya prāmāṇyam | na khalv etasmin sarvasminn asati vedo vyākhyāna-yogyo bhavati | Atra uchyate | Ishṭa-prāpty-anishṭa-parihārayor alaukikam upāyaṁ yo grantho vēdayati sa vedaḥ | Alaukika-padena pratyakshānumāne vyāvartyete | Anubhūyamānasya srak-chandana-vanitāder ishṭa-prāpti-hetutvam aushadha-sevāder anishṭa-parihāra-hetutvaṁ cha pratyaksha-siddham | Svenānubhavishyamāṇasya purushāntara-gatasya cha tathātvam anumāna-gamyam | "Evaṁ tarhi bhāvi-janma-gata-sukhādikam anumāna-gamyam" iti chet | na | tad-viśeshasya anavagamāt | Na khalu jyotishṭomādir ishṭa-prāpti-hetuḥ kalanja-bhakshaṇa-varjanādir anishṭa-parihāra-hetur ity amum artham veda-vyatirekeṇa anumāna-sahasreṇāpi tārkika-śiromaṇir apy asyāvagantuṁ śaknoti | Tasmād alaukiko-pāya-bodhako vedaḥ iti lakshaṇasya na ativyāptaṁ | ata evoktam | "Pratyakshenānumityā vā yas tūpāyo na budhyate | Etaṁ vindanti vedena tasmād vedasya vedatā" iti | sa eva vēpāyo vedasya vishayaḥ | tad-bodhaḥ eva prayojanam | tad-bodhārthī cha adhikārī | tena saha upakāryyopakāraka-bhāvaḥ sambandhaḥ | nanu "evaṁ sati strī-śūdra-sahitāḥ sarve vedādhikāriṇaḥ syur 'ishṭam me syād anishṭam mā bhūd' iti āśishaḥ sārvajanīnatvāt" | maivam | strī-śūdrayoḥ saty upāye bodhārthitve hetv-antareṇa vedādhikārasya pratibaddhatvāt | upanītasya eva adhyayanādhikāram

[72] Compare with this the passages quoted from the S'atapatha and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas in the First Volume of this work, pp. 19 f., 24 f., 27 f., and from the Taitt. Sanh. and Brāh. in pp. 52 and 53; and see also the texts referred to and commented upon in the Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc. for 1864, p. 72, and in the No. for 1865, pp. 345–348.

[73] Whether either of these two brothers, who were ministers of state, were the actual writers of the works which bear their names, or whether the works were composed by Pandits patronized by the two statesmen, and called after the names of their patrons, is a point which I need not attempt to decide.

bruvat śāstram anupanītayoḥ strī-śūdrayor vedādhyayanam anishṭa-prāpti-hetur iti bodhayati | kathaṁ tarhi tayos tad-upāyāvagamaḥ | purāṇādibhir iti brūmaḥ | ata evoktam | "strī-śūdra-dvijabandhūnāṁ trayī na śruti-gocharā | iti Bhāratam ākhyānam muninā kṛipayā kṛitam" (Bhāg. Pur. i. 4, 25) | *iti | tasmād upanītair eva traivarṇikair vedasya sambandhaḥ | tat-prāmāṇyaṁ tu bodhakatvāt svataḥ eva siddham | paurusheya-vākyaṁ tu bodhakam api sat purusha-gata-bhrānti-mūlatva-sambhāvanayā tat-parihārāya mūla-pramāṇaṁ apekshate na tu vedaḥ | tasya nityatvena vaktṛi-dosha-śaṅkānudayāt | . . .'. Nanu vedo 'pi Kālidāsādi-vākya-vat paurusheyaḥ eva Brahma-kāryyatva-śravaṇāt | "ṛichaḥ sāmāni jajnire | chhandāṁsi jajnire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata" iti śruteḥ | ata eva Bādarāyaṇaḥ* (i. 1, 3) *"śāstra-yonitvād" iti sūtreṇa Brahmaṇo veda-kāraṇatvam avochat | maivam | śruti-smṛitibhyāṁ nityatvāvagamāt | "vāchā Virūpa nityayā"* (R.V. viii. 64, 6) *iti śruteḥ | "anādinidhanā nityā vāg utsṛishṭā svayambhuvā" iti smṛiteś cha | Bādarāyaṇo 'pi devatādhikaraṇe sūtrayāmāsa* (i. 3, 29) *"ata eva cha nityatvam" iti | tarhi "paraspara-virodhaḥ" iti chet | na | nityatvasya vyāvahārikatvāt | sṛishṭer ūrdhvaṁ saṁhārāt pūrvam vyavahāra-kālas tasmin utpatti-vināśādarśanāt | kālākāśādayo yathā nityāḥ evaṁ vedo 'pi vyavahāra-kāle Kālidāsādi-vākya-vat purusha-virachitatvābhāvād nityaḥ | ādisṛishṭau tu kālākāśādi-vad eva Brahmaṇaḥ sakāśād vedotpattir āmnāyate | ato vishaya-bhedād na paraspara-virodhaḥ | Brahmaṇo nirdoshatvena vedasya vaktṛi-doshābhāvāt svatas-siddham prāmāṇyaṁ tad-avastham | tasmāl lakshaṇa-pramāṇa-sadbhāvād vishaya-prayojana-sambandhādhikāri-sadbhāvāt prāmāṇyasya susthatvāch cha vedo vyākhyātavyaḥ eva |*

"Now, some may ask, what is this Veda, or what are its subject-matter, its use, its connection, or the persons who are competent to study it? and how is it authoritative? For, in the absence of all these conditions, the Veda does not deserve to be expounded. I reply: the book which makes known (*vedayati*) the supernatural (*lit.* non-secular) means of obtaining desirable objects, and getting rid of undesirable objects, is the Veda. By the employment of the word "supernatural," [the ordinary means of information, viz.] perception and inference are excluded. By perception it is established that such objects of sense, as garlands, sandal-wood, and women are causes of gratification, and that the use of medicines and so forth is the means of getting rid

of what is undesirable. And we ascertain by inference that we shall in future experience, and that other men now experience, the same results (from these same causes). If it be asked whether, then, the happiness, etc., of a future birth be not in the same way ascertainable by inference, I reply that it is not, because we cannot discover its specific character. Not even the most brilliant ornament of the logical school could, by a thousand inferences, without the help of the Vedas, discover the truths that the *jyotishṭoma* and other sacrifices are the means of attaining happiness, and that abstinence from intoxicating drugs[74] is the means of removing what is undesirable. Thus it is not too wide a definition of the Veda to say that it is that which indicates supernatural expedients. Hence, it has been said, 'men discover by the Veda those expedients which cannot be ascertained by perception or inference; and this is the characteristic feature of the Veda.' These expedients, then, form the subject of the Veda; [to teach] the knowledge of them is its use; the person who seeks that knowledge is the competent student; and the connection of the Veda with such a student is that of a benefactor with the individual who is to be benefitted.

"But, if such be the case, it may be said that all persons whatever, including women and Śūdras, must be competent students of the Veda, since the aspiration after good and the deprecation of evil are common to the whole of mankind. But it is not so. For though the expedient exists, and women and Śūdras are desirous to know it, they are debarred by another cause from being competent students of the Veda. The scripture (*śāstra*) which declares that those persons only who have been invested with the sacrificial cord are competent to read the Veda, intimates thereby that the same study would be a cause of unhappiness to women and Śūdras [who are not so invested]. How, then, are these two classes of persons to discover the means of future happiness? We answer, from the Purāṇas and other such works. Hence it has been said, 'since the triple Veda may not be heard by women, Śūdras, and degraded twice-born men, the Mahābhārata was, in his benevolence,

[74] *Kalanja-bhakshaṇam* is mentioned in the Commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 28. In his translation of the Kusumānjali, p. 81, note, Professor Cowell says: "Some hold the *Kalanja* to be the flesh of a deer killed by a poisoned arrow—others hemp or bhang,—others a kind of garlic. See Raghunandana's Ekādaśī tattva."

composed by the Muni.'[75] The Veda, therefore, has only a relation to men of the three superior classes who have obtained investiture.

"Then the authority of the Veda is self-evident, from the fact of its communicating knowledge. For though the words of men also communicate knowledge, still, as they must be conceived to participate in the fallibility of their authors, they require some primary authority to remedy that fallibility. But such is not the case with the Veda; for as that had no beginning, it is impossible to suspect any defect in the utterer. . . .

"A doubt may, however, be raised whether the Veda is not, like the sentences of Kālidāsa and others, derived from a personal being,[76] as it proclaims itself to have been formed by Brahmā, according to the text, 'the Rich and Sāman verses, the metres, sprang from him; from him the Yajush was produced;'[77] in consequence of which Bādarāyaṇa, in the aphorism[78] 'since he is the source of the śāstra,' has pronounced that Brahma is the cause of the Veda. But this doubt is groundless; for the eternity of the Veda has been declared both by itself, in the text, 'with an eternal voice, o Virūpa,'[79] and by the Smṛiti in the verse 'an eternal voice, without beginning or end, was uttered by the Self-existent.'[80] Bādarāyaṇa, too, in his section on the deities (Brahma Sūtras, i. 3, 29) has this aphorism; 'hence also [its] eternity [is to be maintained].' If it be objected that these statements of his are mutually conflicting, I answer, No. For [in the passages where] the word eternity is applied to the Vedas, it is to be understood as referring to the period of action [or mundane existence]. This period is that which commences with the creation, and lasts till the destruction of the universe, since, during this interval, no worlds are seen to

[75] See the quotation from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, above, p. 42.

[76] This seems to be the only way to translate *paurusheya*, as *purusha* cannot here mean a human being.

[77] R.V. x. 90, 9, quoted in the First Volume of this work, p. 10; and p. 3, above.

[78] Brahma Sūtras, i. 1, 3, p. 7 of Dr. Ballantyne's Aphorisms of the Vedānta.

[79] These words are part of Rig-veda, viii. 64, 6: *Tasmai nūnam abhidyave vāchā Virūpa nityayā | vṛishṇe chodasva sushṭutim* | "Send forth praises to this heaven-aspiring and prolific Agni, o Virūpa, with an unceasing voice [or hymn]." The word *nityayā* seems to mean nothing more than "continual," though in the text I have rendered it "eternal," as the author's reasoning requires. Colebrooke (Misc. Ess. i. 306), however, translates it by "perpetual." I shall again quote and illustrate this verse further on.

[80] This line, from the M.Bh. S'āntip. 8533, has already been cited above, in p. 16.

originate, or to be destroyed. Just as time and æther (space) are eternal,[81] so also is the Veda eternal, because, during the period of mundane existence, it has not been composed by any person, as the works of Kālidāsa and others have been.[82] Nevertheless, the Veda, like time and æther, is recorded in Scripture to have originated from Brahma at the first creation. There is, therefore, no discrepancy between the two different sets of passages, as they refer to different points. And since Brahma is free from defect, the utterer of the Veda is consequently free from defect; and therefore a self-demonstrated authority resides in it. Seeing, therefore, that the Veda possess a characteristic mark, and is supported by proof, and that it has a subject, a use, a relation, and persons competent for its study, and, moreover, that its authority is established, it follows that it ought to be interpreted."

Sect. VIII.—*Arguments of the Mīmānsakas and Vedāntins in support of the eternity and authority of the Vedas.*

I shall now proceed to adduce some of the reasonings by which the authors of the Pūrva Mīmānsā, and Vedānta, aphorisms, and their commentators, defend the doctrine which, as we have already seen, is held by some of the Indian writers, that the Vedas are eternal, as well as infallible.

I.—*Pūrva Mīmānsā.*—I quote the following texts of the Pūrva Mīmānsā which relate to this subject from Dr. Ballantyne's aphorisms of the Mīmānsā, pp. 8 ff.[83] I do not always follow the words of Dr. Ballantyne's translations, though I have made free use of their substance. (See also Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 306, or p. 195 of Williams and Norgate's ed.) The commentator introduces the subject in the following way:

[81] Passages affirming both the eternity of the æther, and its creation, are given in the First Volume of this work, pp. 130 and 506.

[82] The same subject is touched on by Sāyaṇa, at p. 20 of the introductory portion of his commentary on the Rigveda. The passage will be quoted at the end of the next section."

[83] Since the 1st edition of this Volume was published, the Sanskrit scholar has obtained easy access to a more considerable portion of the Mīmānsā Sūtras with the commentary of S'abara Svāmin by the appearance of the first, second, and part of third, Adhyāyas in the Bibliotheca Indica.

S'abdārthayor utpatty-anantaram purusheṇa kalpita-sanketātmaka-sambandhasya kalpitatvāt purusha-kalpita-sambandha-jñānāpekshitvāt sabdāsya yathā pratyaksha-jñānaṁ śuktikādau satyatvam vyabhicharati tathā purushādhīnatvena śabde 'pi satyatva-vyabhichāra-sambhavāt na dharme chodanā pramāṇam iti pūrva-pakshe siddhāntam āha |

"Since, subsequently to the production of words and the things signified by them, a connection of a conventional character has been established between the two by the will of man, and since language is dependent upon a knowledge of this conventional connection determined by man, [it follows that] as perception is liable to error in respect of mother-of-pearl and similar objects [by mistaking them for silver, etc.], so words also may be exposed to the risk of conveying unreal notions from [their sense] being dependent on human will; and consequently that the Vedic precepts [which are expressed in such words, possessing a merely conventional and arbitrary meaning] cannot be authoritative in matters of duty. Such is an objection which may be urged, and in reply to which the author of the aphorisms declares the established doctrine."

Then follows the fifth aphorism of the first chapter of the first book of the Mīmānsā: *Autpattikas tu*[a] *śabdasya*[b] *arthena sambandhas*[c] *tasya*[d] *jñānam*[e] *upadeśo*[f] *'vyatirekaś cha*[g] *arthe 'nupalabdhe*[h] *tat*[i] *pramāṇam Bādarāyaṇasya anapekshatvāt |* which may be paraphrased as follows: "The connection of a word with its sense is coeval with the origin of both. In consequence of this connection the words of the Veda convey a knowledge of duty, and impart unerring instruction in regard to matters imperceptible. Such Vedic injunctions constitute the proof of duty alleged by Bādarāyaṇa, author of the Vedānta Sūtras; for this proof is independent of perception and all other evidence."

I subjoin most of the remarks of the scholiast as given by Dr. Ballantyne, indicating by letters the words of the aphorism to which they refer:

[a] *Autpattikaḥ | svābhāvikaḥ | nityaḥ iti yāvat |* "*Autpattika* (original) means natural, eternal in short."

[b] *S'abdasya | nitya-veda-ghaṭaka-padasya "agnihotraṁ juhuyāt svargakāmaḥ" ityādeḥ |* "*S'abda* (word) refers to terms which form part of the eternal Veda, such as,' 'the man who desires heaven should perform the Agnihotra sacrifice.' "

(c) *Sambandha* (connection), "in the nature of power," *i.e.* according to Dr. Ballantyne, depending on the divine will that such and such words should convey such and such meanings.

(d) *Atas tasya* | *dharmasya* | "'Hence' is to be supplied before 'this,' which refers to 'duty.'"

(e) *Jnānam* | *atra karane lyuṭ* | *jnapter yathārtha-jnānasya karaṇam* | "In the word *jnāna* (knowledge) the affix *lyuṭ* has the force of 'instrument,' 'an instrument of correct knowledge.'"

(f) *Upadeśaḥ* | *artha pratipādanam* | "Instruction, *i.e.* the establishment of a fact."

(g) *Avyatirekaḥ* | *avyabhichārī dṛiśyate ataḥ* | "'Unerring,' *i.e.* that which is seen not to deviate from the fact."

(h) *Nanu "vahnimān iti śabda-śravaṇānantaram pratyakshena vahniṁ dṛishṭvā śabde pramātvaṁ gṛihṇāti iti loke prasiddheḥ pratyakshādītara-pramāṇa-sāpekshatvāt śabdasya sa kathaṁ dharme pramāṇam ata āha "anupalabdhe" iti* | *anupalabdhe pratyakshādi-pramāṇair ajnāte'rthe* | "Since it is a matter of notoriety that any one who has heard the words '[the mountain is] fiery' uttered, and afterwards sees the fire with his own eyes, is [only] then [thoroughly] convinced of the authority of the words, it may be asked how words which are thus dependent [for confirmation on] perception and other proofs, can themselves constitute the proof of duty? In reference to this, the word *anupalabdhe* ('in regard to matters imperceptible') is introduced. It signifies 'matters which cannot be known by perception and other such proofs.'"

(i) *Tat* | *vidhi-ghaṭita-vākyaṁ dharme pramāṇam Bādarāyaṇāchāryasya sammatam* | *ayam āśayaḥ* | *'parvato vahnimān' iti doshavat-purusha-prayuktam vākyam arthaṁ vyabhicharati* | *ataḥ prāmāṇya-niśchaye pratyakshādikam apekshate* | *tathā 'gnihotraṁ juhoti iti vākyam kāla-traye 'py arthaṁ na vyabhicharati* | *ata itara-nirapekshaṁ dharme pramāṇam* | "This, *i.e.* a [Vedic] sentence consisting of an injunction, is regarded by Bādarāyaṇa also as proof of duty. The purport is this. The sentence, 'the mountain is fiery,' when uttered by a person defective [in his organ of vision], may deviate from the reality; it therefore requires the evidence of our senses, etc.' to aid us in determining its sufficiency as proof. Whereas the Vedic sentence regarding the performance of the Agnihotra sacrifice can never deviate from the truth in any time, past, present, or future; and is therefore a proof of duty, independently of any other evidence."

The commentator then proceeds to observe as follows: *Pūrva-sūtre śabdārthayos sambandho nityaḥ ity uktam | tach cha śabda-nityatvādhīnam iti tat sisādhayishur ādau śabdānityatva-vādi-matam pūrva-paksham upādayati* | "In the preceding aphorism it was declared that the connection of words and their meanings [or the things signified by them] is eternal. Desiring now to prove that this [eternity of connection] is dependent on the eternity of words [or sound], he begins by setting forth the first side of the question, viz. the doctrine of those who maintain that sound is not eternal."

This doctrine is accordingly declared in the six following aphorisms (*sūtras*), which I shall quote and paraphrase, without citing, in the original, the accompanying comments. These the reader will find in Dr. Ballantyne's work.

Sūtra 6.—*Karma eke tatra darśanāt* | "Some, *i.e.* the followers of the Nyāya philosophy, say that sound is a product, because we see that it is the result of effort, which it would not be if it were eternal."

Sūtra 7.—*Asthānāt* | "That it is not eternal, on account of its transitoriness, *i.e.* because after a moment it ceases to be perceived."

Sūtra 8.—*Karoti-śabdāt* | "Because, we employ in reference to it the expression 'making,' *i.e.* we speak of 'making' a sound."

Sūtra 9.—*Sattvāntare yaugapadyāt* | "Because it is perceived by different persons at once, and is consequently in immediate contact with the organs of sense of those both far and near, which it could not be if it were one and eternal."

Sūtra 10.—*Prakṛiti-vikṛityoś cha* | "Because sounds have both an original and a modified form; as *e.g.* in the case of *dadhi atra*, which is changed into *dadhy atra*, the original letter *i* being altered into *y* by the rules of permutation. Now, no substance which undergoes a change is eternal."

Sūtra 11.—*Vṛiddhiś cha kartṛi-bhūmnā 'sya* | "Because sound is augmented by the number of those who make it. Consequently the opinion of the Mīmānsakas, who say that sound is merely manifested, and not created, by human effort, is wrong, since even a thousand manifesters do not increase the object which they manifest, as a jar is not made larger by a thousand lamps."

These objections against the Mīmānsaka theory that sound is manifested, and not created, by those who utter it, are answered in the following Sūtras:

Sūtra 12.—*Samañ tu tatra darśanam* | "But, according to both schools, viz. that which holds sound to be created, and that which regards it as merely manifested, the perception of it is alike momentary. But of these two views, the theory of manifestation is shown in the next aphorism to be the correct one."

Sūtra 13.—*Sataḥ param adarśanañ vishayānāgamāt* | "The non-perception at any particular time, of sound, which, in reality, perpetually exists, arises from the fact that the utterer of sound has not come into contact with his object, *i.e.* sound. Sound is eternal, because we recognise the letter *k*, for instance, to be the same sound which we have always heard, and because it is the simplest method of accounting for the phenomenon to suppose that it is the same. The still atmosphere which interferes with the perception of sound, is removed by the conjunctions and disjunctions of air issuing from a speaker's mouth, and thus sound (which always exists, though unperceived) becomes perceptible.[84] This is the reply to the objection of its 'transitoriness' (Sūtra 7)."

An answer to Sūtra 8 is given in

Sūtra 14.—*Prayogasya param* | "The word 'making' sounds, merely means employing or uttering them."

The objection made in Sūtra 9 is answered in

Sūtra 15.—*Āditya-vad yaugapadyam* | "One sound is simultaneously heard by different persons, just as one sun is seen by them at one and the same time. Sound, like the sun, is a vast, and not a minute object, and thus may be perceptible by different persons, though remote from one another."

An answer to Sūtra 10 is contained in

Sūtra 16.—*Varṇāntaram 'avikāraḥ* | "The letter *y*, which is substituted for *i* in the instance referred to under Sūtra 10, is not a modification of *i*, but a distinct letter. Consequently sound is not modified."

The 11th Sūtra is answered in

Sūtra 17.—*Nāda-vṛiddhiḥ parā*[85] | "It is an increase of 'noise,' not

[84] "Sound is unobserved, though existent, if it reach not the object (vibrations of air emitted from the mouth of the speaker proceed and manifest sound by their appulse to air at rest in the space bounded by the hollow of the ear; for want of such appulse, sound, though existent, is unapprehended)."—Colebrooke, i. 306.

[85] The text as given in the Bibliotheca Indica has *nāda-vṛiddhi-parā*.

of sound, that is occasioned by a multitude of speakers. The word 'noise' refers to the 'conjunctions and disjunctions of the air' (mentioned under Sūtra 13) which enter simultaneously into the hearer's ear from different quarters; and it is of these that an increase takes place."

The next following Sūtras state the reasons which support the Mīmānsaka view:

Sūtra 18.—*Nityas tu syād darśanasya parārthatvāt* | "Sound must be eternal, because its utterance is fitted to convey a meaning to other persons. If it were not eternal [or abiding], it would not continue till the hearer had learned its sense, and thus he would not learn the sense, because the cause had ceased to exist."

Sūtra 19.—*Sarvatra yaugapadyāt* | "Sound is eternal, because it is in every case correctly and uniformly recognized by many persons simultaneously; and it is inconceivable that they should all at once fall into a mistake."

When the word *go* (cow) has been repeated ten times, the hearers will say that the word *go* has been ten times pronounced, not that ten words having the sound of *go* have been uttered; and this fact also is adduced as a proof of the eternity of sound in

Sūtra 20.—*Sankhyābhāvāt* | "Because each sound is not numerically different from itself repeated."

Sūtra 21.—*Anapekshatvāt* | "Sound is eternal, because we have no ground for anticipating its destruction."

"But it may be urged that sound is a modification of air, since it arises from its conjunctions (see Sūtra 17), and because the Śikshā (or Vedānga treating of pronunciation) says that 'air arrives at the condition of sound;' and as it is thus produced from air, it cannot be eternal." A reply to this difficulty is given in

Sūtra 22.—*Prakhyābhāvāch cha yogyasya* | "Sound is not a modification of air, because, if it were, the organ of hearing would have no appropriate object which it could perceive. No modification of air (held by the Naiyāyikas to be tangible) could be perceived by the organ of hearing, which deals only with intangible sound."

Sūtra 23.—*Linga-darśanāch cha* | "And the eternity of sound is established by the argument discoverable in the Vedic text, 'with an eternal voice, o Virūpa.'" (See above, p. 69.) Now, though this sentence had another object in view, it, nevertheless, declares the eternity of language, and hence sound is eternal."

"But though words, as well as the connection of word and sense, be eternal, it may be objected—as in the following aphorism—that a command conveyed in the form of a sentence is no proof of duty."

Sūtra 24.—*Utpattau vā rachanāḥ syur arthasya a-tan-nimittatvāt* | "Though there be a natural connection between words and their meanings, the connection between sentences and their meanings is a factitious one, established by human will, from these meanings (of the sentences) not arising out of the meanings of the words. The connection of sentences with their meanings is not (like the connection of words with their meanings) one derived from inherent power (see Sūtra 5, remark (c), above, p. 72), but one devised by men; how, then, can this connection afford a sufficient authority for duty?"

An answer to this is given in

Sūtra 25.—*Tad-bhūtānāṁ kriyārthena samāmnāyo 'rthasya tan-nimittatvāt* | "The various terms which occur in every Vedic precept are accompanied by a verb; and hence a perception (such as we had not before) of the sense of a sentence is derived from a collection of words containing a verb. A precept is not comprehended unless the individual words which make it up are understood; and the comprehension of the meaning of a sentence is nothing else than the comprehension of the exact mutual relation of the meanings arising out of each word."

Sūtra 26.—*Loke sanniyamāt prayoga-sannikarshaḥ syāt* | "As in secular language the application of words is known, so also in the Veda they convey an understood sense, which has been handed down by tradition."

The author now proceeds in the next following Sūtras to state and to obviate certain objections raised to his dogmas of the eternity and authority of the Vedas.

Sūtra 27.—*Vedāṁś cha eke sannikarsham purushākhyāḥ* | "Some (the followers of the Nyāya) declare the Vedas to be of recent origin, *i.e.* not eternal, because the names of men are applied to certain parts of them, as the Kāṭhaka and Kauthuma."

This Sūtra, with some of those which follow, is quoted in Sāyaṇa's commentary on the R.V. vol. i. pp. 19 and 20. His explanation of the present Sūtra is as follows:

Yathā Raghuvaṁśādayaḥ idānīntanās tathā vedāḥ api | *na tu vedāḥ anādayaḥ* | *ataḥ eva veda-kartṛitvena purushāḥ ākhyāyante* | *Vaiyāsikam*

Bhāratañ Vālmīkīyañ Rāmāyaṇam ity atra yathā Bhāratādi-kartṛitvena Vyāsādayaḥ ākhyāyante tathā Kāṭhakañ Kauthumañ Taittirīyakam ity evañ tat-tad-vedā-śākhā-karttṛitvena Kaṭhādīnām ākhyātatvāt paurusheyāḥ | Nanu nityānām eva vedānām upādhyāya-vat sampradāya-pravarttakatvena Kāṭhakādi-sāmākhyā syād ity āśankya yukty-antaraṁ sūtrayati | . . . .kā tarhi Kāṭhakādy-ākhyāyikāyāḥ gatir ity āśankya sampradāya-pravarttanāt sā iyam upapadyate |

"Some say, that as the Raghuvañśa, etc., are modern, so also are the Vedas, and that the Vedas are not eternal. Accordingly, certain men are named as the authors of the Vedas. Just as in the case of the Mahābhārata, which is called Vaiyāsika (composed by Vyāsa), and the Rāmāyaṇa, which is called Vālmīkīya (composed by Vālmīki), Vyāsa and Vālmīki are indicated as the authors of these poems; so, too, Kaṭha, Kuthumi, and Tittiri are shown to be the authors of those particular Śākhās of the Vedas which bear their names, viz. the Kāṭhaka, Kauthuma, and Taittirīya; and consequently those parts of the Vedas are of human composition. After suggesting that the Vedas, though eternal, have received the name of Kāṭhaka, etc., because Kaṭha and others, as teachers, handed them down; he adduces another objection in the next Sūtra."

The explanation here indicated is accepted a little further on, in the remarks on one of the following Sūtras: "What, then, is the fact in reference to the appellations Kāṭhaka, etc.? It is proved to have arisen from the circumstance that Kaṭha, etc., handed down the Vedas." I proceed to

Sūtra 28.—*Anitya-darśanāch cha* | "It is also objected that the Vedas cannot be eternal, because we observe that persons, who are not eternal, but subject to birth and death, are mentioned in them. Thus it is said in the Veda 'Babara Prāvahaṇi desired,' 'Kusuruvinda Auddālaki desired.' Now, as the sentences of the Veda, in which they are mentioned, could not have existed before these persons were born, it is clear that these sentences had a beginning, and being thus non-eternal, they are proved to be of human composition" ('*Babaraḥ Prāvahaṇir akāmayata*' '*Kusuruvindaḥ Auddālakir akāmayata*' *ityādi* (*vākyānāṁ*?) *vedeshu darśanāt teshāṁ jananāt prāg imāni vākyāni nāsann iti sāditvād anityatvam paurusheyatvañ cha siddham*).

These objections are answered in the following aphorisms:

Sūtra 29.—*Uktaṁ tu śabda-pūrvatvam* | "But the priority—eternity—of sound has been declared, and, by consequence, the eternity of the Veda."

Sūtra 30.—*Ākhyā pravachanāt* | "The names, derived from those of particular men, attached to certain parts of the Vedas, were given on account of their studying these particular parts. Thus the portion read by Kaṭha was called *Kāṭhaka*, etc."

Sūtra 31.—*Paranlu śruti-sāmānya-mātram* | "And names occurring in the Veda, which appear to be those of men, are appellations common to other beings besides men."

"Thus the words *Babara Prāvahaṇi* are not the names of a man, but have another meaning. For the particle *pra* denotes 'pre-eminence,' *vahana* means 'the motion of sound,' and the letter *i* represents the agent; consequently the word *prāvahaṇi* signifies that 'which moves swiftly,' and is applied to the wind, which is eternal. *Babara* again is a word imitating the sound of the wind. Thus there is not even a semblance of error in the assertion that the Veda is eternal" (*Yadyapi Babaraḥ Prāvahaṇir ity asti parantu śrutiḥ prāvahaṇy ādi-śabdaḥ sāmānyam | anyārthasyāpi vāchakam | tathā hi | "pra" ity asya utkarshāśrayaḥ | "vahanaḥ" śabdasya gatiḥ | i-kāraḥ karttā | tathā cha utkṛishṭa-gaty-āśrayo vāyu-paraḥ | sa cha anādiḥ | Babaraḥ iti vāyu-śabdānukaraṇam | iti na anupapatti-gandho 'pi* |).

Before proceeding to the 32nd Sūtra, I shall quote some further illustrations of the 31st, which are to be found in certain passages of the Introduction to Sāyaṇa's Commentary on the Rig-veda, where he is explaining another section of the Mīmānsā Sūtras (i. 2, 39 ff.). The passages are as follows (p. 7):

Anitya-saṁyogad mantrāṇārthakyam | "kiṁ te kṛiṇvanti Kīkaṭeshv" iti mantre Kīkaṭo nāma janapadaḥ āmnātaḥ | Tathā Naichaśākhaṁ nāma nagaram Pramagando nāma rājā ity ete 'rthāḥ anityāḥ āmnātāḥ | Tathā cha sati prāk Pramagandād na ayam mantro bhūta-pūrvaḥ iti gamyate | And in p. 10: *Yad apy uktam Pramagandādy-anityārthā-saṁyogād mantrasya anāditvaṁ na syād iti tatrottaram sūtrayati* | "*Uktaś chānitya-saṁyogaḥ" iti | prathama-pādasya antimādhikaraṇe so 'yam anitya-saṁyoga-doshaḥ uktaḥ parihṛitaḥ | Tathā hi | tatra pūrva-pakshe Vedānām paurusheyatvaṁ vaktuṁ Kāṭhakaṁ Kālāpakam ity-ādi-purusha-sambandhābhidhānaṁ hetūkṛitya "anitya-darśanāch cha" iti hetv-antaraṁ*

sūtritam | "Babaraḥ prāvāhaṇir akāmayata" ity anityānām Babarādīnām arthānāṁ darśanāt tataḥ pūrvam asattvāt paurusheyo vedaḥ iti tasya uttaraṁ sūtritam "paraṁ tu śruti-sāmānya-mātram" iti | tasya ayam arthaḥ | yat Kāṭhakādi-samākhyānaṁ tat pravachana-nimittam | yat tu param Babarādy-anitya-darśanaṁ tat śabda-sāmānya-mātraṁ na tu tatra Babarākhyaḥ kaśchit purushō vivakshitaḥ | kintu "babara" iti śabdaṁ kurvan vāyur abhidhīyate | sa cha prāvāhaṇiḥ | prakarsheṇa vahana-śīlaḥ | Evam anyatrāpy ūhanīyam |

"It is objected that the mantras are useless, because they are connected with temporal objects. Thus in the text, 'what are thy cows doing among the Kīkaṭas?'[86] a country called Kīkaṭa is mentioned, as well as a city named Naichaśākha, and a king called Pramaganda, all of them non-eternal objects. Such being the case, it is clear that this text did not exist before Pramaganda." The answer to this is given in p. 10: To the further objection that the mantras cannot be eternal, because such temporal objects as Pramaganda, etc., are referred to in them, an answer is given in the following Sūtra: 'The connection with non-eternal objects has been already explained.' In the last section of the first chapter, this very objection of the hymns being connected with non-eternal things has been stated and obviated (see above, Sūtras 28–31). For in the statement of objections, after it has first been suggested as a proof of the human origin of the Vedas, that they bear names, Kāṭhaka, Kālāpaka, etc., denoting their relation to men, a further difficulty is stated in a Sūtra, viz., that 'it is noticed that non-eternal objects are mentioned in the Vedas;' as, for example, where it is said that 'Babara Prāvāhaṇi desired.' Now, as it specifies non-eternal objects of this kind, the Veda, which could not have existed before those objects, must be of human composition. The answer to this is given in the aphorism, 'any further names are to be understood as common to other things.' The meaning is this: the names Kāṭhaka, etc., are given to the Vedas because they are expounded by Kaṭha, etc.; and the further difficulty arising from the names of Babara and other objects supposed to be non-eternal, is removed by such names being common to other objects [which are eternal in their nature]. No persons called Babara, etc., are intended by those names, but the wind, which makes the sound babara, is so designated. And prāvāhaṇi refers

[86] See the First Volume of this work, p. 342, and the Second Volume, p. 362.

to the same object, as it means that which carries swiftly. The same method of explanation is to be applied in other similar cases."

I proceed to the 32nd Sūtra. It is asked how the Veda can constitute proof of duty when it contains such incoherent nonsense as the following: "An old ox, in blanket and slippers, is standing at the door and singing benedictions. A Brāhman female, desirous of offspring, asks, 'Pray, o king, what is the meaning of intercourse on the day of the new moon?' or the following: 'the cows celebrated this sacrifice'" (*Nanu "Jaradgavo kambāla-pādukābhyāṁ dvāri sthito gāyati mangalāni*[87] | *tam brāhmaṇī pṛichhati puttra-kāmā rājann amāyāṁ labhanasya ko'rthaḥ"* | *iti* | *"gāvo vai etat sattram āsata" ity-ādīnām asambaddha-pralāpānāṁ vede sattvāt kathaṁ sa dharme pramāṇam*). A reply is contained in

Sūtra 32.—*Kṛite vā viniyogaḥ syāt karmaṇaḥ sambandhāt* | "The passages to which objection is taken may be applicable to the duty to be performed, from the relation in which they stand to the ceremony" (as eulogistic of it).

As a different reading and interpretation of this Sūtra are given by Sāyaṇa in his commentary, p. 20, I shall quote it, and the remarks with which he introduces and follows it:

Nanu vede kvachid evaṁ śrūyate "vanaspatayaḥ satram āsata sarpāḥ satram āsata" iti | *tatra vanaspatīnām achetanatvāt sarpāṇāṁ chetanatve 'pi vidyā-rahitatvād na tad-anushṭhānaṁ sambhavati* | *Ato "Jaradgavo gāyati madrakāṇi" ityādy-unmatta-bāla-vākya-sadṛiśatvāt kenachit kṛito vedaḥ ity āśankya uttaraṁ sūtrayati* | *"Kṛite cha aviniyogaḥ syāt karmaṇaḥ samatvāt"* | *Yadi jyotishṭomādi-vākyaṁ kenachit purusheṇa kriyeta tadānīṁ kṛite tasmin vākye svarga-sādhanatve jyotishṭomasya viniyogaḥ na syāt* | *sādhya-sādhana-bhāvasya purusheṇa jnātum aśakyatvāt* | *śrūyate tu viniyogaḥ* | *"jyotishṭomena svarga-kāmo yajeta" iti* | *na cha etat unmatta-vākya-sadriśaṁ laukika-vidhi-vākya-vad bhāvya-karaṇeti-kartavyatā-rūpais tribhir aṁśair upetāyāḥ bhāvanāyāḥ avagamāt* | *loke hi "brāhmaṇān bhojayed" iti vidhau kiṁ kena kathaṁ ity ākāṅkshāyāṁ*

[87] In his commentary on the following aphorism Śabara Svāmin gives only a part of this quotation, consisting of the words *Jaradgavo gāyati mattakāni*, "An old ox sings senseless words;" and adds the remark: *kathaṁ nāma jaradgavo gāyet*, "How, now, can an old ox sing?" We must not therefore with the late Dr. Ballantyne take *jaradgava* for a proper name.

tṛiptim uddiśya odanena dravyeṇa śāka-sūpādi-pariveshaṇa-prakāreṇa iti yathā uchyate jyotishṭoma-vidhāv api svargam uddiśya somena dravyeṇa dīkshaṇīyādy-aṅgopakāra-prakāreṇa ity ukte katham unmatta-vākya-sadṛiśam bhaved iti | vanaspaty-ādi-satra-vākyam api na tat-sadṛiśaṁ tasya satra-karmaṇo jyotishṭomādinā samatvāt | yat-paro hi śabdaḥ sa śabdārthaḥ iti nyāya-vidaḥ āhuḥ | jyotishṭomādi-vākyasya vidhāyakatvād anushṭhāne tatparyyaṁ | vanaspaty-ādi-satra-vākyasya arthavādatvād praśaṁsāyāṁ tātparyam | sā cha avidyamānenāpi karttuṁ śakyate | achetanāḥ avidvāṁso 'pi satram anushṭhitavantaḥ kim punaś chetanāḥ vidvāṁso brāhmaṇāḥ iti satra-stutiḥ |

"But it will be objected that the Veda contains such sentences as this: 'trees and serpents sat down at a sacrifice.' Now, since trees are insensible, and serpents, though possessing sensibility, are destitute of knowledge, it is inconceivable that either the one or the other should celebrate such a ceremony. Hence, from its resembling the silly talk of madmen and children, as where it says, 'An old ox sings songs (fit only for the Madras?)' (see the Second Volume of this work, pp. 481 ff.), the Veda must have been composed by some man. The answer to this doubt is contained in the following Sūtra (which I can only render by a paraphrase): 'If prescribed by mere human authority, no rite can have any efficacy; but such ceremonies as the jyotishṭoma rest on the authority of the Veda; and narrative texts such as that regarding the trees and serpents have the same intention as precepts, *i.e.* to recommend sacrifice.' If the sentence enjoining the jyotishṭoma sacrifice had been composed by any man then, as the sentence was so composed, the sacrifice so enjoined would not have been applicable as a means of attaining paradise; for no man could know either the end, or the means of accomplishing it. But the application in question is prescribed in the Veda by the words 'let him, who seeks paradise, sacrifice with the jyotishṭoma.' Now this injunction does not resemble the talk of a madman, since we recognize in it, as in injunctions of a secular kind, the contemplation of the three characteristics of the action to be performed, viz. its end, means, and mode. For, as when a question is put in regard to the object for which, the instrument through which, and the manner in which the precept, 'to feed Brahmans,' is to be fulfilled, we are told that the object is to be their satisfaction, the instrumental substance boiled rice, and the manner, that it is to be served up with

vegetables and condiments;—in the same way, in the Vedic injunction regarding the jyotishṭoma, we are told that paradise is the object, that soma is the instrumental substance, and that the application of the introductory and other portions of the ritual is the manner. And when this is so, how can this precept be compared to the talk of a madman? Nor does the sentence regarding trees, etc., celebrating a sacrifice, admit of such a comparison, since the sacrifice in question is similar to the jyotishṭoma and other such rites. For logicians say that the meaning of a word is the sense which it is intended to intimate. The purport of the sentence regarding the jyotishṭoma, which is of a preceptive character, is to command performance. The object of the sentence regarding trees, etc., attending at a sacrifice, which is of a narrative character, is eulogy; and this can be offered even by a thing which has no real existence. The sacrifice is eulogized by saying that it was celebrated even by insensible trees and ignorant serpents: how much more, then, would it be celebrated by Brāhmans possessed both of sensation and knowledge!"

The following passage from the Nyāya-mālā-vistara, a treatise containing a summary of the doctrines of the Pūrva-mīmānsā of Jaimini, by Mādhava Āchāryya, the brother of Sāyaṇa Āchāryya (see above, p. 66) repeats some of the same reasonings contradicting the idea that the Veda had any personal author (i. 1, 25, 26):

Paurusheyaṁ na vā veda-vākyaṁ syāt paurusheyatā | Kāṭhakādi-samākhyānād vākyatvāch chānya-vākya-vat | Saṃākhyā 'dhyāpakatvena vākyatvaṁ tu parāhatam | Tatkartr-anupalambheṇa syāt tato 'paurusheyatā | Kāṭhakaṁ Kauthumaṁ Taittirīyakam ityādi samākhyā tat-tad-veda-vishayā loke dṛishṭā | taddhita-pratyayaś cha tena proktam ity asminn arthe varttate | tathā sati Vyāsena proktaṁ Vaiyāsikam Bhāratam ity-ādāv iva paurusheyatvam pratīyate | kincha | vimataṁ veda-vākyam paurusheyam | vākyatvāt | Kālidāsādi-vākya-vad iti prāpte brūmaḥ | adhyayana-sampradāya-pravarttakatvena samākhyā upapadyate | Kālidāsādi-grantheshu tat-sargāvasāne karttāraḥ upalabhyante | tatkā vedasyāpi paurusheyatve tat-karttā upalabhyeta na cha upalabhyate | ato vākyatva-hetuḥ pratikūla-tarka-parāhataḥ | tasmād apaurusheyo vedaḥ | tathā sati purusha-buddhi-kṛitasya aprāmāṇyasya anāśankanīyatvād vidhi-vākyasya dharme prāmāṇyaṁ susthitam | [88]

[88] I have extracted this passage from Prof. Goldstücker's text of the Nyāya-mālā-

"[Verses] 'Is the word of the Veda derived from a personal author or not? It must (some urge) be so derived, since (1) it bears the names of Kāṭhaka, etc., and (2) has the characters of a sentence, like other sentences. No (we reply); for (1) the names arose from particular persons being teachers of the Vedas, and (2) the objection that the Vedic precepts have the characters of common sentences is refuted by other considerations. The Veda can have no personal author, since it has never been perceived to have had a maker.' [Comment] It is objected (1) that the names Kāṭhaka, Kauthuma, Taittirīyaka, etc., are applied in common usage to the different Vedas; and the taddhita affix by which these appellations are formed, denotes 'uttered by' [Kaṭha, Kuthumi, and Tittiri], (comp. Pānini, iv. 3, 101). Such being the case, it is clear that these parts of the Vedas are derived from a personal author, like the Mahābhārata, which is styled Vaiyāsika, because it was uttered by Vyāsa, etc. And further (2), the sentences of the Veda, being subject to different interpretations, must have had a personal author, because they have the properties of a sentence, like the sentences of Kālidāsa, etc. To this we reply (1), the name applied to any Veda originates in the fact that the sage whose name it bears, was an agent in transmitting the study of that Veda. But (2) in the books of Kālidāsa and others, the authors are discoverable [from the notices] at the end of each section. Now if the Veda also were the composition of a personal author, the composer of it would, in like manner, be discoverable; but such is not the case. Hence, the objection that the Veda partakes of the nature of common sentences is refuted by opposing considerations. Consequently the Veda is not the work of a personal author. And such being the case, as we cannot suspect in it any fallibility occasioned by the defects of human reason, the preceptive texts of the Veda are demonstrated to be authoritative in questions of duty."

II.—*Vedārtha-prakāśa.* The verses just quoted are repeated in the Vedārtha-prakāśa of Mādhava on the Taittirīya Sanhitā (p. 26), with a various reading at the beginning of the third line, viz. "*samākhyānam pravachanāt*" instead of "*samākhyā 'dhyāpakatvena.*" The comment by which the verses are explained in the same work, is as follows:

Vālmīkīyaṁ Vaiyāsikīyam ityādi-samākhyānād Rāmāyaṇa-Bhāratā-

vistara; and I am indebted to the same eminent scholar for some assistance in my translation of it.

dikaṁ yathā paurusheyaṁ tathā Kāṭhakaṁ Kauthumaṁ Taittirīyam ity-ādi-samākhyānād vedaḥ paurusheyaḥ | kincha veda-vākyam paurusheyaṁ vākyatvāt Kālidāsādi-vākya-vad iti chet | maivam | sampradāya-pravṛittyā samākhyopapatteḥ | Vākyatva-hetus tv anupalabdhi-viruddha-kālātyayāpadishṭaḥ | Yathā Vyāsa-Vālmīki-prabhṛitayas tad-grantha-nirmāṇāvasare kaiśchid upalabdhāḥ anyair apy avichhinna-sampradāyena upalabhyante | na tathā veda-karttā purushaḥ kaśchid upalabdhaḥ | pratyuta vedasya nityatvaṁ śruti-smṛitibhyām pūrvam uḍāhṛitam | Paramātmā tu veda-karttā 'pi na laukika-purushaḥ | tasmāt karttṛ-doshābhāvād nāsty aprāmāṇya-śankā |

"It may be said (1) that as the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and other such books, are regarded as the works of personal authors from the epithets Vālmīkīya (composed by Vālmīki), Vaiyāsikīya (composed by Vyāsa), etc., which they bear, so too the Veda must have had a similar origin, since it is called by the appellations of Kāṭhaka, Kauthuma, Taittirīya, etc.; and further (2), that the sentences of the Veda must have had this origin, because they possess the properties of a common sentence, like those of Kālidāsa and others. But these objections are unfounded, for (1) the appellations of those parts of the Veda are derived from the sages who were agents in transmitting the study of them; and (2) the objection about the Veda having the properties of a common sentence is opposed to the fact that no author was ever perceived, and so proceeds upon an erroneous generalization.[89] For though Vyāsa and Vālmīki, etc., when employed in the composition of their respective works, were perceived by some persons to be so en-

[89] This phrase thus translated (*kālātyayāpadishṭa*) is a technical term in the Nyāya philosophy, denoting one of the *hetv-abhāsas*, or "mere semblances of reasons," and is thus defined in the Nyāya-sūtras, i. 49, *Kālātyayāpadishṭaḥ kālātītaḥ*, which Dr. Ballantyne (Aphorisms of the Nyāya, p. 42) thus explains: "That [semblance of a reason] is mis-timed, which is adduced when the time is not [that when it might have availed]. [For example, suppose one argues that] fire does not contain heat, because it is factitious, [his argument is mis-timed if we have already ascertained by the superior evidence of the senses that fire does contain heat]." It does not, however, appear, how the essential validity of an argument can depend at all on the time when it is adduced, as is justly observed by Professor Goldstücker, who has favoured me with his opinion on the sense of the phrase. After consulting the commentary of Vātsyāyana in loco, he thinks the aphorism (which is not very distinctly explained by the commentators) must denote the erroneous transference of a conclusion deduced from the phenomena happening at one "time," *i.e.* belonging to one class of cases, to another class which does not exhibit, or only apparently exhibits, the same phenomena; in short, a vicious generalization.

gaged, and are known by others also [in after ages] to be the authors, from the existence of an unbroken tradition to that effect;—no human author of the Veda has ever been perceived. On the contrary, we have formerly shown that the eternity of the Veda is declared both by itself and by the Smṛiti. And even if the Supreme Spirit be the maker of it, still he is not a mundane person; and consequently, as no defect exists in the maker, there is no reason to suspect fallibility in his work."

No notice has been taken by these commentators of an objection which might have been raised to the validity of this reasoning, viz. that the hymns of the Ṛich and other Vedas are all set down in the Anukramaṇīs, or indices to those works, as being uttered by particular rishis; the rishis being, in fact, there defined as those whose words the hymns were—*yasya vākyaṁ sa ṛishiḥ*.[90] (See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 26, or p. 12 of Williams and Norgate's ed.) Though, however, this objection has not been alluded to in any of the preceding passages, an answer has been provided to it in the well-known assertion of the orthodox Indian writers that the rishis did not compose, but only saw and afterwards repeated the hymns and other parts of the Vedas, which had in reality pre-existed from eternity.

Thus, in the Vedārtha-prakāsa on the Taittirīya Sanhitā, p. 11, it is said: *Atīndriyārtha-drashṭāraḥ ṛishayaḥ | Teshāṁ veda-drashṭṛitvaṁ smaryate | Yugānte 'ntarhitān*[91] *Vedān setihāsān maharshayaḥ | Lebhire tapasā pūrvam anujñātāḥ svayambhuvā |* (Mahābhārata, Sāntiparvan, verse 7660. See above, p. 49.) "The rishis were seers of things beyond the reach of the bodily senses. The fact of their seeing the Vedas is recorded in the Smṛiti: 'The great rishis, empowered by Svayambhū, formerly obtained, through devotion, the Vedas and the Itihāsas which had disappeared at the end of the [preceding] Yuga.'"

So, too, Manu (as already quoted, Vol. I. p. 394) says, in similar, although more general language: *Prajāpatir idaṁ śāstraṁ tapasaivāsṛijat prabhuḥ | Tathaiva vedān ṛishayas tapasā pratipedire |* "Prajāpati created this Śāstra (the Institutes of Manu) by austere-fervour (*tapas*); and by the same means the rishis obtained the Vedas."

[90] Some passages from the Nirukta on this subject will be quoted in a later part of this volume.

[91] The text of the Biblioth. Ind. reads *tarhi tān*. I have followed the M. Bh., which evidently gives the true reading.

The following extract from the account of the Pūrva-mīmānsā philosophy, given in the Sarva-darśana-sangraha of Mādhava Ācharyya (Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 127 ff,), contains a fuller summary of the controversy between the Mīmānsakas and the Naiyāyikas respecting the grounds on which the authority of the Veda should be regarded as resting:

Syād etat | vedasya katham apaurusheyatvam abhidhīyate | tat-pratipādaka-pramāṇābhāvāt katham manyethāḥ apaurusheyāḥ vedāḥ | sampradāyāvichchhede saty asmaryyamāṇa-karttṛikatvād ātma-vad iti | tad etad mandaṁ viśeshaṇāsiddheḥ | paurusheya-veda-vādibhiḥ pralaye sampradāya-vichchhedasya kakshīkaraṇāt | kincha kim idam asmaryyamāṇa-karttṛikatvaṁ nāma | apratīyamāna-karttṛikatvam asmaraṇa-gochara-karttṛikatvaṁ vā | na prathamaḥ kalpaḥ Parameśvarasya karttuḥ pramiter abhyupagamāt | na dvitīyo vikalpāsahatvāt | tathā hi | kim ekena asmaraṇam abhipreyate sarvair vā | na ādyaḥ | "yo dharma-śīlo jitamāna-roshaḥ" ityādishu muktakoktishu vyabhichārāt | na dvitīyaḥ | sarvāsmaraṇasya asarvajna-durjnānatvāt |

Paurusheyatve pramāṇa-sambhavāch cha veda-vākyāni paurusheyāṇi | vākyatvāt | Kālidāsādi-vakya-vat | veda-vākyāni āpta-praṇītāni | pramāṇatve sati vākyatvād Manv-ādi-vākya-vad iti |

Nanu | "Vedasyādhyayanaṁ sarvaṁ gurv-adhyayana-pūrvakam | vedādhyayana-sāmānyād adhunā 'dhyayanaṁ yathā" | ity anumānam prati sādhanam pragalbhate iti chet | tad api na pramāṇa-koṭim praveshṭum īshṭe | "Bhāratādhyayanaṁ sarvam gurv-adhyayana-pūrvakam | Bhāratādhyayanatvena sāmpratādhyayanaṁ yathā" iti ābhāsa-samāna-yogakshematvāt | nanu tatra Vyāsaḥ karttā iti smaryyate "ko hy anyaḥ Puṇḍarīkākshād Mahābhārata-kṛid bhavet" ity-ādāv iti chet | tad asāram | "ṛichaḥ sāmāni jajnire | chhandāṁsi jajnire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata" iti purusha-sūkte vedasya sa-karttṛikatā-pratipādanāt |

Kincha anityaḥ śabdaḥ sāmānyavattve sati asmad-ādi-vāhyendriya-grāhyatvād ghaṭa-vat | nanv idam anumānaṁ sa evāyaṁ ga-kāraḥ ity pratyabhijnā-pramāṇa-pratihatam iti chet | tad atas phalgu "lūna-punar-jāta-keśa-dalita-kund"-ādāv iva pratyabhijnāyāḥ sāmānya-vishayatvena bādhakatvābhavāt |

Nanv aśarīrasya Parameśvarasya tālv-ādi-sthānābhāvena varṇochchāraṇāsambhavāt kathaṁ tat-praṇītatvaṁ vedasya syād iti chet | na tad bhadraṁ svabhāvato 'śarīrasyāpi tasya bhaktānugrahārthaṁ līlā-vigraha-

grahaṇa-sambhavāt | tasmād vedasya apaurusheyatva-vācho yuktir na yuktā iti chet |

Tatra samādhānam abhidhīyate | Kim idam paurusheyatvaṁ sisādhayishitam | puruṣhād utpannatva-mātram | yathāsmad-ādibhir ahar ahar uchchāryyamāṇasya vedasya | pramāṇāntareṇa artham upalabhya tat-prakāśanāya rachitatvaṁ vā | yathā asmad-ādibhir iva nibadhyamānasya prabandhasya | prathame na vipratipattiḥ | charame kim anumāna-balāt tat-sādhanam āgama-balād vā | na ādyaḥ | Mālatī-mādhavādi-vākyeshu savyabhichāratvāt | atha pramāṇatve sati iti viśishyate iti chet | tad api na vipaśchito manasi vaiśadyam āpadyate | pramāṇāntarāgocharārtha-pratipādakaṁ hi vākyaṁ Veda-vākyam | tat pramāṇāntara-gocharārtha-pratipādakam iti sādhyamāne "mama mātā bandhyā" iti vad vyāghātāpātāt | kincha Parameśvarasya līlā-vigraha-parigrahābhyupagame 'py atīndriyārtha-darśanaṁ na sanjāghaṭīti deśa-kāla-svabhāva-viprakṛishṭārtha-grahaṇopāyābhāvāt | na cha tach-chakshur-ādikam eva tādṛik-pratīti-janana-kshamam iti mantavyam | dṛishṭānusāreṇaiva kalpanāyāḥ āśrayaṇīyatvāt | tad uktaṁ Gurubhiḥ sarvajna-nirākaraṇa-velāyām "yatrāpy atiśayo dṛishṭaḥ sa svārthānatilanghanāt | dūra-sūkshmādidṛishṭau syād na rūpe śrotra-vṛittitā" iti | ataḥ eva na āgama-balāt tat-sādhanam |

"Tena proktam" iti Pāṇiny-anuśāsane jāgraty api Kāṭhaka-Kālāpa-Taittirīyam ityādi-samākhyā adhyayana-sampradāya-pravarttaka-vishayatvena upapadyate | tad-vad atrāpi sampradāya-pravarttaka-vishayatvenāpy upapadyate | na cha anumāna-balāt śabdasya anityatva-siddhiḥ | pratyabhijnā-virodhāt | . . . .

Nanv idam pratyabhijnānaṁ gatvādi-jāti-vishayaṁ na gādi-vyakti-vishayaṁ tāsāṁ prati-purusham bhedopalambhād | anyathā "Somaśarmā 'dhīte" iti vibhāgo na syād iti chet | tad api śobhāṁ na bibhartti gādi-vyakti-bhede pramāṇābhāvena gatvādi-jāti-vishaya-kalpanāyāṁ pramāṇābhavāt | Yathā gatvam ajānataḥ ekaṁ eva bhinna-deśa-parimāṇa-saṁsthāna-vyakty-upadhāna-vaśād bhinna-deśam iva alpam iva mahad iva dīrgham iva vāmanam iva prathate tathā ga-vyaktim ajānataḥ ekā 'pi vyanjaka-bhedāt tat-tad-dharmānubandhinī pratibhāsate | etena viruddha-dharmādhyāsād bheda-pratibhāsaḥ iti pratyuktam | tatra kiṁ svābhāviko viruddha-dharmādhyāso bheda-sādhakatvena abhimataḥ prātītiko vā | prathame asiddhiḥ | aparathā svabhāvika-bhedābhyupagame daśa ga-kārān udachārayat Chaitra iti prattipattiḥ syād na tu daśa-

kṛitvo ga-kāraḥ iti | dvitīye tu na svābhāvika-bheda-siddhiḥ | na hi paropādhi-bhedena svābhāvikam aikyaṁ vihanyate | mā bhūd nabhaso 'pi kumbhādy-upādhi-bhedāt svābhāviko bhedaḥ | . . . . tad uktam āchāryayaiḥ | 'prayojanaṁ tu yaj jātes tad vaṇṇād eva labhyate | vyakti-labhyaṁ tu nādebhyaḥ iti gatvādi-dhīr vṛithā" iti | tathā cha "pratyabhijñā yadā śabde jāgartti niravagrahā | anityatvānumānāni saiva sarvāṇi bādhate" | . . . . tataś cha vedasya apaurusheyatayā nirasta-samasta-śankākalankānkuratvena svataḥ siddhaṁ dharme prāmāṇyam iti susthitam |

"Be it so. But how [the Naiyāyikas may ask] is the Veda alleged to be underived from any personal author? How can you regard the Vedas as being thus underived, when there is no evidence by which this character can be substantiated? The argument urged by you Mīmānsakas is, that while there is an unbroken tradition, still no author of the Veda is remembered, in the same way as [none is remembered] in the case of the soul (or self). But this argument is very weak, because the asserted characteristics [unbrokenness of tradition, etc.] are not proved; since those who maintain the personal origin [*i.e.* origin from a person] of the Veda, object that the tradition [regarding the Veda] was interrupted at the dissolution of the universe (*pralaya*).[92] And further: what is meant by the assertion that no author of the Veda is remembered? Is it (1) that no author is believed? or (2) that no author is the object of recollection? The first alternative cannot be accepted, since it is acknowledged [by us] that God (*Parameśvara*) is proved to be the author. Nor can the second alternative be admitted, as it cannot stand the test of the following dilemma, viz. Is it meant (*a*) that no author of the Veda is recollected by some one person, or (*b*) by any person whatever? The former supposition breaks down, since it fails when tried by such detached stanzas as this, 'he who is religious, and has overcome pride and anger,' etc.[93] And the latter supposition is inadmissible, since it would be impossible for any person who was not omniscient to know that no author of the Veda was recollected by any person whatever.

[92] This objection occurs in a passage of the *Kusumānjali*, which I shall quote further on.

[93] I do not know from what work this verse is quoted, or what is its sequel. To prove anything in point, it must apparently go on to assert that such a saint as is here described remembers the author of the Veda, or at least has such superhuman faculties as would enable him to discover the author.

"And moreover, [the Naiyāyikas proceed], the sentences of the Veda must have originated with a personal author, as proof exists that they had such an origin, since they have the character of sentences, like those of Kālidāsa and other writers. The sentences of the Veda have been composed by competent persons, since, while they possess authority, they have, at the same time, the character of sentences, like those of Manu and other sages.

"But [ask the Mīmāṇsakas] may it not be assumed that, 'All study of the Veda was preceded by an earlier study of it by the pupil's preceptor, since the study of the Veda must always have had one common character, which was the same in former times as now;'[94] and that this inference has force to prove [that the Veda had no author or was eternal]? Such reasoning [the Naiyāyikas answer] is of no force as proof, [for it might be urged, with an equal show of reason, that] 'All study of the Mahābhārata was preceded by an earlier study of it by the pupil's preceptor, since the study of the Mahābhārata, from the mere fact of its being such, [must have had the same character in former times] as it has now;' and the advantage of such an argument is simply illusory. But the [Mīmānsakas will ask whether there is not a difference between these two cases of the Veda and the Mahābhārata, since] the Smṛiti declares that [Vishṇu incarnate as] Vyāsa was the author of the latter,—according to such texts as this, 'Who else than Puṇḍarīkāksha (the lotus-eyed Vishṇu) could be the maker of the Mahābhārata?' (see above, p. 39),—[whilst nothing of this sort is recorded in any Śāstra in regard to the Veda]. This argument, however, is powerless, since it is proved by these words of the Purusha-sūkta, 'From him sprang the Ṛich and Sāman verses and the metres, and from him the Yajush verses,' (above, p. 3) that the Veda had a maker.

"Further [proceed the Naiyāyikas] we must suppose that sound [on the eternity of which the eternity and uncreatedness of the Veda depend] is not eternal, since, while it has the properties belonging to a

[94] The purport of this verse is, that as every generation of students of the Veda must have been preceded by an earlier generation of teachers, and as there is no reason to assume any variation in this process by supposing that there ever had been any student who taught himself; we have thus a *regressus ad infinitum*, and must of necessity conclude that the Vedas had no author, but were eternal.

genus, it can, like a jar, be perceived by the external organs of beings such as ourselves. But [rejoin the Mīmānsakas], is not this inference of yours refuted by the proof arising from the fact that we recognise the letter G [for example] as the same we have heard before? This argument [replies the Naiyāyika] is extremely weak, for the recognition in question having reference to a community of species,—as in the case of such words as 'hairs cut and grown again, or of full-blown jasmine,' etc.,—has no force to refute my assertion [that letters are not eternal].

"But [asks the Mīmānsaka] how can the Veda have been uttered by the incorporeal Parameśvara (God), who has no palate or other organs of speech, and therefore cannot be conceived to have pronounced the letters [of which it is composed]? This objection [answers the Naiyāyika] is not happy, because, though Parameśvara is by nature incorporeal, he can yet, by way of sport, assume a body, in order to shew kindness to his devoted worshippers. Consequently, the arguments in favour of the doctrine that the Veda had no personal author are inconclusive.

"I shall now [says the Mīmānsaka] clear up all these difficulties. What is meant by this *paurusheyatva* ('derivation from a personal author') which it is sought to prove? Is it (1) mere procession (*utpannatva*) from a person (*purusha*), like the procession of the Veda from persons such as ourselves, when we daily utter it? or (2) is it the arrangement—with a view to its manifestation—of knowledge acquired by other modes of proof, in the sense in which persons like ourselves compose a treatise? If the first meaning be intended, there will be no dispute. If the second sense be meant, I ask whether the Veda is proved [to be authoritative] in virtue (*a*) of its being founded on inference, or (*b*) of its being founded on supernatural information (*āgamā-balāt*)? The former alternative (*a*) [*i.e.* that the Veda derives its authority from being founded on inference] cannot be correct, since this theory breaks down, if it be applied to the sentences of the Mālatī Mādhava or any other secular poem [which may contain inferences destitute of authority]. If, on the other hand, you say (*b*), that the contents of the Veda are distinguished from those of other books by having authority, this explanation also will fail to satisfy a philosopher. For the word of the Veda is [defined to be] a word which proves things that are not

provable by any other evidence. Now if it could be established that this Vedic word did nothing more than prove things that are provable by other evidence, we should be involved in the same sort of contradiction as if a man were to say that his mother was a barren woman. And even if we conceded that Parameśvara might in sport assume a body, it would not be conceivable that [in that case] he should perceive things beyond the reach of the senses, from the want of any means of apprehending objects removed from him in place, in time, and in nature. Nor is it to be thought that his eyes and other senses alone would have the power of producing such knowledge, since men can only attain to conceptions corresponding with what they have perceived. This is is what has been said by the Guru (Prabhākara) when he refutes [this supposition of] an omniscient author: 'Whenever any object is perceived [by the organ of sight] in its most perfect exercise, such perception can only have reference to the vision of something very distant or very minute, since no organ can go beyond its own proper objects, as *e.g.* the ear can never become cognizant of form.' Hence the authority of the Veda does not arise in virtue of any supernatural information [acquired by the Deity in a corporeal shape].

"Without any contravention[95] of the rule of Pānini (iv. 3, 101; see above, p. 83) that the grammatical affix with which the words Kāṭhaka, Kālāpa, and Taittirīya are formed, imparts to those derivatives the sense of 'uttered by' Kaṭha, Kalāpa, etc., it is established that the names first mentioned have reference [not to those parts of the Veda being composed by the sages in question, but] to the fact that these sages instituted the practice of studying those parts of the Veda. Here also these appellations ought to be understood in the same manner, as referring to the fact of those sages being the institutors of the study of the Veda; and we are not to think that the eternity of sound [or of the words of the Veda] is disproved by the force of any inference [to be drawn from those names], since this would be at variance with the recognition [of letters as the same we knew before] (see above, Mīmānsa Sūtras, i. 19 f., p. 75). . . . .

"But [the Naiyāyikas will ask] does not the recognition [of G and other letters as the same we knew before] refer to them as belonging to the [same] species, and not as being the [same] individual letters, since, in fact, they are perceived to be different [as uttered by] each

[95] Literally "although the rule of Pānini be awake."

person,—for otherwise it would be impossible for us to make any distinction [between different readers, as when we say], 'Somaśarman is reading?' This objection, however, shines as little as its predecessors, and has been answered in this way, viz. that as there is no proof of any distinction of individuality between G's, etc., there is no evidence that we ought to suppose any such thing as a species of G's, etc. [*i.e.* of G's and other letters each constituting a species]. Just as to the man who is ignorant that G's constitute a species, [that letter], though one only, becomes, through distinction of place, magnitude, form, individuality, and position, variously modified as distinct in place, as small, as great, as long, or as short, in the same way, to the man who is ignorant of an individuality of G's, [*i.e.* of G's being numerically different from each other], this letter, though only one, appears, from the distinction existing between the different persons who utter it, to be connected with their respective peculiarities; and as contrary characters are in this way erroneously ascribed [to the letter G], there is a fallacious appearance of distinctness [between different G's]. But does this ascription of contrary characters which is thus regarded as creating a difference [between G's] result from (1) the nature of the thing, or (2) from mere appearance? There is no proof of the first alternative, as otherwise an inherent difference being admitted between different G's, it would be established that Chaitra had uttered ten (different] G's, and not [the same] G ten times. But on the second supposition, there is no proof of any inherent distinction [between G's]; for inherent oneness (or identity) is not destroyed by a difference of extrinsic disguises [or characteristics]. We must not conceive, from the merely apparent distinctness [occasioned by the separation of its parts] by jars, etc., that there is any inherent distinctness in the atmosphere itself. . . . . It has been said by the Āchāryya 'The object which the Naiyāyikas seek, by supposing a species, is in fact gained from the letter itself; and the object at which they aim by supposing an individuality in letters, is attained from audible sounds (*i.e.* the separate utterances of the different letters), so that the hypothesis of species, etc., is useless.' And he thus reaches the conclusion that, 'since, in respect of sounds (letters), recognition has so irresistible a power, [literally, wakes, unrestrained], it alone repels all inferences against the eternity [of sound, or the Veda]." After some further

argumentation the Mīmānsaka arrives at the conclusion that "as every imputation of doubt which has germinated has been set aside by the underived character of the Veda, its authority in matters of duty is shewn to be self-evident."

I shall not attempt to carry further my translation of this abstruse discussion, as the remainder of it contains much which I should find great difficulty in comprehending.[96]

[Although not directly connected with the subject in hand, the following passage from S'ankara's commentary on the Brahma Sūtras, iii. 2, 40,[97] will throw some further light on the doctrines of the Mīmānsā. In the two preceding Sūtras, as explained by S'ankara, it had been asserted, both on grounds of reason and on the authority of the Veda, that God is the author of rewards. In the 40th S'ūtra a different doctrine is ascribed to Jaimini:

Dharmaṁ Jaiminir ataḥ eva | Jaiminis tv āchāryyo dharmam phalasya dātāram manyate | ata eva hetoḥ śruter upapatteś cha | śrūyate tāvad ayam arthaḥ "svarga-kāmo yajeta" ity evam ādishu vākyeshu | tatra cha vidhi-śruter vishaya-bhāvopagamād yāgaḥ svargasya utpādakaḥ iti gamyate | anyathā hy ananushṭhātṛiko yāgaḥ āpadyeta tatra asya upadeśasya vaiyarthyaṁ syāt | nanv anukshaṇa-vināśinaḥ karmaṇaḥ phalaṁ na upapadyade iti parityakto 'yam pakshaḥ | na esha doshaḥ śruti-prāmāṇyāt | śrutiś chet pramāṇaṁ yathā 'yam karma-phala-sambandhaḥ śrutaḥ upapadyate tathā kalpayitavyaḥ | na cha anutpādya kimapy apūrvaṁ karma vinaśyat kālāntaritam phalaṁ dātuṁ śaknoti ity ataḥ karmaṇo vā sūkshmā kāchid uttarāvasthā phalasya vā pūrvāvasthā apūrvaṁ nāma asti iti tarkyate | upapadyate cha ayam arthaḥ uktena prakāreṇa | Īśvaras tu phalaṁ dadāti ity anupapannam avichitrasya kāraṇasya vichitra-kāryyānupapatteḥ vaishamya-nairghṛiṇya-prasangād anushṭhāna-vaiyarthyāpatteś cha | tāsmād dharmād eva phalam iti |

"'Jaimini says that for this reason virtue [is the giver of reward].' The Āchāryya Jaimini regards virtue [*i.e.* the performance of the prescribed rites and duties] as the bestower of reward.' 'For this reason,'

[96] In fact I have left out some pages of the translation which I had given in the first edition, as well as the corresponding portion of the text. I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Goldstücker for various suggestions towards the improvement of my translation. But two of the passages on which he had favoured me with his opinion are, to my own apprehension, so obscure, that I have omitted them.

[97] It is partly quoted in Prof. Banerjea's work on Hindu Philosophy.

and because it is proved by the Veda. This is the purport of the Vedic text, 'Let the man who seeks paradise, sacrifice,' and others of the same kind. As from this Vedic injunction we must infer the existence of an object [to be sought after] it is concluded that sacrifice has the effect of producing heavenly bliss; for otherwise we should be involved in the absurdity of a sacrifice without a performer [since no one would care to sacrifice without an object], and thus the injunction would become fruitless. But may it not be said that it is not conceivable that any fruit should result from a ceremony which perishes every moment, so that this view must be abandoned? No, this defect does not attach to our Mīmānsaka statement, since the Veda is authoritative. If the Veda be authority, this connection of the reward with the ceremony must be supposed to exist just as is proved by the Veda. But as a ceremony which perishes without generating any unseen virtue, cannot produce a reward at a distant time, it must be concluded that there is either a certain subtile ulterior form of the ceremony, or a certain subtile anterior form of the reward, which is called 'unseen virtue.' And this result is established in the manner before mentioned. But it it is not proved that God bestows rewards, because it is inconceivable that a uniform Cause [such as He is] should produce various effects, and because the performance of ceremonies would be useless, owing to the partiality and unmercifulness which would attach [to the supposed arbiter of men's deserts]. Hence it is from virtue alone that reward results."

How far this passage may be sufficient to prove the atheism of the Mīmānsā, I will not attempt to say. Before we could decide on such a question, the other Sūtras of that school which refer to this question (if there be any such) would have to be consulted.

Professor Banerjea also quotes the following text from the popular work, the Vidvan-moda-taranginī, in which the Mīmānsakas are distinctly charged with atheism:

Devo na kaśchid bhuvanasya karttā bhartā na 'rttā 'pi cha kaśchid āste | karmānurūpāṇi śubhāśubhāni prāpnoti sarvo hi janaḥ phalāni | vedasyā karttā na cha kaśchid āste nityāḥ hi śabdāḥ rachanā hi nityā | prāmāṇyam asmin svataḥ eva siddham anādi-siddheḥ parataḥ kathañ tat |

"There is no God, maker of the world; nor has it any sustainer or destroyer; for every man obtains a recompence in conformity with his

works. Neither is there any maker of the Veda, for its words are eternal, and their arrangement is eternal. Its authoritativeness is self-demonstrated, for since it has been established from eternity, how can it be dependent upon anything but itself?"

I learn from Professor Banerjea that the Mīmānsaka commentator Prabhākara and his school treat the Pūrva Mīmānsā as an atheistic system, while Kumārila makes it out to be theistic. In fact the latter author makes the following complaint at the commencement of his Vārttika, verse 10: *Prāyeṇaiva hi Mīmāṁśā loke lokāyatīkṛitā | tām āstika-pathe karttum ayaṁ yatnaḥ kṛito mayā* | "For in practice the Mīmānsā has been for the most part converted into a Lokāyata[98] (atheistic) system; but I have made this effort to bring it into a theistic path." See also the lines which are quoted from the Padma Purāṇa by Vijnāna Bhikshu, commentator on the Sānkhya aphorisms, in a passage which I shall adduce further on.]

It appears from a passage in Patanjali's Mahābhāshya, that that great grammarian was of opinion that, although the sense of the Veda is eternal, the order of the words has not continued uniform; and that it is from this order having been variously fixed by Kaṭha, Kalāpa, and other sages, that different portions of the Indian scriptures are called by their names.

The following passages from the Mahābhāshya, and from the Commentaries of Kaiyyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa thereon, are extracted from the fuller quotations given by Professor Goldstücker in pp. 147 f. of the Preface to his Mānava-kalpa-sūtra.

Patanjali: *Nanu cha uktaṁ "na hi chhandāṁsi kriyante nityāni chhandāṁsi" iti | yadyapy artho nityaḥ | yā tv asau varṇānupūrvī sā anityā tad-bhedāch cha etad bhavati Kāṭhakaṁ Kālāpakam Maudakam Paippalādakam ityādi . . . .* | Kaiyyaṭa: *"Nityāni" iti | karttur asmaraṇāt teshām iti bhāvaḥ | "yā tv asāv" iti | mahāpralayādishu varṇānupūrvīvināśe punar utpadya ṛishayaḥ saṁskārātiśayād vedārthaṁ smṛitvā śabdarachanāḥ vidadhati ity arthaḥ | "tad-bhedād" iti | ānupūrvī-bhedād ity arthaḥ | tataś cha Kaṭhādayo vedānupūrvyāḥ karttāraḥ eva ityādi* | Nāgojibhaṭṭa: *Aṁśena vedasya nityatvaṁ svīkṛitya aṁśena anityatvam āha "yadyapy arthaḥ" iti | anena vedatvam śabdārthobhaya-vṛitti-dhvanitvam | nanu "dhātā yathā pūrvam akalpayad" ityādi-śruti-balena*

[98] See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 402 ff., or p. 259 ff. of Williams and Norgate's ed.

ānupūrvī api sā eva iti navya-pūrva-mīmāṁsā-siddhāntāt sā nityā iti ayuktam ata āha "mahāpralayādishv" iti | ānupūrvyās tat-tat-kshaṇa-ghaṭitatvena anityatvam iti bhāvaḥ iti kechit | tac na | "yadyapy artho nityaḥ" ityādi-vākya-śesha-virodhāt | arthasyāpi jyotishṭomāder anityatvāt | pravāhāvichchhedena nityatvaṁ tu ubhayor api tasmād manvantara-bhedena ānupūrvī bhinnā eva "prati-manvantaraṁ chaishā śrutir anyā vidhīyate" ity ukter ity anye | pare tu | "artho nityaḥ" ity atra kṛita-katva-virodhy-anityatvasya eva abhyupagamaḥ pūrva-pakshiṇā tādṛiśa-nityatvasya eva chhandaḥsu ukteḥ | evaṁ cha artha-śabdena atra īśvaraḥ | mukhyatayā tasya eva sarva-veda-tātparyya-vishayatvāt | "vedaiś cha sarvair aham eva vedyaḥ" iti Gītokter ity āhūḥ | varṇānupūrvyāḥ anityatve mānam āha "tad-bhedāch cha" iti | anityatva-vyāpya-bhedena tat-siddhiḥ | bhedo 'tra nānātvam | Īśvare tu na nānātvam | bhede mānaṁ vyavahāram āha | "Kāṭhaka" ityādi | arthaikye 'py ānupūrvī-bhedād eva Kāṭhaka-kālāpakādi-vyavahāraḥ iti bhāvaḥ | atra ānupūrvī anityā ity ukteḥ padāni tāny eva iti dhvanitvam | tad āha "tataś cha Kaṭhā-dayaḥ" ityādi |

As Professor Goldstücker has only given (in p. 146 of his Preface) a translation of the above extract from Patanjali, and has left the passages from Kaiyyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa untranslated, I shall give his version of the first, and my own rendering of the two last.

Patanjali: "Is it not said, however, that 'the Vedas are not made, but that they are permanent (*i.e.* eternal)?' (Quite so); yet though their sense is permanent, the order of their letters has not always remained the same; and it is through the difference in this latter respect that we may speak of the versions of the Kaṭhas, Kalāpas, Mudakas, Pippalādakas, and so on." *Kaiyyaṭa on Patanjali*: "'Eternal;' by this word he means that they are so, because no maker of them is remembered. By the words, 'the order of their letters,' etc., it is meant that, the order of the letters being destroyed in the great dissolutions of the universe, etc., the rishis, when they are again created, recollecting, through their eminent science, the sense of the Veda, arrange the order of the words. By the phrase, 'through the difference of this,' is meant the difference of order. Consequently, Kaṭha and the other sages [to whom allusion was made] are the authors of the order of the Veda." *Nāgojibhaṭṭa on Patanjali and Kaiyyaṭa*: "Admitting in part the eternity of the Veda, he, Patanjali, declares in

the words, 'though the sense is eternal,' etc., that it (the Veda) is also in part not eternal. By this clause it is implied that the character of the Veda as such is constituted both by the words and by the sense.[99] But is not the order also eternal, since it is a settled doctrine of the modern Mīmānsakas, on the strength of such Vedic texts as this, 'the creator made them as before,' etc., that the order also is the very same? No; this is incorrect, and in consequence, he (Kaiyyaṭa) says, 'in the great dissolutions,' etc. Some say the meaning of this is, that the order is not eternal, inasmuch as it is formed in particular moments. But this is wrong, because it is opposed to the conclusion of the sentence, 'though their sense is eternal,' etc., and because the objects signified also, such as the jyotishṭoma sacrifice, are not eternal. Others say that both the sense and the order of the words are eternal [or permanent], owing to the continuity of the tradition; and that, consequently, it is in different manvantaras that the order of the words is different, according to the text, 'in every manvantara this śruti (Veda) is made different.' Others again think that in the words, 'the sense is eternal,' etc., an admission is made by an objector of an eternity opposed to the idea of production, since it is only such a [qualified] eternity that is mentioned in the Veda; and that thus the word 'sense,' or 'object' (*arthaḥ*), here refers to Īśvara, because he is the principal object which is had in view in the whole of the Veda, according to the words of the Bhagavad-gītā (xv. 15), 'It is I whom all the Vedas seek to know.' He next states the proof of the assertion that the order of the letters is not eternal, in the words, 'through the difference of this,' etc. The difference in the order is proved by the difference in the things included under the category of non-eternity. Difference here means variety. But in Īśvara (God), there is no variety. He declares current usage to be the proof of difference, in the words 'Kāṭhaka,' etc., which mean that, though the sense is the same, we use the distinctions of Kāṭhaka, Kālāpaka, etc., in consequence of the difference of arrangement. Here by saying that the order is not eternal, it is implied that the words are the same. And this is what is asserted in the words [of Kaiyyaṭa], 'consequently Kaṭha and the other sages,'" etc.

[99] I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker for a correction of my former rendering of this sentence, and of several others in this passage of Nāgojibhaṭṭa.

After quoting these passages at greater length than I have given them, Professor Goldstücker goes on to remark in his note: "I have quoted the full gloss of the three principal commentators, on this important Sūtra [of Pāṇini] and its Vārttikas, because it is of considerable interest in many respects. . . . . We see Kaiyyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa writhing under the difficulty of reconciling the eternity of the Veda with the differences of its various versions, which, nevertheless, maintain an equal claim to infallibility. Patañjali makes rather short work of this much vexed question; and unless it be allowed here to render his expression *varṇa* (which means 'letter'), 'word,' it is barely possible even to understand how he can save consistently the eternity or permanence of the 'sense' of the Veda. That the modern Mīmānsists maintain not only the 'eternity of the sense,' but also the 'permanence of the text,' which is tantamount to the exclusive right of one single version, we learn, amongst others, from Nāgojibhaṭṭa. But as such a doctrine has its obvious dangers, it is not shared in by the old Mīmānsists, nor by Nāgoji, as he tells us himself. He and Kaiyyaṭa inform us therefore that, *amongst other* theories, there is one, according to which the order of the letters (or rather words) in the Vaidik texts got lost in the several Pralayas or destructions of the worlds; and since each manvantara had its own revelation, which differed only in the expression, not in the sense of, the Vaidik texts, the various versions known to these commentators represent these successive revelations, which were 'remembered,' through their 'excessive accomplishments,' by the Ṛishis, who in this manner produced, or rather reproduced, the texts current in their time, under the name of the versions of the Kaṭhas, Kalāpas, and so on. In this way each version had an equal claim to sanctity. There is a very interesting discussion on the same subject by Kumārila, in his Mīmānsa-vārttika (i. 3, 10)."

III. *The Vedānta.*—I proceed to adduce the reasonings by which Bādarāyaṇa, the reputed author of the Brahma, Sārīraka, or Vedānta Sūtras, as expounded by Śankara Āchāryya in his *Śārīraka-mīmāṁsā-bhāshya*, or commentary on those Sūtras, defends the eternity and authority of the Veda. His views, as we shall see, are not by any means identical with those of Jaimini and his school. After discussing the question whether any persons but men of the three highest tribes are qualified for divine knowledge, the author of the Sūtras comes to the conclusion

that Śūdras, or persons of the fourth tribe, are incompetent, while beings superior to man, the gods, are competent[100] (Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 348, or p. 223 of Williams and Norgate's ed.) In Sūtra, i. 3, 26, the author determines that the gods have a desire for final emancipation, owing to the transitoriness of their glory, and a capacity for attaining it, because they possess the qualities of corporeality, etc.; and that there is no obstacle which prevents their acquiring divine knowledge. A difficulty, however, having been raised that the gods cannot be corporeal, because, if they were so, it is necessary to conceive that they would be corporeally present (as priests actually are) at the ceremonial of sacrifice, in which they are the objects of worship,—a supposition which would not consist with the usual course of such ceremonies, at which the gods are not seen to be corporeally present, and would, in fact, involve an impossibility, since Indra, for example, being but one, could not be corporeally present at numerous sacrifices at once;—this difficulty is solved (under Sūtra i. 3, 27) in two ways, either by supposing (1) that the gods assume different forms, and are present at many sacrifices at once, although invisible to mortals; or by considering (2) that, as a sacrifice is offered to (and not, by) a deity, many persons may present their oblations to that deity at once, just as one Brāhman may be saluted by many different persons at the same time. It is, therefore, concluded that the corporeal nature of the gods is not inconsistent with the practice of sacrifice. Having settled these points, Śankara comes to Sūtra i. 3, 28:

"Śabde iti chet | na | ataḥ prabhavāt | pratyakshānumānābhyām" | Mā nāma vigrahavattve devādīnām abhyupagamyamāne karmaṇi kaśchid virodhaḥ prasajyi | śabde tu virodhaḥ prasajyeta | katham | Autpattikaṁ hi śabdasya arthena sambandham āśritya "anapekshatvād" iti vedasya prāmāṇyaṁ sthāpitam | Idānīṁ tu vigrahavatī devatā 'bhyupagamyamānā yadyapy aiśvaryya-yogād yugapad aneka-karma-sambandhīni havīṁshi bhuṇjīta tathāpi vigraha-yogād asmad-ādi-vaj janana-maraṇavatī sā, iti nityasya śabdasya anityena arthena nitya-sambandhe pralīyamāne yad vaidike śabde prāmāṇyaṁ sthitaṁ tasya virodhaḥ syād iti chet | na ayam apy asti virodhaḥ | kasmād "ataḥ prabhavāt" | Ataḥ eva

[100] For a discussion of the different question whether the gods can practise the ceremonies prescribed in the Vedas, see the First Volume of this work, p. 365, note.

hi vaidikāt śabdād devādikaṁ jagat prabhavati | Nanu "janmādi asya yataḥ" (Brahma Sūtras i. 1, 2) *iti brahma-prabhavatvaṁ jagato 'vadhāritaṁ katham iha śabda-prabhavatvam uchyate | Aṇicha yadi nāma vaidikāt śabdād asya prabhavo 'bhyupagataḥ katham etāvatā virodhaḥ śabde parihṛitaḥ | yāvatā Vasavo Rudrāḥ Ādityāḥ Viśvedevāḥ Marutaḥ ity ete 'rthāḥ anityāḥ eva utpattimattvāt | Tad-anityatve cha tad-vāchakānaṁ vaidikānāṁ Vasv-ādi-śabdānām anityatvaṁ kena vāryyate | Prasiddhaṁ hi loke Devadattasya putre utpanne Yajnadattaḥ iti tasya nāma kriyate iti | Tasmād virodhaḥ eva śabde iti chet | na | Gavādi-śabdārtha-sambandhanityatva-darśanāt | Na hi gavādi-vyaktīnām utpattimattve tad-ākṛitīnām apy utpattimattvaṁ syād dravya-guṇa-karmaṇāṁ hi vyaktayaḥ eva utpadyante na ākṛitayaḥ | Ākṛitibhiś cha śabdānāṁ sambandho na vyaktibhiḥ | vyaktīnām ānantyāt sambandha-grahaṇānupapatteḥ | Vyaktishu utpadyamānāsv apy ākṛitīnāṁ nityatvād na gavādi-śabdeshu kaśchid virodho dṛiśyate | Tathā devādi-vyakti-prabhavābhyupagame 'pi ākṛiti-nityatvād na kaśchid Vasv-ādi-śabdeshu virodhaḥ iti drashṭavyam | Ākṛiti-viśeshas tu devādīnām mantrārthavādādibhyo vigrahavattvādy-avagamād avagantavyaḥ | Sthāna-viśesha-sambandha-nimittāś cha Indrādi-śabdāḥ senāpatyādiśabda-vat | Tataś cha yo yas tat tat sthānam adhitishṭhati sa sa Indrādiśabdair abhidhīyate iti na dosho bhavati | Na cha idaṁ śabda-prabhavatvam Brahma-prabhavatva-vad upādāna-kāraṇatvābhiprāyeṇa uchyate | kathaṁ tarhi sthiti-vāchakātmanā nitye śabde nityārtha-sambandhini śabda-vyavahāra-yogyārtha-vyakti-nishpattir "ataḥ prabhavaḥ" ity uchyate | katham punar avagamyate śabdāt prabhavaṭi jagad iti | "pratyakshānumānābhyām" | Pratyakshaṁ śrutiḥ | prāmāṇyam prati anapekshatvāt | anumānaṁ smṛitiḥ | prāmāṇyam prati sāpekshatvāt | Te hi śabda-pūrvāṁ sṛishtim darśayataḥ | "Ete" iti vai prajāpatir devān asṛijata "asṛigram" iti manushyān "indavaḥ" iti pitṛīṁs "tiraḥ pavitram" iti grahān "āśavaḥ" iti stotraṁ "viśvāni" iti śastram "abhi saubhagā" ity anyāḥ prajāḥ iti śrutiḥ | Tathā 'nyatrāpi "sa manasā vācham mithunaṁ samabhavad"* (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa x. 6, 5, 4, and Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, p. 50) *ityādinā tatra tatra śabda-pūrvikā sṛishtiḥ śrāvyate | Smṛitir api "anādi-nidhanā nityā vāg utsṛishṭā svayambhuvā | ādau vedamayī divyā yataḥ sarvāḥ pravṛittayaḥ" ity utsargo 'py ayaṁ vāchaḥ sampradāya-pravarttanātmako drashṭavyaḥ anādi-nidhanāyāḥ anyādṛiśasya utsargasya asambhavāt | Tathā "nāma rūpaṁ cha bhūtānāṁ karmaṇāṁ cha pravarttanam | Veda-śabdebhya evādau nirmame sa*

maheśvaraḥ" iti | "sarveshāṁ cha sa nāmāni karmāṇi cha pṛithak pṛithak | Veda-śabdebhya evādau pṛithak saṁsthāś cha nirmame" iti cha | Apicha chikīrshitam artham anutishṭhan tasya vāchakaṁ śabdam pūrvaṁ smṛitvā paśchāt tam artham anutishṭhati iti sarveshāṁ naḥ pratyaksham etat | Tathā prajāpater api srashṭuḥ sṛishṭeḥ pūrvaṁ vaidikāḥ śabdāḥ manasi prādurbabhūvuḥ paśchāt tad-anugatān arthān sasarjja iti gamyate | Tathā cha śrutiḥ "sa bhūr iti vyāharan bhūmim asṛijata" [101] *ity-evam-ādikā bhūr-ādi-śabdebhyaḥ eva manasi prādurbhūtebhyo bhūr-ādi-lokān prādurbhūtān sṛishṭān darśayati | kim-ātmakam punaḥ śabdam abhipretya idaṁ śabda-prabhavatvam uchyate | sphoṭam ity āha | . . . . Tasmād nityāt śabdāt sphoṭa-rūpād abhidhāyakāt kriyā-kāraka-phala-lakshaṇaṁ jagad abhidheya-bhūtam prabhavatīti | . . . . Tataś cha nityebhyaḥ śabdebhyo devādi-vyaktīnām prabhavaḥ ity aviruddham |*

Sūtra i. 3, 29. *"Ata eva cha nityatvam" | svatantrasya karttuḥ smaraṇād eva hi sthite vedasya nityatve devādi-vyakti-prabhavābhyupagamena tasya virodham āśankya "ataḥ prabhavād" iti parihṛitya idānīṁ tad eva veda-nityatvaṁ sthitaṁ dṛaḍhayati "ata eva cha nityatvam" iti | ataḥ eva cha niyatākṛiter devāder jagato veda-śabda-prabhavatvād eva veda-śabda-nityatvam api pratyetavyam | Tathā cha mantra-varṇaḥ "yajnena vāchaḥ padavīyam āyan tām anvavindann ṛishishu pravishṭām" iti sthitām eva vācham anuvinnāṁ darśayati | Vedavyāsaś cha evam eva smarati* (Mahābhārata, Vanap. 7660) *| "yugānte 'ntarhitān vedān setihāsān maharshayaḥ | lebhire tapasā pūrvam anujnātāḥ svayambhuvā" iti |*

"Sūtra i. 3, 28: 'But it is said that there will be a contradiction in respect of sound (or the word); but this is not so, because the gods are produced from it, as is proved by intuition and inference.'

"Be it so, that though the corporeality of the gods, etc., be admitted, no contradiction will arise in respect of the ceremonial. Still [it will be said that] a contradiction will arise in regard to the word. How? [In this way.] By founding upon the inherent connection of a word with the thing signified, the authority of the Veda had been established by the aphorism '*anapekshatvāt*,' etc. (Mīmānsā Sūtras i. 2, 21; see above, p. 75.) But now, while it has been admitted that the deities are corporeal, it will follow that (though from their possession of divine power they can at one and the same time partake of the oblations

[101] Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 3.

offered at numerous sacrifices), they will still, owing to their corporeality, be subject, like ourselves, to birth and death; and hence, the eternal connection of the eternal word with an object which is non-eternal being lost, a contradiction will arise in regard to the authority proved to belong to the word of the Veda; [for thus the word, not having any eternal connection with non-eternal things, could not be authoritative]. But neither has this supposed contradiction any existence. How? 'Because they are produced from it.' Hence the world of gods, etc., is produced from the Vedic word. But according to the aphorism (Brahma Sūtras i. 1, 2) 'from him comes the production, etc., of all this,' it is established that the world has been produced from Brahma. How, then, is it said here that it is produced from the word? And, moreover, if it be allowed that the world is produced from the Vedic word, how is the contradiction in regard to the word thereby removed, inasmuch as all the following classes of objects, viz. the Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Viśvedevas, Maruts, are non-eternal, because produced; and when they are non-eternal, what is there to bar the non-eternity of the Vedic words Vasu, etc., by which they are designated? For it is a common saying, 'It is only when a son is born to Devadatta, that that son receives the name of Yajnadatta,' [*i.e.* no child receives a name before it exists]. Hence a contradiction does arise in regard to [the eternity of] the word. To this objection we reply with a negative; for in the case of such words as cow we discover an eternal connection between the word and the thing. For although individual cows, etc., come into existence, the species to which they belong does not begin to exist, as it is individual substances, qualities, and acts, which begin to exist, and not their species. Now it is with species that words are connected, and not with individuals, for as the latter are infinite, such a connection would in their case be impossible. Thus as species are eternal (though individuals begin to exist) no contradiction is discoverable in the case of such words as cow, etc. In the same way it is to be remarked that though we allow that the individual gods, etc., have commenced to exist, there is no contradiction [to the eternity of the Vedic word] in the [existence of the] words Vasu, etc. [which denote those individual gods], since the species to which they belong are eternal. And the fact that the gods, etc., belong to particular species may be learned from this, that we discover their corporeality and other attributes in

the hymns and arthavādas (illustrative remarks in the Vedas), etc. The words Indra, etc., are derived from connection with some particular post, like the words 'commander of an army' (*senāpati*), etc. Hence, whosoever occupies any particular post, is designated by the words Indra, and so forth; [and therefore Indra and the other gods belong to the species of occupants of particular posts]. Thus there is no difficulty. And this derivation from the word is not, like production from Brahma, meant in the sense of evolution, from a material cause. But how, since language is eternal and connected with eternal objects, is it declared in the phrase 'produced from it' that the production of individual things, corresponding to the ordinary sense of words, is effected by a thing (sound or language), the very nature of which it is to denote continuance [and not such change as is involved in the idea of production?][102] How, again, is it known that the world is produced from the word? The answer is, [it is known] 'from intuition and inference.' 'Intuition' means the Veda, because it is independent of any (other authority). 'Inference' means the smriti, because it is dependent on another authority (the Veda). These two demonstrate that the creation was preceded by the word. Thus the Veda says, 'at (or with) the word *ete* (these) Prajāpati created the gods; at *asṛigram* (they were poured out) he created men; at *indavaḥ* (drops of soma) he created the pitṛis; at *tiraḥ pavitram* (through the filter) he created the libations; at *āśavaḥ* (swift) he created hymns; at *viśvāni* (all) he created praise; and at the words *abhi saubhagā* (for the sake of blessings) he created other creatures.'[103] And in another place it is said 'with his

[102] This sentence is rather obscure.

[103] According to Govinda Ānanda's Gloss this passage is derived from a Chhandoga Brāhmaṇa. It contains a mystical exposition of the words from Rig-veda, ix. 62, 1 (=Sāma-veda, ii. 180) which are imbedded in it, viz. *ete asṛigram indavas tiraḥ pavitram āśavaḥ | viśvāni abhi saubhagā.*| "These hurrying drops of soma have been poured through the filter, to procure all blessings." (See Benfey's translation.) It was by the help of Dr. Pertsch's alphabetical list of the initial words of the verses of the Rig-veda (in Weber's Indische Studien, vol. iii.) that I discovered the verse in question in the Rig-veda. Govinda Ānanda gives us a specimen of his powers as Vedic exegete in the following remarks on this passage: *Ity etan-mantra-sthaiḥ padaiḥ smṛitvā Brahmā devādīn asṛijata | tattra "ete" iti padam sarvanāmatvād devānāṁ smārakam asṛig rudhiraṁ tat pradhāne dehe ramante iti "asṛigrāḥ" manushyāḥ | chandra-sthānām pitṛīṇām indu-śabdaḥ smārakaḥ ityādi |* "Brahmā created the gods, etc., in conformity with the recollections suggested by the various words in this verse. The word *ete* ('these') as a pronoun suggested the gods. The beings who disport

mind he entered into conjugal connection with Vāch (speech).' (S. P. Br. x. 6, 5, 4, Bṛih. Ār. Up. p. 50.) By these and other such texts the Veda in various places declares that creation was preceded by the word. And when the Smṛiti says, 'In the beginning a celestial voice, eternal, without beginning or end, co-essential with the Vedas, was uttered by Svayambhū, from which all activities [proceeded]' (see above, p. 16), the expression 'utterance of a voice' is to be regarded as employed in the sense of the origination of a tradition, since it is inconceivable that a voice which was 'without beginning or end,' could be uttered in the same sense as other sounds. Again, we have this other text, 'In the beginning Maheśvara created from the words of the Veda the names and forms of creatures, and the origination of actions;' and again, 'He created in the beginning the several names, functions, and conditions of all creatures from the words of the Veda.' (See above, pp. 16 and 6.) And it is a matter of common observation to us all, that when any one is occupied with any end which he wishes to accomplish, he first calls to mind the word which expresses it, and then proceeds to effect his purpose. So, too, in the case of Prajāpati the creator, we conclude that before the creation the words of the Veda were manifested in his mind, and that afterwards he created the objects which resulted from them. Thus the Vedic text which says, 'uttering *bhūḥ*, he created the earth (*bhūmi*), etc,' intimates that the different worlds, earth, and the rest, were manifested, *i.e.* created from the words *bhūḥ*, etc., manifested in his mind. Of what sort, now, was this word which is intended, when it is said that the world was produced from the word? It was *sphoṭa* (disclosure or expression), we are told."

I shall not quote the long discussion on which Śankara here enters, regarding this term. (See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 305 ff.; Ballantyne's Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy, pp. 192 ff.; the same author's translation of the commencement of the Mahābhāshya, p. 10; and Professor Müller's article on the last-named work in the Journal of the German Or. Soc. vii. 170). Śankara states his conclusion

themselves in bodies of which blood (*asṛik*) is a predominant element, were *asṛigrāḥ*, 'men.' The word *indu* (which means both the soma plant and the moon) suggested the fathers who dwell in the moon," etc., etc. The sense of *asṛigram*, as given above in the text, is "were poured out." Govinda Ānanda, no doubt, understood it correctly, though he considered it necessary to draw a mystical sense out of it.

to be that "from the eternal word, in the form of *sphoṭa*, which expresses [all things], the object signified by it, viz. the world, under the three characters of action, causer, and the results of action, is produced," and finishes his remarks on this Sūtra (i. 3, 28) by observing: "Consequently there is no contradiction in saying that the individual gods, etc., are derived from eternal words." He then proceeds to Sūtra i. 3, 29: "'Hence results the eternity of the Vedas.'" On this he observes, "The eternity of the Veda had been established by the fact of its being described in the Smṛiti as the work of a Self-dependent Maker. But a doubt had been suggested that this eternity is inconsistent with the admission that individual gods, etc., have commenced to exist. This doubt, however, having been set aside by the preceding aphorism, 'Since they are produced from it,' he now confirms the eternity of the Veda (which had been already proved) by the words of the Sūtra before us, which mean that as a result of this very fact that the world, consisting of gods and other beings belonging to fixed species, was produced from the words of the Vedas, the eternity of these Vedic words themselves also must be believed. Accordingly, the words of the hymn, 'by sacrifice they followed the path of Vāch, and found her entered into the rishis' (R.V. x. 71, 3; see the First Volume of this work p. 254, and Volume Second, p. 220) prove that Vāch already existed when she was discovered. And in the very same way Vedavyāsa records that, 'formerly the great rishis, empowered by Svayambhū, obtained through devotion the Vedas and Itihāsas, which had disappeared at the end of the preceding yuga.'"

Sāyaṇa refers to the Sūtra just quoted (i. 3, 29), as well as to another of the Vedānta aphorisms (i. 1, 3) in p. 20 of the introduction to his Commentary on the Rig-veda in these words:

Nanu bhagavatā Bādarāyaṇena Vedasya Brahma-kāryyatvaṁ sūtritam | "śāstra-yoṅitvād" iti | ṛigvedādi-śāstra-kāraṇatvād Brahma sarvajnam iti sūtrārthaḥ | bāḍham | na etāvatā paurusheyatvam bhavati | manushya-nirmitatvābhāvāt | īdṛiśam apaurusheyatvam abhipretya vyavahāra-daśā-yām ākāśādi-vad nityatvam Bādarāyaṇenaiva devatādhikaraṇe sūtritam | "ata evacha nityatvam" iti |

"But it is objected that the venerable Bādarāyaṇa has declared in the aphorism 'since he is the source of the śāstra (Brahma Sūtras i. 1, 3), that the Veda is derived from Brahma; the meaning of the aphorism being, that since Brahma is the cause of the Rig-veda and other Śāstras,

he is omniscient. This is true; but it furnishes no proof of the human origin of the Veda, since it was not formed by a man. Bādarāyaṇa had in view such a superhuman origin of the Veda, when in the [other] aphorism 'hence also [its] eternity is to be maintained,' (which is contained in the section on the deities), he declared it to be, like the æther, etc., eternal, during the period of mundane existence." [104]

The remarks of S'ankara on the Brahma Sūtra (i. 1, 3) above referred to, begin as follows:

Mahataḥ ṛig-vedādeḥ śāstrasya aneka-vidyā-sthānopabṛiṁhitasya pradīpa-vat sarvārtha-dyotinas sarvajna-kalpasya yoniḥ kāraṇam Brahma | na hi īdṛiśasya śāstrasya ṛigvedādi-lākshaṇasya sarvajna-guṇānvitasya sarvajnād anyataḥ sambhavo 'sti | Yad yad vistarārthaṁ śāstraṁ yasmāt purusha-viśeshāt sambhavati yathā vyākaraṇādi Pāṇiny-āder jneyaika-deśārtham api sa tato 'py adhikatara-vijnānaḥ iti prasiddhaṁ loke | kimu vaktavyam aneka-śākhā-bheda-bhinnasya deva-tiryaṅ-manushya-varṇāśramādi-pravibhāga-hetor ṛig-vedādy-ākhyasya sarva-jnānākarasya aprayatnena eva līlā-nyāyena purusha-niśvāsa-vad yasmād mahato bhūtād yoneḥ sambhavaḥ ("asya mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yad rig-vedaḥ" ity-ādeḥ śrutes) tasya mahato bhūtasya niratiśayaṁ sarvajnatvaṁ sarvaśaktitvaṁ cha iti |

"Brahma is the source of the great Śāstra, consisting of the Rig-veda, etc., augmented by numerous branches of science, which, like a lamp, illuminates all subjects, and approaches to omniscience. Now such a Śāstra, distinguished as the Rig-veda, etc., possessed of the qualities of an omniscient being, could not have originated from any other than an omniscient being. When an extensive treatise on any subject is produced by any individual, as the works on Grammar, etc., were by Pāṇini and others,—even although the treatise in question have for its subject only a single department of what is to be known,—it is a

[104] See the quotation from the Vedārtha-prakāśa, at the top of p. 70, above. The æther (*ākāśa*) is uncreated according to the Vaiśeshikas (Kaṇāda's Sutras, ii. 1, 28, with S'ankara Miśra's commentary, and S'ankara Āchāryya on Vedānta Sūtra, ii. 3, 3: *Na hy ākāśasya utpattiḥ sambhāvayituṁ śakyā śrīmat-Kaṇabhug-abhiprāyānusārishu jīvatsu* | "The production of the æther cannot be conceived as possible, so long as those who follow Kaṇāda's view retain their vitality"). The Vedānta Sūtras, ii. 3, 1–7, on the other hand, assert its production by Brahma, in conformity with the text of the Taittirīyakas which affirms this: *Tasmād vai etasmād ātmanaḥ ākāśaḥ sambhūtaḥ* | "From that Soul the æther was produced."

matter of notoriety that the author is possessed of still greater knowledge than is contained in his work.[105] What then need we say of the transcendent omniscience and omnipotence of that great Being from whom issued without effort, as an amusement, like a man's breathing (according to the Vedic text 'the Rig-veda is the breathing of that great Being'), that mine of universal knowledge called the Rig-veda, etc., which is divided into many śākhās, and which gave rise to the classes of gods, beasts, and men, with their castes and orders?"[106]

It is clear from the aphorism last quoted that there is a distinction between the doctrine of the Pūrva Mīmānsā, and the Uttara Mīmānsā, or Vedānta, regarding the origin of the Veda, in so far as the former is silent on the subject of its derivation from Brahma, which the latter asserts. It is also to be observed that Sāyaṇa understands the eternity of the Veda as laid down in the Brahma Sūtras in a qualified sense (as limited to the duration of the mundane period) and not as an absolute eternity.

I may remark that in their treatment of the Vedic passages which they cite, the practice of Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the Brahma Sūtras, and of his commentator, Śankara Āchāryya, corresponds to their theory of the infallibility of the sacred text. The doctrines inculcated in the Sūtras, and expounded and vindicated by the commentator, profess to be based on the Veda; and numerous texts are cited in their support. Such passages as coincide with the theories maintained in the Sūtras are understood in their proper or literal (*mukhya*) sense;

[105] Dr. Ballantyne (Aphorisms of the Vedānta, p. 8) renders the last words thus: .... "that man, even in consideration of *that*, is inferred to be exceedingly knowing." Govinda Ānanda's note, however, confirms the rendering I have given. Part of it is as follows: *Yad yach chhāstraṁ yasmād āptāt sambhavati sa tataḥ śāstrād adhikhārtha-jnānaḥ iti prasiddham* | "It is well known that the competent author from whom any treatise proceeds has a knowledge of more than that treatise (contains)." The idea here is somewhat similar to that in the second of Bishop Butler's Sermons "Upon the love of God": "Effects themselves, if we knew them thoroughly, would give us but imperfect notions of wisdom and power; much less of his Being in whom they reside." .... "This is no more than saying that the Creator is superior to the works of his hands."

[106] An alternative explanation of the aphorism is given by the commentator, according to which it would mean: "The body of Scripture, consisting of the Rig-veda, etc., is the source, the cause, the proof, whereby we ascertain exactly the nature of this Brahma" (*athavā yathoktam ṛigvedādi-śāstraṁ yoniḥ kāraṇam pramāṇam asya Brahmaṇo yathāvat svarūpādhigame*).

whilst other texts which appear to be at variance with the Vedantic dogmas, and to favour those of the other philosophical schools, are explained as being merely figurative (*gauṇa* or *bhākta*); or other interpretations are given. See, for example, the Brahma sūtras, i. 1, 6; ii. 4, 2 f., etc., with Śankara's comments. The supposition of any real inconsistency between the different statements of the sacred volume is never for a moment entertained.[107] As, however, the different authors of the Vedic hymns, of the Brāhmaṇas, and even of the Upanishads, gave free expression to their own vague and unsystematic ideas and speculations on the origin of all things, and the relation of the Deity to the universe, and recognized no fixed standard of orthodox doctrine to which they were bound to conform,—it was inevitable that they should propound a great variety of opinions which were mutually irreconcilable. But as, in later times, the Vedas came to be regarded as supernatural and infallible books, it was necessary that those systematic theologians who sought to deduce from their contents any consistent theory of being and of creation, should attempt to shew that the discrepancies between the different texts were only apparent.

SECT. IX.—*Arguments of the followers of the Nyāya, Vaiśeshika, and Sānkhya Systems in support of the authority of the Vedas, but against the eternity of sound.*

I. *The Nyāya.*—The eternity of sound is, as we have already discovered from the allusions of the Mīmānsaka commentator, (above p. 73), denied by the followers of the Nyāya school. The consideration of this subject is begun in the following way in the Nyāya aphorisms of Gotama, as explained by Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭāchārya in the Nyāya-sūtra-vṛitti, ii. 81:

[107] See S'ankara on the Br. Sūtras, iii. 31 (p. 844 of Bibl. Indica), where he says, *yadi punar ekasmin Brahmaṇi bahūni vijñānāni vedāntāntareshu pratipipādayishitāni teshām ekam abhrāntam bhrāntāni itarāṇi ity anaśvāsa-prasango vedānteshu tasmād na tāvat prativedāntam Brahma-vijñāna-bhedaḥ āśankituṁ śakyate* | "If, again, in the different Vedāntas (*i.e.* Upanishads) a variety of conceptions regarding the one Brahma be sought to be established, one of these (conceptions) will be correct, and the others erroneous, and thus the objection of being untrustworthy will attach to the Upanishads. It must not, therefore, be suspected that there is in each of the Upanishads a different conception of Brahma."

Vedasya prāmāṇyam āpta-prāmāṇyāt siddham | na cha idaṁ yujyate vedasya nityatvād ity āśankāyāṁ varṇānām anityatvāt kathaṁ tat-samudāya-rūpasya vedasya nityatvam ity āśayena śabdānityatva-prakaraṇam ārabhate | tatra 'siddhānta-sūtram' | "Ādimattvād aindriyakatvāt kṛitakatvād upachārāch cha" | 81. S'abdo 'nityaḥ ityādiḥ | ādimattvāt sakāraṇakatvāt' | nanu na sakāraṇakatvaṁ kaṇṭha-tālv-ādy-abhighātāder vyanjakatvenāpy upapatter ataḥ āha aindriyakatvād iti sāmānyavattve sati vahir-indriya-janya-laukikika-pratyaksha-vishayatvād ity arthaḥ | . . . . Aprayojakatvam āśankya āha kṛitaketi | kṛitake ghaṭādau yathā upachāro jnānaṁ tathaiva kāryyatva-prakāraka-pratyaksha-vishayatvād ity arthaḥ | tathā cha kāryatvena anāhāryya-sārvalaukika-pratyaksha-balād anityatvam eva siddhati |

"It has been proved (in the 68th Sūtra, see below) that 'the authority of the Veda follows from the authority of the competent person who made it.' But it may be objected that this is not a proper ground on which to base the authority of the Veda, since it is eternal. With the view of proving, in opposition to this, that since letters are not eternal, the Veda, which is a collection of letters, cannot be so either, the author of the Sūtras commences the section on the non-eternity of sound. The Sūtra laying down the established doctrine, is as follows: 'Sound cannot be eternal, as (1) it had an origin, as (2) it is cognizable by sense, and (3) it is spoken of as factitious.' Sound is non-eternal, etc., because (1) it had a beginning, *i.e.* because it had a cause. But it may be said that it had no cause, as, agreeably to the doctrine of the Mīmānsakas (see above, p. 74), the action of the throat and palate in pronunciation may merely occasion a manifestation of sound [without creating it]. In reply to this it is said (2) that sound is cognizable by sense, *i.e.* that though it belongs to a genus, it is an object of ordinary perception through an external sense." [A different explanation given by other interpreters is next quoted, which I omit.] . . . "Then surmising that the preceding definition may be regarded as not to the point, the author adds the words 'since it is spoken of as factitious,' *i.e.* as jars and other such objects are spoken of as—are known to be—products, so, too, sound is distinguishable by sense as being in the nature of a product. And in consequence of this incontrovertible and universal perception of its being produced, it is proved that it cannot be eternal." [Two other explanations of this last clause of the Sūtra are then added.]

Leaving the reader to study the details of the discussion in Dr. Ballantyne's aphorisms of the Nyāya (Part Second, pp. 77 ff.), I will pass over most of the Sūtras, and merely quote the principal conclusions of the Nyāya aphorist. In Sūtra 86 he says in opposition to the 13th Sūtra of the Mīmānsā (above, p. 74):

86. "*Prāg uchchāraṇād anupalambhād āvaraṇādy-anupalabdeḥ*" | *Śabdo yadi nityaḥ syād uchchāraṇāt prāg apy upalabhyeta śrotra-sannikarsha-sattvāt* | *na cha atra pratibandhakam asti ity āha āvaraṇeti āvaraṇādeḥ pratibandhakasya anupalabdhyā abhāva-nirṇayāt* | *deśāntara-gamanaṁ tu śabdasya amūrttatvād na sambhāvyate* | *atīndriyānanta-pratibandhakatva-kalpanām apekshya śabdānityatva-kalpanā eva laghīyasī iti bhāvaḥ* |

"'Sound is not eternal, because it is not perceived before it is uttered, and because we do not perceive anything which should intercept it.' If sound were eternal, it would be perceived even before it was uttered, from its being in contact with the ear. [Sound, as Dr. Ballantyne explains, is 'admitted to be a quality of the all-pervading æther.'] And in the next words the aphorist says that there is no obstacle to its being so heard, since the non-existence of any hindrance, such as an intercepting medium, is ascertained by our not perceiving anything of that sort. And it is not conceivable that sound should have gone to another place [and for that reason be inaudible], since it has no defined form. The supposition that sound is non-eternal, is simpler than the supposition that there are an infinity of imperceptible obstacles to its perception."

The 89th and 90th Sūtras, with part of the comments on them, are as follows:

89. "*Asparśatvāt*" | *śabdo nityaḥ* | *asparśatvād gagana-vad iti bhāvaḥ* |
90. "*Na karmānityatvāt*" *asparśvatvaṁ na śabda-nityatva-śādhakaṁ karmaṇi vyabhichārāt* |

89. "It may be said that sound is eternal, from its being, like the sky, intangible. 90. But this is no proof, for the intangibility of sound does not establish its eternity, since these two qualities do not always go together; for intangibility, though predicable, *e.g.* of action, fails to prove its eternity."

The 100th and following Sūtras are as follows:

100. "*Vināśa-kāraṇānupalabdheḥ*" | 101. "*Aśravaṇa-kāraṇānupalab-*

dheḥ satata-śravaṇa-prasangaḥ" | *Yady apratyakshād abhāva-siddhis tadā 'śravaṇa-kāraṇasya apratyakshatvād aśravaṇaṁ na syād iti satata-śravaṇa-prasangaḥ, iti bhāvaḥ* | 102. *"Upalabhyamāne cha anupalabdher asattvād anupadeśaḥ"* | *Anumānādinā upalabhyamāne vināśa-kāraṇe anupalabdher abhāvāt tvadīyo hetur anapadeśaḥ asādhakaḥ asiddhatvāt* | *janya-bhāvatvena vināśa-kalpanam iti bhāvaḥ* |

"It is said (100) that 'sound must be eternal, because we perceive no cause why it should cease.' The answer is (101), first, 'that if the non-existence of any such cause of cessation were established by the mere fact of its not being perceived, such non-perception would occasion our hearing continually, which is an absurdity.' And (102), secondly, 'since such non-perception is not a fact, inasmuch as [a cause of the cessation of sound] is perceived, this argument falls to the ground.' Since a cause for the cessation of sound is discovered by inference, etc., and thus the non-perception of any cause is seen to be untrue, this argument of yours proves nothing, because its correctness is not established. The purport is that we suppose, from sound being produced, that it must also be liable to perish."

Sūtras 106–122 are occupied with a consideration of the question (above treated, pp. 73, 74, in Sūtras 10 and 16 of the Mīmānsā) whether letters can change or not. The conclusion at which Gotama arrives is, that the substance of letters cannot undergo any alteration, though they may be said to change when they are modified in quality by being lengthened, shortened, etc.

In a preceding part of the Second Book (Sūtras 57–68) Gotama treats of the Veda, and repels certain charges which are alleged against its authority. I shall quote most of these aphorisms, and cite the commentary more fully than Dr. Ballantyne has done. (See Ballantyne's Nyāya Aphorisms, Part ii. pp. 56 ff.)

S'abdasya dṛishṭādṛishṭārthakatvena dvaividhyam uktaṁ tatra cha adṛishṭārthaka-śabdasya vedasya prāmāṇyam parīkshitum pūrva-paksha-yati | 57. *"Tad-aprāmāṇyam anṛita-vyāghāta-punaruktа-doshebhyaḥ"* | *Tasya dṛishṭārthaka-vyatirikta-śabdasya vedasya aprāmāṇyam* | *kutaḥ* | *anṛitatvādi-doshāt* | *tatra cha putreshṭi-kāryādau kvachit phalānutpatti-darśanād anṛitatvam* | *vyāghātaḥ pūrvāpara-virodhaḥ* | *yathā "udite juhoti anudite juhoti samayādhyushite juhoti* | *śyāvo 'sya āhutim abhyavaharati ya udite juhoti śavalo 'sya āhutim abhyavaharati yo 'nudite juhoti*

śyāva-śavalāv asya āhutim abhyavaharato yaḥ samayādhyushite juhoti" atra cha uditādi-vākyānāṁ nindānumitānishṭa-sādhanatā-bodhaka-vākya-virodhaḥ | paunaruktyād aprāmāṇyam | Yathā "triḥ prathamām anvāha | trir uttamām anvāha" | ity atra uttamatvasya prathamatva-paryavasānāt triḥ kathanena cha paunaruktyam | eteshām aprāmāṇye tad-dṛishṭāntena tad-eka-karttṛikatvena tad-eka-jātīyatvena vā sarva-vedāprāmāṇyaṁ sādhanīyam iti bhāvaḥ | siddhānta-sūtram | 58. "Na karma-karttṛi-sādhana-vaiguṇyāt" | Na vedāprāmāṇyaṁ karma-karttṛi-sādhana-vaiguṇyāt phalābhāvopapatteḥ | karmaṇāḥ kriyāyāḥ vaiguṇyam ayathāvidhitvādi | karttur vaiguṇyam avidvattvādi | sādhanasya havir-āder vaiguṇyam āprokshitatvādi | Yathokta-karmaṇaḥ phalābhāve hy anṛitatvam | na cha evam asti iti bhāvaḥ | vyāghātam pariharati | 59. "Abhyupetya kāla-bhede dosha-vachanāt" | na vyāghātaḥ iti śeshaḥ | Agny-ādhāna-kāle uditahomādikam abhyupetya svīkṛitya anudita-homādi-karaṇe pūrvokta-dosha-kathanād na vyāghātaḥ ity arthaḥ | paunaruktyam pariharati | 60. "Anuvādopapattes cha" | chaḥ punar-arthe | anuvādopapatteḥ punar na paunaruktyam | nishprayojanatve hi paunaruktyaṁ doshaḥ | ukta-sthale tv anuvādasya upapatteḥ prayojanasya sambhavāt | ekādaśa-sāmidhenīnām prathamottamayos trir abhidhāne hi panchadaśatvaṁ sambhavati | tathā-cha panchadaśatvaṁ śrūyate | "Imam aham bhrātṛivyam panchadaśāvareṇa vāg-vajreṇa cha bādhe yo 'smān dveshṭi yaṁ cha vayaṁ dvishmaḥ" iti | Anuvādasya sārthakatvaṁ loka-prasiddham iti āha | 61. "Vākya-vibhāgasya cha artha-grahaṇāt" | Vākya-vibhāgasya | anuvādatvena vibhakta-vākyasya artha-grahaṇāt prāyojana-svīkārāt | śishṭair iti śeshaḥ | śishṭāḥ hi vidhāyakānuvādakādi-bhedena vākyāṁ vibhajya anuvādakasyāpi saprayojanatvam manyante | Vede 'py evam iti bhāvaḥ | . . . Evam aprāmāṇya-sādhakaṁ nirasya prāmāṇyaṁ sādhayati | 68. "Mantrāyurveda-vach cha tat-prāmāṇyam āpta-prāmāṇyāt" | Āptasya vedakarttuḥ prāmāṇyād yathārthopadeśakatvād vedasya tad-uktatvam arthāl labdham | tena hetunā vedasya prāmāṇyam anumeyam | tatra dṛishṭāntam āha mantrāyurveda-vad iti | mantro vishādi-nāśakaḥ | āyurveda-bhāgaś cha veda-sthaḥ eva | tatra saṁvādena prāmāṇya-grahāt tad-dṛishṭāntena vedatvāvachhedena prāmāṇyam anumeyam | āptaṁ gṛihītam prāmāṇyaṁ yatra sa vedas tādṛiśena vedatvena prāmāṇyam anumeyam iti kechit |

"It had been declared (Nyāya Sūtras, i. 8) that verbal evidence is of two kinds, (1) that of which the subject-matter is seen, and (2) that of which the subject-matter is unseen. With the view, now, of testing

the authority of that verbal evidence which refers to unseen things, viz. the Veda, Gotama states the first side of the question. Sūtra 57. 'The Veda has no authority, since it has the defects of falsehood, self-contradiction, and tautology.' That verbal evidence, which is distinct from such as relates to visible objects, *i.e.* the Veda, has no authority. Why? Because it has the defects of falsehood, etc. Of these defects, that of 'falsehood' is established by the fact that we sometimes observe that no fruit results from performing the sacrifice for a son, or the like. 'Self-contradiction' is a discrepancy between a former and a later declaration. Thus the Veda says, 'he sacrifices when the sun is risen; he sacrifices when the sun is not yet risen; he sacrifices' [I cannot explain the next words]. 'A tawny [dog?] carries away the oblation of him who sacrifices after the sun has risen; a brindled [dog?] carries off the oblation of him who sacrifices before the sun has risen; and both of these two carry off the oblation of him who sacrifices.' . . . . Now here there is a contradiction between the words which enjoin sacrifices, and the words which intimate by censure that those sacrifices will occasion disastrous results. Again, the Veda has no authority, owing to its 'tautology,' as where it is said, 'he repeats the first thrice, he repeats the last thrice.' For as the lastness ultimately coincides with [?] the firstness, and as there is a triple repetition of the words, this sentence is tautological. Now since these particular sentences have no authority, the entire Veda will be proved by these specimens to stand in the same predicament, since all its other parts have the same author, or are of the same character, as these portions."

Here follows the Sūtra which conveys the established doctrine. "58. 'The Veda is not false; it is owing to some fault in the ceremonial, or the performer, or the instrument he employs, that any sacrifice is not followed by the promised results.' Faults in the ceremonial are such as its not being according to rule. Faults in the performer are such as ignorance. Faults in the instrument, *i.e.* in the clarified butter, etc., are such as its not being duly sprinkled, etc. For falsehood might be charged on the Veda, if no fruit resulted from a sacrifice when duly performed as prescribed; but such failure never occurs."

Gotama next repels the charge of self-contradiction in the Vedas. "59. 'There is no self-contradiction, for the fault is only imputed in case the sacrifice should be performed at a different time from that

at first intended.' The fault imputed to these sacrifices in the text in question would [only] be imputed if, after agreeing, at the time of placing the sacrificial fire, to perform the sacrifice after sunrise, one were to change it to a sacrifice before sunrise; there is, therefore, no self-contradiction in the passage referred to."

He next rebuts the charge of tautology. "60. 'The Veda is not tautological because repetition may be proper.' The particle *cha* means 'again.' 'Again, since repetition may be proper, there is no tautology.' For repetition is only a fault when it is useless. But in the passage referred to, since repetition is proper, its utility is apparent. For when the first and the last of the eleven sāmidhenīs (forms of prayer used on throwing fuel into the fire) are each repeated thrice, the whole number of verses will be made up to fifteen.[108] Accordingly, this number of fifteen is mentioned in these words of the Veda, 'I smite this enemy who hates us, and whom we hate, with the last of the fifteen verses, and with the thunderbolt of my words.'"

He next observes that the advantage of repetition is commonly recognised. "61. 'And the Veda is not tautological, because the utility of this division of discourse is admitted,' *i.e.* because the necessity for such a division of language, that is, of a description of language characterized as reiterative, is acknowledged, viz. by the learned. For by dividing language into the different classes of injunctive, reiterative, etc., learned men recognise the uses of the reiterative also. And this applies to the Veda."

The author of the aphorisms then proceeds to state and to define (in Sūtras 62–67) the different sorts of discourse employed in the Veda, and to defend the propriety of reiteration. "Having thus refuted the arguments which aim at showing that the Veda is of no authority, he goes on to prove its authority. 68. 'The authority of the Veda, like that of the formulas, and the Āyur-veda (treatise on medicine) follows from the authority of the competent [persons from whom they proceeded].' Since the competent maker of the Veda possesses authority, *i.e.* inculcates truth, it results from the force of the terms that the Veda was uttered by a person of this character; and by this reasoning the au-

[108] If there are in all eleven formulas, and two of these are each repeated thrice, we have (2 × 3 =) six to add to the nine (which remain of the original eleven), making (6 + 9 =) fifteen. See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 89 and 393.

thority of the Veda is to be inferred. He illustrates this by the case of the formulas and the Āyur-veda. By formulas (*mantra*) are meant the sentences which neutralize poison, etc., and the section containing the Āyur-veda forms part of the Veda. Now as the authority of these two classes of writings is admitted by general consent, the authority of everything which possesses the characteristics of the Veda must be inferred from this example. Some, however, explain the aphorism thus: a Veda is that in which authority is found or recognised. From such vedicity (or possession of the character of a Veda) the authority of any work is to be inferred."

I add the greater part of the more detailed and distinct exposition of this aphorism given by the commentator Vātsyāyana (Bibliotheca Indica, p. 91): [109]

Kiṁ punar āyurvedasya prāmāṇyam | yad āyurvedena upadiśyate idaṁ kṛitvā ishṭam adhigachchhati idaṁ varjjayitvā 'nishṭaṁ jahāti tasya anushṭhīyamānasya tathā-bhāvaḥ satyārthatā-'viparyyayaḥ | mantra-padānāṁ cha visha-bhūtāśani-pratishedhārthānām prayoge 'rthasya tathā-bhāvaḥ etat prāmāṇyam | kiṁ-kṛitam etat | āpta-prāmāṇya-kṛitam | kim punar āptānām prāmāṇyam | sākshāt-kṛita-dharmatā bhūta-dayā yathā-bhūtārtha-chikhyāpayishā iti | āptāḥ khalu sākshāt-kṛita-dharmāṇaḥ idaṁ hātavyam ayam asya hāni-hetur idam asya adhigantavyam ayam asya adhigamana-hetur iti bhūtāny anukampante | teshāṁ khalu vai prāṇa-bhṛitāṁ svayam anavabudhyamānānāṁ na anyad upadeśād avabodha-kāraṇam asti | na cha anavabodhe samīhā varjjanaṁ vā | na vā akṛitvā svasti-bhāvaḥ | nā'py asya anyaḥ upakārako'py asti | hanta vayam ebhyo yathā-darśanaṁ yathā-bhūtam upadiśāmaḥ | te ime śrutvā pratipadyamānāḥ heyaṁ hāsyanty adhigantavyam eva adhigamishyanti iti | evam āptopadeśaḥ etena tri-vidhena āpta-prāmāṇyena parigṛihīto 'nushṭhīyamāno 'rthasya sādhako bhavati | evam āptopadeśaḥ pramāṇam evam āptāḥ pramāṇam | dṛishṭārthena āptopadeśena āyurvedena adṛishṭārtho veda-bhāgo 'numātavyaḥ pramāṇam iti | āpta-prāmāṇyasya hetoḥ samānatvād iti | asya api cha eka-deśo "grāma-kāmo yajeta" ity evam-ādi-dṛishṭārthas tena anumātavyam iti | loke cha bhūyān upadeśāśrayo vyavahāraḥ | laukikasya apy upadeshṭur upadeṣṭavyārtha-jñānena parānugighṛikshayā yathā-bhūtārtha-chikhyāpayishayā cha prāmāṇyam | tat-pari-

[109] A small portion of this comment, borrowed from Professor Banerjea's Dialogues on Hindu philosophy, was given in the 1st edition of this vol. p. 210.

grahād āptopadeśah pramāṇam iti | drashṭṛi-pravaktṛi-sāmānyāch cha anumānam ye eva āptāḥ vedārthānāṁ drashṭāraḥ pravaktāraś cha te eva āyurveda-prabhṛitīnām | ity āyurveda-prāmāṇyc-vad veda-prāmāṇyam anumātavyam iti | nityatvād veda-vākhyānām pramāṇatve tat-prāmāṇyam āpta-prāmāṇyād ity ayuktam | śabdasya vāchakatvād artha-pratipattau pramāṇatvaṁ na nityatvāt | nityatve hi sarvasya sarveṇa vachanāch chhabdārtha-vyavasthā 'nupapattiḥ | na anityatve vāchakatvam iti chet | na | laukikeshv adarśanāt | te 'pi nityāḥ iti chet | na | anāptopadeśād artha-visaṁvādo 'nupapannaḥ | . . . . Manvantara-yugāntareshu cha atītānāgateshu sampradāyābhyāsa-prayogāvichhedo vedānāṁ nityatvam āptaprāmāṇyāch cha prāmāṇyam | laukikeshu śabdeshu cha etat samānam |

"On what then does the authority of the Āyur-veda depend? The Āyur-veda instructs us that to do so and so, is the means of attaining what is desirable, and to avoid so and so is the means of escaping what is undesirable: and the fact of such action having been followed by the promised result coincides with the supposition that the book declares what is true. So, too, the authority of the formulæ for neutralizing poison, repelling demons, and arresting lightning, is shewn by their application fulfilling its object. How is this result obtained? By the authoritativeness of competent persons. But what is meant by the authoritativeness of competent persons? It means their intuitive perception of duty, their benevolence to all creatures, and their desire to declare the truth of things. Competent persons are those who have an intuitive perception of duty; and they shew their benevolence to all creatures by pointing out that so and so is to be avoided, and that such and such are the means of avoiding it, and that so and so is to be attained, and that such and such are the means of attaining it. 'For these creatures,' they reflect, 'being themselves unaware of such things, have no other means of learning them except such instruction; and in the absence of information they can make no effort either to attain or avoid anything; whilst without such action their welfare is not secured; and there is no one else who can help in this case: come let us instruct them according to the intuition we possess, and in conformity with the reality; and they hearing, and comprehending, will avoid what should be avoided, and obtain what should be obtained.' Thus the instruction afforded by competent persons according to this threefold character of their authoritativeness [viz. (1) intuition, (2)

benevolence, and (3) desire to teach], being received, and acted upon, effects the object desired. And so the instruction given by competent persons is authority, and these competent persons are authorities. From the Āyur-veda, which conveys instruction given by competent persons in reference to objects perceptible by the senses, it is to be inferred that that part also of the Veda which is concerned with imperceptible objects[110] is authoritative, since the cause, the authoritativeness of competent persons, is the same in both cases; and the same inference is to be drawn from the fact that a portion of the injunctions of the last mentioned part of the Veda also have reference to perceptible objects, as in the case of the precept, 'Let the man who desires landed property sacrifice,' etc., etc. In common life, too, men usually rely upon instruction. And the authority of an ordinary instructor depends (1) upon his knowledge of the matter to be taught, (2) upon his disposition to shew kindness to others, and (3) upon his desire to declare the truth. From its being accepted, the instruction imparted by competent persons constitutes proof. And from the fact that the seers and declarers are the same in both cases, viz. that the competent seers and declarers of the contents of the (rest of the) Veda are the very same as those of the Āyur-veda, etc., we must infer that the authoritativeness of the former is like that of the latter. But on the hypothesis that the authority of the Vedic injunctions is derived from their eternity, it will be improper to say that it arises from the authoritativeness of competent persons, since the authority of words as exponents of meanings springs from their declarative character, and not from their eternity. For on the supposition of the eternity of words, every (word) would express every (thing), which would be contrary to the fixity of their signification. If it be objected that unless words are eternal, they cannot be declarative, we deny this, as it is not witnessed in the case of secular words. If it be urged again that secular words also are eternal, we must again demur, since the discrepancy of purport arising from the injunctions of incompetent persons would be at variance with this." After some further argumentation Vātsyāyana concludes: "The eternity of the Vedas [really] consists in the unbroken continuity of their tradition, study, and application, both in the Manvantaras and

[110] Compare the commentator's remarks introductory to the Nyāya aphorism ii. 57, quoted above, p. 112.

Yugas which are past, and those which are to come; whilst their authority arises from the authoritativeness of the competent persons (who uttered them). And this is common to them with secular words."

The phrase *sākshāt-kṛita-dharmāṇaḥ*, "possessing an intuitive perception of duty," which is employed by Vātsyāyana in the preceding extract as a definition of *āptāḥ*, "competent persons," is one which had previously been applied by Yāska (Nirukta, i. 20) to describe the character of the rishis: *Sākshāt-kṛita-dharmāṇaḥ ṛishayo babhūvuḥ | te 'varebhyo 'sākshāt-kṛita-dharmabhyaḥ upadeśena mantrān samprāduḥ | upadeśāya glāyanto 'vare bilma-grahaṇāya imaṁ granthaṁ samāmnāsishur vedaṁ cha vedāṅgāni cha* | "The rishis, who had an intuitive perception of duty, handed down the hymns by (oral) instruction to men of later ages, who had not that intuitive perception. These, declining in their power of giving instruction, compiled this work (the Nirukta), the Veda, and the Vedāngas, in order to facilitate the comprehension of details."

The Vaiśeshika.—Among the aphorisms of this system also there are some which, in opposition to the Mīmānsakas, assert, 1st, that the Vedas are the product of an intelligent mind; and 2nd (if the interpretation of the commentator is to be received) that they have been uttered by God.[111]

The second aphorism of the first section of the first book is as follows:

Yato 'bhyudaya-niśśreyasa-siddhiḥ sa dharmaḥ |

"Righteousness is that through which happiness and future perfection[112] are attained."

After explaining this the commentator proceeds to introduce the next aphorism by the following remarks:

Nanu nivṛitti-lakshaṇo dharmas tattva-jñāna-dvārā niśśreyasa-hetur ity

[111] Of the aphorisms, which I am about to quote, the first has been translated by Dr. Ballantyne (who published a small portion of these Sūtras with an English version in 1851); and it, as well as the others, is briefly commented upon by the Rev. Prof. Banerjea, in his Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy, pp. 474 ff., and Pref. p. ix., note. See my article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. xx. for 1852, entitled "Does the Vaiśeshika philosophy acknowledge a Deity or not?" from which the translations now given have been transferred with but little alteration and a few additions. And compare Dr. Roer's German translation of the Vaiśeshika aphorisms in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1867, pp. 309 ff.

[112] The Commentator explains *abhyudaya* as = *tattva-jñānam*, "a knowledge of the reality," and *niśśreyasa* as *ātyantikī duḥkha-nivṛittiḥ*, "the complete cessation of suffering."

attra śrutiḥ pramāṇam | śruter eva prāmāṇye vayaṁ vipratipadyāmahe "anṛita-vyāghāta-punarukta-doṣebhyaḥ" | . . . . na cha āmnāya-pratipādakaṁ kinchid asti nityatve viprattipattau | nitya-nirdoshatvam api sandigdham | paurusheyatve tu bhrama-pramāda-vipratipatti-karaṇāpāṭavādi-saṁbhāvanayā āptoktatvam api sandigdham eva iti na niśśreyasaṁ na vā tattra tattva-jnānaṁ dvāraṁ na vā dharmaḥ iti sarvam etad ākulam | ataḥ āha "tad-vachanād āmnāyasya prāmāṇyam" | "tad" ity anupakrāntam api prasiddhi-siddhatayā īśvaram parāmṛiśati | yathā "tad-aprāmāṇyam anṛita-vyāghāta-punarukta-dṛshebhyaḥ" iti Gautamīya-sūtre tach-chhabdena anupakrānto 'pi vedaḥ parāmṛiśyate | tathā cha tad-vachanāt tena īśvareṇa praṇayanād āmnāyāsya vedasya prāmāṇyam | yadvā "tad" iti sannihitaṁ dharmam eva parāmṛiśati | tathā cha dharmasya "vachanāt" pratipādanād "āmnāyasya" vedasya prāmāṇyam | yad hi vākyam prāmāṇikam artham pratipādayati tat pramāṇam eva yataḥ ity arthaḥ | īśvaras tad-āptatvaṁ cha sādhayishyate |

"But may it not be objected here that it is the Veda which proves that righteousness, in the form of abstinence from action, is, by means of the knowledge of absolute truth, the cause of future perfection; but that we dispute the authority of the Veda because it is chargeable with the faults of falsehood, contradiction, and tautology[113] . . . . And further, there is nothing to prove the authority of the Veda, for its eternity is disputed, its eternal faultlessness is doubted, and if it have a personal author, the fact of this person being a competent utterer is questioned, since there is an apprehension of error, inadvertence, contradiction, and want of skill in composition attaching to him. Thus there is neither any such thing as future perfection, nor is either a knowledge of absolute truth the instrument thereof, or righteousness. Thus everything is perplexed."

In answer to all this the author of the aphorism says:

"The authority of the sacred record arises from its being uttered by Him."

"Here," says the commentator, "the word *tad* (His) refers to Īśvara (God); as, though no mention of Him has yet been introduced, He is proved by common notoriety to be meant; just as in the aphorism of Gautama: 'Its want of authority is shown by the faults of falsehood,

[113] Here the same illustrations are given as in the commentary on the Nyāya aphorisms, quoted above, pp. 113 ff.

contradiction, and tautology,' the Veda, though not previously introduced, is intended by the word *tad*.[114] And so [the meaning of the aphorism is that] the authority of the sacred record, *i.e.* the Veda, is proved by its being spoken by Him, composed by Him, by Īśvara. Or, *tad* (its)[114] may denote *dharma* (duty) which immediately precedes; and then [the sense will be that] the authority of the sacred record, *i.e.* the Veda, arises from its declaring, *i.e.* establishing, duty, for the text which establishes any authoritative matter must be itself an authority. The proof of Īśvara and his competence will be hereafter stated." The commentator then goes on to answer the charges of falsehood, contradiction, and tautology alleged against the Veda.

The next aphorism which I shall quote (vi. 1, 1) is thus introduced by the commentator:

Buddhi-pūrvā vākya-kṛitir vede | saṁsāra-mūla-kāraṇayor dharmādharmayoḥ parīkshā shashṭhādhyāyārthaḥ | dharmādharmau cha "svargakāmo yajeta" "na kalanjam bhakshayed" ityādi-vidhi-nishedha-balakalpanīyau vidhi-nishedha-vākyayoḥ prāmāṇye sati syātām | tat-prāmāṇyaṁ cha vaktur yathārtha-vākyārtha-jñāna-lakshaṇa-guṇa-pūrvakatvād upapadyate | svataḥ prāmāṇyasya nishedhāt | ataḥ prathamaṁ veda-prāmāṇya-prayojaka-guṇa-sādhanaṁ upakramate | "vākya-kṛitir" vākya-rachanā | sā buddhi-pūrvā vaktṛi-yathārtha-vākyārtha-jñāna-pūrvā | vākya-rachanātvāt | "nadī-tīre pancha phalāni santi" ity asmad-ādi-vākya-rachanā-vat | "vede" iti vākya-samudāye ity arthaḥ | tattra samudāyināṁ vākyānāṁ kṛitiḥ pakshaḥ | na cha asmad-ādi-buddhi-pūrvaka-

[114] For the sake of the reader who does not know Sanskrit, it may be mentioned that *tad* being in the crude, or uninflected form, may denote any of the three genders, and may be rendered either 'his,' 'hers,' or 'its.' I may observe that the alternative explanation which the commentator gives of the Aphorism, i. 1, 3, viz. that the authority of the Veda arises from its being declarative of duty, is a much less probable one than the other, that its authority is derived from its being the utterance of God; for it does not clearly appear how the subject of a book can establish its authority; and, in fact, the commentator, when he states this interpretation, is obliged, in order to give it the least appearance of plausibility, to assume the authoritative character of the precepts in the Veda, and from this assumption to infer the authority of the book which delivers them. I may also observe that Jayanārāyaṇa Tarkapanchānana, the author of the Gloss on S'aṅkara Miśra's Commentary, takes no notice of this alternative interpretation; and that in his comment on the same aphorism when repeated at the close of the work (x. 2, 9) S'aṅkara Miśra himself does not put it forward a second time. Dr. Roer (Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. for 1867, p. 310) argues in favour of the former of the two interpretations as the true one.

tvena anyathā-siddhiḥ | "svarga-kāmo yajeta" ityādāv ishṭa-sādhanatāyāḥ kāryyatāyāḥ vā asmad-ādi-buddhy-agocharatvāt | tena svatantra-purusha-pūrvakatvaṁ vede siddhyati | vedatvaṁ cha śabda-tad-upajīvi-pramāṇātiriktа-pramāṇa-janya-pramity-avishayārthakatve sati śabda-janya-vākyārtha-jnānājanya-pramāṇa-śabdatvam |

"An examination of righteousness and unrighteousness, which are the original causes of the world,[115] forms the subject of the 6th section. Now, righteousness and unrighteousness are to be constituted by virtue of such injunctions and prohibitions as these: 'The man who desires paradise should sacrifice,' 'Let no one eat garlic,' etc., provided these injunctions and prohibitions be authoritative. And this authoritativeness depends upon the fact of the utterer [of these injunctions or prohibitions] possessing the quality of understanding the correct meaning of sentences, for the supposition of inherent authoritativeness is untenable. The author, therefore, first of all enters upon the proof of that quality which gives rise to the authoritativeness of the Veda.

"Aphorism vi. 1. 1.—'There is in the Veda a construction of sentences which is produced (*lit.* preceded) by intelligence.'"

"The 'construction of sentences,' the composition of sentences, 'is produced by intelligence,' *i.e.* by a knowledge of the correct meaning of sentences on the part of the utterer [of them]; [and this is proved] by the fact of these sentences possessing an arrangement like the arrangement of such sentences as 'There are five fruits on the river side,' composed by such persons as ourselves. 'In the Veda,' *i.e.* in the collection of sentences (so called). Here the construction of the sentences composing the collection is the subject of the proposition which is asserted. And this construction must not be ascribed to a wrong cause by assuming that it was the work of a [limited] intelligence such as ours. [Because it was not a limited intelligence which produced these sentences]. For it is not an object of apprehension to the understandings of persons like ourselves that such injunctions as, 'He who desires paradise should sacrifice,' are the instruments of obtaining what we desire, or that they are obligatory in themselves. Hence in the case of the Veda the agency of a self-dependent person is

[115] This, I suppose, means that the existence of the world in its present or developed form, is necessary in order to furnish the means of rewarding righteousness and punishing unrighteousness.

established [since these matters could be known by such a person alone.] And while the contents of the Veda are not the subjects of a knowledge produced by any proof distinct from verbal proof, and the proofs dependent thereon, Vedicity, or the characteristic nature of the Veda, consists in its being composed of (authoritative) words, whose authority does not spring from a knowledge of the meaning of sentences arising from words [but depends on the underived omniscience of its author]." "Or, Vedicity consists in being one or other of the four collections, the Rich, Yajush, Sāman, or Atharvan."[116]

I will introduce the next aphorism (x. 2, 9) which I propose to cite (and which is a repetition of aphorism i. 1, 3), by adducing some remarks of the commentator on the one which immediately precedes it, viz. x. 2, 8:

Nanu śruti-prāmāṉye sati syād evam | tad eva tu durlabham | na hi mīmāṁsakānām iva nitya-nirdoshatvena śruti-prāmāṉyaṁ tvayā ishyate paurusheyatvenābhyupagamāt purushasya cha bhrama-pramāda-vipralipsādi-sambhavāt | ataḥ āha "dṛishṭābhāve" iti | dṛishṭam purushāntare 'smad-ādau bhrama-pramāda- [*viprati*?] *lipsādikaṁ purusha-dūshaṇaṁ tad-abhāve sati ity arthaḥ | kshiti-karttṛitvena veda-vaktṛitvena vā 'numitasya purusha-dhaureyasya nirdoshatvena eva upasthiteḥ | tathā cha tad-vachasāṁ na nirabhidheyatā na viparītābhidheyatā na nishprayojanābhidheyatā | bhūtendriya-manasāṁ doshād bhrama-pramāda-kāraṇāpāṭavādi-prayuktāḥ eva vachasām aviśuddhayaḥ sambhāvyante | na cha īśvara-vachasi tāsāṁ sambhavaḥ | tad uktam "rāgājnānādibhir vaktā grastatvād anṛitaṁ vadet | te cheśvare na vidyante sa brūyāt katham anyathā" | nanu tena īśvareṇa vedaḥ praṇītaḥ ity atra eva viprapattir ataḥ āha | "tad-vachanāt āmnāyasya prāmāṉyam" | iti śāstra-parisamāptau "tad-vachanāt" tena īśvareṇa vachanāt praṇayanād "āmnāyasya" vedasya prāmāṉyam | tathā hi | vedās tāvat paurusheyāḥ vākyatvād iti sādhitam | na cha asmad-ādayas teshāṁ sahasra-śākhāvachchhinnānāṁ vaktāraḥ sambhāvyante atīndriyārthatvāt | na cha atīndriyārtha-darśino 'smad-ādayaḥ | kincha āptoktāḥ vedāḥ mahājana-parigṛihītatvāt | yad na āptoktaṁ na tad mahājana-parigṛihītaṁ | mahājana-parigṛihītaṁ cha idam | tasmād āptoktam | sva-tantra-purusha-praṇītatvaṁ cha āptoktatvam | mahājana-parigṛihītatvaṁ cha sarva-darśanāntaḥpāti-purushānushṭhīyamānārthatvam | kvachit phalābhāvaḥ karma-karttṛi-sādhana-vaiguṇyād*

[116] The last words are a translation of the conclusion of Jayanārāyaṇa's gloss.

ity uktam | karttṛi-smaraṇābhavād na evam iti chet | na | karttṛi-smaraṇasya pūrvam eva sādhitatvāt | taṭ-praṇītatvaṁ cha sva-tantra-purusha-praṇītatvād eva siddham | na tv asmad-ādīnāṁ sahasra-śākha-veda-pranayane svātantryaṁ sambhavati ity uktatvāt | kincha pramāyāḥ guṇa-janyatvena vaidika-pramāyāḥ api guṇa-janyatvam āvaśyakam | tattra cha guṇo vaktṛi-yathārtha-vākyārtha-jnānam eva vāchyaḥ | tathā cha tādṛiśaḥ eva vede vaktā yaḥ svargāpūrvādi-vishayaka-sākshātkāravān | tādṛiśaś cha na īśvarād anyaḥ iti sushṭhu |

"Now all this will be so, provided the Veda is authoritative: but this condition is the very one which is difficult to attain; for you do not hold, like the Mīmānsakas, that the authority of the Veda arises from its eternal faultlessness; since you admit that it has a personal author, and error, inadvertence, and a desire to deceive are incident to such a person. It is with a view to this objection that the writer says in his aphorism, 'In the absence of what is seen,' *i.e.* in the absence of those personal faults which are seen in other persons like ourselves,[117] such as error, inadvertence, and a desire to deceive: for the Supreme Person who is inferred from the creation of the world, or the authorship of the Veda, can only exist in a state of freedom from fault; and, consequently, neither want of meaning, nor contradiction of meaning, nor uselessness of meaning, can be predicated of his words. Incorrectnesses in words are to be apprehended as the results of error, inadvertence, or unskilfulness in composition, arising from some defect in the elements, the senses, or the mind. But none of these things is to be imagined in the word of Īśvara (the Lord). And this has been expressed in the following verse: 'A speaker may utter falsehood, from being possessed by affection, ignorance, and the like; but these [defects] do not exist in God; how then can he speak what is otherwise [than true]?'

"But may not the fact that the Veda is composed by God be disputed? In consequence of this, the author says (in the next aphorism):

x. 2, 9. 'The authority of the Vedic record arises from its being uttered by Him.'

[117] A different interpretation is given by the commentator to this phrase *dṛishṭābhāve*, in an earlier aphorism in which it occurs, viz. vi. 2, 1. He there understands it to mean that where there is no visible motive for a prescribed action, an invisible one must be presumed (*yattra dṛishṭam prayojanaṁ nopalabhyate tattra adṛishṭam prayojanaṁ kalpanīyam*).

"Thus at the end of his treatise [the writer lays it down that] the authority of the Veda is derived from its being His word, viz. from its being spoken, *i.e.* composed by Him, *i.e.* by Īśvara. As thus: The Vedas are derived from a person, because they are formed of sentences. This has been proved. And persons like ourselves cannot be conceived as the utterers of these Vedas, which are distinguished by having thousands of Śākhās (recensions), because their objects are such as lie beyond the reach of the senses; and persons like us have no intuition into anything beyond the reach of the senses. Further, the Vedas [are not only derived from a personal author, but they] have been uttered by a competent author (*āpta*), because they have been embraced by great men. Whatever has not been uttered by a competent person is not embraced by great men: but this (book) is embraced by great men: therefore it has been uttered by a competent person. Now, composition by a self-dependent person is utterance by a competent person; and the reception (of the Veda) by great men is the observance of its contents by persons who are adherents of all the different philosophical schools: and (the infallibility of the Veda is defended by that which) has been already said, viz. that any occasional failure in the results (of ceremonies prescribed in the Veda) is owing to some defect in the rite, or in the performer, or in the instruments employed [and not to any fallibility in the Veda].

"If it be objected to this reasoning, that no author (of the Veda) is recollected, we rejoin, that this is not true, because it has been formerly proved that the author is remembered. And that it was composed by Him is proved by the simple fact of its being composed by a self-dependent person; and because it has been said that the self-dependence [or unassisted ability] of people like us in the composition of the Veda, consisting, as it does, of a thousand Śākhās, is inconceivable. And since authority (in a writing in general) springs from a quality [in its author], it necessarily follows that the authority of the Veda also springs from a quality. And there the quality in question must be declared to be the speaker's knowledge of the correct meaning of sentences. And thus (we have shewn that) there is such an utterer of the Veda, who possesses an intuitive knowledge of paradise, and of the yet unseen consequences of actions, etc., and such an utterer is no other than Īśvara. Thus all is satisfactory."

The ultimate proofs, then, of the binding authority of the Veda are, according to the commentator, 1st, its extent and subject-matter, and 2ndly, its unanimous reception by great men, adherents of all the different orthodox systems. Of course these arguments have no validity except for those who see something supernatural in the Veda, and on the assumption that the great men who embraced it were infallible; and therefore as against the Bauddhas and other heretics who saw nothing miraculous in the Vedas, and consequently regarded all their adherents as in error, they were utterly worthless. But possibly it was not the object of the commentator (for the greater part of the argumentation is his, not that of the author of the Aphorisms) to state the ultimate reasons on which the authority of the Vedas would have to be vindicated against heretics, but merely to explain the proper grounds on which the orthodox schools who already acknowledged that authority ought to regard it as resting; *i.e.* not, as the Mīmānsakas held their eternal faultlessness, but the fact of their being uttered by an intelligent and omniscient author; whose authorship, again, was proved by the contents of the Vedas having reference to unseen and future matters of which only an omniscient Being could have any knowledge; while the fact of these revelations in regard to unseen things having actually proceeded from such a Being, and being therefore true, was guaranteed by the unanimous authority of the wisest men among the faithful.

As it is a matter of some interest to know what is the nature of inspiration, or supernatural knowledge, as conceived by the Vaiśeshikas, I shall quote some passages bearing on this subject from the aphorisms, or from their expounder, Śankara Miśra. In his remarks on Aphorism viii. 1, 2 (p. 357), the commentator states that opinion (*jnāna*) is of two kinds, true (*vidyā*) and false (*avidyā*); and that the former (*vidyā*) is of two descriptions, arising from perception, inference, recollection, and the infallible intuition "peculiar to rishis" (*Tach cha jnānaṁ dvividhaṁ vidyā cha avidyā cha | vidyā chaturvidhā pratyaksha-laingika-smṛity-ārsha-lakshaṇā*). Perception or intuition, again, is of different kinds or degrees (Aphorism ix. 1, 11–15, pp. 385 ff.). Aphorism ix. 1, 11 (p. 386), is as follows:

Tad evam bhāvābhāva-vishayakaṁ laukika-pratyakshaṁ nirūpya yogi-pratyakshaṁ nirūpayitum prakaraṇāntaram ārabhate | ix. 1, 11. "*Ātmany ātma-manasoḥ saṁyoga-viśeshād ātma-pratyaksham*" | *jnānam ut-*

padyate iti śeshaḥ | dvividhās tāvad yoginaḥ samāhitāntaḥkaraṇāḥ ye "yuktāḥ" ity abhidhīyante asamāhitāntaḥkaraṇāś cha ye "viyuktāḥ" ity abhidhīyante | tattra yuktāḥ sākshātkartavyā vastuny ādareṇa mano nidhāya nididhyāsanavantaḥ | teshām ātmani svātmani parātmani cha jñānam utpadyate | "ātma-pratyaksham" iti | ātmā sākshātkāra-vishayo yattra jñāne tat tathā | yadyapy asmad-ādīnām api kadāchid ātma-jñānam asti tathāpy avidyā-tiraskṛitatvāt tad asat-kalpam ity uktam | "ātma-manasos sannikarsha-viśeshād" iti yoga-ja-dharmānugrahaḥ ātma-manasoḥ sannikarsha-viśeshas tasmād ity arthaḥ |

"Having thus defined ordinary perception which has for its objects existence and non-existence, the author, with the view of determining the character of the intuition of yogins, says:- 'From a particular concentration of both the soul and the mind[118] on the soul, arises the perception (or intuition) of soul.' On this the commentator remarks: 'There are two kinds of *yogins* (intent, or contemplative, persons), (1) those whose inner sense is fixed *samāhitāntaḥkaraṇāḥ*), who are called (*yuktāḥ*) united (*i.e.* with the object of contemplation), and (2) those whose inner sense is no longer fixed, and who are called disunited (*viyuktāḥ*).[119] Of these the first class, who are called 'united,' fix their minds with reverence on the thing which is to be the object of intuition, and contemplate it intently. In this way knowledge arises in their souls regarding their own souls, and the souls of others. 'Intuition of soul,' that is, a knowledge in which soul is the perceptible object of intuition. Now, although persons like ourselves have sometimes a knowledge of soul, yet from this knowledge being affected by ignorance, it has been said to be like what is unreal. 'From a particular concentration of the soul and the mind;' that is, from a particular conjunction of the soul and the mind which is effected by means of the virtue derived from yoga." See also Aphorism xv. p. 390.

At the conclusion of his remarks (Bibl. Ind. p. 408) on the third sort of true knowledge (referred to in p. 357, Bibl. Ind.), viz. recollection, the commentator remarks that the author of the aphorisms does not make any separate mention of the fourth kind of knowlege, viz. infallible intuition:

[118] The "mind" (*manas*) is regarded by the Indian philosophers as distinct from the soul, and as being merely an internal organ.

[119] This class is the more perfect of the two, as appears from the gloss of Jayanārāyaṇa: *ayam api viśishṭa-yogavattvād viyuktaḥ ity uchyate.*

ix. 2, 6. . . . . *Ārshaṁ jnānam sūtra-kṛitā pṛithaṁ na lakshitam | yogi-pratyakshāntarbhāvitam | padārtha-pradeśākhye tu prakaraṇe tad uktam | tad yathā | "āmnāya-vidhātṛīṇām ṛishīṇām atītānāgata-varttamāneshv atīndriyārtheshv artheshu dharmādishu granthopanibaddheshu vā lingādy-anapekshād ātma-manasoḥ saṁyogād dharma-viśeshāch cha prātibhaṁ jnānaṁ yad utpadyate tad ārsham iti | tach cha kadāchil laukikānām api bhavati, yathā kanyakā vadati "śvo me bhrātā gantā iti hṛidayam me kathayati" iti |*

"Rishis' (*ārsha*) knowledge," he says, "is not separately defined by the author of the aphorisms, but is included in the intuition of *yogins*.[120] But the following statement has been made (in reference to it) in the section on the categories: 'Rishis' (*ārsha*) knowledge is that which, owing to a conjunction of the soul and the mind, independent of inference, etc., and owing to a particular species of virtue, illuminates those rishis who have composed the record of the Vedas (*āmnāya-vidhātṛīṇām*), in reference to such matters, whether past, future, or present, as are beyond the reach of the senses, or in reference to matters of duty, etc., recorded in books,' etc. And this sort of knowledge is also sometimes manifested by ordinary persons, as when a girl says, 'my heart tells me that my brother will go to-morrow.'" See also Aphorism ix. 2, 13 (Bibl. Ind. pp. 414, 415).

The Tarka-sangraha, another Vaiśeshika work, also affirms the divine authorship of the Veda in these words:[121] *Vākyaṁ dvividhaṁ laukikaṁ vaidikaṁ cha | vaidikam Īśvaroktatvāt sarvam eva pramāṇam laukikaṁ tu āptoktam pramāṇam anyad apramāṇam |* "Sentences are of two kinds, Vedic and secular. Vedic sentences, from being uttered by Īśvara, are all proof [or authoritative]. Of secular sentences, those only which are uttered by competent persons (*āpta*) are proof; the rest are not proof."

In this text, the authority of the Veda is founded on its being uttered by Īśvara; and this characteristic is regarded as limited to the Veda.

[120] It had been already noticed by Professor Max Müller in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vii. p. 311, that "the Vaiśeshikas, like Kapila, include the intuition of enlightened rishis under the head of *pratyaksha* (intuition), and thus separate it decidedly from *aitihya*, 'tradition.'" He also quotes the commentator's remark about a similar intuition being discoverable among ordinary persons, which he thinks is not "without a certain irony."

[121] See Dr. Ballantyne's ed. with Hindī and English Versions, p. 40 of the Sanskrit.

On the other hand, such secular works as proceed from competent persons (*āpta*) are also declared to possess authority. Here, therefore, a distinction is drawn between the authority of the Veda and that of all other writings, however authoritative, inasmuch as the former was uttered by Īśvara, while the latter have only been uttered by some competent person (*āpta*). But in the Nyāya aphorism, ii. 68, quoted and commented upon above (p. 114), the authority of the Veda itself is made to rest on the authority of the wise, or competent persons (*āpta*), from whom it proceeded.[122] In this aphorism, therefore, either the word "āpta" must mean "Īśvara," or we must suppose a difference of view between the author of the aphorism on the one hand, and the writers of the Vaiśeshika aphorisms and the Tarka-sangraha on the other. We shall see from the next extract that the Kusumānjali coincides with the latter.

I quote from the work just named (of which Udayana Āchārya is the author), and its commentary,[123] some statements of the doctrine maintained by the author regarding the origin and authority of the Veda. Mr. Colebrooke (Misc. Ess. i. 263, or p. 166 of Williams and Norgate's ed.) speaks of this treatise as being accompanied by a commentary of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha; but the one which is printed in the Calcutta edition, as well as in Professor Cowell's, is by Haridāsa Bhaṭṭāchārya. The object of the work is to prove the existence of a personal god (Īśvara), in opposition to various other antagonistic theories.

I. Kusumānjali, 2nd Stavaka, at the commencement: *Anyathā 'pi paraloka-sādhanānushṭhāna-sambhavād iti dvitīya-vipratipattiḥ | Anyathā Īśvaraṁ vinā 'pi paraloka-sādhana-yāgādy-anushṭhānaṁ sambhavati yāgādeḥ svarga-sādhanatvasya veda-gamyatvāt | nitya-nirdoshatayā cha vedasya prāmāṇyam | mahājanc-parigrahāch cha prāmāṇyasya grahaḥ iti veda-kāraṇatayā na Īśvara-siddhiḥ | yogardhi-sampādita-sā.vajnya-Kapi-*

[122] The following words are put by the author of the Vishṇu Purāṇa (iii. ch. 18; Wilson, vol. iii. p. 212) into the mouth of the deluder who promulgated the Bauddha and other heresies: *Na hy āpta-vādāḥ nabhaso nipatanti mahāsurāḥ | yuktimad vachanaṁ grāhyam mayā 'nyais cha bhavad-vidhaiḥ |* "Words of the competent do not, great Asuras, fall from the sky. It is only words supported by reasons that should be admitted by me and others like yourselves."

[123] This book was published at the Sanskrit Press, Calcutta, in the S'aka year, 1769. A new edition was published by Professor Cowell in 1864, accompanied by an English translation. I have availed myself of this excellent version to correct a good many mistakes in my own.

lādi-pūrvakaḥ eva vā vedo 'stv ity atra āha | "pramāyāḥ paratantratvāt sarga-pralaya-sambhavāt | tad-anyasminn aviśvāsād na vidhāntara-sambhavaḥ" | Śābdī pramā vaktṛi-yathārtha-vakyārtha-dhī-rūpa-guṇa-janyā iti guṇādhāratdyā Īśvara-siddhiḥ | nanu sakartṛike 'stu yathārtha-vākyārtha-dhīr guṇaḥ | akartṛike cha vede nirdoshatvam eva prāmāṇya-prayojakam astu mahājana-parigṛheṇa cha prāmāṇya-grahaḥ ity ata āha | "sarga-pralaya-sambhavād" iti | pralayottaram pūrva-veda-nāśād uttara-vedasya katham prāmāṇyam mahājana-parigrahasyāpi tadā abhāvāt | śabdasya anityatvam utpanno ga-kāraḥ iti pratīti-siddham | pravāhāvichchheda-rūpa-nityatvam api pralaya-sambhavād nāsti iti bhāvaḥ | Kapilādayaḥ eva sargādau pūrva-sargābhyasta-yoga-janya-dharmānubhavāt sākshāt-kṛita-sakalārthāḥ karttāraḥ santu | ity ata āha | "tad-anyasminn" iti | viśva-nirmāṇa-samarthāḥ animādi-śakti-sampannāḥ yadi sarvajnās tadā lāghavād eka eva tādṛiśaḥ svīkriyatām | sa eva bhagavān Īśvaraḥ | anityāsarva-vishayaka-jnānavati cha viśvāsaḥ eva nāsti | iti vaidika-vyavahāra-vilopaḥ | iti na vidhāntara-sambhavaḥ Īśvarānangīkartṛi-naye iti śeshaḥ |

"The second objection is that [there is no proof of an Īśvara], since the means of attaining paradise can be practised independently of any such Being. That is to say, the celebration of sacrifices, etc., which are the instruments of obtaining paradise, can take place otherwise, *i.e.* even without an Īśvara (God). For the fact that sacrifices, etc., are the instruments of obtaining paradise is to be learned from the Veda, while the authority of the Veda rests upon its eternal faultlessness; and the [immemorial] admission of that authority results from its reception by illustrious men. Now in this way there is no proof of the existence of a God to be derived from the idea that he is the cause of the Veda. Or let it be supposed that the Veda was preceded [composed] by Kapila and other sages, who by their wealth in devotion had acquired omniscience.

"In answer to all this the author says: [verse] 'Since truth depends on an external source; since creation and dissolution occur, and since there is no confidence in any other than God, therefore no other manner can be conceived [in which the Veda originated, except from God].' [Comment] Verbal truth [or authoritativeness] is derived from the attribute, possessed by its promulgator, of comprehending the true sense of words [*i.e.* in order to constitute the Veda an authoritative

rule of duty, it must have proceeded from an intelligent being who understood the sense of what he uttered]; and since God is the substratum of this attribute [of intelligence], there is proof of his existence.

"But it may be said that if the Veda had a maker, then, indeed, such comprehension of the true sense of words as you insist upon may be a quality belonging to him; but if the Veda had no maker, let it be its faultlessness which imparts to it its authority, while the [immemorial] admission of that authority results from its reception by illustrious men.

"In answer to this the author says: 'Since creation and dissolution occur.' Since the previous Veda [the one which existed during the former mundane period] perished after the dissolution of the universe, how can the subsequent Veda [*i.e.* the one supposed by our opponents to have existed during the dissolution] be authoritative, since there was not then even any reception of it by illustrious men [who also had all become extinct at the dissolution]. And further, the non-eternity of sound is proved by the conviction we have that letters such as G are produced, [and not eternal]: and even that eternity (or perpetuity) of the Veda which consists in unbroken continuity of tradition, does not exist, as there is probable proof of a dissolution.[124] But, again, it is urged that Kapila and other saints—who, from their perception of duty, springing from the practice of devotion during the former mundane period, had acquired an intuitive knowledge of every subject—may at the creation have been the authors of the Veda. This is answered in the words, 'since there is no confidence in any other but God.' If persons capable of creating the universe and possessing the faculty of minuteness be omniscient, then, for the sake of simplicity, let one such person only be admitted, namely, the divine Īśvara.[125] And no confidence can be reposed in any person who is not eternal, and who is not possessed of a knowledge which extends to all objects. Thus the Vedic tradition disappears. And so he concludes that no other manner [of the origination of the Veda] can be conceived [except

[124] The writers on the other side seem to reply to this Naiyāyika objection about the interruption of the tradition of the Veda through the dissolution of the universe, by saying that the Veda was retained in the memory of Brahmā or the Rishis during the interval while the dissolution lasted. See Kullūka on Manu, i. 23, above, p. 6; and the passage of Kaiyyaṭa on the Mahābhāshya, above, p. 96.

[125] "The law of parsimony bids us assume only one such," etc.—Cowell.

from Īśvara]; that is, in the system of those who deny an Īśvara [no way is pointed out]."

II. Kusumānjali, iii. 16.—"*Na pramāṇam anāptoktir nādṛishṭe kvachid āptatā | adṛiśya-dṛishṭau sarvajño na cha nityāgamaḥ kshamaḥ*" | *ayaṁ hi sarva-kartṛitvābhāvavedakaḥ śabdaḥ anāptoktaś ched na pramāṇam | āptoktaś ched etad-artha-gochara-jñānavato nitya-sarva-vishayaka-jñānavattvam indriyādy-abhāvāt | āgamasya cha nityatvaṁ dūshitam eva prāg iti veda-kāro nityaḥ sarvajñaḥ siddhyati |*

[Verse] "The word of an incompetent person is not authoritative; nor can there be any competency in regard to a thing unseen [by the speaker]. To perceive invisible things, a person must be omniscient; and an eternal scripture is impossible. [Comment] This [supposed] scriptural testimony, denying the fact of there being a creator of all things, if uttered by an incompetent person, would be no proof. If it was uttered by a competent person, then the person who possessed an acquaintance with this circumstance [that there was no creator] would be master of a knowledge which was eternal, and universal in its range, since he would not be limited by any bodily organs. And we have previously disproved the eternity of any scripture (see the first extract from the Kusumānjali, above). Consequently an omniscient and eternal author of the Veda is established."

III. Kusumānjali, v. 1.—"*Kāryyāyojana-dhṛityādeḥ padāt pratyayataḥ śruteḥ | vākyāt sankhyā-viśeshāch cha sādhyo viśvavid avyayaḥ*" | . . . *Pratyayataḥ prāmāṇyāt | veda-janya-jñānaṁ kāraṇa-guṇa-janyam pramātvāt | pratyakshādi-pramā-vat | śruter vedāt | vedaḥ paurusheyo vedatvād āyurveda-vat | kincha vedaḥ paurusheyo vākyatvād bhāratādi-vat | veda-vākyāni paurusheyāṇi vākyatvād asmad-ādi-vākya-vat |*

[Verse] "An omniscient and indestructible Being is to be proved from [the existence of] effects, from the conjunction of [atoms], from the support [of the earth in the sky], etc., from ordinary usages, from belief [in revelation], from the Veda, from sentences, and from particular numbers."

The following is so much of the comment as refers to the words *pratyaya*, *śruti*, and *vākya*: "From belief, *i.e.* from authoritativeness. The knowledge derived from the Veda is derived from the attributes of its Cause; since it is true knowledge, like the true knowledge derived from perception. From the śruti, *i.e.* the Veda. The Veda is [shewn

to be] derived from a person, by its having the characters of a Veda, like the Āyur-veda. It is also [shewn to be] derived from a person, by having the character of sentences, like the Mahābhārata. The words of the Veda are [shewn to be] derived from a person, by their having the character of sentences, like the sentences of persons such as ourselves."

IV. Kusumānjali, v. 16.—*"Syām" "abhūvam" "bhavishyāmī" 'tyādau sankhyā pravaktṛi-gā | samākhyā 'pi cha śākhānām nādya-pravachanād ṛite | Vaidikottama-purusheṇa svatantrochchārayituḥ sankhyā vāchyā | "tad aikshata eko 'ham bahu syām" ityādi-bahushu uttama-purusha-śruteḥ | sankhyā-padārtham anyam āha "samākhyā" ityādi | sarvāsām śākhānaṁ hi Kāṭhaka-Kālāpakādyāḥ samākhyāḥ sanjnā-viśeshāḥ śrūyante | te cha na adhyayana-mātra-nibandhanāḥ | adhyetṛīṇām ānantyāt | ādāv anyair api tad-adhyayanāt | tasmād atīndriyārtha-darśī bhagavān eva Īśvaraḥ kāruṇikaḥ sargādāv asmad-ādy-adṛishṭākṛishta-kāṭhakādi-śarīra-viśesham adhishṭhāya yāṁ śākhām uktavāṁs tasyāḥ śākhāyās tannāmnā vyapadeśaḥ iti siddham Īśvara-mananam moksha-hetuḥ |*

[Verse] "In the phrases 'let me be,' 'I was,' 'I shall be,' [which occur in the Veda], personal designations have reference to a speaker; and the names of the Śākhās could only have been derived from a primeval utterance. [Comment] The first person (I), when it occurs in the Veda, must be employed to denote a self-dependent utterer. Now there are many instances there of such a use of the first person, as in the words, 'It reflected, I am one, let me become many.' The author then specifies another signification of the term *sankhyā* in the clause, 'and the designations,' etc. For all the Śākhās of the Veda traditionally bear the names, the special names, of Kāṭhaka, Kālāpaka, etc. And these names cannot be connected with the mere study [of these Śākhās by Kaṭha, Kalāpa, etc.] from the infinite multitude of students, since they must have been studied before by others besides the persons just mentioned. Wherefore the particular Śākhās which Īśvara, the beholder of objects beyond the reach of the senses, the compassionate Lord, himself uttered at the beginning of the creation, when he assumed the bodies of Kaṭha, etc., which were drawn on by the destiny (*adṛishṭa*) of beings like ourselves—these Śākhās, I say, were designated by the names of the particular sages [in whose persons they were promulgated]. And so it is proved that the contemplation of Īśvara is the cause of final liberation."

I am unable to say if the ancient doctrine of the Nyāya was theistic, as that of the Vaiśeshika Sūtras (at least as interpreted by Śankara Miśra) appears to be, and as that of the Kusumānjali, the Tarka-sangraha,[126] and the Siddhānta Muktāvali undoubtedly is (p. 6 of Dr. Ballantyne's ed., or p. 12 of his "Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy," and p. 13 of Dr. Röer's Bhāshā-parichchheda, in Bibl. Ind.). The remarks of Dr. Röer on the subject, in pp. xv., xvi., of the introduction to the last named work, may be consulted. The subject is also discussed by Professor Banerjea in his work on Hindu philosophy, pp. 144–153. The solution of the question may depend much on the interpretation to be given to the aphorisms of Gotama, 19–21 of the fourth book.

III. *The Sānkhya.*—The opinions of the author of the Sānkhya aphorisms in regard to the authority of the Veda and the principles on which that authority depends, are contained in the 45th to the 51st aphorisms of the Fifth Book, which I extract with the comments of Vijnāna Bhikshu:[127]

45. "*Na nityatvaṁ Vedānāṁ kāryatva-śruteḥ*" | "*Sa tapo 'tapyata tasmāt tapas tepānāt trayo vedā ajāyanta*" *ity ādi-śruter vedānāṁ na nityatvam ity arthaḥ* | *veda-nityatā-vākyāni cha sajātīyānupūrvī-pravāhānuchchheda-parāṇi* | *Tarhi kim paurusheyāḥ vedāḥ* | *na ity āha* | 46. "*Na paurusheyatvaṁ tat-kartuḥ purushasya abhāvāt*" | *īśvara-pratishedād iti śeshaḥ* | *sugamam* | *aparaḥ karttā bhavatv ity ākānkshāyām āha* | 47. "*Muktāmuktayor ayogyatvāt*" | *Jīvan-mukta-dhurīṇo Vishṇur viśuddha-sattvatayā niratiśaya-sarvajño 'pi vīta-rāgatvāt sahasra-śākha-veda-nirmāṇāyogyaḥ* | *amuktas tv asarvajnatvād eva ayogyaḥ ity arthaḥ* | *nanv evam apaurusheyatvād nityatvam eva āgatam* | *tatrāha* | 48. "*Na apaurusheyatvād nityatvam ankurādi-vat*" | *Spashṭam* | *nanv ankurādishv api kāryatvena ghaṭādi-vat purusheyatvam anumeyam* | *tatrāha* | 49. "*Teshām api tad-yoge dṛishṭa-bādhādi-prasaktiḥ*" | *Yat paurusheyaṁ tach chha-*

[126] *Jnānādhikaraṇam ātmā* | *sa dvividho jīvātmā paramātmā cha* | *tatra Īśvaraḥ sarvajnaḥ paramātmā eka eva* | *jīvātmā prati śarīram bhinno vibhur nityaścha* | "The substratum of knowledge is soul. It is of two kinds, the embodied soul, and the supreme soul. Of these the supreme soul is the omniscient Īs'vara, one only. The embodied soul is distinct in each body, all-pervading, and eternal."

[127] Compare Dr. Ballantyne's translation of the Sānkhya Aphorisms, books v. and vi., published at Mirzapore in 1856, pp. 26 ff., as well as that which subsequently appeared in the Bibliotheca Indica (in 1865), pp. 127 ff.

rāra-janyam iti vyāptir loke dṛishṭā tasyāḥ bādhādir evam sati syād iti arthaḥ | nanv Ādi-purushochcharitatvād Vedāḥ api paurusheyāḥ eva ity āha | 50. "Yasmin adṛishṭe'pi kṛita-buddhir upajāyate tat paurusheyam" | Dṛishṭe iva adṛishṭe 'pi yasmin vastuni kṛita-buddhir buddhi-pūrvakatva-buddhir jāyate tad eva paurusheyam iti vyavahriyate ity arthaḥ | etad uktam bhavati | na purushochcharitatā-mātreṇa paurusheyatvaṁ śvāsa-praśvāsayoḥ sushupti-kālīnayoḥ paurusheyatva-vyavahārābhāvāt kintu buddhi-pūrvakatvena | Vedāḥ tu niḥśvāsa-vad eva adṛishṭa-vaśād abuddhi-pūrvakāḥ eva Svayambhuvaḥ sakāśāt svayam bhavanti | ato na te paurusheyāḥ | tathā cha śrutiḥ "tasyaitasya mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yad ṛigvedo ity ādir" iti | nanv evam yathārtha-vākyārtha-jñānāpūrvakatvāt śuka-vākyasyeva vedānām api prāmāṇyaṁ na syāt tatrāha | 51. "Nija-śakty-abhvyakteḥ svataḥ prāmāṇyam" | Vedānām nijā svābhāvikī yā yathārtha-jñāna-janana-śaktis tasyāḥ mantrāyurvedādāv abhivyakter upalambhād akhila-vedānām eva svataḥ eva prāmāṇyaṁ siddhyati na vaktṛi-yathārtha-jñāna-mūlakatvādinā ity arthaḥ | tathā cha Nyāya-sūtram | "mantrāyurveda-prāmāṇya-vach cha tat-prāmāṇyam" iti |

"Sūtra 45. 'Eternity cannot be predicated of the Vedas, since various texts in these books themselves declare them to have been produced.' The sense is this, that the Vedas are proved not to be eternal by such texts as the following: 'He performed austerity; from him, when he had thus performed austerity, the three Vedas were produced.' [See above, p. 4.] Those other texts which assert the eternity [or perpetuity] of the Vedas refer merely to the unbroken continuity of the stream of homogeneous succession [or tradition]. Are the Vedas, then, derived from any personal author? 'No,' he replies in Sūtra 46. 'The Vedas are not derived from any personal author (*paurusheya*), since there is no person to make them.' We must supply the words, 'since an *Īśvara* (God) is denied.' The sense is easy. In answer to the supposition that there may be some other maker, he remarks, Sūtra 47, 'No; for there could be no fit maker, either liberated or unliberated.' Vishṇu, the chief of all those beings who are liberated even while they live,[128] although, from the pure goodness of his nature, he is possessed of perfect omniscience, would, owing to his impassiveness, be unfit to compose the Veda consisting of a thousand śākhās (branches),

[128] See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 369, or p. 241 of Williams and Norgate's ed.

while any unliberated person would be unfit for the task from want of omniscience. (See Śaṅkara's comment on Brahma Sūtras i. 1, 3; above, p. 106.) But does not, then, the eternity of the Vedas follow from their having no personal author? He replies (48), 'Their eternity does not result from their having no personal author, as in the case of sprouts, etc.' This is clear. But is it not to be inferred that sprouts, etc., since they are products, have, like jars, etc., some personal maker? He replies (49), 'If such a supposition be applied to these (sprouts, etc.) it must there also be exposed to the objection that it is contrary to what we see, etc.' Whatever is derived from a personal author is produced from a body; this is a rule which is seen to hold invariably. But if we assert that sprouts are derived from a personal author, we contradict the rule in question, [since they evidently did not spring from any embodied person].' But are not the Vedas, too, derived from a person, seeing that they were uttered by the primeval Purusha? He answers (50), 'That object only (even though it be an invisible one), which its maker is conscious of having made, can be said to be derived from [or made by] such a person.' It is only those objects, be they seen or unseen, in regard to which a consciousness of design arises, that are ordinarily spoken of as made by a person. The sense is, that it is not mere utterance by a person which constitutes formation by that person (since we do not ordinarily speak of the inspirations and expirations of any person during the time of sleep, as being formed by that person), but only utterance with conscious design. But the Vedas proceed of their own accord from Svayambhū (the self-existent), like an expiration, by the force of *adṛishṭa* (destiny), without any consciousness on his part. Hence they are not formed by any person. Thus the Veda says, 'This Rig-veda, etc., is the breath of this great Being, etc.' [See above, p. 8.] But will not the Vedas, also, be in this way destitute of authority, like the chatter of a parrot, since they did not result from any knowledge of the correct meaning of the words of which they are made up? In reference to this, he says (51), 'The Vedas have a self-proving authority, since they reveal their own inherent power.' The self-evidencing authority of the entire Vedas is established by the perception of a manifestation in certain portions of them, viz. in the formulas and the Āyur-veda, etc., of that inherent power which they (the Vedas) possess of generating correct knowledge, and does not depend on

its being shown that they (the Vedas) are founded on correct knowledge in their utterer,[129] or on any other ground of that sort. And to this effect is the Nyāya Sūtra, that 'their authority is like the authority of the formulas and the Āyur-veda.' (See above, p. 114.)

In reference to the 46th Sūtra I add here the 98th aphorism of the 1st book, with the remarks by which it is introduced and followed:

Nanu chet sadā sarvajnaḥ īśvaro nāsti tarhi vedānta-mahāvākyārthasya vivekasya upadeśe 'ndha-paramparāśankayā aprāmāṇyam prąsajyeta | tattra āha | 98. Siddha-rūpa-boddhṛitvād vākyārthopadeśaḥ | Hiraṇya-garbhādīnāñ siddha-rupāṇāñ[130] *yathārthārthasya boddhṛitvāt tad-vaktṛikāyurvedādi-prāmāṇyena avadhṛitāch cha eshāñ vākyārthopadeśaḥ pramāṇam iti śeshaḥ |*

"But may it not be said that if there be no eternally omniscient Īśvara, the charge of want of authority will attach to the inculcation of discriminative knowledge which is the subject of the great texts of the Upanishads, from the doubt lest these texts may have been handed down by a blind tradition. To this he replies: 86. 'From the fact that beings perfect in their nature understood them, it results that we have an (authoritative) inculcation of the sense.' As Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahmā) and other beings who were perfect in their nature understood the true sense, and are ascertained to have done so by the authoritativeness of the Āyur-veda, etc., which they uttered, their inculcation of the sense of the texts is authority;—such is the complete meaning of the aphorism."

In the 57th and following Sūtras of the fifth book, Kapila denies that sound has the character of *sphoṭa*, or that letters are eternal:

57. *"Pratīty-apratītibhyāñ na sphoṭātmakaḥ śabdaḥ"* | *Pratyeka-varṇebhyo 'tiriktañ kalaśaḥ ityādi-rūpam akhaṇḍam eka-padam sphotaḥ iti yogair abhyupagamyate | kambu-grīvādy-avayavebhyo 'tirikto ghaṭādy-avayavīva | sa cha śabda-viśesho padākhyo 'rtha-sphuṭīkaraṇāt sphoṭaḥ ity uchyate | sa śabdo 'prāmāṇikaḥ | kutaḥ | "pratīty-apratītibhyām" | sa śabdaḥ kim pratīyate na vā | ādye yena varṇa-samudāyena ānupurvī-*

[129] This directly contradicts the doctrine enunciated in the Vaiśeshika Sūtras and the Kusumānjali. See above, pp. 121, 123, and 129 f.

[130] This is a various reading given by Dr. Hall in the appendix to his edition of the Sānkhya-pravachana-bhāshya; and I have adopted it in preference to *siddha-rūpasya* which he gives in his text, as the former seems to afford a better sense.

viśesha-viśishṭena so 'bhivyajyate tasya eva artha-pratyāyakatvam astu | kim antargaḍunā teṇ | antye tv ajnāta-sphoṭasya nāsty artha-pratyāyana-śaktir iti vyarthā sphoṭa-kalpanā ity arthaḥ | Pūrvaṁ vedānāṁ nityatvam pratishṭiddham | idānīṁ varṇa-nityatvam api pratishedati | 58. *"Na śabda-nityatvaṁ kāryatā-pratīteḥ"* | *Sa eva ayaṁ ga-kāraḥ ityādi-pratyabhijnā-balād varṇa-nityatvaṁ na yuktam | utpanno ga-kāraḥ ityādi-pratyayena anityatva-siddher ity arthaḥ | pratyabhijnā taj-jātīyatā-vishayiṇī | anyathā ghaṭāder api pratyabhijnāyāḥ nityatāpatter iti | śankate* | 59. *"Pūrva-siddha-sattvasya abhivyakṭir dīpeneva ghaṭasya"* | *Nanu pūrva-siddha-sattākasyaiva śabdasya dhvany-ādibhir yā 'bhivyaktis tan-mātram utpattiḥ pratīter vishayaḥ | abhivyaktau dṛishṭānto dīpeneva ghaṭasya iti | Pariharati* | 60. *"Sat-kāryya-siddhāntaś chet siddha-sādhanam"* | *Abhivyaktir yady anāgatāvasthā-tyāgena varttamānāvasthā-lābhaḥ ity uchyate tadā sat-kāryya-siddhāntaḥ | tādṛiśa-nityatvaṁ cha sarva-kāryāṇām eva iti siddha-sādhanam ity arthaḥ | yadi cha varttamānatayā sataḥ eva jnāna-mātra-rūpiny abhivyaktir uchyate tadā ghaṭādīnām api nityatvāpattir ityādi |*

"'Sound has not the character of *sphoṭa*, from the dilemma that the latter must be either apparent or not apparent.' A modification of sound called *sphoṭa*, single, indivisible, distinct from individual letters, existing in the form of words like *kalaśa* (jar), distinguished also from parts of words like *kambu-grīva* (striped-neck) and forming a whole like the word *ghaṭa* (jar), is assumed by the Yogas. And this species of sound called a word (*pada*) is designated *sphoṭa* from its manifesting a meaning. But the existence of this form of sound is destitute of proof. Why? 'From the dilemma that it must be either apparent or not apparent.' Does this form of sound appear or not? If it appears, then let the power of disclosing a meaning [which is ascribed by our opponents to *sphoṭa*] be regarded as belonging to that collection of letters, arranged in a particular order, by which the supposed *sphoṭa* is manifested. What necessity is there then for that superfluous *sphoṭa*? If, on the contrary, it does not appear, then that unknown *sphoṭa* can have no power of disclosing a meaning, and consequently it is useless to suppose that any such thing as *sphoṭa* exists.

"The eternity of the Vedas has been already denied. He now denies the eternity of letters also. 58. 'Sound is not eternal, since it is clear that it is a production.' The meaning is, that it is not reasonable to

infer on the strength of the recognition of the letter G as the same that we knew before (see Mīmānsā Aphorisms i. 13; above, p. 74), that letters are eternal; since it is clear that G and other letters are produced, and therefore cannot be eternal. The recognition of these letters has reference to their being of the same species as we have perceived before; since otherwise we are landed in the absurdity that, because we recognize a jar or any other such object to be the same, it must therefore be eternal.

"He expresses a doubt: 59. 'What we hear may be merely the manifestation of a previously existing thing, as a jar is manifested (not created) by the light of a lamp.' (See Mīmānsa Aphorisms i. 12, 13; above, p. 74.) Is it not the fact that it is merely the manifestation of previously existing language by sounds, etc., which we perceive as originating? An illustration of such manifestation is that of a jar by means of a lamp.

"He repels this doubt: 60. 'If the axiom that an effect exists in its cause be here intended, this is merely proving what is already admitted.' If by manifestation is meant the relinquishment by any substance of its past (?) condition, and the attainment of its present state, then we have merely the recognized principle of an effect virtually existing in its cause (see Sānkhya Kārika Aph. ix.); and as such eternity is truly predicable of all effects whatever, it is proving a thing already proved to assert it here. If, on the other hand, by manifestation be merely meant the perception of a thing actually existing, then we shall be involved in the absurdity of admitting that jars, etc., also are eternal, etc."

SECT. X.—*On the use which the authors of the different Darśanas make of Vedic texts, and the mode of interpretation which they adopt.*

I have already (in p. 107) touched on the mode of interpretation applied by the author of the Brahma Sūtras, or his commentator Śankara Āchāryya, to the Vedic texts, derived chiefly from the Brāhmanas and Upanishads, on which the Vedāntic doctrines are based, or by which they are defended, or with which, at least, they are asserted to be consistent. It will, however, be interesting to enquire a little more in detail into the extent to which the Indian scriptures are appealed to, and the manner in which they are treated by the authors or expounders of the different

Darśanas. The object proposed by the Pūrva-mīmānsā is an enquiry into duty (*dharma-jijñāsā*—Aph. i.). Duty is defined as something enjoined by the Veda (*chodanā-lakshaṇo 'rtho dharmaḥ*—Aph. ii.); and which cannot be ascertained to be duty except through such injunction.[131] The first six lectures of the Mīmānsā, according to Mr. Colebrooke, "treat of positive injunction;" the remaining six concern "indirect command." "The authority of enjoined duty is the topic of the first lecture: its differences and varieties, its parts, ... and the purpose of performance, are successively considered, in the three next. . . . The order of performance occupies the fifth lecture; and qualification for its performance is treated in the sixth. The subject of indirect precept is opened in the seventh lecture generally, and in the eighth particularly. Inferable changes, adapting to the variation or copy what was designed for the type or model, are discussed in the ninth, and bars or exceptions in the tenth. Concurrent efficacy is considered in the eleventh lecture; and co-ordinate effect in the twelfth." . . . . "Other matters are introduced by the way, being suggested by the main topic or its exceptions" (Misc. Essays, i. 304 f.). It appears, therefore, that the general aim of the Pūrva-mīmānsā is (1) to prove the authority of the Veda, and then to (2) deduce from it the duties, whether enjoined directly or indirectly, which are to be performed, the manner and conditions of their performance, and their results. It is also termed the Karma-mīmānsā, "as relating to works or religious observances to be undertaken for specific ends" (Colebrooke, i. 296, 325).

The Brahma-mīmānsā, or Vedānta, is, according to the same author, the complement of the Karma-mīmānsā, and "is termed *uttara*, later, contrasted with *pūrva*, prior, being the investigation of proof deducible from the Vedas in regard to *theology*, as the other is in regard to *works* and their merit. The two together, then, comprise the complete system of interpretation of the precepts and doctrine of the Vedas, both practical and theological. They are parts of one whole. The later Mīmānsā is supplementary to the prior, and is expressly affirmed to be so: but differing on many important points, though agreeing on others, they are essentially distinct in a religious as well as a philosophical view" (Misc. Ess. i. 325). In fact the Brahma-mīmānsā proceeds upon a depreciation of the value of the objects aimed at by the Karma-mīmānsā,

[131] See Ballantyne's Mīmānsā aphorisms, p. 7.

since the rewards which the latter holds out even in a future state are but of temporary duration; and according to Śaṅkara it is not even necessary that the seeker after a knowledge of Brahma should first have studied the Karma-mīmānsā before he conceives the desire to enter upon the higher enquiry (*nanv iha karmāvabodhānantaryyaṁ viśeshaḥ | na | dharma-jijñāsāyāḥ prāg apy adhīta-vedāntasya Brahma-jijñāsopapatteḥ*). (Śaṅkara on Brahma Sūtra, i. 1, 1, p. 25 of Bibl. Ind.) This is distinctly expressed in the following passage, p. 28:

Tasmāt kim api vaktavyam yad-anantaram Brahma-jijñāsā upadiśyate iti | uchyate | nityānitya-vastu-vivekaḥ ihāmutrārtha-phala-bhoga-virāgaḥ śama-damādi-sādhana-sampad mumukshatvaṁ cha | teshu hi satsu prāg api dharma-jijñāsāyāḥ ūrddhvaṁ cha śakyate Brahma jijñāsayituṁ jñātuṁ cha na viparyyaye | tasmād "atha" śabdena yathokta-sādhana-sampatty-ānantaryyam upadiśyate | "ataḥ" śabdo hetv-arthaḥ | yasmād vedaḥ eva agnihotrādīnāṁ śreyas-sādhanānām anitya-phalatāṁ darśayati "tad yathā iha karma-chito lokaḥ kshīyate evam eva amuttra puṇya-chito lokaḥ kshīyate" ity-ādi | tathā Brahma-vijñānād api param purushārthaṁ darśayati Brahma-vid āpnoti param" ity-ādi | tasmād yathokta-sādhana-sampatty-anantaram Brahma-jijñāsā kartavyā |

The author is explaining the word *atha* 'now,' or 'next,' with which the first Sūtra begins; and is enquiring what it is that is referred to as a preliminary to the enquiry regarding Brahma: "What, then, are we to say that that is after which the desire to know Brahma is enjoined?' The answer is, 'it is the discrimination between eternal and non-eternal substance, indifference to the enjoyment of rewards either in this world or the next, the acquisition of the means of tranquillity and self-restraint, and the desire for final liberation. For if these requisites be present, a knowledge of Brahma can be desired, and Brahma can be known, even before, as well as after, an enquiry has been instituted into duty. But the converse does not hold good (*i.e.* without the requisites referred to, though a man may have a knowledge of duty, *i.e.* of ceremonial observances, he possesses no preparation for desiring to know Brahma). Hence by the word *atha* it is enjoined that the desire in question should follow the possession of those requisites.' The next word *ataḥ*, 'hence,' denotes the reason. Because the Veda itself,—by employing such words as these, 'Wherefore just as in this life the world which has been gained by works

perishes, so too in a future life the world gained by merit perishes'—points out that the rewards of the agnihotra sacrifice and other instruments of attaining happiness are but temporary. And by such texts as this, 'He who knows Brahma attains the highest exaltation,' the Veda further shews that the highest end of man is acquired by the knowledge of Brahma. Hence the desire to know Brahma is to be entertained after the acquisition of the means which have been already referred to."

In the Mīmānsā Sūtras, i. 1, 5, as we have seen above (p. 71), Bādarāyaṇa, the reputed author of the Brahma Sūtras, is referred to as concurring in the doctrine there laid down. But in many parts of the Brahma Sūtras, the opinions of Jaimini are expressly controverted, both on grounds of reason and scripture, as at variance with those of Bādarāyaṇa.[132]

I adduce some instances of this difference of opinion between the two schools:

We have seen above, p. 99, that according to the Brahma Sūtras the gods possess the prerogative (*adhikāra*) of acquiring divine science. This, however, is contested by Jaimini (see Brahma Sūtras, i. 3, 31), who objects (1) that in that case (as all divine sciences possess the characteristic of being science) the gods would also have the prerogative of becoming adepts in the science called Madhuvidyā, etc., which would be absurd, because the sun (Āditya), being the virtual object of worship in the ritual connected with that science, could not be worshipped by another sun, who, according to the supposition, would be one of the deities skilled in it, and one of the worshippers. Similar difficulties are furnished by other cases, as, for instance, that on the hypothesis referred to, the Vasus, Rudras, and three other classes of gods, would be at once the objects to be known and the knowers. In the next Sūtra the further objection is made (2) that the celestial luminaries, commonly called gods, are in reality destitute of sensation and desire; and on this ground also the prerogative in question is denied to the supposed deities. Bādarāyaṇa replies in the 33rd Sūtra (1) that although

[132] Dr. Ballantyne refers to the Mīmānsakas as being the objectors alluded to by S'ankara in his remarks which introduce and follow Brahma Sūtra, i. 1, 4; but as Jaimini is not expressly mentioned there, I shall not quote this text in proof of my assertion. See Ballantyne's Aphorisms of the Vedānta, p. 12.

the gods cannot concern themselves with such branches of knowledge as the Madhuvidyā, with which they themselves are mixed up, yet they do possess the prerogative of acquiring pure divine science, as that depends on the desire and capacity for it, and the non-existence of any obstacle to its acquisition (*tathāpy asti hi śuddhāyām brahma-vidyāyāṁ sambhavo 'rthitva-sāmarthyāpratishedhādy-apekshatvād adhikārasya*). An exception in regard to a particular class of cases cannot, he urges, set aside a rule which otherwise holds good; for if it did, the circumstance that the generality of men belonging to the three highest castes are excluded from the performance of particular rites, such as the Rājasūya, would have the effect of rendering them incapable of performing any sacrifice whatever. And he goes on to cite several Vedic texts which prove that the gods have both the capacity and the desire for divine knowledge. Thus: *Tad yo yo devānām pratyabudhyata sa eva tad abhavat tathā ṛishīnāṁ tathā manushyāṇām* | "Whosoever, whether of gods, rishis, or men, perceived That, he became That." Again: *Te ha ūchur "hanta tam ātmānam anvichhāmo yam ātmānam anvishya sarvān lokān āpnoti sarvāṁś cha kāmān" iti* | *Indro ha vai devānām abhi pravavrāja Virochano 'surāṇām iti* | "They said, 'come, we shall enquire after that Soul, after investigating which, one obtains all worlds, and all objects of desire.' Accordingly Indra among the gods, and Virochana among the Asuras, set out" ("to go to Prajāpati the bestower of divine knowledge," according to Govinda Ānanda). And in reply to the second objection, Śankara maintains that the sun and other celestial luminaries are each of them embodied deities possessed of intelligence and power; an assertion which he proceeds to prove from texts both of the Veda and the Smṛiti. He then replies to a remark of the Mīmānsakas, referred to under Sūtra 32, that allusions in the Vedic mantras and arthavādas (illustrative passages) cannot prove the corporeality of the gods, as these texts have another object in view: and his reply is that it is the evidence, or the want of evidence, derivable from any texts which occasions us to believe or disbelieve in the existence of anything; and not the circumstance that such a text was or was not primarily intended to prove that particular point. The Mīmānsaka is represented as still unsatisfied: but I need not carry my summary further than to say that Śankara concludes by pointing out that the precepts which enjoin the offerings to certain gods imply that these gods have a particular form which the wor-

shipper can contemplate; and that in fact such contemplation is enjoined in the text, "Let the worshipper when about to repeat the Vashaṭkara meditate on the deity to whom the oblation is presented" (*yasyai devaṭāyāi havir gṛihītaṁ syāt tāṁ dhyāyed vashaṭkarishyan*).[133]

In Brahma Sūtras, iii. 4, 1, it is laid down as the principle of Bādarāyaṇa that the knowledge of Soul, described in the Upanishads, is the sole means of attaining the highest end of man, *i.e.* final liberation; that it is not to be sought with a view to, and that its operation is altogether independent of, ceremonial observances (*ataḥ | asmāt vedānta-vihitād ātma-jnānāt svatantrāt purushārthaḥ siddhyati iti Bādarāyanaḥ ācharyyo manyate*). This he proves by various texts (*ity-evaṁ-jātīyakā śrutir vidyāyāḥ kevalāyāḥ purushārtha-hetutvaṁ śrāvayati*), such as *Tarati śokam ātma-vit | sa yo ha vai taṭ param Brahma veda Brahma eva bhavati | Brahma-vid āpnoti param* | "He who knows soul overpasses grief" (Chhāndogya Up. see above, p. 33); "He who knows that Brahma becomes Brahma;" "He who knows Brahma obtains the highest (exaltation);" etc. In the following Sūtra (2) Jaimini is introduced as contesting this principle, and as affirming that the knowledge of soul is to be acquired with a view to the performance of ceremonial works. The Sūtra in question, as explained by Śankara, means that "as the fact that soul is an agent in works implies an ultimate regard to works, the knowledge of soul must also be connected with works by means of its object" (*karttṛitvena ātmanaḥ karma-śeshatvāt tad-vijnānam api . . . vishaya-dvāreṇa karma-sambandhy eva iti*). The same view is further stated in the following Sūtras 3–7, where it is enforced by the example of sages who possessed the knowledge of Brahma and yet sacrificed (Sūtra 3), by a text which conjoins knowledge and works (Sūtra 5), by a second which intimates that a person who knows all the contents of the Veda has a capacity for ceremonial rites (Sūtra 6), and by others (7). Śankara replies under Sūtra 8 to the view set forth in Sūtra 2, which he declares to be founded on a mistake, as "the soul which is proposed in the Upanishads as the object of knowledge is not the embodied soul, but the supreme Spirit, of which agency in regard to rites is not predicable. That knowledge, he affirms, does not promote, but on the

[133] The passage in which Śankara goes on to answer the objection that in cases like this the Itihāsas and Purāṇas afford no independent evidence, will be quoted below.

contrary, puts an end to all works" (*na cha tad-vijñānaṁ karmaṇām pravarttakam bhavati pratyuta tat karmāṇy uchchhiṇatti*), and under Sūtra 16 he explains how this takes place, viz. by the fact that "knowledge annihilates the illusory conceptions of work, worker, and reward, which are caused by ignorance, and are necessary conditions of capacity for ceremonial observances" (*Api cha karmādhikāra-hetoḥ kriyā-kāraka-phala-lakshaṇasya samastasya prapanchasya avidyā-kṛitasya vidyā-sāmarthyāt svarūpopamarddam āmananti*). To Sūtra 3 Bādarayaṇa replies that the ceremonial practice of sages is the same whether they do or do not acquire knowledge with a view to works; to Sūtra 5, by saying that in the text in question works and knowledge are not referable to one and the same person, but works to one and knowledge to another; and to Sūtra 6, by declaring that it is merely the reading of the Veda, and not a knowledge of all its contents that is referred to in the text in question. Another reason assigned in Sūtra 17 to shew that divine knowledge is not dependent on, or subservient to works, is that ascetics who practise no Vedic ceremonies are yet recognized in the Veda as competent to acquire it (*ūrdhvaretassu cha āśrameshu vidyā śrūyate na cha tattra karmāngatvaṁ vidyāyāḥ upapadyate karmābhāvāt | na hy agnihottrādīni vaidikāni karmāṇi teshāṁ santi*). In the following Sūtra (18) Jaimini is introduced as questioning the validity of this argument on the ground that the Vedic texts, which are adduced in support of it, merely allude to the existence of ascetics, and do not recognize such an order as consistent with Vedic usage, or that they have another object, or are ambiguous; while another text actually reprehends the practice of asceticism. To this Bādarāyaṇa rejoins in Sūtra 19, that the texts in question prove the recognized existence of the ascetic order as much as that of any other; and that the alleged ambiguity of one of the passages is removed by the consideration that as two of the three orders referred to, viz. those of the householder and brahmachārin, are clearly indicated, the third can be no other than that of the ascetic. The subject is further pursued in the next Sūtra 20, where the author and his commentator (who adduces additional texts) arrive at the conclusion that the practice of asceticism is not only alluded to, but enjoined in the Veda, and that consequently knowledge, as being inculcated on those who practise it, is altogether independent of works (*tasmāt siddhā ūrddhvaretasaḥ āśramāḥ siddhaṁ cha ūrddhvaretassu vidhānād vidyāyāḥ svātantryam*).

Again in Brahma Sūtras, iv. 3, 7–14, the question is discussed whether the words *sa etān Brahma gamayati*, "He conducts them to Brahman," refer to the supreme Brāhmā, or to the created Brāhmā. Bādari (Sūtra 7) holds that the latter is meant, whilst Jaimini (in Sūtra 12) maintains that the former is intended. The conclusion to which the commentator comes at the close of his remarks on Sūtra 14 is that the view taken by Bādari is right, whilst Jaimini's opinion is merely advanced to display his own ability (*tasmāt "kāryyam Bādarir" ity esha eva pakshaḥ sthitaḥ | "param Jaiminir" iti cha pakshāntara-pratipādana-māttra-pradarśanam prajñā-vikāśanāya iti drashṭavyam*).

Further, in Brahma Sūtras, iv. 4, 10, it is stated to be the doctrine of Bādari that the sage who has attained liberation no longer retains his body or bodily organs, but his mind (*manas*) alone, whilst in the following Sūtra (11) it is declared to be Jaimini's opinion that he retains his body and senses also. In the 12th Sūtra it is laid down as the decision of Bādarāyaṇa that either of the two supposed states may be assumed at will by the liberated spirit.

Jaimini and his opinions are also mentioned in Brahma Sūtras i. 2, 28, and 31; i. 4, 18; and iv. 4, 5.

I shall now adduce some illustrations of the claims which the founders of the other philosophical schools put forward on behalf of their own principles as being in conformity with the Vedas. I begin with a passage on this subject from Śankara's note introductory to Brahma Sūtras i. 1, 5 ff.:

Brahma cha sarvajñaṁ sarvaśakti jagad-utpatti-sthiti-nāśa-kāraṇam ity uktam | Sānkhyādayaḥ tu parinishṭhitaṁ vastu pramāṇāntara-gamyam eva iti manyamānāḥ pradhānādīni kāraṇāntarāṇi anumimānās tat-paratayā eva vedānta-vākyāni yojayanti | sarveshv eva tu vedānta-vākyeshu śrishṭi-vishayeshu anumānena eva kāryyeṇa kāraṇam lilakshayishitam | Pradhāna-purusha-saṁyogāḥ nityānumeyāḥ iti Sānkhyāḥ manyante | Kāṇādās tv etebhyaḥ eva vākyebhyaḥ Īśvaraṁ nimitta-kāraṇam anumimate aṇūṁś cha samavāyi-kāraṇam | evam anye 'pi tārkikāḥ vākyābhāsa-yukty-ābhāsāvashṭambhāḥ pūrva-paksha-vādinaḥ iha uttishṭhante | tattra pada-vākya-pramāṇa-jnena āchāryyena vedānta-vākyānām Brahmāvagati-paratva-pradarśanāya vākyābhāsa-yukty-ābhāsa-pratipattayaḥ pūrvapakshīkṛitya nirākriyante | tattra Sānkhyāḥ pradhānam triguṇam achetanaṁ jagataḥ kāraṇam iti manyamānāḥ āhur "yāni vedānta-vākyāni sarvajña-

sya sarvaśakter Brahmaṇo jagat-kāraṇatvam pratipādayanti ity avochas tāni pradhāna-kāraṇa-pakshe 'pi yojayituṁ śakyante | sarvaśaktitvaṁ tāvat pradhānasyāpi sva-vikāra-vishayam upapādyate | evaṁ sarvajnatvam upapadyate | katham | yat tvaṁ jnānam manyase sa sattva-dharmaḥ "sattvāt sanjāyate jnānam" iti smṛiteḥ | tena cha sattva-dharmeṇa jnānena kāryya-kāraṇavantaḥ purushāḥ sarvajnāḥ yogināḥ prasiddhāḥ | sattvasya hi niratiśayotkarshe sarvajnatvam prasiddham | na cha kevalasya akāryya-kāraṇasya purushasya upalabdhi-māttrasya sarva-jnatvaṁ kinchij-jnatvaṁ vā kalpayituṁ śakyam | triguṇatvāt tu pradhānasya sarva-jnāna-kāraṇa-bhūtaṁ sattvam pradhānāvasthāyām api vidyate iti pradhānasya achetanasya eva sataḥ sarvajnatvam upacharyyate vedānta-vākyeshu | avaśyaṁ cha tvayā 'pi sarvajnam Brahma abhyupagachhatā sarva-jnāna-śaktimattvena eva sarvajnatvam abhyupagantavyam | na hi sarva-vishayaṁ jnānaṁ kurvad eva Brahma varttate | tathā hi jnānasya nityatve jnāna-kriyām prati svātantryaṁ hīyeta | atha anityaṁ tad iti jnāna-kriyāyāḥ uparame uparameta api Brahma | tadā sarva-jnāna-śaktimattvena eva sarvajnatvam āpatati | api cha prāg utpatteḥ sarva-kāraka-śūnyam Brahma ishyate tvayā | na cha jnāna-sādhanānāṁ śarīrendriyādīnām abhāve jnānotpattiḥ kasyachid upapannā | api cha pradhānasya anekātmakasya pariṇāma-sambhavāt kāraṇatvopapattir mṛid-ādi-vat | na asaṁhatasya ekātmakasya Brahmaṇaḥ | ity evam prāpte idam sūtram ārabhyate | 5. "Īkshater na | aśabdam" | na Sānkhya-parikalpitam achetanam pradhānaṁ jagataḥ kāraṇaṁ śakyaṁ vedānteshv āśrayitum | aśabdaṁ hi tat | katham aśabdam | "īkshiteḥ" | īkshitṛitva-śravaṇāt kāraṇasya | katham | evaṁ hi śrūyate "Sad eva saumya idam agre āsīd ekam eva advitīyam" ity upakramya "tad aikshata 'bahu syām prajāyeya' iti tat tejo 'sṛijata" iti | tattra idaṁ-śabda-vāchyaṁ nāma-rūpa-vyākṛitaṁ jagat prāg utpatteḥ sad-ātmanā 'vadhāryya tasya eva prakṛitasya sach-chhabda-vāchyasya īkshaṇa-pūrvakaṁ tejaḥ-prabhṛiteḥ srashṭṛitvaṁ darśayati | tathā cha anyatra "ātmā vai idam ekaḥ eva agre āsīt | na anyat kinchana mishat | sa aikshata 'lokān nu sṛijai' iti sa imān lokān asṛijata" iti īkshā-pūrvikām eva sṛishṭim āchashṭe | . . . . ity-evam-ādīny api sarvajneśvara-kāraṇa-parāṇi vākyāny udāharttavyāni | yat tu uktam "sattva-dharmeṇa jnānena sarvajnam pradhānam bhavishyati" iti tad na upapadyate | na hi pradhānāvasthāyāṁ guṇa-sāmyāt sattva-dharmo jnānaṁ sambhavati | nanu uktam "sarva-jnāna-śaktimattvena sarvajnam bhavishyati" iti tad api na upapadyate | yadi guṇa-sāmye sati sattva-vyapāśrayāṁ jnāna-śaktim

āśritya sarvajnam pradhānam uchyeta kāmaṁ rajas-tamo-vyapāśrayām api jnāna-pratibandhaka-śaktim āśritya kinchij-jnatvam uchyeta | api cha na asākshikā sattva-vṛittir jānāti, na abhidhīyate | na cha achetanasya pradhānasya sākshitvam asti | tasmād anupannam pradhānasya sarvajnatvam | yoginām tu chetanatvāt sarvotkarsha-nimittaṁ sarvajnatvam upapannam ity anudāharaṇam | atha punaḥ sākshi-nimittam īkshitṛitvam pradhānasya kalpyeta yathā agni-nimittam ayaḥ-piṇḍāder dagdhṛitvaṁ tathā satiyan-nimittaṁ īkshitṛitvam pradhānasya tad eva sarvajnam mukhyam Brahma jagataḥ kāraṇam iti yukṭam | yat punar uktam Brahmaṇo 'pi na mukhyaṁ sarvajnatvam upapadyate nitya-jnāna-kriyatve jnāna-kriyām prati svātantryāsambhavād ity attra uchyate | idaṁ tāvad bhavān prashṭavyaḥ "kathaṁ nitya-jnāna-kriyatve sarvajnatva-hānir" iti | yasya hi sarva-vishayāvabhāsana-kshamaṁ jnānaṁ nityam asti so 'sarvajnaḥ iti vipratishiddham | anityatve hi jnānasya kadāchij jānāti kadāchid na jānāti ity asarvajnatvam api syāt | na asau jnāna-nityatve dosho 'sti | jnāna-nityatve jnāna-vishayaḥ svātantrya-vyapadeśo na upapadyate iti chet | na | prataṭaushṇa-prakāśe 'pi savitari dahati prakāśayati iti svātantrya-vyapadeśa-darśanāt | nanu savitur dāhya-prakāśya-saṁyoge sati dahati prakāśayati iti vyapadeśaḥ syāt | na tu Brahmaṇaḥ prāg utpatter jnāna-karma-saṁyogo 'sti iti vishamo dṛishṭāntaḥ | na | asaty api karmaṇi savitā prakāśate iti karttṛitva-vyapadeśa-darśanāt | evam asaty api jnāna-karmaṇi Brahmaṇas "tad aikshata" iti karttṛitva-vyapadeśopapatter na vaishamyam | karmāpekshāyāṁ tu Brahmaṇi īkshitṛitva-śrutayaḥ sutarām upapannāḥ | kim punas tat karma yat prāg utpatter īśvara-jnānasya vishayībhavati iti | ṭattvānyatvābhyām anirvachanīye nāma-rūpe avyākṛite vyāchikīrshite iti brūmaḥ | yat-prasādād hi yoginām apy atītānāgata-vishayam pratyakshaṁ jnānam ichhanti yoga-śāstra-vidaḥ kimu vaktavyaṁ tasya nitya-śuddhasya īśvarasya srishṭi-sthiti-saṁhṛiti-vishayaṁ nitya-jnānam bhavati iti | yad apy uktam prāg utpatter Brahmaṇaḥ śarīrādi-sambandham antareṇa īkshitṛitvam anupapannam iti na tach chodyam avatarati savitṛi-prakāśa-vad Brahmaṇo jnāna-svarūpa-nityatvena jnāna-sādhanāpekshānupapatteḥ | . . . . yad apy uktam "pradhānasya anekātmakatvād mṛid-ādi-vat kāraṇatvopapattir na asaṁhatasya Brahmaṇaḥ" iti tat pradhānasya aśabdatvena eva pratyuktam | yathā tu tarkeṇāpi Brahmaṇaḥ eva kāraṇatvaṁ nirvoḍhuṁ śakyate na pradhānādīnāṁ tathā prapanchayishyate "na vilakshaṇatvād asya" ity-evam-ādinā (Brahma Sūtras ii. 1, 4) |

Attra āha yad uktaṁ "na achetanam pradhānaṁ jagat-kāraṇam īkshitṛitva-śravaṇād" iti tad anyathā 'py upapadyate | achetane 'pi chetanavad upachāra-darśanāt | pratyāsanna-pātanatāṁ kūlasya ālakshya kūlam pipatishati ity achetane 'pi kūle chetana-vad upachāro dṛishṭas tad-vad achetane 'pi pradhāne pratyāsanna-sarge chetana-vad upachāro bhavishyati "tad aikshata" iti | yathā loke kaśchich chetanaḥ snātvā bhuktvā cha "aparāhne grāmaṁ rathena gamishyāmi" iti īkshitvā anantaraṁ tathaiva niyamena pravarttate tathā pradhānam api mahad-ādy-ākāreṇa niyamena pravarttate | tasmāch chetana-vad upacharyyate | kasmāt punaḥ kāraṇad vihāya mukhyam īkshitṛitvam aupachārikaṁ kalpyate | "tat tejaḥ aikshata" "tāḥ āpaḥ aikshanta" iti cha achetanayor apy ap-tejasoś chetanavad upachāra-darśanāt | tasmāt sat-karttṛikam api īkshaṇam aupachārikam iti gamyate upachāra-prāye vachanād ity evam prāpte idaṁ sūtram ārabhyate | 6. "Gauṇaś chet | na | ātma-śabdāt" | yad uktam pradhānam achetanaṁ sach-chhabda-vāchyam tasminn aupachārikī īkshitir ap-tejasor iva iti tad asat | kasmāt | ātma-śabdāt | "sad eva saumya idam agre asīd" ity upakramya "tad aikshata tat tejo 'sṛijata" iti cha tejo 'b-annānāṁ sṛishṭim uktvā tad eva prakṛitaṁ sad īkshitṛi tāni cha tejo-'b-annāni devatā-śabdena parāmṛiśya āha "sā iyaṁ devatā aikshata hanta aham imās tisro devatāḥ anena jīvena ātmanā 'nupraviśya nāma-rūpe vyākaravāṇi" iti | tattra yadi pradhānam achetanaṁ guṇa-vṛittyā īkshitṛi kalpyeta tad eva prakṛitatvāt sā iyaṁ devatā parāmṛiśyeta | na tadā devatā jīvam ātma-śabdena abhidadhyāt | jīvo hi nāma chetanaḥ śarīrādhyakshaḥ prāṇānāṁ dhārayitā prasiddher nirvachanāch cha | sa katham achetanasya pradhānasya ātmā bhavet | ātmā hi nāma svarūpam | na achetanasya pradhānasya chetano jīvaḥ svārūpam bhavitum arhati | attra tu chetanam Brahma mukhyam īkshitṛi parigṛihyate | tasya jīva-vishayaḥ ātma-śabda-prayogaḥ upapadyate | tathā "sa yaḥ eshoṇimā etadātmyam idaṁ sarvaṁ tat satyaṁ sa ātmā tat tvam asi S'vetaketo" ity attra "sa ātmā" iti prakṛitaṁ sad-aṇimānam ātmānam ātma-śabdena upadiśya "tat tvam asi S'vetaketo" iti chetanasya S'vetaketor ātmatvena upadiśati | ap-tejasos tu vishayatvād achetanatvaṁ nāma-rūpa-vyākaraṇādau cha prayojyatvena eva nirdeśāt | na cha ātma-śabda-vat kinchid mukhyatve kāraṇam asti iti yuktaṁ kūla-vad gauṇatvam īkshitṛitvasya | tayor api cha sad-adhishṭhitatvāpeksham eva īkshitṛitvam | satas tv ātma-śabdād na gauṇam īkshitṛitvam ity uktam | atha uchyate | achetane 'pi pradhāne bhavaty ātma-śabdaḥ | ātmanaḥ sarvārtha-kāritvāt |

yathā rājnaḥ sarvādhikāriṇi bhṛitye bhavaty ātma-śabdo "mama ātmā Bhadrasenaḥ" iti | pradhānaṁ hi purushātmano[134] *bhogāpavargau kurvad upakaroti rājnaḥ iva bhṛityaḥ sandhi-vigrahādishu varttamānaḥ | athavā ekaḥ eva ātma-śabdaś chetanāchetana-vishayo bhavishyati "bhūtātmā" "indriyātmā" iti cha prayoga-darśanād yathā ekaḥ eva jyotiḥ-śabdaḥ kratu-jvalana-vishayaḥ | tattra kutaḥ etad ātma-śabdādīkshiter agauṇatvam ity attra uttaram paṭhati | 7. "Tan-nishṭhasya mokshopadeśāt" | na pradhānam aćhetanam ātma-śabdālambanam bhavitum arhati "sa ātmā" iti prakṛitaṁ sad aṇimānam ādāya "tat tvam asi Śvetaketo" iti chetanasya Śvetaketor mokshayitavyasya tan-nishṭhām upadiśya "Āchāryyavān purusho veda tasya tāvad eva chiraṁ yāvad na vimokshye atha sampatsye" iti mokshopadeśāt | yadi hy achetanam pradhānaṁ sach-chhabda-vāchyaṁ "tad asi" iti grāhayed mumukshuṁ chetanaṁ santam "achetano 'si" iti tadā viparīta-vādi śāstram purushasya anarthāya ity apramāṇaṁ syāt | na tu nirdoshaṁ śāstram apramāṇaṁ kalpayituṁ yuktam | yadi cha ajnasya sato mumukshor achetanam anātmānam "ātmā" ity upadiśet pramāṇa-bhūtaṁ śāstraṁ sa śraddadhānatayā 'ndha-go-lāngūla-nyāyena tad-ātma-dṛishṭiṁ na parityajet tad-vyatiriktaṁ cha ātmānaṁ na pratipadyeta | tathā sati purushārthād vihanyeta anarthaṁ cha richhet | tasmād yathā svargādy-arthino 'gnihotrādi-sādhanaṁ yathā-bhūtam upadiśati tathā mumukshor api "sa atmā | tat tvam asi Śvetaketo" iti yathā-bhūtam eva ātmānam upadiśati iti yuktam | evaṁ cha sati tapta-paraśu-grahaṇa-moksha-dṛishṭāntena satyābhisandhasya mokshopadeśaḥ upapadyate | . . . . tasmād na sad-aṇimany ātma-śabdasya gauṇatvam | bhṛitye tu svāmi-bhṛitya-bhedasya pratyakshatvād upapanno gauṇaḥ ātma-śabdo "mama ātmā Bhadrasenaḥ" iti | api cha kvachid gauṇaḥ śabdo dṛishṭaḥ iti na etāvatā śabda-pramāṇake 'rthe gauṇī kalpanā nyāyyā sarvattra anāśvāsa-prasangāt | yat tu uktaṁ chetanāchetanayoḥ sādhāraṇaḥ ātma-sabdaḥ kratu-jvalanayor iva jyotiḥ-śabdaḥ iti | tad na | anekārthatvasya anyāyyatvāt | tasmāch chetana-vishayaḥ eva mukhyaḥ ātma-śabdaś chetanatvopachārād bhūtādishu prayujyate "bhūtātmā" "indriyātmā" iti cha | sādhāraṇatve 'py ātma-śabdasya na prakaraṇam upapadaṁ vā kinchid niśchāyakam antareṇa anyatara-vṛittitā nirdhārayituṁ śakyate | na cha atra achetanasya niśchāyakaṁ kinchit kāraṇam asti prakṛitaṁ tu sad ikshitṛi sannihitaś cha chetanaḥ Śvetaketuḥ | na hi chetanasya Śvetaketor achetanaḥ ātmā sam-*

[134] The edition printed in Bengali characters reads *purushasya ātmanaḥ*.

bhavati ity avochāma | tasmāch chetana-vishayaḥ iḷa ātma-śabdaḥ iti niśchīyate |

"And it has been declared that Brahma, omniscient and omnipotent, is the cause of the creation, continuance, and destruction of the world. But the Sānkhyas and others, holding that an ultimate (*parinishṭhita*)[135] substance is discoverable by other proofs, and inferring the existence of Pradhāna or other causes, apply the texts of the Upanishads as having reference to these. For (they assert that) all the texts of the Upanishads which relate to the creation, design inferentially to indicate the cause by the effect. The Sānkhyas think that the conjunctions of Pradhāna and Purusha (Soul) are to be inferred as eternal. From the very same texts the followers of Kaṇāda (the Vaiśeshikas) deduce that Īśvara is the instrumental cause and atoms the material cause[136] (of the world). So, too, other rationalizing objectors rise up who rely on fallacies founded on texts or reasoning. Here then our teacher (*āchāryya*), who understood both words and sentences and evidence, with the view of pointing out that the texts of the Upanishads have for their object the revelation of Brahma, first puts forward and then refutes the fallacies founded by those persons on texts or reasoning. The Sānkhyas regarding Pradhāna, consisting of the three qualities (*guṇas*, viz. *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, or "Goodness," "Passion," and "Darkness"), and inanimate, as the cause of the world, tell us: (*a*) 'Those texts in the Upanishads which, as you say, declare that an omniscient and omnipotent Brahma is the cause of the world, can be applied to support the view that Pradhāna is the cause. For omnipotence in regard to its own developments is properly predicable of Pradhāna also; and omniscience too may be rightly ascribed to it. You will ask, how? We answer (*b*), What you call knowledge is a characteristic of 'Goodness' (*sattva*), according to the text of the Smṛiti, 'From Goodness springs knowledge.' And (*c*) through this knowledge, which is a characteristic of Goodness, Yogins, who are men

[135] Compare Sānkhya Sūtras, i. 69: *pāramparyye 'pi ekatra parinishṭhā*, etc., which Dr. Ballantyne renders, "Even if there be a succession, there is a halt (*parinishṭhā*) at some one point," etc.

[136] The phrase so translated is *samavāyi-kāraṇam*. The word *samavāya* is rendered by Dr. Ballantyne, in his translation of the Bhāshāparichheda (published January, 1851), p. 22, by "intimate relation" (the same phrase as Dr. Roer had previously employed in 1850); and in the translation of the Tarka-sangraha (published in September of the same year), pp. 2 and 4, by "co-inherence."

with bodily organs,[137] are reputed to be omniscient; for owing to the transcendent excellence of Goodness its omniscience is matter of notoriety. Nor it is only of a person (*purusha*) whose essence is mere perception, and who is devoid of corporeal organs, that either omniscience or partial knowledge can be predicated: but from Pradhāna being composed of the three qualities, Goodness, which is the cause of omniscience, belongs to it tóo in the condition of Pradhāna. And so in the texts of the Upanishads omniscience is figuratively ascribed to it, although it is unconscious." And (*d*) you also, who recognize an omniscient Brahma, must of necessity acknowledge that His omniscience consists in His possessing the power of omniscience. For He does not continually exercise knowledge in regard to all objects. For (*e*) if His knowledge were continual. His self-dependence (or voluntary action) in reference to the act of knowledge would be lost. But if knowledge be not continual, then when the act of knowledge ceases Brahma must cease (to know). And so omniscience results from the possession of the power of omniscience. Further (*f*) you, too, hold that before the creation Brahma was devoid of any impulse to action. Nor can knowledge be conceived to arise in anyone who has no bodily organs or other instruments of knowledge. Moreover (*g*) causality can properly be ascribed to Pradhāna (as it can to earth, etc.) owing to the variety in its nature,[138] and the consequent possibility of its development, but not to Brahma whose essence is simple and uniform.' These arguments having been urged, the following Sūtra is introduced: 5. 'No; for in consequence of the word 'beholding' being employed, your view is contrary to the Veda.' (*a*) The unconscious Pradhāna, imagined by the Sānkhyas as the cause of the world, can find no support in the Upanishads. For it is unscriptural. How so? From its beholding, *i.e.* because the act of 'beholding' (or 'reflecting') is in scripture ascribed to the cause. How? Because the Veda contains a text which begins thus: 'This, o fair youth, was in the beginning' 'Existent, one without a second' (Chh. Up. vi. 2, 1); and proceeds: 'It beheld, let

[137] The epithet *kāryya-karaṇavantaḥ* is rendered *dehendriya-yukta* in the Bengali translation of S'ankara's comment, which forms part of the edition of the S'ārīraka-sūtras, with comment and gloss, published at Calcutta in 1784 of the S'aka æra. This translation is useful for ascertaining the general sense, but it does not explain all the difficult phrases which occur in the original.

[138] The meaning of this is that Pradhāna, as cause, possesses in its nature a variety corresponding to that exhibited by the different kinds of objects which constitute the visible creation; whilst Brahma is one and uniform.

me multiply, and be propagated.' 'It created light' (3). By these words the scripture, having first determined that the world, denoted by the word 'this' and now developed as Name and Form, subsisted before the creation in the form of the 'Existent,' then goes on to shew that this very subject of the text, denoted by the word 'Existent,' became, after 'beholding,' the creator of light and other objects. And accordingly another text (Ait. Up. i. 1) declares in the following words that the creation was preceded by 'beholding:' 'This was in the beginning Soul, one only; there was nothing else which saw.[139] It beheld, Let me create worlds; it created these worlds.'" After quoting two other texts Sankara proceeds: "These and other passages may also be adduced which shew that an omniscient Īśvara was the cause (of all things). And (*b*) the opinion which has been referred to, that Pradhāna will be omniscient in virtue of the knowledge which is an attribute of Goodness, is groundless. For since the three qualities are in a state of equilibrium as long as the state of Pradhāna lasts, knowledge as an attribute of Goodness cannot then belong to it. And the assertion (*d*) that Pradhāna will be omniscient from possessing the power of omniscience is equally untenable. If (*b*) in reliance on the power of knowledge residing in Goodness during the state of equilibrium, it be maintained that Pradhāna is then omniscient, a merely partial knowledge may with equal reason be ascribed to it on the strength of the power to obstruct knowledge which resides in Passion and Darkness (the other two qualities which constitute it). Besides, no function of Goodness can either be, or be called, knowledge, unless it be accompanied by the power of observing (or witnessing). But Pradhāna, being unconscious, possesses no such power. Consequently the omniscience of Pradhāna is untenable. And the omniscience of Yogins, (*c*) springing from their eminence in every attribute, becomes possible in consequence of their being conscious creatures; and therefore cannot be adduced as an illustrative argument in the case before us. If, again, you ascribe to Pradhāna a power of reflection derived from an observer (like the power of burning possessed by iron balls, etc., which is derived from fire) then it will be right to say that the source from which that power of reflection comes to Pradhāna, viz. the omniscient Brahma in the proper sense, and nothing else, is the cause of the world. Once more, (*e*) it is

[139] This is the sense assigned in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon to the word *mishat*. The commentators render it "moving" (*chalat*).

urged that omniscience cannot in the literal sense be properly attributed even to Brahma himself, because if the cognitive acts were continual, His self-dependence (or spontaneity), in regard to the act of cognition, would be no longer conceivable: we reply, that we must ask you how the supposition that cognitive acts are continual, interferes with the existence of omniscience. Because it is a contradiction to say that he who possesses a perpetual knowledge which can throw light upon all subjects can be otherwise than omniscient. For although on the hypothesis that knowledge is not continual, a negation of omniscience would result, as in that case the person in question would sometimes know and sometimes not know,—the same objection does not attach to the supposition of a perpetuity of knowledge. If you reply that on that supposition, self-dependence (or spontaneity), in regard to knowledge can no longer be attributed, we deny this, because we observe that spontaneity, in regard to burning and illuminating, is attributed to the sun, although he continually burns and shines. If you again object that this illustration does not hold good, because the power in question is ascribed to the sun only when his rays are in contact with the objects to be burnt or illuminated, whereas before the creation, Brahma has no contact with the object of knowledge;—we reply that the parallel is exact, because we observe that agency in shining is attributed to the sun even when there is no object [for his beams]; and in the same way agency in regard to 'beholding,' is justly ascribed to Brahma, even when there is no object of knowlege. But the texts which record the fact of 'beholding' will be applicable to Brahma with still greater propriety if that 'beholding' have had reference to a positive object. What then is the object which is contemplated by Brahma before the creation? We reply, the undeveloped Name and Form which were not describable either in their essence or differences, and which He wished to develope. For what need we say to prove the perpetual knowledge, relating to the creation, continuance, and destruction of the world, which belongs to Īśvara, the perpetually pure, from whose grace it is that the intuitive knowledge of things past and future, which men learned in the Yoga doctrine attribute to Yogins, is derived? And as regards the further objection (*f*) that Brahma, who before the creation was without body or organs of sense, could not be conceived to 'behold,'—that argument cannot be sustained, as from

Brahma's existence in the form of knowledge being, like the sun's lustre, perpetual, he cannot be supposed dependent upon any (bodily organs as) instruments of knowledge." . . . . "Then as regards the assertion (*g*) that Pradhāna, from its multiformity of character can (like earth, etc.,) be readily conceived as the cause (of the manifold products which we see around us), whilst such causality cannot be ascribed to the simple and uniform Brahma,—that has been answered by the remark that the existence of Pradhāna is not established by scripture. And that the causality of Brahma, but not that of Pradhāna, etc., can be established by reasoning will hereafter be shewn in the Sūtras, 'Brahma, you say, cannot be the material cause of this world, because it differs from him in its nature,' etc. (Brahma Sūtras, ii. 1, 4 ff.). Here the Sānkhyas remark: 'As regards your objection that the unconscious Pradhāna cannot be the cause of the world, because the Veda describes that cause as 'beholding,' we observe (*h*) that that text, if otherwise explained, will be consistent with our view. For we find that even unconscious objects are figuratively spoken of as conscious. Thus we notice that any one who perceives that the bank of a river is on the point of falling, speaks in a figurative way of that unconscious bank as intending to fall.[140] In the same way when Pradhāna is on the point of creating, it can be figuratively said of it, although unconscious, as of a conscious being, that it 'beheld.'[141] Just as any conscious person, after bathing and eating, resolves that on the following day he will proceed to his village in a car, and afterwards acts according to that plan, so too Pradhāna (becoming developed) in the form of Mahat (intellect), etc., acts according to a law, and therefore is figuratively spoken of as conscious. If you ask us, why we abandon the proper sense of 'beholding,' and adopt a figurative one, we answer that we do so because we find the term figuratively applied to Water and to Light, though unconscious objects, in the Vedic texts, 'The Light beheld,' 'the Waters beheld' (Chh. Up. vi. 2, 3 f.). Hence from the fact that the expression is for the most

[140] *Kūlam pipatishati*, literally, "The bank wishes to fall;" but, as is well known, a verb, or verbal noun, or adjective, in the desiderative form, often indicates nothing more than that something is about to happen. Here, however, the Sānkhyas are introduced as founding a serious argument on this equivocal form of speech.

[141] See Vijnāna Bhikshu's remarks on the Sānkhya Sūtra, i. 96, where the same illustration is given.

part figuratively employed, we conclude that the act of beholding,' performed by the 'Existent' also was a figurative one." These objections having been brought forward, the following Sūtra is introduced: 6. "If you say that the act of 'beholding' is figuratively ascribed to Pradhāna, it is not so, because the word Soul also is applied to the cause." (*h*) "The assertion that the unconscious Pradhāna is designated by the word 'Existent,' and that 'beholding' is figuratively ascribed to it, as to Water and Light, is incorrect. Why? Because the word Soul also is employed. The text which begins with the words, 'This, o fair youth, was in the beginning Existent,' and goes on 'It beheld, it created light,' after relating the creation of Light, Water, and Food, refers to that 'Existent,' the 'beholder,' which is the subject of the text, and to Light, Water, and Food, under the appellation of deities, thus: 'This deity beheld (or resolved), come let me enter into these three deities with this living Soul, and make manifest Name and Form' (vi. 3, 2). Here if the unconscious Pradhāna were regarded as being, through the function of the quality (of Goodness), the 'beholder,' it would from the context be referred to in the phrase 'that deity;' and then the deity in question could not denote a 'living being' by the term 'Soul.' For the principle of life is both according to common usage, and interpretation, the conscious ruler of the body, and the sustainer of the vital breaths. How could such a principle of life be the Soul of the unconscious Pradhāna? For Soul means the essential nature, and a conscious principle of life cannot be the essence of the unconscious Pradhāna. But in reality the conscious Brahma is understood in this text as the 'beholder' in the proper sense of the term; and the word Soul, as relating to the principle of life, is rightly applied to Him. And thus in the sentence 'This entire universe is identical with this subtile particle; it is true; it is Soul: Thou art it, o Śvetaketu,' (Chh. Up. vi. 8, 6 f.) the author by employing the words 'it is Soul' designates the subtile particle, the Existent, which is the subject of the text, as Soul, by the term Soul, and so in the words 'thou art it, o Śvetaketu,' describes the conscious Śvetaketu as being Soul. But Water and Fire are unconscious things, because they are objects of sense,[142] and because it is pointed out that they were employed in the manifestation of Name and Form; and so there is no reason, as in the

[142] *Vishayatvāt* = *dṛig-vishayatvāt*, "from their being objects of the sense of sight."—Govinda Ānanda.

case of Soul, to describe them as 'beholders' in the proper sense: that term must be applied to them by a figure, as in the case of the 'river bank.' And their act of 'beholding' was dependent on their being governed by the 'Existent.' But, as we have said, the act of 'beholding' is not figurative in the case of the 'Existent,' because the word Soul is applied to it. But it is now urged (*i*), that the term Soul does apply to Pradhāna, though unconscious, because it fulfils all the objects of soul; just as it is applied by a king to his servant who accomplishes all his designs, when he says 'Bhadrasena is my soul.' For Pradhāna renders aid to a man's soul by obtaining for it both celestial enjoyment, and final liberation, as a king's servant assists him by acting in peace and war, etc. Or (*j*) the one word Soul may apply both to conscious and unconscious objects, as we see it employed in the phrases 'soul of the elements,' 'soul of the bodily organs;' just as the same word *jyotis* means both sacrifice and light. Why then, the Sānkhyas conclude, should you infer from the word 'Soul' that the term 'beholding' cannot be figuratively used?

"This is answered in the 7th Sūtra ('Soul cannot denote Pradhāna), because it is declared that the man who fixes his thoughts upon it obtains final emancipation.' Unconscious Pradhāna must not be understood to derive any support from the word 'Soul;' for after referring in the words 'it is Soul' to the 'Existent,' the 'very subtile thing,' which is the subject of the passage, and indicating in the words 'thou art it, o Śvetaketu,' that the conscious Śvetaketu, who was about to obtain emancipation, was intent upon it, the text above adduced declares his emancipation in the words 'the man who has an instructor knows, "this will only last until I am liberated; I shall then be perfected."' (Chh. Up. vi. 14, 6) For if the unconscious Pradhāna were denoted by the term 'Existent,' the words 'thou art it,' would cause the conscious person, who was seeking after emancipation, to understand (of himself) 'Thou art unconscious;' and in that case the Śāstra which declared what was contradictory would be unauthoritative, because injurious to the person in question. But we cannot conceive a faultless Śāstra to be unauthoritative. And if a Śāstra esteemed authoritative should inform an ignorant seeker after emancipation, that a thing which was not soul was soul, he (the ignorant seeker) would in consequence of his faith, persist in regarding it as soul, as in the case of

the blind man and the bull's tail,[143] and would fail of attaining to soul which was quite different from it; and would in consequence lose the object of its efforts, and suffer injury. It is therefore proper to conclude that just as the Vedic precept, that he who desires paradise should perform the agnihotra sacrifice is conformable to truth, so, too, the text which says to the man seeking after emancipation, 'this is soul, thou art that, o Śvetaketu,' declares to him soul in conformity with the reality. And so,—as in the case of the man (charged with theft) who takes into his hand the red-hot axe, and (in consequence of the truth of his protestation of innocence) is delivered (Chh. Up. vi. 16, 2),—the promise of final emancipation will hold good in the case of the man whose thoughts are fixed on the true Brahma. . . . Consequently the application of the word 'soul' to the 'existent subtile thing' is not figurative. Whereas (*i*) the use of the same word when applied to a servant (as when it is said 'Bhadrasena is my soul'), is shown to be figurative by the manifest distinctness of a servant from his master. And the fact that a word is sometimes observed to be employed figuratively does not justify the supposition that it is so used in cases where the (proper) sense is established by the words; because that would give rise to doubt in every instance. Again, (*j*) it is incorrect to say that the word soul is common to things conscious and unconscious, (as the term *jyotis* means both sacrifice and flame), because the assertion that it has a variety of significa-

[143] The story or fable here alluded to is told at length by Ānanda Giri, and more briefly by Govinda Ānanda as follows: *Kaśchit kila dushṭātmā mahāraṇya-mārge patitam andhaṁ sva-bandhu-nagaraṁ jigamishum babhāshe "kim attra āyushmatā duḥkhitena sthīyate" iti | sa cha andhaḥ sukha-vāṇīm ākarṇya tam āptam matvā uvācha "aho mad-bhāgadheyaṁ yad attra bhavān mām dīnaṁ svābhīshṭa-nagara-prāpty-asamartham bhāshate" iti | sa cha vipralipsur dushṭa-go-yuvānam ānīya tadīya-lāngūlaṁ andhaṁ grāhayāmāsa upadideśa cha enam andham "esha go-yuvā tvāṁ nagaraṁ neshyati mā tyaja lāngūlam" iti sa cha andhaḥ śraddhālutayā tad atyajan svābhīshṭam aprāpya anartha-paramparām prāptas tena nyāyena ity arthaḥ |* "A certain malicious person said to a blind man who was lying on the road through a forest, and wishing to proceed to the city of his friends, 'Why, distressed old man, do you stay here?' The blind man hearing the agreeable voice of the speaker, and regarding him as trustworthy, replied: 'O how great is my good fortune that you have accosted me who am helpless, and unable to go to the city which I desire to reach!' The other, wishing to deceive him, brought a vicious young bull, and made the blind man lay hold of his tail, and told him that the young bull would conduct him to the city, enjoining him not to let go the tail. Trusting to the speaker, the blind kept his hold, but did not attain the object of his desire, and encountered a series of mishaps;—such is the illustration."

tions is unreasonable. Hence the word soul, which properly refers to conscious things, is applied to the elements, etc., by a figurative ascription to them of consciousness, as when we say, 'the soul of the elements,' or 'the soul of the bodily organs.' And even if it were admitted that the word soul was common to different things, it could not be ascertained whether it had reference to one thing or another unless the context or some auxiliary word determined the point. But in the case before us there is nothing to determine that it denotes anything unconscious; on the contrary, the subject of the sentence is the 'Existent, the beholder,' and in immediate connection with it is the conscious Śvetaketu; for as we have already said an unconscious thing cannot be conceived as the soul of the conscious Śvetaketu. Thus it is settled that the word 'soul' refers to a conscious being," etc.

In the fourth section (*pāda*) of the 1st Book, the author of the Sūtras returns to his controversy with the Sānkhyas, and Śankara, after alluding to the aphorisms in which they had previously been combated, proceeds as follows (p. 334):

Idaṁ tv idānīm avaśishṭam āśankyate | yad uktam pradhānasya aśabdatvaṁ tad asiddhaṁ kāsuchit śākhāsu pradhāna-samarpaṇābhāsānāṁ śabdānaṁ śrūyamāṇatvāt | ataḥ pradhānasya kāraṇatvaṁ veda-prasiddham eva mahadbhiḥ paramarshibhiḥ Kapilādibhiḥ parigṛihītam iti prasajyate | tad yāvat teshāṁ śabdānām anya-paratvaṁ na pratipādyate tāvat sarvajnam Brahma jagataḥ kāraṇam iti pratipāditam apy ākulībhavet | atas teshām anya-paratvaṁ darśayitum paraḥ sandarbhaḥ pravarttate | "ānumānikam api" (Br. Sūtra i. 4, 1) anumāna-nirūpitam api pradhānam "ekeshāṁ" śākhināṁ śabdavad upalabhyate | Kāṭhake hi paṭhyate "mahataḥ param avyaktam avyaktāt purushaḥ paraḥ" iti | tattra ye eva yan-nāmāno yat-kramakāś cha mahad-avyakta-purushāḥ smṛiti-prasiddhās te eva iha pratyabhijnāyante | tattra "avyaktam" iti smṛiti-prasiddheḥ śabdādi-hīnatvāch cha na vyaktam avyaktam iti vyutpatti-sambhavāt smṛiti-prasiddham pradhānam abhidhīyate | atas tasya śabdavattvād aśabdatvam anupapannam [144] | tad eva cha jagataḥ kāraṇaṁ śruti-smṛiti-prasiddhibhyaḥ iti chet | na etad evam | na hy etat Kāṭhaka-vākyaṁ smṛiti-prasiddhayor mahad-avyaktayor astitva-param | na hy attra yādṛiśaṁ smṛiti-prasiddhaṁ svatantraṁ kāraṇaṁ triguṇam pradhānaṁ

[144] The text given in the Bibl. Indica has *upapannam*, but I follow the old edition in Bengali characters in reading *anupapannam*, which seems required by the sense.

tādṛiśam pratyabhijnāyate | śabda-mātraṁ hy attra avyaktam iti pratyabhijnāyate | sa cha śabdo na vyaktam avyaktam iti yaugikatvād anyasminn api sūkshme durlakshye cha prayujyate na cha ayaṁ kasminśchid rūdhaḥ | yā tu pradhāna-vādinām rūḍhiḥ sā teshām eva pāribhāshikī satī na vedārtha-nirūpaṇe kāraṇa-bhāvam pratipadyate | na cha krama-mātra-sāmarthyāt samānārtha-pratipattir bhavaty asati tad-rūpa-pratyabhijnāne | na hy aśva-sthāne gām paśyann aśvo 'yam ity amūḍho 'dhyavasyati | prakaraṇa-nirūpaṇāyāṁ cha attra na para-parikalpitam pradhānam pratīyate śarīra-rūpaka-vinyasta-grihīteḥ | śarīraṁ hy attra ratha-rūpaka-vinyastam avyakta-śabdena parigṛihyate | kutaḥ | prakaraṇāt pariśeshāch cha | tathā hy anantarātīto granthaḥ ātma-śarīrādīnāṁ rathi-rathādi-rūpaka-kḷiptiṁ darśayati | (Kaṭha Upanishad, i. 3, 3 f.) "*ātmānaṁ rathinaṁ viddhi śarīraṁ ratham eva cha | buddhiṁ cha sārathiṁ viddhi manaḥ pragraham eva cha |* 4. *Indriyāṇi hayān āhur vishayāṁs teshu gocharān | ātmendriya-mano-yuktam bhoktety āhur manīshiṇaḥ*" | *taiś chaindriyādibhir asaṁyataiḥ saṁsāram adhigachchhati | saṁyatais tv adhvanaḥ pāraṁ tad Vishṇoḥ paramam padam āpnoti iti darśayitvā kiṁ tad adhvanaḥ pāram Vishṇoḥ paramam padam ity asya ākānkshāyāṁ tebhyaḥ eva prakṛitebhyaḥ indriyādibhyaḥ paratvena paramātmānam adhvanaḥ pāraṁ tad Vishṇoḥ paramam padaṁ darśayati |* Kaṭha Up. i. 3, 10 f.) "*indriyebhyaḥ parāḥ hy arthāḥ arthebhyaś cha param manaḥ | manasas tu parā buddhir buddher ātmā mahān paraḥ |* 11. *Mahataḥ param avyaktam avyaktāt purushaḥ paraḥ | purushād na paraṁ kinchit sā kāshṭhā sā parā gatir*" *iti | . . . . "Buddher ātmā mahān paraḥ" yaḥ sa "ātmānaṁ rathinaṁ viddhi" iti rathitvena upakshiptaḥ | kutaḥ | ātma-śabdād bhoktuś cha bhogopakaraṇāt paratvopapatteḥ | mahattvaṁ cha asya svāmitvād upapannam | . . . . yā prathamajasya Hiraṇyagarbhasya buddhiḥ sā sarvāsām buddhīnām paramā pratishṭhā sā iha "mahān ātmā" ity uchyate | sā cha pūrvattra buddhi-grahaṇena eva gṛihītā satī hirug iha upadiśyate tasyāḥ apy asmadīyābhyo buddhibhyaḥ paratvopapatteḥ | . . . . tad evaṁ śarīram eva ekam pariśishyate | teshu*[145] *itarāṇi indriyādīni prakṛitāny eva parama-padadidarśayishayā samanukrāman pariśishyamāṇena iha anena avyakta-śabdena pariśishyamāṇam prakṛitaṁ śarīraṁ darśayati iti gamyate | . . . . tad evam pūrvāparālochanāyāṁ nāsty attra para-parikalpitasya pradhānasya avakāśaḥ | 2. "Sūkshmaṁ tu tad-arhatvāt" | uktam etat prakaraṇa-*

[145] The earlier edition above referred to omits *teshu*.

parisheshābhyām śarīram avyakta-śabdaṁ na pradhānam iti | idam idānīṁ āśankyate katham avyakta-śabdārhatvaṁ śarīrasya yāvatā sthūlatvāt spashṭataram idaṁ śarīraṁ vyakta-śabdārham aspashṭa-vachanas tv avyakta-śabdaḥ iti | ataḥ uttaram uchyate | sūkshmaṁ tv iha kāraṇātmanā śarīraṁ vivakshyate sūkshmasya avyakta-śabdārhatvāt | yadyapi sthūlam idaṁ śarīraṁ na svayam avyakta-śabdam arhati tathāpi tasya tv ārambhakam bhūta-sūksham avyakta-śabdam arhati | . . . . attra āha yadi jagad idam anabhivyakta-nāma-rūpaṁ vījātmakam prāg-avastham avyakta-śabdārham abhyupagamyeta tad-ātmanā cha śarīrasyāpy avyakta-śabdārhatvam pratijnāyeta sa eva tarhi pradhāna-kāraṇa-vādaḥ evam saty āpadyeta asya eva jagataḥ prāg-avasthāyāḥ pradhānatvena abhyupagamād iti | attra uchyate | yadi vayaṁ svatantrāṁ kānchit prāg-avasthāṁ jagataḥ kāraṇatvena abhyupagachchema prasanjayema tadā pradhāna-kāraṇa-vādam | Parmeśvarādhīnā tv iyam asmābhiḥ prāg-avasthā jagato 'bhyupagamyate na svatantrā | sā cha avaśyam abhyupagantavyā | arthavatī hi sā | na hi tayā vinā Parameśvarasya srashṭritvaṁ siddhyati śakti-rahitasya tasya pravritty-anupapatteḥ muktānāṁ cha punar-utpattir vidyayā tasyāḥ vīja-śakter dāhāt | avidyātmikā hi sā vīja-śaktir avyakta-śabda-nirdeśyā Parameśvarāśrayā māyāmayī mahāsushuptir yasyāṁ svarūpa-pratibodha-rahitāḥ śerate saṁsarino jīvāḥ | tad etad avyaktaṁ kvachid ākāśa-śabda-nirdishṭam | "etasmin nu khalv akshare Gārgi ākāśaḥ otaś cha protaś cha" iti śruteḥ | kvachid akshara-śabdoditam "āksharāt paratah parah" iti śruteḥ | kvachid māyā iti sūchitam "māyāṁ tu prakritiṁ vidyād māyinaṁ tu maheśvaram" iti mantra-varṇāt | avyaktā hi sā māyā tattvānyatva-nirūpaṇasya aśakyatvāt | tad idam "mahataḥ param avyaktam" ity uktam avyakta-prabhavatvād mahato yadā Hairanyagarbhī buddhir mahān | yadā tu jīvo mahāṁs tadā 'py avyaktādhīnatvāj jīva-bhāvasya mahataḥ param avyaktam ity uktam | avidyā hy avyaktam avidyāvattve cha jīvasya sarvaḥ saṁvyavahāraḥ santato varttate | tach cha avyakta-gatam mahataḥ paratvam abhedopachārāt tad-vikāre śarīre parikalpyate |

"But now this doubt still remains. The assertion that the existence of Pradhāna is not supported by the Veda is, say the Sānkhyas, destitute of proof, as certain Vedic Sākhās contain passages which have the appearance of affirming Pradhāna. Consequently the causality of Pradhāna has been received by Kapila and other great rishis on the ground that it is established by the Veda; and this is an objection to the state-

ment which you make to the contrary. Until, therefore, it be established that these passages have a different object, the doctrine that an omniscient Brahma is the cause of the world, even though it has been proved, will be again unsettled; and consequently you bring forward a great array of arguments to shew that these texts apply to something else. In the words 'it may be deduced also,' *i.e.* it is determined by inference,—it is shewn that in the opinion of certain schools the doctrine of Pradhāna is scriptural, for in the Kaṭha Upanishad (i. 3, 11) we read the words 'Above the Great one is Avyakta (the Unmanifested one), and above the Unmanifested one is Purusha (Soul).' Here we recognize 'the Great one,' 'the Unmanifested one,' and Purusha, with the same names and in the same order in which they are known to occur in the Smṛiti (*i.e.* the system of Kapila). Here that which is called Pradhāna in the Smṛiti is denoted by the word 'the Unmanifested one,' as we learn both from its being so called in the Smṛiti, and from the epithet 'unmanifested' (which is derived from the words 'not' and 'manifested') being properly applicable to it in consequence of its being devoid of sound, and the other objects of sense: wherefore, from its having this Vedic authority to support it, its (*i.e.* Pradhāna's) unscriptural character is refuted; and it is proved both by the Veda, the Smṛiti, and common notoriety to be the cause of the world. If the Sānkhyas argue thus, we reply that the case is not so; for this text of the Kaṭha Upanishad does not refer to the existence of the 'Great one' and the 'Unmanifested one,' which are defined in the Smṛiti (of Kapila); for here we do not recognize such a self-dependent cause, viz. Pradhāna, composed of the three qualities, as is declared in that Smṛiti, but the mere epithet 'unmanifested.' And this word 'unmanifested,' owing to its sense as a derivative from the words 'not' and 'manifested,' is also applied to anything else which is subtile or indistinguishable, and has not properly a conventional meaning in reference to any particular thing. As for the conventional use which the assertors of Pradhāna make of it, that is a technical application peculiar to themselves, and does not afford any means for determining the sense of the Vedas. Nor does the mere identity of the order (of the three words) furnish any proof of identity of meaning unless we can recognise the essential character of the things to be the same. For no man but a fool, if he saw a cow in the place where he expected to see a horse, would falsely

ascribe to it the character of a horse. And if we determine the sense of the context, it will be found that the Pradhāna imagined by our opponents finds no place here, since it is the 'body' which is indicated in the preceding simile. For here the body as represented under the figure of a chariot, etc., is to be understood by the word 'the Unmanifested.' Why? From the context and the remainder of the sentence. For the context which immediately precedes sets forth the soul, the body, etc., under the figure of a rider, a chariot, etc., as follows: 'Know that the soul is the rider, the body the chariot, the intellect the charioteer, and the mind the reins. The senses are called the horses, and the objects of sense the roads on which they go. The soul accompanied by the senses and the mind is the enjoyer;[146] so say the wise.' After pointing out (in the following verses) that with these senses, etc., if uncontrouled, the soul gains only this world, but if they are kept under controul, it attains to the highest state of Vishṇu, which is the end of its road; the author (in answer to the question 'What is that highest state of Vishṇu which is the end of the road?') shews in the following verses that it is the supreme Spirit who transcends the senses, etc. (which form the subject of the context), who is alluded to as the goal, and the highest state of Vishṇu: 'The objects of sense are higher than the senses; the mind is higher than the objects of sense; the intellect is higher than the mind; the Great soul is higher than the intellect; the Unmanifested one is higher than the Great soul; the spirit (Purusha) is greater than the Unmanifested: there is nothing higher than Spirit, that is the end, that is the highest goal.'" After observing that the various terms in these lines are the same which had been previously introduced in the simile of the chariot, charioteer, rider, horses, etc., Śankara assigns the reason of the superiority attributed to each succeeding object over that which precedes it, and then goes on to say in regard to intellect and soul: "'The Great soul is higher than the intellect,' that soul, namely, which is figuratively described as a rider, in the words 'Know the soul to be the rider.' But why is the Soul

[146] The words of the original, both as given here and in the text of the Kaṭha Upanishad are *ātmendriya-mano-yuktam bhoktā*, which are not very clear. The commentators understand *ātman* at the beginning of the compound as denoting body, and supply *ātmānam* as the subject. See Dr. Roer's translation of the Upanishads (Bibl. Ind. p. 107).

superior to the intellect? Both from the use of the word Soul and because it aids the enjoyment of the enjoyer, it is shewn to be superior. Its character as the Great soul is proved by its being the master. . . The intellect of Hiranyagarbha, the first-born, is the highest basis of all intellect; and it is that which is here called the 'Great soul.' It had been previously comprehended under the word 'intellect,' but is here separately specified, because it also is superior to our intellects. . . . . Thus the body alone remains of the objects referred to in the passage. After going over all the others in order, with the view of pointing out the highest state to be attained, he indicates by the one remaining word, the 'Unapparent,' the one remaining subject of the text, viz. the body—such is our conclusion. . . . Hence after examining both the earlier and later portions of the passage, we find that there is no place for the Pradhāna imagined by our opponents." Going on to interpret the next aphorism (i. 4, 2) 'But the subtile body may also be properly called 'unmanifested,' Sankara begins:

"We have declared that, looking to the context and the only word which remained to be explained, the body, and not Pradhāna, is denoted by the word the 'Unapparent.' But here a doubt arises: 'How can the body be properly designated by the word 'unapparent,' inasmuch as from its grossness it is very distinctly perceptible, and therefore should rather be denoted by the word 'apparent,' while the word 'unapparent' signifies something that is not perceptible? We answer: In this passage the subtile body in its character of cause is intended, since what is subtile is properly designated by the term 'unapparent.' Although this gross body itself cannot properly be described by the word 'Unapparent,' still this term applies to the subtile element which is its originator" . . . . Sankara begins his interpretation of the next aphorism (i. 4, 3) as follows: "Here the Sānkhyas rejoin: 'If you admit that this world in its primordial condition, before its name and form had been manifested, and while it existed in its rudimentary form, could be properly designated by the word 'Unapparent,' and if the same term be declared applicable to body also while continuing in that state, then your explanation will exactly coincide with our doctrine of Pradhāna as the cause of all things; since you will virtually acknowledge that the original condition of this world was that of Pradhāna. To this we reply: If we admitted any self-dependent original

condition as the cause of the world, we should then lay ourselves open to the charge of admitting that Pradhāna is the cause. But we consider that this primordial state of the world is dependent upon the supreme Deity (Parameśvara) and not self-dependent. And this state to which we refer must of necessity be assumed, as it is essential. For without it the creative action of the supreme Deity could not be accomplished, since, if he were destitute of his Śakti (power), any activity on his part would be inconceivable. And so, too, those who have been emancipated from birth are not born again, because this germinative power (on the destruction,—which implies the previous existence,—of which emancipation depends) is consumed by knowledge.[147] For that germinative power, of which the essence is ignorance, and which is denoted by the word 'Unapparent,' has its centre in the supreme Deity, and is a great illusive sleep, during which mundane souls repose unconscious of their own true nature. This 'Unapparent one' is in some places indicated by the term æther (*ākāśa*), as in the text (Bṛih. Ār. Up. iii. 8, 11) 'On this undecaying Being, o Gārgī, the æther is woven as warp and woof;' in other places by the word 'undecaying' (*akshara*), as in the text, 'Beyond the Undecaying is the Highest;' and is elsewhere designated by the term 'illusion' (*māyā*) as in the line (Śvetaśv. Up. 4, 10) 'Know that Prakṛiti (or matter) is illusion, and the great Deity the possessor of illusion.' For this 'illusion' is 'unapparent,' because it cannot be defined in its essence and difference. This is the 'Unapparent' which is described as above the 'Great one,' since the latter, when regarded as identical with the intellect of Hiraṇyagarbha, springs from the former. And even if the 'Great one' be identified with the embodied soul (*jīva*), the 'Unapparent' can be said to be above it, as the condition of the embodied soul is dependent upon the 'Unapparent.' For the 'Unapparent' is ignorance, and it is during its condition of ignorance that the entire mundane action of the embodied soul is car-

[147] Govinda Ānanda explains this clause as follows: *Bandha-mukti-vyavasthārtham api sā svīkāryyā ity āha "muktānām" iti | yan-nāśād muktiḥ sā svīkāryyā tāṁ vinā eva śrishṭau muktānām punar bandhāpattir ity arthaḥ* | "In the words 'Those who had been emancipated,' etc., he tells us that this ignorance must be admitted, in order to secure the permanence of emancipation from the bondage (of birth): that is, that ignorance by the destruction of which emancipation is obtained must be admitted; as without it those who had been emancipated would at the creation be again involved in bondage," [because to be released at all, they must be released from something].

ried on. And that superiority of the 'Unapparent' over the 'Great one' is by a figurative description of body as identical with the former attributed to body also."

By these subtle and elaborate explanations Śankara scarcely appears to make out his point. But I cannot follow further the discussion of this question, and now go on to the eighth aphorism (i. 4, 8) where the purport of another Vedic text is investigated:

"*Chamasa-vad aviśeshāt*" | *punar api pradhāna-vādī aśabdatvam pradhānasya asiddhaṁ ity āha* | *kasmāt* | *mantra-varṇāt* | (Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, iv. 5) "*ajām ekāṁ lohita-śukla-kṛishṇām bahvīḥ prajāḥ sṛijamānāṁ svarūpāḥ*[148] | *ajo hy eko jushamāṇo 'nuśete jahāty enām bhuktabhogām ajo 'nyaḥ*" *iti* | *attra hi mantre lohita-śukla-kṛishṇa-śabdaiḥ rajaḥ-sattva-tamāṁsy abhidhīyante* | *lohitaṁ rajo ranjanātmakatvāt śuklaṁ sattvaṁ prakāśātmakatvāt kṛishṇaṁ tamaḥ āvaraṇātmakatvāt* | *teshāṁ sāmyāvasthāvayava-dharmair vyapadiśyate lohita-śukla-kṛishṇā iti* | *na jāyate iti cha "ajā" syād "mūla-prakṛitir avikṛitir" ity abhyupagamāt* | *nanv ajā-śabdaś chhāgāyāṁ rūḍhaḥ* | *vāḍham* | *sā tu rūḍhir iha na āśrayituṁ śakyā vidyā-prakaraṇāt* | *sā cha bahvīḥ prajās traiguṇyānvitāḥ janayati . . . . tasmāt śruti-mūlā eva pradhānādi-kalpanā Kāpilānām ity evam prāpte brūmaḥ* | *na anena mantreṇa śruti-mūlatvaṁ Sānkhya-vādasya śakyam āśrayitum* | *na hy ayam mantraḥ svātantryeṇa kanchid api vādaṁ samarthayitum utsahate* | *sarvatrāpi yayā kayāchit kalpanayā ajātvādi-sampādanopapatteḥ Sānkhya-vādaḥ eva iha abhipretaḥ iti viśeshāvadhāraṇa-kāraṇābhāvāt* | "*chamasa-vat*" |

"'Because, as in the case of the spoon, there is nothing distinctive.' The assertor of Pradhāna again declares that Pradhāna is not proved to be unscriptural. Why? From the following verse (Śv. Up. iv. 5): 'One unborn male, loving the unborn female of a red, white, and black colour, who forms many creatures possessing her own character, unites himself with her: another unborn male abandons her after he has enjoyed her.' For in this verse the words 'red,' 'white,' and 'black,' denote (the three Qualities) Passion, Goodness, and Darkness; —Passion, from its stimulating character, being designated by the term

[148] The text of Dr. Röer's ed. of the Upanishad (Bibl. Ind. vol. vii.) has two various readings in this line, viz. *lohita-kṛishṇa-varṇām* for *lohita-śukla-kṛishṇam* (which latter, however, is the reading referred to by Śankara in his commentary on that work), and *sarūpām* for *svarūpāḥ*.

'red,' Goodness, from its illuminating character, by 'white,' and Darkness, from its enveloping character, by 'black.' The unborn female is described as red, white, and black, with reference to the characteristics of the three components which make up the state of equilibium. She must be called 'unborn' (*Ajā*), because she is not produced, since it is admitted that 'original matter' (Mūla-Prakṛiti = Pradhāna) is not a modification (of any other substance—Sāṅkhya Kārikā, verse 3). But is not *ajā* the conventional name for 'she-goat?' True (reply the Sānkyas), but that conventional sense cannot be adopted here, because knowledge is the subject of the context. And this unborn female produces many creatures characterized by the three Qualities . . . . And from this it is concluded that the theory of Kapila's followers regarding Pradhāna, etc., is based upon the Veda. We reply: that it cannot be admitted on the strength of this verse that the theory of the Sānkhyas is founded on the Veda. For the verse in question, if regarded independently, is powerless to sustain any hypothesis whatever; and the reason is that, as this description of the state of the unborn female may be rendered applicable on any hypothesis whatever, there is no ground for determining specifically that the Sānkhya theory is here intended—'as in the case of the spoon.'" This aphorism refers to a verse quoted in the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, ii. 2, 3 (Bibl. Ind. p. 413 of the Sanskrit, and p. 174 of Dr. Roer's translation), and beginning 'a cup with its mouth down, and its bottom upwards,' which, as Śankara remarks, cannot, without some further indication, be applied to any one cup in particular; and in the same way, he argues, the unborn female in the passage under discussion cannot, in the absence of anything to restrict the application in any special way be understood as denoting Pradhāna (*evam ihāpy aviśesho 'jām ekām ity asya mantrasya | na asmin mantre Pradhānam eva ajā 'bhipretā iti śakyate niyantum*). The question then arises what is meant by this 'unborn female.' To this the author of the aphorisms and Śankara reply, that the word denotes the material substance of a four-fold class of elements, viz. light, heat, water, and food, all derived from the supreme Deity (*Parameśvarād utpannā jyotiḥ-pramukhā tejo 'b-anna-lakshaṇā chatur-vidha-bhūta-grāmasya prakṛiti-bhūtā iyam ajā pratipattavyā*). These four elements he however seems (p. 357) to identify with three, in the words: *bhūta-traya-lakshaṇā eva iyam ajā vijneyā na guṇa-traya-lakshaṇā* | 'This

unborn female is formed by three elements, not by the three qualities;' and the ascription of the three colours in the text to these three elements is supported by a quotation from the Chhāndogya Upanishad, vi. 4, 1, which is as follows: *Yad agneḥ rohitam rūpaṁ tejasas tad rūpam yat śuklaṁ tad apāṁ yat krishṇaṁ tad annasya* | "The red colour of fire is that of heat; its white colour is that of water; and its black colour is that of food (which here means earth, according to the commentator on the Chhāndogya Upanishad).[149] In this way, he adds, the words denoting the three colours are used in the proper sense, whereas if applied to the three qualities they would be figuratively employed (*rohitādīnāṁ cha śabdānāṁ rūpa-viśesheshu mukhyatvād bhāktatvāch cha guṇa-vishayatvasya*). Śankara concludes that this verse, descriptive of the unborn female, does not denote any self-dependent material cause called Pradhāna, but is shewn from the context to signify the Divine Power in its primordial state before Name and Form were developed (*na svatantrā kāchit prakṛitiḥ pradhānaṁ nāma ajā-mantreṇa āmnāyāte iti śakyate vaktum* | *prakaraṇāt tu sā eva daivī śaktir avyākṛita-nāma-rūpā nāma-rūpayoḥ prāg avasthānenāpi mantreṇa āmnāyate ity uchyate*).

Passing over the further questions, which are raised on this subject, I go on to the 11th Sūtra and the comment upon it, from which we learn that the words 'knowing him by whom the five times five men, and the æther are upheld, to be Soul,' etc. (*yasmin pancha pancha-janāḥ ākāśāś cha pratishṭhitaḥ* | *tam evānyaḥ ātmānam vidvān ityādi*), are adduced by the Sānkhyas in support of their system, as the number of the principles (*tattva*), which it affirms (see Sānkhya Kārikā, verse 3, and Sānkhya Sūtras, i. 61), corresponds to the number twenty-five in this text; while the applicability of the passage is denied by the Vedāntins on the ground that the 'principles' of the Sānkhya are not made up of five homogeneous sets of five each (p. 362); that if the Soul and æther mentioned in the text are added, as they must be, to the twenty-five, the aggregate number will exceed that of the Sānkhya 'principles,' among which both Soul and æther are comprehended (pp. 364 f.); that the fact of the correspondence of the numbers, if admitted, would not suffice to shew that the 'principles' of the Sānkhya were referred to, as they are not elsewhere recognized in the Veda, and as the word

[149] See Babu Rajendra Lāl Mittra's translation of this Upanishad, p. 106.

'men' (*janāḥ*) is not usually applied to denote 'principles' (p. 365); and further that the phrase 'the five five men,' signifies only 'five,' and not 'five times five' (p. 366), etc. The conclusion arrived at in the twelfth aphorism is that the breath, and other vital airs, are referred to in the passage under consideration; and that although the word 'men' (*janāḥ*) is not generally applied to 'breath,' etc., any more than to 'principles,' the reference is determined by the context. Others, as Śankara observes, explain the term 'the five men' (*panchajanāḥ*) of the gods, fathers, gandharvas, asuras, and rakshases, and others again of the four castes, and the Nishādas.[150] The Vedāntic teacher (Bādarāyaṇa) however, as his commentator adds, has decided that the breath, etc., are intended.

If we now turn to the Sānkhya aphorisms themselves, we shall find that their author constantly refers to texts of the Veda as supporting, coinciding with, or reconcileable with his dogmas. I have noticed the following instances, viz. Sūtras i. 5, 36, 51, 54, 78, 84, 148, 155; ii. 20–22; iii. 14, 15, 80; iv. 22; v, 1, 12, 15, 21; vi. 32, 34, 51, 58, 59, which may be consulted in Dr. Ballantyne's translation. I can only refer more particularly to a few of these with the commentator's remarks.

I begin with Sūtra i. 155,[151] in which the author of the Aphorisms maintains that the great distinctive dogma of the Vedānta, the oneness of Soul, is not supported by the Veda. In Sūtra 150 he had laid it down as his own conclusion, established by the fact of the variety observable in the conditions of birth, etc., that there is a multitude of souls, and he now defends this as conformable to Scripture.

"Na advaita-śruti-virodho jāti-paratvāt" | *ātmaikya-śrutīnāṁ virodhas tu nāsti tāsāṁ jāti-paratvāt* | *jātiḥ sāmānyam eka-rūpatvaṁ tattra advaita-śrutīnāṁ tātparyyād na tv akhaṇḍatve prayojanābhāvād ity arthaḥ* | . . . . *yathā-śruta-jāti-śabdasya ādare tv "ātmā idam ekaḥ eva agre asīt" "sad eva saumya idam agre āsīd ekam eva advitīyam"* (Chhānd. Up. vi. 2, 1) *ity-ādy-advaita-śruty-upapādakatayā eva sūtraṁ vyākheyaṁ* | *"jāti-paratvāt"* | *vijātīya-dvaiīa-nishedha-paratvād ity arthaḥ* | *tattra ādya-vyākhyāyām ayam bhāvaḥ* | *ātmaikya-śruti-smṛitishv ekādi-śabdāś chid-*

[150] See the First Volume of this work, pp. 176 ff.
[151] i. 154 in Dr. Hall's edition in the Bibl. Ind.

ekarūpatā-māttra-parāḥ bhedādi-śabdāś cha vaidharmya-lakshaṇa-bheda-parāḥ |

"155. 'This is not opposed to the Vedic doctrine of non-duality, since that merely refers to genus.' Our doctrine that souls are numerous does not conflict with the Vedic texts which affirm the oneness of Soul, since these passages refer to oneness of genus. Genus means sameness, oneness of nature; and it is to this that the texts regarding non-duality relate, and not to the undividedness (or identity) of Soul; since there is no occasion for the latter view. The Sūtra must be explained with due regard to the sense of the word genus as it occurs in the Veda, so as (thereby) to bring out the proper meaning of such texts, expressing non-duality, as these, 'This was in the beginning Soul, one only;' 'This was in the beginning, o fair youth, Existent, one without a second.' The words 'since that merely refers to genus,' mean 'since that is merely intended to deny a duality denoting a difference of genus.' The first of two interpretations given of the Sūtra is as follows: In the texts of the Śruti and Smṛiti relating to the oneness of Soul, the words 'One,' etc., denote simply that Spirit is one in its nature; whilst the words, 'distinction,' etc., designate a distinction defined as difference of nature." At the close of his remarks the commentator gives a second explanation of the Sūtra.

The author returns to this subject in the 61st Sūtra of the fifth Book:

"*Na advaitam ātmano lingāt tad-bheda-pratīteḥ*" | *yadyapy ātmanām anyonyam bheda-vākya-vad abheda-vākyāny api santi tathāpi na advaitam* | *na atyantam abhedaḥ* | *ajādi-vākya-sthaiḥ prakṛiti-tyāgātyāgādi-lingair bhedasyaiva siddher ity arthaḥ* | *na hy atyantābhede tāni lingāny upapadyante* |

"'Soul is not one; for a distinction of souls is apparent from various signs.' Although there are texts affirming that there is no distinction, just as there are others which assert a distinction, of souls, still non-duality, *i. e.* an absolute absence of distinction must be denied; because a distinction is established by signs, such as the abandonment and non-abandonment of Prakṛiti, etc., mentioned in such texts as that about the 'unborn female,' etc. (See above, p. 165.) For these signs are inconsistent with the hypothesis of an absolute absence of distinction," etc.

A kindred subject is introduced in the next Sūtra, the 62nd:

"*Na anātmanā 'pi pratyaksha-bādhāt*" | *dnātmanā 'pi bhogya-prapan-*

chena ātmano na advaitam pratyakṣheṇāpi bādhāt | ātmanaḥ sarva-bhogyābhede ghaṭa-paṭayor apy abhedaḥ syāt | ghaṭādeḥ paṭādy-abhinnātmābhedāt | sa cha bheda-grāhaka-pratyakṣha-bādhitaḥ |

"'Further, there is not an absence of distinction (*i.e.* identity) between Soul and non-soul, as this is disproved by the evidence of sense.' That is: non-duality (*i.e.* identity) is not predicable of Soul on the one hand, and non-soul, *i.e.* the perceptible objects by which our senses are affected, on the other, because this is opposed to the evidence of sense. For if soul were identical with all that is perceptible, there would also be no distinction between a jar and cloth, inasmuch as jars, etc., would not be distinct from soul which is not distinct from cloth, etc.; and such identity (of jars, etc., with cloth, etc.) is opposed to the evidence of sense which obliges us to perceive a distinction."

But how is this to be reconciled with such Vedic texts as 'this is nothing but soul' (*ātmā eva idam*)? An answer is given in Sūtra 64, which seems to admit that the passages in question do at least on a *prima facie* view convey the sense ascribed to them by the Vedāntins:

"Anya-paratvam avivekānāṁ tattra" | *avivekānām aviveki-purushān prati tattra advaite 'nya-paratvam upāsanārthakānuvādaḥ ity arthaḥ | loke hi śarīra-śarīriṇor bhogya-bhoktroś cha avivekena abhedo vyavahriyate "'haṁ gauro" "mama ātmā Bhadrasenaḥ" ityādiḥ | atas tam eva vyavahāram anūdya tān eva prati tathā upāsanāṁ śrutir vidadhāti sattva-śuddhy-ādy-artham iti |*

"'These texts have another object, with a view to those who have no discrimination.' That is: in the passages which affirm non-duality another object is intended, viz. a reference (to vulgar ideas) with a view to stimulate devotion. For it commonly occurs that undiscriminating persons confound the body and the soul, the object to be experienced, and the person who experiences it, as when they say 'I am white,' 'Bhadrasena is myself.' The Veda, therefore, referring to this mode of speaking, inculcates on such undiscerning people the practice of devotion with a view to the promotion of goodness, purity, etc."

The author returns to the subject of non-duality in Sūtra vi. 51, which is introduced by the remark:

Nanv evam pramāṇādy-anurodhena dvaita-sidhhāv advaita-śruteḥ kā gatir iti |

"But if duality be thus established in accordance with proofs, etc, what becomes of the Vedic texts declaring non-duality?"

The answer is as follows:

"*Na śruti-virodho rāgiṇāṁ vairāgyāya tat-siddheḥ*" | *advaita-śruti-virodhas tu nāsti rāgiṇām purushātirikte vairāgyāya eva śrutibhir advaita-sādhanāt* |

"'Our view is not opposed to the Veda, as the texts in question establish non-duality with a view to produce apathy in those who are actuated by desire.' That is to say: There is in our doctrine regarding non-duality nothing contrary to the Veda, as the passages referred to affirm this principle with the view of producing in those who have desire an indifference in regard to everything except Soul."

The 12th aphorism of the fifth Book asserts that according to the Veda, Pradhāna, and not Īśvara, is the cause of the world. The details of the reasoning on which this view is founded, as here stated by the commentator, differ in some respects from those which Śankara puts into the mouth of the Sānkhyas:

"*Śrutir api pradhāna-kāryyatvasya*" | *prapanche pradhāna-kāryyatvasya eva śrutir asti na chetana-kāraṇatve* | *yathā* "*ajām ekāṁ lohita-śukla-kṛishṇām bahvīḥ prajāḥ sṛijamānāṁ sarūpāḥ*" | "*tad ha idaṁ tarhy avyākṛitam asīt tad nāma-rūpābhyāṁ vyākriyata*" *ity-adir ity arthaḥ* | *yā cha* "*tad aikshata bahu syām*" *ityādiś chetana-kāraṇatā-śrutiḥ sā sargādāv utpannasya mahat-tattvopādhikasya mahāpurushasya janya-jñāna-parā* | *kiṁvā bahu-bhavanānurodhāt pradhāne eva* "*kūlam pipatishati*" *iti-vad gauṇī* | *anyathā* "*sākshī chetāḥ kevalo nirguṇaś cha*" (Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, vi. 11) *ity-ādi-śruty-uktāpariṇāmitvasya purushe 'nupapatter iti* | *ayaṁ cha īśvara-pratishedhaḥ aiśvaryye vairāgyārtham īśvara-jñānaṁ vinā 'pi moksha-pratipādanārthaṁ cha prauḍhi-vāda-māttram iti prāg eva vyākhyātam* |

"'There are also Vedic texts to support the doctrine that the world has sprung from Pradhāna, as its cause.' That is: There are Vedic texts to shew that the phenomenal world has sprung from Pradhāna, and that it has not had a conscious being for its cause. They are such as these: 'An unborn female, red, white, and black in hue, producing many creatures like herself, etc.;' 'This was once undeveloped: it was developed with Name and Form.' As regards those other texts which affirm the causality of a conscious being, such as 'It reflected, let me become many,' they refer to the knowledge which sprang up in the great Male who was produced at the beginning of the creation pos-

sessing the attributes of the principle of Intellect (*Mahat*). Or, in accordance with the idea of becoming multiplied, the expression (indicating consciousness and will) is figuratively applied to Pradhāna, as when it is said of the bank of a river that it 'intends to fall.' For on any other supposition the incapability of any modification which is ascribed to Purusha in such texts as 'He who is the witness, the conscious, the sole being, free from the Qualities,' could not properly be applied to him (since if he were the material cause of the creation he must become modified). And it has been before explained[152] that this denial of an Īśvara is a mere display of ingenuity, introduced for the purpose of producing apathy in regard to glory, and of propounding a method of final liberation even independently of the knowledge of an Īśvara."

The following is the 34th Sūtra of the sixth Book, with the remarks by which it is introduced and followed:

Nanu "bahvīḥ prajāḥ purushāt samprasūtāḥ" ity-ādi-śruteḥ purushasya kāraṇatvāvagamād vivarttādi-vādāḥ āśrayaṇīyāḥ ity āśankya āha | "śruti-virodhād na kutarkāpasadasya ātma-lābhaḥ" | purushakāraṇatāyāṁ ye ye pakshāḥ sambhāvitās te sarve śruti-viruddhāḥ iti | atas tad-abhyupagantṛīṇāṁ kutārkikādy-adhamānām ātma-svarūpajñānaṁ na bhavati ity arthaḥ | etena ātmani sukha-duḥkhādi-guṇopādānatva-vādino 'pi kutārkikāḥ eva | teshām apy ātma-yathārtha-jñānaṁ nāsti ity avagantavyam | ātma-kāraṇatā-śrutayaś cha śakti-śaktimadabhedena upāsanārthāḥ eva "ajām ekām" ity-ādi-śrutibhiḥ pradhānakāraṇatā-siddheḥ | yadi cha ākāśasya abhi-ādy-adhishṭhāna-kāraṇatā-vad ātmanaḥ kāraṇatvam uchyate tadā tad na nirākurmaḥ pariṇāmasya pratishedhāt |

"But must we not adopt the theories of an illusory creation, etc., because the causality of Purusha (soul) is to be learned from such texts as the following 'many creatures have been produced from Purusha?' To this difficulty he replies: 'From his opposition to Scripture the illogical outcaste does not attain to Soul.' The sense of this is, that all the propositions, affirming the causality of Soul, which have been devised, are contrary to the Veda; and consequently the low class of bad logicians, etc., who adopt them have no knowledge of the nature of

[152] See Vijnāna Bhikshu's remarks, introductory to the Sūtras (p. 5, at the foot), which will be quoted in the next Section, and his comment on Sūtra i. 92. He is, as we shall find, an eclectic, and not a thorough-going adherent of the Sānkhya.

Soul. Hence it is to be understood that those also who assert that Soul is the substance of the qualities of pleasure and pain, etc., are incompetent reasoners: they too are destitute of the true knowledge of Soul. The Vedic texts which declare its causality are intended to inculcate devotion on the ground that there is no distinction between Power (*S'akti*) and the possessor of Power (*S'aktimat*); for the causality of Pradhāna is established by such texts as that relating to the 'one unborn female,' &c. But if it be affirmed that Soul is the cause of the world merely in the same sense in which the æther is the cause of clouds, etc., viz. by affording them a receptacle, we do not object to that, since we only deny the transformation (of Soul into material productions)."[153]

In regard to the question whether the principles of the Vedānta or those of the Sānkhya are most in harmony with the most prevalent doctrine of the Upanishads, I shall quote some of the remarks of Dr. Röer, the translator of many of these treatises. In his introduction to the Taittirīya Upanishad he observes that we there find "the tenets peculiar to the Vedānta already in a far advanced state of development; it contains as in a germ the principal elements of this system." "There are, however," he adds, "differences" (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv. p. 5). The same nearly is the case with the Aitareya Upanishad (ibid. p. 27). In reference to the S'vetāśvatara Upanishad he remarks: "Sankara in his commentary on this Upanishad generally explains its fundamental views in the spirit of the Vedānta. He is sometimes evidently wrong in identifying the views of some of the other Upanishads with the tenets of the Vedānta, but he is perfectly right to do so in the explanation of an Upanishad which appears to have been composed for the express purpose of making the principle of the Vedānta agreeable to the followers of the Sānkhya" (ibid. pp. 43 f.). Of the Kaṭha Upanishad Dr. Röer says (ibid. p. 97): "The standing point of the Kaṭha is on the whole that of the Vedānta. It is the absolute spirit which is the foundation of the world. . . . . In the order of manifestations or emanations from the absolute spirit it deviates, however, from that adopted by the other Upanishads and by the later Vedānta, and is evidently more closely allied to the Sānkhya. The order is here: The unmanifested (*avyakta*), the great soul (*mahātma*, or *mahat*), intellect

[153] See Dr. Ballantyne's translation, which I have often followed. He does not, however, render in extenso all the passages which I have reproduced.

(*buddhi*), mind, the objects of the senses, and the senses," etc.[154] The reader who wishes to pursue the subject further may consult the same author's remarks on the other Upanishads. On the whole question of the relation of the Vedānta and the Sānkhya respectively to the Veda, Dr. Röer thus expresses himself in his introduction to the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad (p. 36): "'The Vedānta, although in many important points deviating from the Vedas, and although in its own doctrine quite independent of them, was yet believed to be in perfect accordance with them, and being adopted by the majority of the Brāhmans, it was never attacked on account of its orthodoxy. The same cannot be said of the Sānkhya; for it was not only frequently in opposition to the doctrine of the Vedas, but sometimes openly declared so. Indeed, the Vedānta also maintained that the acquisition of truth is independent of caste (1) or any other distinction, and that the highest knowledge which is the chief end of man cannot be imparted by the Vedas (vide Kaṭha ii. 23); yet it insisted that a knowledge of the Vedas was necessary to prepare the mind for the highest knowledge (2). This the Sānkhya denied altogether, and although it referred to the Vedas, and especially to the Upanishads, still it did so only when they accorded with its own doctrines, and it rejected their authority (3) in a case of discrepancy."

I make a few remarks on some points in this quotation indicated by the figures (1), (2), and (3). (1) We have already learned above, p. 99, that, according to the Brahma Sūtras (see i. 3, 34 ff., and Śankara's explanation of them), at least, a Śūdra does not possess the prerogative of acquiring divine knowledge. (2) It appears from Śankara's argument against Jaimini that he does not consider a knowledge of the ceremonial part of the Veda as necessary for the acquisition of divine knowledge, but he seems to regard the Upanishads as the source from which the latter is derived. (3) I do not know on what authority this statement that the Sānkhyas ever actually rejected the authority of the Vedas is founded. Their attempts to reconcile their tenets with the letter of the Veda may often seem to be far-fetched and sophistical; but I have not observed that Śankara, while arguing elaborately against the interpretations of the Sānkhyas, anywhere charges them either with denying the authority of the Veda, or with insincerity in the appeals which they make to the sacred texts.

[154] See above, p. 161.

On the subject of the Upanishads the reader may also consult Prof. Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature.

I subjoin in a note some extracts from this work.[155]

The Nyāya and Vaiśeshika Sūtras do not appear to contain nearly so many references to Vedic texts as the Sānkhya; but I have noticed the following: Nyāya iii. 32 (= iii. 1, 29 in the Bibl. Ind.); Vaiśeshika ii. 1, 17; iii. 2, 21; iv. 2, 11; v. 2, 10.

The author of the Vaiśeshika Sūtras affirms, in iii. 2, 20, the doctrine that souls are numerous; and in the 21st Sūtra, which I quote, along with the comment of Śankara Miśra, and the gloss of the editor Pandit Jayanārāyana Tarkapanchānana, he claims Vedic authority for this tenet:

21. "*Śāstra-sāmarthyāch cha*" | (Śankara Miśrā) *Śāstraṁ śrutiḥ* |

[155] "They (the Upanishads) contain, or are supposed to contain, the highest authority on which the various systems of philosophy in India rest. Not only the Vedānta philosopher, who, by his very name, professes his faith in the ends and objects of the Veda, but the Sānkhya, the Vaiśeshika, the Nyāya, and Yoga philosophers, all pretend to find in the Upanishads some warranty for their tenets, however antagonistic in their bearing. The same applies to the numerous sects that have existed and still exist in India. Their founders, if they have any pretensions to orthodoxy, invariably appeal to some passage in the Upanishads in order to substantiate their own reasonings. Now it is true that in the Upanishads themselves there is so much freedom and breadth of thought that it is not difficult to find in them some authority for almost any shade of philosophical opinion." (p. 316 f.) Again: "The early Hindus did not find any difficulty in reconciling the most different and sometimes contradictory opinions in their search after truth; and a most extraordinary medley of oracular sayings might be collected from the Upanishads, even from those which are genuine and comparatively ancient, all tending to elucidate the darkest points of philosophy and religion, the creation of the world, the nature of God, the relation of man to God, and similar subjects. That one statement should be contradicted by another seems never to have been felt as any serious difficulty." (p. 320 f.) Once more: "The principal interest of the older Upanishads consists in the absence of that systematic uniformity which we find in the later systems of philosophy; and it is to be regretted that nearly all the scholars who have translated portions of the Upanishads have allowed themselves to be guided by the Brahmanic commentators," etc. (p. 322). "In philosophical discussions, they (the Brahmans) allowed the greatest possible freedom; and although at first three philosophical systems only were admitted as orthodox (the two Mīmānsās and the Nyāya), their number was soon raised to six, so as to include the Vaiśeshika, Sānkhya, and Yoga schools. The most conflicting views on points of vital importance were tolerated as long as their advocates succeeded, no matter by what means, in bringing their doctrines into harmony with passages of the Veda, strained and twisted in every possible sense. If it was only admitted that besides the perception of the senses and the induction of reason, revelation also, as contained in the Veda, furnished a true basis for human knowledge, all other points seemed to be of minor importance." (p. 78 f.)

tayā 'py ātmano bheda-pratipādanāt | śruyate hi . . . . (Jayanārāyaṇa) *ito 'py jīvasya īśvara-bhinnatvam ity 'āha | śāstrasya śruteḥ śāmarthyāj jīveśvarayor bheda-bodhakatvāt | tathā hi | "dve brahmaṇī veditavye"* (Maitrī Up. vi. 22) | *"dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā samānaṁ vṛiksham parishasvajāte | tayor anyaḥ pippalaṁ svādu atti anaśnann anyo abhichākaśiti"* (Rig-veda Sanhitā, i. 164, 20; Śvetāśv. Up. vi. 6; Muṇḍaka Up. i. 3, 1, 1) *ity-ādi-śruter jīveśvarayor 'bhedo 'vaśyam angīkāryyaḥ | na cha "tat tvam asi Śvetaketo" "Brahma-vid Brahma eva bhavati" ity-ādi-śrutīnāṁ kā 'gatir iti vāchyam | "tat tvam asi" iti śrutes tad-abhedena tadīyatva-pratipādanena abheda-bhāvanā-paratvāt | "Brahma-vid Brahma eva" iti śrutis cha nirduḥkhatvādinā Īśvara-sāmyaṁ jīvasya abhidhatte na tu tad-abhedam | "niranjanaḥ paraṁ sāmyam upaiti" iti śruter gaty-antarāsambhavāt | asti hi laukika-vākyeshu "sampad-ādhikye purohito 'yaṁ rājā saṁvṛittaḥ" ity-ādishu sādṛiśya-pareshv abhedopachāraḥ | na cha moksha-daśāyām ajnāna-nivṛittāv abhedo jāyate iti vāchyaṁ bhedasya nityatvena nāśāyogād bheda-nāśāṅgīkāre 'pi vyakti-dvayāvasthānasya āvaśyakatvāch cha iti sankshepaḥ | bheda-sādhakāni yukty-antarāṇi śruty-antarāṇi cha grantha-gaurava-bhiyā parityaktāni |*

"'And this opinion is confirmed by the Śāstra.' (Śankara Miśra) The Śāstra means the Veda; by which also a distinction of Souls is established. For it is said," etc. [He then quotes two texts which are repeated by Jayanārāyaṇa, the author of the gloss, whose remarks are as follows:] "There is another proof of the Soul being distinct from Īśvara; viz. this, that it is confirmed by the Śāstra, the Veda, which declares the distinctness of the two; and this principle must of necessity be admitted from such texts as these: 'Two Brāhmăs are to be known;'[156] and 'Two birds, united, friends, attach themselves to the same tree; one of them eats the sweet fruit of the pippala tree, while the other, without eating, looks on.' Nor are we to ask what will then become of such other texts as (1) 'Thou art that, o Śvetaketu;' (2) 'He who knows Brahma becomes Brahma;' for the former of these two passages (1) tends to convey the idea of identity by representing as identity with That, the fact of Śvetaketu's entirely belonging to That; whilst

[156] The full text is: *Dve brahmaṇī veditavye śabda-brahma paraṁ cha yat—śabda-brahmaṇi nishṇātaḥ param brahmādhigachhati* | "Two Brāhmăs are to be known, the verbal and the supreme. He who is initiated in the former attains the latter." Here, however, by the verbal Brāhmă, the Veda must be intended.

the second (2) affirms the equality of the Soul with Īśvara, in consequence of its freedom from pain and other weaknesses, and not its identity with Him; for it is shewn by another Vedic text, viz. 'The passionless man attains the highest state of equality,' that any other destiny would be inconceivable. In secular modes of speaking also, such as the following, 'From the abundance of his wealth the domestic priest has become the king,' we find a figurative assertion of identity. Nor can it be said that distinction disappears on the cessation of ignorance in the state of final emancipation, because distinction, from its eternity, cannot be destroyed, and because, even if its destructibility were admitted, two separate personalities must still continue to exist. Such is a summary of our argument: further proofs from reasoning, and further texts of the Veda, are omitted from a dread of making the book too bulky."

The charge of open contempt of the Veda is brought by Śankara against Śāṇḍilya, the author of the Bhāgavata heresy, as the orthodox Vedāntin considers it.[157] Of that doctrine Śankara thus speaks in his remarks on Brahma Sūtra ii. 2, 45:

Veda-vipratishedhaś cha bhavati | chaturshu vedeshu paraṁ śreyo 'labdhvā Śāṇḍilyaḥ idaṁ śāstram adhigatavān ity-ādi-veda-nindā-darśanāt | tasmād asangatā eshā kalpanā iti siddham |

"And it also contradicts the Veda: for we see such an instance of contempt of the Vedas as this, that Śāṇḍilya, not finding the means of attaining the highest good in the whole four of them, devised this Śāstra. Hence it is established that these imaginations are absurd."

The points of the Bhāgavata doctrine objected to by Śankara do not however appear to be those which are principally insisted on in the Bhakti Sūtras of Śāṇḍilya, published by Dr. Ballantyne in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1861. I will notice some of these doctrines. The leading principle of the system is that it is not knowledge (*jnāna*) but devotion (*bhakti*) which is the means of attaining final liberation (Sūtra 1). Devotion is defined in the 2nd Sūtra to be a supreme love of God (*sā parā anuraktir Īśvare*). Knowledge cannot, the author considers, be the means of liberation, as it may co-exist with hatred of the object known (Sūtra 4). Neither the study of the Veda nor the acqui-

[157] See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. 413: "A passage quoted by Śankara Āchārya seems to intimate that its promulgator was Śāṇḍilya," etc., etc.

sition of such qualities as tranquility of mind is a necessary preliminary to devotion. The only requisite is a desire of emancipation, according to the commentator (remarks on Sūtra 1). Ceremonial works, too, have no bearing upon devotion (Sūtra 7), which may be practised by men of all castes, and even by Chāṇḍālas, since the desire to get rid of the evils of mundane existence is common to all (Sūtra 78). The commentator explains that the authority of the Vedas as the only source of supernatural knowledge is not denied, nor the fact that only the three highest castes have the right to study them: but it is urged that women, Śūdras, etc., may attain by means of the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, etc., to knowledge founded on the Vedas, whilst Chāṇḍālas, etc., may acquire it by traditional instruction based on the Smṛiti and the practice of virtuous men. Those whose devotion is not matured in the present world, will find the opportunity of perfecting it in Śvetadvīpa, the world of the divine Being (Sūtra 79). Even the wicked may have a penitential devotion (*ārtti-bhaktāv eva adhikāraḥ*), and after they are freed from their guilt, they may attain to full devotion. The Bhagavad Gītā is much quoted by the commentator on these Sūtras; but the Veda is also sometimes adduced in proof of their doctrines; as *e.g.* the following words of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, vii. 25, 2, are cited to prove that devotion is the chief requisite, and knowledge, etc., subservient to it:

"*Ātmā eva idaṁ sarvam iti | sa vai esha evam paśyann evam manvānaḥ evaṁ vijānann ātma-ratir ātma-krīḍaḥ ātma-mithunaḥ ātmānandaḥ sa svarāḍ bhavati*" | *tattra* "*ātma-rati-*"*rūpāyāḥ para-bhakteḥ* "*paśyann*" *iti darśanam apriyatvādi-bhrama-nirāsa-mukhena angaṁ bhavati* |

"'All this is Soul. He who perceives this, thinks this, knows this, delights in Soul, sports with Soul, consorts with Soul, takes pleasure in Soul; he becomes self-resplendent.' Here the sight expressed in the words 'perceiving,' etc., is by removing all errors regarding disagreeableness, etc., an adjunct of supreme devotion in the form of 'delight in Soul.'" '

In his remarks on Sūtra 31 the commentator quotes another passage of the same Upanishad, iii. 14, 4, in which a Śāṇḍilya is referred to as the author of a statement. Śaṅkara in his commentary on the Upanishad calls him a rishi. He cannot, however, have been the same person as the author of the Sūtras; although, even if he had been so reputed,

S'ankara would have had little difficulty in denying that they could have been written by a rishi, as we shall see in the next section that he contradicts the opinion that the rishi Kapila, referred to in the S'vetāśvatara Upanishad, was the author of the Sānkhya aphorisms.

SECT. XI.—*Distinction in point of authority between the Veda and the Smṛitis or non-Vedic S'āstras, as stated in the Nyāya-mālā-vistara, and by the Commentators on Manu, and the Vedānta, etc.; difference of opinion between S'ankara and Madhusūdana regarding the orthodoxy of Kapila and Kaṇāda, etc.; and Vijnāna Bhikshu's view of the Sānkhya.*

A distinct line of demarcation is generally drawn by the more critical Indian writers between the Vedas, and all other classes of Indian S'āstras, however designated. The former, as we have seen, are considered to possess an independent authority and to be infallible, while the latter are regarded as deriving all their authority from the Veda, and (in theory at least) as infallible guides only in so far as they coincide with its dicta. This will be clear from the following passages:

I. *Nyāya-mālā-vistara.*—The first text which I adduce has been already quoted in the Second Volume of this work, but is repeated here for facility of reference. It is from the treatise just named, i. 3, 24:

Baudhāyanāpastambāśvalāyana-kātyāyanādi-nāmānkitāḥ kalpa-sūtrādi-granthāḥ nigama- nirukta-shaḍ-anga-granthāḥ Manv-ādi-smṛitayaś cha apaurusheyāḥ dharma-buddhi-janakatvāt veda-vat | na cha mūla-pramāṇa-sāpekshatvena veda-vaishamyam iti śankanīyam | utpannāyāḥ buddheḥ svataḥ-prāmāṇyāngīkāreṇa nirapekshatvāt | Maivam | uktānumānasya kālātyayāpadishṭatvāt | Baudhāyana-sūtraṁ Āpastamba-sūtram ity evam purusha-nāmnā te granthāḥ uchyante | na cha Kāṭhakādi-samākhyā-vat pravachana-nimittatvaṁ yuktam | tad-grantha-nirmāṇa-kāle tadānīntanaiḥ kaiśchid upalabdhatvāt | tach cha avichhinna-pāramparyeṇa anuvarttate | tataḥ Kālidāsādi-granthavat paurusheyāḥ | tathāpi veda-mūlatvāt pramāṇam | . . . . kalpasya vedatvaṁ nādyāpi siddham | kintu prayatnena sādhanīyam | na cha tat sādhayituṁ śakyam | paurusheyatvasya samākhyayā tat-karttur upalambhena cha sādhitatvāt |

"It may be said that the Kalpa Sūtras and other works designated by the names of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Āśvalayana, Kātyāyana, etc.,

and the Nigama, Nirukta, and six Vedāngas, together with the Smṛitis of Manu and others, are superhuman, because they impart a knowledge of duty, as the Vedas do; and that they should not be suspected of inferiority to the Vedas on the ground that they depend upon a primary authority, since the knowledge which they impart is independent, because it is admitted to be self-evidencing. But this view is incorrect, for the inference in question proceeds upon an erroneous generalization. The books referred to are called by the names of men, as 'the Sūtras of Baudhāyana,' 'the Sūtras of Āpastamba;' and these designations cannot correctly be said to originate in the exposition of the works by those teachers whose names they bear (as is really the case in regard to the Kāṭhaka, and other parts of the Veda); for it was known to some of the contemporaries of these men, at the time when they were composing these Sūtras, Smṛitis, etc., that they were so engaged; and this knowledge has descended by unbroken tradition. Hence these books are, like the works of Kālidāsa and others, of human origin. Nevertheless, they possess authority, as being founded on the Veda." . . . The following additional remarks represent the opinion of the Guru (Prabhākara) on the same question: "It is not yet proved that the Kalpa Sūtras possess the character of the Veda; it would require great labour to prove it; and, in fact, it is impossible to prove it. For the human origin of these books is established by the names which they bear, and by their being observed to have had authors."

II. *Kullūka.*—The same thing is admitted by Kullūka, the commentator on Manu, who (in his remarks on i. 1) thus defines the relation of his author to the Vedas:

Paurusheyatve 'pi Manu-vākyānām avigīta-mahājana-parigrahāt śruty-upagrahāch cha veda-mūlakatayā prāmāṇyam | Tathā cha chhāndogya-brāhmaṇe śrūyate "Manur vai yat kinchid avadat tad bheshajam bheshajatāyai" iti | Vṛihaspatir apy āha "Vedārthopanibandhṛitvāt prādhānyaṁ hi Manoḥ smṛitam | Manv-artha-viparītā tu yā smṛitiḥ sā na śasyate | Tāvach chhāstrāṇi śobhante tarka-vyākaraṇāni cha | Dharmārtha-mokshopadeshṭā Manur yāvad na dṛiśyate" | Mahābhārate 'py uktam "Purāṇam Mānavo dharmaḥ sāṅgo vedaś chikitsitaṁ | ājñā-siddhāni chatvāri na hantavyāni hetubhiḥ" | virodhi-Bauddhādi-tarkair na hantavyāni | anukūlas tu mīmāṁsādi-tarkaḥ pravarttanīyaḥ eva | ata eva vakshyati "ārshaṁ dharmopadeśaṁ cha veda-śāstrāvirodhinā | yas tarkeṇānusandhatte sa dharmaṁ veda netaraḥ" iti |

"Though the Institutes of Manu had a personal author, still, as their reception by illustrious men of unimpeached [orthodoxy], and their conformity to the Veda, prove that they are based upon the latter, they are authoritative. Accordingly it is recorded in the Chhāndogya Brāhmaṇa that, 'Whatever Manu said is a medicine for remedial purposes.' And Vṛihaspati says: 'As Manu depends upon the contents of the Veda, he is traditionally celebrated as pre-eminent. But that Smṛiti which is contrary to the sense of Manu, is not approved. Scriptures and books on logic and grammar are all eclipsed as soon as Manu, our instructor in duty, and in the means of attaining both earthly prosperity, and final liberation, is beheld.' And it is said in the Mahābhārata: 'The Purāṇas, the Institutes of Manu, the Veda with its appendages, and treatises on medicine, these four, which are established by authority, are not to be assailed by rationalistic arguments;' that is, they are not to be attacked by hostile reasonings, such as those of the Bauddhas. But friendly arguments, such as those of the Mīmānsakas, are to be employed. And accordingly we shall find below (Manu xii. 106) that he says, 'the man who investigates the injunctions of the rishis, and the rules of duty by reasoning which is agreeable to the Veda, he, and he only, is acquainted with duty.'" (See above, p. 24, note 29.)

III. *Nyāya-mālā-vistara.*—But the precepts of the Smṛiti are not considered useless or superfluous. On the contrary, an authority is attributed to them corresponding to the antiquity, elevated position, and sacred character of their supposed authors. Thus the author of the Nyāya-mālā-vistara says (i. 3, 3):

Vimatā smṛitir veda-mūlā | vaidika-manv-ādi-praṇīta-smṛititvāt | upanayanādhyayanādi-smṛiti-vat | na cha vaiyarthyaṁ śankanīyam | asmadādīnāṁ pratyaksheshu parokshesheu nānā vedeshu viprakīrṇasya anushṭheyārthasya ekatra sankshipyamāṇatvāt |

"The variously understood Smṛiti is founded on the Veda, because the traditions, such as those regarding investiture, study, etc., have been compiled by Vedic men, such as Manu and others. Nor is it to be surmised that the Smṛiti is useless, since it throws together in a condensed form a variety of injunctions regarding matters to be observed, which are scattered through different Vedas, both such as are visible and such as are invisible to us." (This last expression appears

to refer to the supposition that some parts of the Veda which Manu and others had before them when compiling their own works have now been lost. See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 103–107.)

Accordingly the Smṛitis have an authority superior to that founded merely on the practice of learned men of modern date, who have no intuition into the past and invisible. Thus the Nyāya-mālā-vistara says (i. 3, 19):

Na hi idānīntanāḥ śishṭāḥ Manv-ādi-vad deśa-kāla-viprakṛishṭaṁ vedaṁ divya-jñānena sākshātkarttuṁ śaknuvanti yena śishṭāchāro mūla-vedam anumāpayet |

"For learned men of the present day do not possess the power, which Manu and others had, of placing before their minds, through divine knowledge, the Veda which is far removed from them both in place and time, so as to justify us in regarding the practice of these moderns as a sufficient ground for inferring the existence of a Veda as its foundation."

But as learned men, in any particular country or at any particular time, may be able to consult some Smṛiti which authorizes their particular observances, "these observances may serve as ground for inferring the existence of some Smṛiti on which they are founded, but not for inferring a Veda (*tasmāch chhishṭāchāreṇa smṛitir anumātuṁ śakyate na tu śrutiḥ*). But a Smṛiti which is thus merely inferred to exist is set aside by any visibly existing Smṛiti of contrary import (*anumitā cha smṛitir viruddhayā pratyakshayā smṛityā bādhyate*)."

IV. *Śankara.*—The above passages, by assuming that Manu and other eminent sages had the power of consulting Vedic texts now no longer accessible, make them practically almost infallible. The same view is taken by Śankara Āchāryya. (See, however, the passage quoted from him above, in note 67, p. 62; but there he has the author of the Sānkhya in view, whose tenets he regarded as contrary to the Veda.) In answer to the remark of a Mīmānsaka objector stated in the comment on the Brahma Sūtra i. 3, 32, that the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, being of human origin, have only a derived and secondary authority ('*itihāsa-purāṇam api paurusheyatvāt-pramāṇāntara-mūlatām ākānkshate*'), Śankara argues in his explanation of the following Sūtra (i. 3, 33) that they have an independent foundation:

Itihāsa-purāṇam apivyākhyātena mārgeṇa sambhavad mantrārthavāda-

mūlatvāt prabhavati devatā-vigrahādi prapanchayitum | pratyaksha-mūlam api sambhavati | bhavati hi asmākam apratyaksham api chirantanānām pratyaksham | tathā cha Vyāsādayo devatābhiḥ pratyakshaṁ vyavaharanti iti smaryate | yas tu brūyād idānīntanānām iva pūrveshām api nāsti devādibhir vyavaharttuṁ sāmarthyam iti sa jagad-vaichitryam pratishedet | idānīm iva chu na anyadā,'pi sārvabhaumaḥ kshatriyo'sti iti brūyāt tataś cha rājasūyādi-chodanāḥ uparundhyāt | idānīm iva cha kālāntare'py avyavasthita-prāyān varṇāśrama-dharmān pratijānīta, tataś cha vyavasthā-vidhāyi śāstram anarthakaṁ kuryāt | Tasmād dharmotkarsha-vaśāt chirantanāḥ devādibhiḥ pratyakshaṁ vyajahrur iti ślishyate | api chu smaranti "svādhyāyādishṭa-devatā-samprayogaḥ" ityādi | yogo'py animādy-aiśvarya-prāptiphalakaḥ smaryamāno na śakyate sāhasa-mātreṇa pratyākhyātum | śrutiś cha yoga-māhātmyam prakhyāpayati | "pṛithvy-ap-tejo-'nila-khe samutthite panchātmake yoga-guṇe pravṛitte | na tasyo rogo na jarā na mṛityuḥ prāptasya yogād[158] *nimishaṁ śarīram" iti | ṛishīṇām api mantra-brāhmaṇa-darśināṁ sāmarthyaṁ na asmadīyena sāmarthyena upamātuṁ yuktam | tasmāt sa-mūlam itihāsa-purāṇam |*

"The Itihāsas and Purāṇas also, having originated in the way which has been explained, have power, as being based on the hymns and arthavādas, to evince the corporeality, etc., of the gods. It is also reasonable to suppose that they are founded upon intuition. For there were things palpable through intuition to the ancients, though they are not thus palpable to us.[159] Accordingly it is recorded in the Smṛiti that Vyāsa and others associated face to face with the gods.[160] Any man

[158] Instead of *yogād nimisham* the text of the Biblioth. Indica reads *yogāgnimayam*

[159] See above, pp. 116, 118, and 127; and also Prof Müller's article on the Vaiśeshika Philosophy in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. vii. p. 311, where it is remarked that the Vaiśeshikas, like Kapila, include the intuition of rishis under the category of *pratyaksha* (*ārshaṁ jnānaṁ sūtra-kṛitā pṛithak na lakshitam yogi-pratyakshe'ntar-bhāvāt*).

[160] Compare with this R.V. i. 179, 2: *Ye chid hi pūrve ṛitasāpaḥ āsan sākaṁ devebhir avadann ṛitāni | te chid avāsur ityādi* | "The pious sages who lived of old and who conversed about sacred truths with the gods,—they led a conjugal life," etc. See also the passages quoted from the Vana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, and Plato in the First Volume of this work, p. 147; and compare Hesiod, fragment 119: *ξυναὶ γὰρ τότε δαῖτες ἔσαν, ξυναὶ δε θόωκοι ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι καταθνήτοις τ'ἀνθρώποις.*

"Immortal gods, not unfamiliar, then
Their feasts and converse shared with mortal men."

And Herodotus writes of the Egyptians, ii. 144: *Τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων*

who should maintain that the ancients, like his own contemporaries, were destitute of power thus to associate with superhuman beings like the gods, would be denying all variety in the history of the world. Such a person would in like manner affirm that as now there is no Kshattriya possessed of universal sovereignty, so neither was there ever such a prince; and would thus impugn the scriptural injunctions regarding the *rājasūya* sacrifice [which was only to be performed by a universal monarch]. He would also allege that in former times, as now, the dutes of castes and of orders were scarcely at all in force, and would thus render fruitless the scriptures by which the rules relating to them are prescribed. By these considerations it is intimated that the ancients, in consequence of their eminent holiness, were admitted to associate immediately with the gods, etc. And the Smṛiti[161] says that nearness to, and converse with the gods is gained by reading the Veda, etc. Again, when the Smṛiti talks of the practice of Yoga resulting in the acquisition of superhuman faculties, such as minuteness, this assertion cannot be impugned through mere audacity, [*i.e.* it must have had some good foundation]. The Veda, too, declares the immense power of devotion in these words: 'When the fivefold influence of Yoga, connected with the elements of earth, water, fire, air, and æther, has begun to act, and a man has attained an æthereal [or fiery] body, he is no longer affected by disease, decay, or death.' And it is unreasonable to estimate, by the analogy of our own power, the power of the rishis, the seers of the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas. Wherefore the Itihāsas and Purāṇas have an (independent) foundation.'"

Śankara does not, however, treat all the ancients in this way. Like many other systematizers, he finds no difficulty in rejecting or explaining away any authorities which come into conflict with his views. It is thus that he deals with Kapila, the author of the Sānkhya. That eminent sage is thus spoken of in the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, v. 2:

Yo yoniṁ yonim adhitishṭhaty eko viśvāni rūpāṇi yonīś cha sarvāḥ |

θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οἰκέοντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, "And [the Egyptian priests said] that before these men the gods were the rulers in Egypt, dwelling together with men."

[161] It appears from the gloss of Govinda Ānanda that one of the Yoga Sūtras is here quoted. I give the sense according to his explanation: *mantra-japād deva-sannidhyhaṁ tat-sámbhāshaṇaṁ cha iti sūtrārthaḥ.*

ṛishim prasūtañ Kapilañ yas tam agre jñānair bibhartti jāyamānañ cha paśyet |

"The god who alone superintends every source of production and all forms, who formerly nourished with various knowledge his son the rishi Kapila, and beheld him at his birth, etc."[162]

Towards the close of his comment on Brahma Sūtras ii. 1, 1, which I shall cite at some length, Śankara makes some remarks on this passage of that Upanishad. After stating the points that had been established in the first Book (*adhyāya*) of the Brahma Sūtras, and alluding to the objections which had been urged against the Sānkhya and other hostile doctrines as contrary to the Veda, Śankara goes on to explain the object of the second book, and the purport of the aphorism with which it begins, as follows:

Idānīñ sva-pakshe smṛiti-nyāya-virodha-parihāraḥ pradhānādi-vādānāñ cha nyāyābhāsopabṛiñhitatvam prativedāntañ śṛishṭy-ādi-prakriyāyāḥ avigītatvam ity asya artha-jātasya pratipādanāya dvitīyo'dhyāyaḥ ārabhyate | tattra prathamañ tāvat smṛiti-virodham upanyasya pariharati | yad uktam Brahma eva sarvajñañ jagataḥ kāraṇañ tad ayuktam | kutaḥ "smṛity-anavakāśa-dosha-prasaṅgāt" | smṛitiś cha tantrākhyā paramarshi-praṇītā śishṭa-parigṛihītā | anyāś cha tad-anusāriṇyaḥ smṛitayaḥ | evañ saty anavakāśāḥ prasajyeran | tāsu hy achetanam pradhānañ svatantrañ jagataḥ kāraṇam upanibadhyate | Manv-ādi-smṛitayas tāvach chodanā-lakshaṇena agnihotrādinā dharma-jātena apekshitam arthañ samarpayantyaḥ sāvakāśāḥ bhavanti asya varṇasya asmin kāle 'nena vidhānena upanayanam īdṛiśaś cha āchāraḥ itthañ vedādhayanam itthañ samāvarttanam itthañ saha-dharma-chāriṇī-saṁyogaḥ iti tathā purushārthāñś chatur-varṇāśrama-dharmāñ nānā-vidhān vidadhati | na evañ kāpilādi-smṛitīnam anushṭheye vishaye 'vakāśo'sti moksha-sādhanam eva hi samyag-darśanam adhikṛitya tāḥ praṇītāḥ | yadi tattra apy anavakāśāḥ syur ānarthakyam eva āsām prasajyeta | tasmāt tad-avirodhena vedāntāḥ vyākhyātavyāḥ | katham punar "īkshity-"ādibhyo hetubhyo Brahma eva sarvajñañ jagataḥ kāraṇam ity avadhāritaḥ śruty-arthaḥ | "smṛity-anavakāśa-dosha-prasangena" punar ākshipyate | bhaved ayam anākshepaḥ sva-tantra-prajñānāñ | para-tantra-prajñās tu prāyeṇa janāḥ

[162] See Śankara's commentary on this passage in Bibl. Ind. vii. 351, and Dr. Röer's translation, p. 62, with the note; also Dr. Hall's note in p. 19 of the preface to his edition of the Sānkhya Sāra, in the Bibl. Ind.

svātantryeṇa śruty-artham avadhārayitum aśaknuvantaḥ prakhyāta-praṇetṛikāsu smṛitishv avalamberan tad-balena cha śruty-artham pratipatserann asmat-kṛite cha vyākhyāne na viśvasyur bahu-mānāt smṛitīnām praṇetṛishu | kapila-prabhṛitīnāṁ cha ārshaṁ jñānam apratihataṁ smaryyate śrutiś cha bhavati "ṛishim prasūtaṁ kapilaṁ yas tam agre jñānair bibhartti jāyamānaṁ cha paśyed" iti | tasmād na eshām matam ayathārthaṁ śakyaṁ sambhāvayitum | tarkāvashṭambhena cha te 'rtham pratishṭhāpayanti | tasmād api smṛiti-balena vedāntāḥ vyākhyeyāḥ iti punar ākshepaḥ | tasya samādhir "na | anya-smṛity-anavakāśa-dosha-prasangād" iti | yadi smṛity-anavakāśa-dosha-prasangena īśvara-kāraṇa-vādaḥ ākshipyeta evam apy anyāḥ īśvara-kāraṇa-vādinyaḥ smṛityo 'navakāśāḥ prasajyeran | tāḥ udāharishyāmaḥ | .... evam anekaśaḥ smṛitishv api īśvaraḥ kāraṇatvena upādānatvena cha prakāśyate | smṛiti-balena pratyavatishṭhamānasya smṛiti-balena eva uttaram pravakshyāmi ity ato 'yam anya-smṛity-anavakāśa-doshopanyāsaḥ | darśitaṁ tu śrutīnam īśvara-kāraṇa-vādam prati tātparyyam | vipratipattau cha smṛitīnām avaśya-kartavye 'nyatara-parigrahe 'nyatarasyāḥ parityāge cha śruty-anusāriṇyaḥ smṛitayaḥ pramāṇam anapekshyāḥ itaraḥ | tad uktam pramāṇa-lakshaṇe "virodhe tv anapekshaṁ syād asati hy anumānām" iti (Mīmānsā Sūtras i. 3, 3) | *na cha atīndriyān arthān śrutim antareṇa kaśchid upalabhate iti śakyaṁ sambhāvayituṁ nimittābhāvāt | śakyaṁ kapilādīnāṁ siddhānām apratihata-jñānatvād iti chet | na | siddher api sāpekshatvāt | dharmānushṭhānāpekshā hi siddhiḥ sa cha dharmaś chodanā-lakshaṇaḥ | tataś cha pūrva-siddhāyāś chodanāyāḥ artho na paśchima-siddha-purusha-vachana-vaśena atiśankituṁ śakyate | siddha-vyapāśraya-kalpanāyām api bahutvāt siddhānām pradarśitena prakāreṇa smṛiti-vipratipattau satyāṁ na śruti-vyapāśrayād anyad nirṇaya-kāraṇam asti | para-tantra-prajnasya api na akasmāt smṛiti-viśesha-vishayaḥ pakshapāto yuktaḥ | kasyachit kvachit tu pakshapāte sati purusha-mati-vaiśvarūpyeṇa tattvāvyasthāna-prasangāt | tasmāt tasya api smṛiti-vipratipatty-upanyāsena śruty-anusārānanusāra-vivechanena cha san-mārge prajnā sangrahaṇīyā | Yā tu śrutiḥ Kapilasya jñānātiśayaṁ darśayantī pradarśitā na tayā śruti-viruddham api Kāpilam mataṁ śraddhātuṁ śakyaṁ "Kapilam" iti "śruti-sāmānya-mātratvād"* [163] *anyasya cha Kapilasya Sagara-putrāṇām prataptur Vāsudeva-nāmnaḥ smaraṇāt | anyārtha-darśanasya cha prāpti-rahitasya asādhakatvāt | Bhavati cha anyā Manor māhātyam prakhyā-*

[163] Mīmānsā-sūtra i. 1, 31. See above, pp. 78 f.

payantī śrutir "yad vai kincha Manur avadat tad bheshajam" [164] *iti | Manunā cha* (xii. 91) *"sarva-bhūteshu chātmānaṁ sarva-bhūtāni chātmani | samam paśyann ātma-yājī svārājyam adhigachchhati" iti sarvātmatva-darśanam praśaṁsatā Kāpilam mataṁ nindyate iti gamyate | Kapilo hi na sarvātmatva-darśanam anumanyate ātma-bhedābhyupagamāt | . . . . ataś cha ātma-bheda-kalpanayā 'pi Kāpilasya tantrasya vedaviruddhatvaṁ vedānusāri-Manu-vachana-virudhatvaṁ cha na kevalaṁ svatantra-prakṛiti-parikalpanayā eveti siddham | vedasya hi nirapekshaṁ svārthe prāmaṇyaṁ raver iva rūpa-vishaye puruṣha-vachasāṁ tu mūlāntarāpekshaṁ svārthe prāmāṇyaṁ vaktṛi-smṛiti-vyavahitaṁ cha iti viprakarshaḥ | tasmād veda-viruddhe vishaye smṛity-anavakāśa-prasango na doshaḥ |*

"But now the second chapter is commenced with the view of effecting the following objects, viz. (*a*) to refute, in our own favour, the charge of contradicting the reasonings of the Smṛiti, to shew (*b*) that the doctrines regarding Pradhāna, etc., have nothing more than an appearance of reason, and (*c*) that the manner in which the subjects of creation, etc., are treated in each of the Upanishads is unimpeachable. First of all then the author states, and removes, the objection of contrariety to the Smṛiti. Our opponents urge that it is incorrect to say that the omniscient Brahma is the cause of the world. Why? Because, (1) as they allege, that doctrine 'is chargeable with the objection of setting aside the Smṛiti as useless' (Br. Sūtra, ii. 1, 1). This term 'Smṛiti' denotes a systematic treatise (*tantra*) composed by an eminent rishi, and received by the learned; and there are other Smṛitis in conformity with it. And the alleged difficulty is that (on the theory that Brahma is the cause) all these would be set aside as useless; since they propound an unconscious Pradhāna as the self-dependent cause of the world. The Smṛitis of Manu and others, indeed, which affirm that by means of the agnihotra and other enjoined ceremonies, the objects desired (by those who practise these rites) will be accomplished, will still retain their use, viz. of prescribing the objects to be pursued, viz. the various duties of the four castes and orders,—that such and such a caste shall be initiated at such a time and by such a process, and shall follow such and such a mode of life, that the Veda is to be studied, that the cessation of study is to take place, and that union with a woman following the same rites is to

[164] See above, p. 181, and the First Volume of this work, pp. 188, and 510.

celebrated, in such and such ways. But [on the hypothesis of Brahma being the creator] no such room is left for the Smṛitis of Kapila and others, on the ground of any ceremonies to be performed [in conformity with their prescriptions]; for they have been composed as embodying perfect systems affording the means of final liberation. If in this respect also no place be left for them the difficulty will arise that they are quite useless. And hence the conclusion is reached that the Upanishads should be interpreted so as to harmonize with them. But, such being the case, how, it is again objected, have you determined on the strength of the reasons furnished by the texts about 'beholding,' etc., that it is the meaning of the Veda that Brahma is the omniscient cause of the world, thus exposing yourself to the charge of leaving no place for the Smṛiti? Although we hold that this charge is harmless as regards those who think for themselves; yet men have for the most part no independent opinion, and are unable by an unassisted act of their own judgment to determine the sense of the Vedas, and will consequently lean upon the Smṛitis composed by renowned authors, and adopt the sense of the Vedas which they enforce: and from their lofty opinion of these authors they will have no confidence in our interpretations. And it is moreover urged (2) that Kapila and the others are declared by the Smṛiti to have possessed an unobstructed intuitive (*ārsha*[165]) knowledge; and there is also a Vedic text to the effect 'He who of old sustains with manifold knowledge Kapila when he is produced, and beholds him when born,' etc. (Śvetāsv. Up. v. 2). Consequently their doctrines cannot be imagined to be untrue. And they further support their tenets by argument. On these grounds also, it is urged, the Upanishads must be interpreted by the aid of the Smṛitis. The questions thus raised are settled by the concluding words of the Sūtra, 'No; for this conclusion is vitiated by the objection that other Smṛitis would in this way be rendered useless.' (1) If the doctrine that God is the cause of the world is chargeable with the objection that it leaves no room for the Smṛiti, in the same way the difficulty will arise (on the other theory) that other texts of the Smṛiti which affirm that God is the cause will be set aside. These we shall adduce." After quoting some passages, Śaṅkara proceeds: "In the same manner in numerous texts of the Smṛiti God is shewn to be both the instrumental and the material cause. I must answer on the

[165] See above, pp. 116, 118, and 127.

strength of the Smṛiti the person who opposes me on the same ground, and so I just indicate this objection against his views as having the effect of setting aside other Smṛitis. But it has been shown that the sense of the Vedic texts is in favour of the causality of God. And since, if the Smṛitis are at variance with each other, we must of necessity accept the one set and reject the other, those of them which are conformable to the Veda will be authoritative, and the rest will deserve no attention: for it has been said in the section (of the Pūrva Mīmānsā) on proof (i. 3, 3), that 'if it (the Smṛiti) be contrary (to the Veda) it must be disregarded; but if there be no (contrariety) it must be inferred (that the former is founded on the latter).' And it is inconceivable that anyone should discover things beyond the reach of the senses without the aid of the Veda, since the means of doing so are wanting. If it be urged that we can conceive such discovery (of imperceptible things without the help of the Veda) as possible in the case of Kapila and other perfect persons (*siddhānām*), because there was nothing to obstruct their knowledge;—we reply, No; because perfection (*siddhi*) is dependent upon something else, viz. on the practice of duty. Now duty is defined as something which is enjoined. And the subject-matter of an injunction which was previously promulgated cannot be called into doubt on the strength of the words of a man who became perfect at a subsequent period. And even on the supposition that confidence could be placed in such 'perfect' persons, yet, as they are numerous, and as such a mutual contradiction as we have already pointed out exists between the Smṛitis of different 'perfect' persons, there is no means left of determining the truth, but reliance on the Veda. Causeless partiality to any particular Smṛiti, on the part even of a man who has no independent opinion, is improper; but if anyone ever does exhibit such partiality, the charge of depriving truth of all fixity attaches to his procedure, because the opinions of men (which he takes as the standard of his belief) assume all sorts of forms. Consequently his judgment also should be directed into the right path by indicating the mutual contradictions between the different Smṛitis, and by distinguishing those of them which are conformable to, from those which are at variance with, the Veda. And (2) the Vedic text which has been pointed out, showing the transcendent character of Kapila's knowledge, cannot be a warrant for believing the doctrine of Kapila, though con-

trary to the Veda, since the word Kapila 'has, in this text, a general sense' [applicable to others besides the author of the Sānkhya] (Mīm. Sūtra, i. 1, 31), and another Kapila called Vāsudeva, the consumer of Sagara's sons, is also mentioned in the Smṛiti; and since the indication of something which has a different object in view, and is therefore irrelevant to the matter in question, can prove nothing.'[166] There is, besides, another text of the Veda which sets forth the eminent diginity of Manu in these terms, 'Whatever Manu said is medicine.'[167] And Manu—when he employs the words (xii. 91), 'He who, with impartial eye, beholds himself in all beings, and all beings in himself, thus sacrificing his own personalty, attains to self-refulgence;' and, by saying this commends the tenet that everything is one with the supreme Spirit—must be understood as censuring Kapila's doctrine. For Kapila does not assent to the identity of Brahma and the universe, since he holds a diversity of souls." . . . (After quoting one passage from the Mahābhārata, and another from the Veda, to prove that Kapila is wrong, Śankara proceeds): "Hence it is proved that Kapila's system is at variance with the Veda and with the words of Manu, who follows the Veda, not only in supposing an independent Prakṛiti (nature), but also in supposing a diversity of souls. Now the Veda has an independent authority in regard to its own contents, as the sun has (an inherent power) of manifesting forms; whilst the words of men have, as regards their own sense, an authority which is dependent on another source (the Veda), and which is distinguished (from the authority of the Veda) by the fact of their authors being remembered. Consequently it forms no objection to a doctrine that it sets aside a Smṛiti on a point which is contrary to the Veda."

[166] The words thus translated are explained as follows in the Gloss of Govinda Ānanda: *Kiṁcha "yaḥ Kapilam jnānair bibhartti tam īśvaram paśyed" iti vidhīyate tathā cha anyārthasya īśvara-pratipatti-śeshasya Kapila-sarvajnatvasya darśanam anuvādas tasya mānāntareṇa prāpti-śūnyasya svārtha-sādhakatvāyogād na anuvāda-mātrād sarvajnatva-siddhir ity āha* | "And it is enjoined (in the text of the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad): 'Let him behold that Īśvara who nourishes Kapila with various knowledge;' and so since this 'indication' of, this reference to, the omniscience of Kapila, which has another object in view, and ends in the establishment of an Īśvara, and which on other grounds is shewn to be irrelevant, cannot prove its own meaning,—this mere reference does not suffice to evince Kapila's omniscience:—This is what Śankara means to say."

[167] See the First Volume of this work, pp. 188 and 510.

See also Śankara's commentary on the Taittirīya Upanishad, Bib. Ind. vii. pp. 136, 137, where he says:

Kāpila-kāṇādādi-tarka-śāstra-virodhaḥ iti chet | na | teshām mūlābhāve veda-virodhe cha bhrāntyopapatteḥ |

"If it be objected that this is contrary to the rationalistic doctrines of Kapila and Kaṇāda [and therefore wrong], I answer no, since these doctrines are proved to be erroneous, as having no foundation, and as being in opposition to the Veda."

His remarks on a passage of the Praśna Upanishad, which are as follows, afford a curious specimen of the contemptuous manner in which this orthodox Vedāntist treats the heretical Sānkhyas, etc. (Praśna Up. vi. 4; Bib. Ind. viii. 244):

Sānkhyās tu avidyā-'dhyāropitam eva purushe karttṛitvañ kriyā-kārakam phalañ cha iti kalpayitvā āgama-vāhyatvāt punas tatas trasyantaṇ paramārthataḥ eva bhoktṛitvam purushasya ichchhanti | tattvāntarañ cha pradhānam purushāt paramārtha-vastu-bhūtam eva kalpayanto 'nya-tārkika-kṛita-buddhi-vishayāḥ santo vihanyante | Tathā itare tārkikāḥ sānkhyair ity evam paraspara-viruddhārtha-kalpanātaḥ āmishārthinaḥ iva prāṇino 'nyonyañ viruddhamānāḥ artha-darśitvāt paramārtha-tattvāt tad-dūram eva apakṛishyante | atas tan-matam anādṛitya vedāntārtha-tattvam ekatva-darśanam prati ādaravanto mumukshavaḥ syur iti tārkika-mate dosha-darśanañ kinchid uchyate 'smābhir na tu tārkika-tātparyyeṇa |

"The followers of the Sānkhya imagine that the functions of action, and the enjoyment of reward which causes action, become erroneously attributed to the soul (*purusha*) in consequence of supervening ignorance; but as this doctrine differs from that of Scripture, they become afraid of it, and seek to ascribe to the soul enjoyment in the proper sense. And supposing another principle distinct from soul, viz. Pradhāna (or nature), which they regard as substance in the proper sense, they become the objects of correction by other rationalists, and are crushed. Thus, in consequence of the contrariety between the conceptions of the Sānkhyas and those of other freethinkers, the two parties quarrel with each other like animals fighting for flesh; and thus, from their having an (exclusive) regard to (their own) views, they are all drawn away to a distance from the essential truth. Wherefore let men, disregarding their tenets, seek for final liberation by paying honour to the principles of the Vedantic doctrine, which maintains the unity of all being. We

have thus pointed out something of the errors of the rationalists, and have said nothing in accordance with their views."

IV.—In thus depreciating Kapila, Śankara is in direct opposition to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (which, however, may be a work of later date than his[168]), in which the author of the Sāṇkhya is spoken of with the greatest reverence. Thus in Bhāg. Pur. i. 3, 10, he is described as the fifth incarnation of Vishṇu:

Panchamaḥ Kapilo nāma siddheśaḥ kāla-viplutam | provāchāsuraye sāṅkhyaṁ tattva-grāma-vinirṇayam |

"In his fifth manifestation, he [in the form of] Kapila, and lord of saints, declared to Āsuri the Sānkhya which defines the series of principles, and which had been lost through the lapse of time."

And again, in Bhāg. Pur. ix. 8, 12, 13, Kapila is made the subject of eulogy. A legend narrates that the sixty thousand sons of king Sagara, conceiving Kapila to be the robber of a horse which had been carried away from their sacrifice, advanced to slay him, when they were burnt up by fire issuing from his body. The author of the Purāṇa, however, denies that this was in any degree owing to passion on the part of the sage:

Na sādhu-vādo muni-kopa-bharjitāḥ nṛipendra-putrāḥ iti sattva-dhāmani | kathaṁ tamo roshamayaṁ vibhāvyate jagat-pavitrātmani khe rajo bhuvaḥ | yasyeritā sānkhyamayī dṛiḍheha naur yayā mumukshus tarate duratyayam | bhavārṇavam mṛityu-pathaṁ vipaśchitaḥ parātma-bhūtasya katham pṛithaṅmatiḥ |

"It is not an assertion befitting a good man to say that the king's sons were burnt up by the wrath of the sage; for how is it conceivable that the darkness (*tamas*) of anger should reside in the abode of goodness (*sattva*), or that the dust (or passion, *rajas*) of the earth should ascend into the sky, the region of purity? How could that sage, one with the supreme Spirit, by whom the strong ship of the Sānkhya was launched, on which the man seeking emancipation crosses the ocean of existence, hard to be traversed, and leading to death,—how could he entertain the idea of any distinction between himself and others [and so treat any one as an enemy]?"

It is not necessary for me to quote any further passages in praise of the author of the Sānkhya. There is a great deal about this system

[168] See Wilson's Vish. Pur., preface, pp. xliv. and li.

in the Mahābhārata, Sāntiparvan, verses 11,037 ff. See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 236 (p. 149 of Williams and Norgate's ed.); Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pref. p. xciv. and text, pp. 18 ff. with notes; Bhāgavata Purāṇa, iii. chapters 24–30; Weber's Ind. Stud. passim; Dr. Röer's Introduction to Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, Bibl. Ind. xv. 35 ff.; and Dr. Hall's preface to the Sāṅkhya-sāra in the Bibl. Ind. p. 19, note.

We have thus seen that a distinct line of demarcation is drawn by the most accurate and critical of the Indian writers, between the Śruti, which they define to be superhuman and independent, and the Smṛiti, which they regard as of human origin, and as dependent for its authority on its conformity with the Śruti. Śankara, indeed, as we have also observed (above, p. 183 f.), goes very nearly, if not altogether, so far as to assign an independent foundation to the Smṛitis; but he confines this distinction to such of these works as coincide in doctrine with the Śruti or Veda, according to his own Vedāntic interpretation of its principles, while all other speculators are denounced by him as heterodox. It is, however, clear from the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavad Gītā, the Vishṇu, and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas, etc., that the doctrines of the Sānkhya must have been very prevalent in ancient times, and that Śankara, when he condemned them as erroneous, must have done so in the face of many powerful opponents.[169]

[169] I quote the following passage from Dr. Röer's Introduction to the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, pp. 36 f.: "At the time of the composition of the Śwetāśwatara, the Sānkhya was not a new system, which had to overcome the resistance of old received opinions, and the prejudices of men in power, whose interest might be opposed to the introduction of a doctrine by which their authority could be questioned. It had found many adherents; it was the doctrine of Manu, of some parts of the Mahābhārata, and to its founder divine honour had been assigned by general consent. It was a doctrine whose argumentative portion demanded respect, and as it was admitted by many Brāmhans (*sic*), distinguished for their knowledge of the Vedas, it could not be treated as a heresy. The most learned and eminent of the Brāmhans were evidently divided among themselves with reference to the truth of the Sānkhya and Vedānta, and this must have afforded to the opponents of the Vedaic system a most powerful weapon for attacking the Vedas themselves. If both the Sānkhya and Vedānta are divine revelations, both must be true; but if the doctrine of the one is true, the doctrine of the other is wrong; for they are contradictory among themselves. Further, if both are derived from the Vedas, it is evident that also the latter cannot reveal the truth, because they would teach opposite opinions about one and the same point. Such objections to the Vedas had been made already in ancient times, as is clear from the Upanishads, from several passages of Manu, from Yāska, etc.; and under these circumstances it cannot be wondered at, if early attempts were made to reconcile the

It is not necessary for me here to inquire with any accuracy what the relation was in which the different philosophical systems stood to each other in former ages. It may suffice to say that the more thorough-going adherents of each—of the Vedānta, the Sānkhya, the Nyāya, etc.—must, according to all appearance, have maintained their respective principles with the utmost earnestness and tenacity, and could not have admitted that any of the rival systems was superior to their own in any particular. It is impossible to study the Sūtras of the several schools, and come to any other conclusion. The more popular systems of the Purāṇas, on the other hand, blended various tenets of the different systems syncretically together. In modern times the superior orthodoxy of the Vedānta seems to be generally admitted. But even some who hold this opinion refuse to follow the example of Śankara in denouncing the founders of the rival schools as heretical. On the contrary, they regard them all as inspired Munis, who, by adapting their doctrines to the capacities or tendencies of different students, have paved the way for the ultimate reception of the Vedāntic system. Such is the view taken in the Prasthāna-bheda of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, who gives the following lucid summary of the leading principles of the different schools of speculation (Weber's Indische Studien, i. 23):

Sarveshāṁ cha sankshepeṇa trividhaḥ eva prasthāna-bhedaḥ | tatra ārambha-vādaḥ ekaḥ | pariṇāma-vādo dvitīyaḥ | vivartta-vādas tṛitīyaḥ | pārthivāpya-taijasa-vāyavīyāś chaturvidhāḥ paramāṇavo dvy-aṇukādi-krameṇa brahmāṇḍa-paryantaṁ jagad ārambhante | asad eva kāryyaṁ kāraka-vyāpārād utpadyate iti prathamas tārkikāṇām mīmāṁsakānāṁ cha | sattva-rajas-tamo-guṇātmakam pradhānam eva mahad-ahankārādi-krameṇa jagad-ākāreṇa pariṇamate | pūrvam api sūkshma-rūpeṇa sad eva kāryaṁ kāraṇa-vyāpāreṇa abhivyajyate iti dvitīyaḥ pakshaḥ Sānkhya-Yoga-Pātanjala-Pāśupatānām | Brahmaṇaḥ pariṇāmo jagad iti Vaishṇavānām | sva-prakāśa-paramānandādvitīyam Brahma sva-māyā-vaśād mithyaiva jagad-ākāreṇa kalpate iti tṛitīyaḥ paksho

tenets of the Vedānta and Sānkhya to save the uniformity of the doctrine, and thereby the sacredness of the Vedas as the Scriptures derived from the immediate revelation of God. So, for instance, it is recorded that Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Bramha Sūtras, wrote also a commentary to Patanjali's Yoga-śāstra, which is still extant under his name. In the same manner composed Gauḍapāda, the eminent Vedāntist, and teacher of Śankara's teacher, Govinda, a commentary to Īśvara Kṛishṇa's Sānkhya Kārikā; and the Bhagavad Gītā has also the same object."

Brahma-vādinām | sarveshām prasthāna-karttṛīṇām munīnāṁ vivartta-vāda-paryavasānena advitīye Parameśvare eva pratipādye tātparyam | na hi te munayo bhrāntāḥ sarvajñatvāt teshām | kintu vahir-vishaya-pravaṇānām āptatataḥ purushārthe praveśo na sambhavati iti nāstikya-vāraṇāya taiḥ prakāra-bhedāḥ pradarśitāḥ | tatra teshāṁ tātparyam abuddhvā veda-viruddhe 'py arthe tātparyam utprekshamāṇās tan-matam eva upādeyatvena gṛihṇanto janāḥ nānā-patha-jusho bhavanti | iti sarvam anavadyam.|

"The difference in principle between these various schools is, when briefly stated, three-fold. The first doctrine is that of a commencement of the world; the second is that of an evolution; the third is that of an illusion. Atoms of four descriptions—earthy, aqueous, igneous, and aerial—beginning with compounds of two atoms, and ending in the egg of Brahmā (the world), originate the universe: and effects, previously non-existent, come into being from the action of a causer. This is the first theory, that of the Logicians and Mīmānsakas. The second theory, that of the Sānkhyas, Yogas, Pātanjalas, and Pāśupatas, is that *Pradhāna* (or *Prakṛiti* = nature), consisting of the three *guṇas* (qualities), *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, is evolved, through the successive stages of *mahat* (intellect), and *ahankāra* (consciousness), etc., in the form of the world; and that effects, which had previously existed in a subtile form, are [merely] manifested by the action of their cause. Another form of this theory is that of the Vaishṇavas [the Rāmānujas], who hold the universe to be an evolution of Brahma. The third view, that of the Brahma-vādins (Vedāntists), is, that Brahma, the self-resplendent, the supremely happy, and the one sole essence, assumes, unreally, the form of the world through the influence of his own illusion (Māyā).

The ultimate scope of all the Munis, authors of these different systems, is to support the theory of illusion, and their only design is to establish the existence of one Supreme God, the sole essence; for these Munis could not be mistaken [as some of them must have been, if they were not all of one opinion, or, as those of them must have been who did not hold Vedāntic principles], since they were omniscient. But as they saw that men, addicted to the pursuit of external objects, could not all at once penetrate into the highest truth, they held out to them a variety of theories, in order that they might not fall into atheism. Misunderstanding the object which the Munis thus had in view, and

representing that they even designed to propound doctrines contrary to the Vedas, men have come to regard the specific doctrines of these several schools with preference, and thus become adherents of a variety of systems. Thus all has been satisfactorily stated."

I find that Vijnāna Bhikshu, the commentator on the Sānkhya aphorisms, takes very nearly the same view as is here quoted from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, in regard to the superiority of the Brahma Mīmānsā or Vedānta over the other Darśanas.

In his Sānkhya-pravachana-bhāshya (Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 3 ff.), he thus writes:

Syād etat | Nyāya-vaiśekikābhyām atra avirodho bhavatu | brahma-mīmāmsā-yogābhyām tu virodho 'sty eva | tābhyāñ nityeśvara-sādhanāt | atra cha Īśvarasya pratishidhyamānatvāt | na cha atrāpi vyāvahārika-pāramārthika-bhedena seśvara-nirīśvara-vādayor avirodho 'stu seśvara-vādasya upāsanā-paratva-sambhavād iti vāchyam | vinigamakābhāvāt | śvaro hi durjneyaḥ iti nirīśvaratvam api loka-vyavahāra-siddham aiśvaryya-vairāgyāya anuvadituṁ śakyate ātmanaḥ saguṇatvam iva | na tu kvāpi śruty-ādāv īśvaraḥ sphuṭam pratishidhyate yena seśvara-vādasyaiva vyāvahārikatvam avadhāryeta iti | atra uchyate | atrāpi vyāvahārika-pāramārthika-bhāvo bhavati | "asatyam apratishṭhaṁ te jagad āhur anīśvaram" ityādi-śāstrair nirīśvara-vādasya ninditatvāt | asminn eva śāstre vyāvahārikasyaiva pratishedhasya aiśvaryya-vairāgyādy-artham anuvādatvauchityāt | yadi hi laukāyatika-matānusāreṇa nityaiśvaryyaṁ na pratishidhyeta tadā paripūrṇa-nitya-nirdoshaiśvaryya-darśanena tatra chittāveśato vivekābhyāsa-pratibandhaḥ syād iti sānkhyāchāryyānām āśayaḥ | seśvara-vādasya na kvāpi nindādikam asti yena upāsanādi-paratayā tat śāstraṁ sankochyeta | yat tu "nāsti sānkhya-samaṁ jnānaṁ nāsti yoga-samam balam | atra vaḥ saṁśayo mā bhūj jnānaṁ sānkhyam param smṛitam" ityādi vākyam tad-vivekāṁśe eva sānkhya-jnānasya darśanāntarebhyaḥ utkarsham pratipādayati na tv īśvara-pratishedāṁśe 'pi | tathā Parāśarādy-akhila-śishṭa-saṁvādād api seśvara-vādasyaiva pāramārthikatvam avadhāryate | api cha "Akshapāda-praṇīte cha Kāṇāde sānkhya-yogayoḥ | tyājyaḥ śruti-virudho 'ṁśaḥ śruty-eka-śaraṇair nṛibhiḥ | Jaiminīye cha Vaiyāse virudhāṁśo na kaśchana | śrutyā vedārtha-vijnāne śruti-pāraṁ gatau hi tāv" iti Parāśaropapurāṇādibhyo 'pi brahma-mīmāṁsāyāḥ īśvarāṁśe balavattvam | yathā | "nyāya-tantrāṇy anekāni taiś tair uktāni vādibhiḥ | hetv-āgama-sadāchārair yad yuktaṁ

tad upāsyatām" iti moksha-dharma-vākyād api Parāśarādy-akhila-śishṭa-vyavahāreṇa brahma-mīmāṁsā-nyāya-vaiśeshikādy-uktaḥ īśvara-sādhaka-nyāyaḥ eva grāhyo balavattvāt | tathā | "Yaṁ na paśyanti yogīndrāḥ sānkhyāḥ api maheśvaraṁ | anādi-nidhanam brahma tam eva śaraṇaṁ vraja" ityādi-kaurmādi-vākyaiḥ sānkhyānām īśvarājñānasyaiva nārāyaṇādinā proktatvāch cha | kincha brahma-mīmāṁsāyāḥ īśvaraḥ eva mukhyo vishayaḥ upakramādibhir avadhṛitaḥ | tatrāṁśe tasya bādhe śāstrasyaiva aprāmāṇyaṁ syāt | "yat-paraḥ śabdaḥ sa śabdārthaḥ" iti nyāyāt | sānkhya-śāstrasya tu purushārtha-tat-ṣādhana-prakṛiti-purusha-vivekāv eva mukhyo vishayaḥ | iti īśvara-pratishedhāṁśa-bādhe 'pi na aprāmāṇyam | "Yat-paraḥ śabdaḥ sa śabdārthaḥ" iti nyāyāt | ataḥ sāvakāśatayā sānkhyam eva īśvara-pratishedhāṁśe durbalam iti | na cha brahma-mīmāṁsāyām api īśvāraḥ eva mukhyo vishayo na tu nityaiśvaryam iti vaktuṁ śakyate | "smṛity-anavakāśa-dosha-prasanga"-rūpa-pūrva-pakshasya anupapattyā nityaiśvaryya-viśishṭatvena eva brahma-mīmāṁsā-vishayatvāvadhāraṇāt | brahma-śabdasya para-brahmaṇy eva mukhyatayā tu "athātaḥ para-brahma-jijñāsā" iti na sūtritam iti | etena sānkhya-virodhād brahma-yoga-darśanayoḥ kāryyeśvara-paratvam api na śānkanīyam | prakṛiti-svātantryāpattyā "rachanānupapatteś cha na anumānam" ityādi brahma-sūtra-paramparā-'nupapatteś cha | tathā "sa purveshām api guruḥ kālena anavachchhedād" iti yoga-sūtra-tadīya-vyāsa-bhāshyābhyāṁ spḥuṭam īśa-nityatāvagamāch cha iti | tasmād abhyupagama-vāda-prauḍhi-vādādinā eva sānkhyasya vyāvahārikeśvara-pratishedha-paratayā brahma-mīmāṁsā-yogābhyāṁ saha na virodhaḥ | abhyupagama-vādaś cha śāstre dṛishṭaḥ | yathā Vishṇu-purāṇe (i. 17, 54) | *"Ete bhinna-dṛiśāṁ daityāḥ vikalpāḥ kathitāḥ mayā | kṛitvā 'bhyupagamaṁ tatra sankshepaḥ śrūyatām mama" | iti | astu vā pāpināṁ jñāna-pratibandhārtham āstika-darśaneshv apy aṁśataḥ śruti-viruddhārtha-vyavasthāpanaṁ teshu teshv aṁśeshv aprāmāṇyaṁ cha | śruti-smṛity-aviruddheshu tu mukhya-vishayeshu prāmāṇyam asty eva | ataḥ eva Padma-purāṇe brahma-yoga-darśanātiriktānāṁ darśanānām nindā 'py upapadyate | Yathā tatra Pārvatīm prati Īśvara-vākyam | "śṛiṇu devi pravakshyāmi tāmasāni yathā-kramam | yeshāṁ śravaṇa-mātreṇa pātityaṁ jñāninām api | prathamaṁ hi mayaivoktaṁ Śaivam Pāśupatādikam | mach-chhakty-āveśitair vipraiḥ samproktāni tataḥ param | Kaṇādena tu samproktaṁ śāstraṁ vaiśeshikam mahat | Gautamena tathā nyāyaṁ sānkhyaṁ tu Kapilena vai | dvijanmanā Jaiminiṇā pūrvaṁ vedamayārthataḥ | nirīśvareṇa vādena kṛitam*

śāstram mahattaram | Dhishaṇena tathā proktam chārvākam ati-garhitam | daityānāṁ nāśanārthāya Vishṇunā Buddha-rūpiṇā | bauddha-śāstram asat proktaṁ nagna-nīla-paṭādikam | māyā-vādam asach-chhāstram prachchhannam bauddham eva cha | mayaiva kathitam devi kalau brāhmaṇa-rūpiṇā | apārthaṁ śruti-vākyānāṁ darśayat loka-garhitam | karma-svarūpa-tyājyatvaṁ atra cha pratipādyate | sarva-karma-paribhraṁśād naishkarmyaṁ tatra chochyate | parātmᵑ-jīvayor aikyam mayā 'tra pratipādyate | brahmaṇo 'sya paraṁ rūpaṁ nirguṇaṁ darśitam mayā | sarvasya jagato 'py asya nāśanārthaṁ kalau yuge | vedārthavad mahāśāstram māyā-vādam avaidikam | mayaiva kathitaṁ devi jagatāṁ nāśa-kāraṇād" iti | adhikaṁ tu brahma-mīmāṁsā-bhāshye prapanchitam asmābhir iti | tasmād āstika-śāstrasya na kasyāpy aprāmāṇyaṁ virodho vā sva-sva-vishayeshu sarveshām abādhāt avirodhāch cha iti | nanv evam purusha-bahutvāṁśe 'py asya śāstrasya abhyupagama-vādatvaṁ syāt | na syāt | avirodhāt | brahma-mīmāṁsāyām apy "aṁśo nānā-vyapadeśād" ityādi-sūtra-jātair jīvātma-bahutvasyaiva nirṇayāt | sānkhya-siddha-purushāṇām ātmatvaṁ tu brahma-mīmāṁsayā bādhyate eva | "ātmā iti tu upayanti" iti tat-sūtreṇa paramātmanaḥ eva paramārtha-bhūmāv ātmatvāvadhāraṇāt | tathāpi cha sānkhyasya na aprāmāṇyam | vyāvahārikātmano jīvasya itara-viveka-jñānasya moksha-sādhanatve vivakshitārthe bādhābhāvāt | etena śruti-smṛiti-prasiddhayor nānātmaikātmatvayor vyāvahārika-pāramārthika-bhedena avirodhaḥ |

"Be it so: let there be here no discrepancy with the Nyāya and Vaiśeshika. But it will be said that the Sānkhya is really opposed to the Brahma-mīmānsā (the Vedānta) and the Yoga [of Patanjali]; since both of these systems assert an eternal Īśvara (God), while the Sānkhya denies such an Īśvara. And it must not be said (the same persons urge) that here also [as in the former case of the Nyāya and Vaiśeshika], owing to the distinction between practical [or conventional, or regulative] and essential truths, there may be no [real] contrariety between the theistic and the atheistic theories, inasmuch as the theistic theory may possibly have a view to devotion [and may therefore have nothing more than a practical end in view];—you are not, it will be said, to assert this, as there is nothing to lead to this conclusion [or, distinction]. For as Īśvara is difficult to be known, the atheistic theory also, which is founded on popular opinion, may, indeed, be adverted to for the purpose of inspiring indifference to the conception of a Deity,

(just as it is [conventionally] asserted that soul has qualities); but neither the Veda, nor any other śāstra contains a distinct denial of an Īśvara, by which the merely practical [or conventional] character of the theistic theory could be shewn. [Consequently the theistic theory is not a mere conventional one, but true, and the contradiction between the atheistic Sāṅkhya and the theistic systems is real and irreconcilable].

"To this we reply: in this case also the distinction of practical and essential truths holds. For although the atheistic theory is censured by such texts as the following: 'They declare a world without an Īśvara to be false and baseless;' yet it was proper that in this system (the Sāṅkhya), the merely practical (or conventional) denial [of Īśvara] should be inculcated for the purpose of inspiring indifference to the conception of a Deity, and so forth. Because the idea of the author of the Sāṅkhya was this, that if the existence of an eternal Īśvara were not denied, in conformity with the doctrine of the Laukāyatikas, men would be prevented by the contemplation of a perfect, eternal, and faultless godhead, and by fixing their hearts upon it, from studying to discriminate [between spirit and matter]. But no censure on the theistic theory is to be found in any work, whereby [the scope of] that system might be restricted, as having devotion, etc., in view as its only end. And as regards such texts as the following: 'There is no knowledge like the Sāṅkhya, no power like the Yoga; doubt not of this, the knowledge of the Sāṅkhya is considered to be the highest,' they [are to be understood as] proving the superiority of the Sāṅkhya doctrine over other systems, not in respect of its atheism, but only of its discrimination [between different principles]. It is, moreover, established by the concurrence of Parāśara, and all other well instructed persons, that the theistic theory is that which represents the essential truth. Further, such texts as the following of the Parāśara Upapurāṇa, and other works, shew that the strength of the Brahma-mīmānsā lies on the side of its theism, viz., 'In the systems of Akshapāda (Gotama) and Kaṇāda, and in the Sāṅkhya and Yoga, that part which is opposed to the Veda should be rejected by all persons who regard the Veda as the sole authority. In the systems of Jaimini and Vyāsa (the Vedānta) there is no portion contrary to the Veda, since both these sages have attained to a perfect comprehension of its true meaning. In the same way it results from this text of the Moksha-dharma (a part of the

Śānti-parvan of the Mahābhārata), viz.: 'Many systems of reasoning have been promulgated by different authors; [in these] whatever is established on grounds of reason, of scripture and of approved custom, is to be respected;' [from this text also, I say, it results] that the theory,—declared in the Brahma-mīmānsā, the Nyāya, the Vaiśeshika, etc., in consonance with the tradition of Parāśara and all other well-instructed men,—which asserts an Īśvara, is alone to be received, in consequence of its strength; and [the same thing follows] from the fact that in such passages as this of the Kaurma-purāṇa, etc., viz.—'Take refuge with that Maheśvara, that Brahma without beginning or end, whom the most eminent Yogins, and the Sānkhyas do not behold,'—Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) and others assert that the Sānkhyas are ignorant of Īśvara.

"Moreover, Īśvara is determined to be the principal subject of the Brahma-mīmānsā by the introductory statement, etc., of that system. If it were open to objection on that side [*i.e.* on the side of its principal subject], the entire system would be without authority. For it is a rule that 'the sense of a word is that which it is intended to denote.' Whereas the principal subjects of the Sānkhya are—(1) the grand object of human pursuit, and (2) the distinction between nature (*prakṛiti*) and spirit (*purusha*), which is the instrument of attaining that grand object. Thus this system does not lose its authority, even though it be erroneous in so far as it denies an Īśvara. For it is a rule that 'the sense of a word is that which it is intended to denote.' Hence, as the Sānkhya has a certain applicability of its own, it is weak only in so far as it denies an Īśvara.

"Nor can it be alleged that it is Iśvara only, and not the eternity of his existence, that is the principal subject of the Brahma-mīmānsā; since, through the disproof of the objection (*pūrva-paksha*) that the theistic theory 'is chargable with the defect of rendering the Smṛiti inapplicable,'[170] it is ascertained that the assertion of an eternal Īśvara is the main object of the Brahma-mīmānsā. But as the word 'Brahma' is properly employed to denote the supreme Brahma, the first aphorism of the Brahma-mīmānsā does not run thus, 'Now follows the enquiry regarding the supreme Brahma;' [but thus, 'Now follows the

[170] The aphorism here referred to (Brahma Sūtras ii. 1, 1), with most of S'ankara's comment on it, has been already quoted above, pp. 185 ff.

enquiry regarding Brahma.'] Hence we are not to surmise that, as they [would otherwise] contradict the Sānkhya, the Brahma-mīmānsā and Yoga systems must aim at establishing [not an eternal Deity] but a [secondary] Īśvara, who is merely an effect. For this is disproved (1) by the series of Brahma Sūtras (ii. 2, 1 ff.) which affirm that 'an unintelligent cause of the world cannot be inferred, as it is not conceivable that such a cause should frame anything,' and which would be rendered inconclusive by the assumption of the independent action of Prakṛiti; and (2) by the fact that the eternity of God is clearly understood from the Yoga aphorism [i. 26], viz. 'He is also the instructor of the ancients, as he is not circumscribed by time,' as well as from the commentary of Vyāsa thereon.[171] Hence, as the Sānkhya, arguing on its own special principles, and at the same time making a great display of ingenuity[172] and so forth, has in view a merely practical denial of an Īśvara, it does not contradict the Brahma-mīmānsā or the Yoga. The method of reasoning on special principles is referred to in the Śāstra. Thus it is said in the Vishṇu Purāṇa [i. 17, 54, Wilson, vol. ii. p. 44], 'These notions, Daityas, which I have described, are the guesses of persons who look on the Deity as distinct from themselves. Accepting them as partially correct, hear from me a summary (of transcendental truth).

"Or let it be [supposed] that even orthodox systems, with the view of preventing sinners from attaining knowledge, lay down doctrines which are partially opposed to the Veda; and that in those particular portions they are not authoritative. Still in their principal contents,

[171] I quote the commentary of Bhoja-rājā on this Sūtra, as given by Dr. Ballantyne (Aphorisms of the Yoga, part first, p. 32): *Pūrveṣhām | ādyānām Brahmādīnām api sa gurur upadeshṭā yataḥ sa kālena nāvachchhidyate anāditvāt | teshām punar ādimattvād asti kālena avachchhedaḥ |* "Of the ancients, that is, of the earliest [beings], Brahmā and the rest, he is the *guru*, *i.e.*, the instructor, because He, as having no beginning, is not circumscribed by time; while they, on the other hand, having had a beginning, are circumscribed by time."

[172] I am indebted to Professor Cowell for a satisfactory interpretation of the first of these two phrases, *abhyupagama-vāda* and *prauḍhi-vāda*, as well as for various other improvements in my translation of this passage. The phrase *abhyupagama-siddhānta* is rendered by Dr. Ballantyne "Implied dogma" (Nyāya aphorisms, i. 31, p. 30, as corrected in MS.). Professor Goldstücker *s.v.* renders it by "implied axiom." In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon the phrase *abhyupagama-vāda* is rendered "a discussion in a conciliatory spirit." In regard to the sense of *prauḍhi-vāda*, see above, p. 172.

which are consonant to the Śruti and the Smṛiti, they possess authority. Accordingly, in the Padma-Purāṇa we find a censure passed even upon the several philosophical systems (*Darśanas*), with the exception of the Brahma (the Vedānta) and the Yoga. For in that work Īśvara (Mahādeva) says to Pārvatī, 'Listen, goddess, while I declare to you the Tāmasa works (the works characterised by *tamas*, or the quality of darkness) in order; works by the mere hearing of which even wise men become fallen. First of all, the Śaiva systems, called Pāśupata, etc., were delivered by myself. Then the following were uttered by Brāhmans penetrated by my power, viz. the great Vaiśeshika system by Kaṇāda, and the Nyāya, and Sānkhya, by Gotama and Kapila respectively. Then the great system, the Pūrva-[mīmānsā], was composed by the Brāhman Jaimini on Vedic subjects, but on atheistic principles. So too the abominable Chārvāka doctrine was declared by Dhishaṇa,[173] while Vishṇu, in the form of Buddha, with a view to the destruction of the Daityas,[174] promulgated the false system of the Bauddhas, who go about naked, or wear blue garments. I myself, goddess, assuming the form of a Brāhman, uttered in the Kali age, the false doctrine of Māyā [illusion, the more modern form of the Vedānta], which is covert Buddhism, which imputes a perverted and generally censured signification to the words of the Veda, and inculcates the abandonment of ceremonial works, and an inactivity consequent on such cessation. In that system I propound the identity of the supreme and the embodied soul, and show that the highest form of this Brahma is that in which he is devoid of the [three] qualities. It was I myself, goddess, by whom this great śāstra, which, composed of Vedic materials and inculcating the theory of illusion, is yet un-Vedic, was declared in the Kali age for the destruction of this entire universe.' We have entered into fuller explanations on this subject in the Brahma-mīmānsā-bhāshya. There is, therefore, no want of authority, nor any contradiction, in any orthodox system, for they are all incapable of refutation in their own especial subjects, and are not mutually discrepant. Does, then, this system (the Sānkhya) lay down a theory based only on its own assumptions in respect of the multitude of souls also? It does not. For in the Brahma-mīmānsā also it is determined by such a kind of texts

[173] A name of Vṛihaspati, according to Wilson's dictionary.

[174] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 334 ff.

as the following (Brahma Sūtras, ii. 3, 43), viz. 'the embodied spirit is a portion[175] of the supreme soul, from the variety of appellations,' that there is a multitude of embodied spirits. But it is denied by the Brahma-mīmānsā that the spirits (*purusha*) asserted by the Sānkhya have the character of Soul; for it is determined by the Brahma Sūtra (iv. 1, 3), 'they approach Him as one with themselves,'[176] that, on the ground of transcendental truth, the supreme Soul alone has the character of Soul. But, nevertheless, the Sānkhya is not unauthoritative; for as the knowledge of its own distinctness from other things, obtained by the embodied spirit in its worldly condition, is instrumental to final liberation, this system is not erroneous in the particular subject matter which it aims at propounding. In this way it results from the distinction of practical and real, that there is no contradiction between the two theories (made known by the Śruti and Smṛiti), of a multitude of souls, and the unity of all soul.

The view taken by Madhusūdana, as quoted above, and partially confirmed by Vijnāna Bhikshu, of the ultimate coincidence in principle of all the different schools of Hindu philosophy, however mutually hostile in appearance, seems, as I have remarked, to be that which is commonly entertained by modern Pandits. (See Dr. Ballantyne's Synopsis of Science, advertisement, p. iv.) This system of compromise, however, is clearly a deviation from the older doctrine; and it practically abolishes the distinction in point of authority between the Vedas and the Smṛitis, Darśanas, etc. For if the Munis, authors of the six Darśanas, were omniscient and infallible, they must stand on the same level with the Vedas, which can be nothing more.

I return, however, from this digression regarding the hostility of Śankara to the adherents of the Sānkhya and other rationalistic schools,

[175] On this, however, Śankara (*in loco*) remarks as follows: *Jīvaḥ Īśvarasya aṁśo bhavitum arhati yathā 'gner visphulingaḥ | aṁśaḥ iva aṁśaḥ | na hi niravayavasya mukhyo 'ṁśaḥ sambhavati | kasmāt punar niravayavatvāt sa eva na bhavati | "nānā-vyapadeśāt |* "The embodied soul must be 'a portion' of Īśvara, as a spark is of fire (and not merely dependent upon him as a servant on his master). 'A portion' means, 'as it were a portion;' for nothing can be, in the proper sense, 'a portion' of that which has no parts. Why, then, as Īśvara has no parts, is not the embodied soul the very same as he? 'From the variety of appellations,' etc., etc."

[176] The original Sūtra runs thus: *Ātmā iti tu upagachchhanti grāhayanti cha |* "They approach Him as one with themselves, and [certain texts] cause them to receive Him as one with themselves." This refers to certain texts which Śankara adduces from one of the Upanishads, apparently.

and the opinions of later authors concerning the founders of those several systems. The distinction drawn by the Indian commentators quoted in this section between the superhuman Veda and its human appendages, the Kalpa Sūtras, etc., as well as the other Smṛitis, is not borne out by the texts which I have cited above (pp. 8, 31) from the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka (= Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa), and Muṇḍaka Upanishads. By classing together the Vedic Sanhitās, and the other works enumerated in the same passages, the authors of both the Upanishads seem to place them all upon an equal footing; and the former of the two authorities speaks of them all as having proceeded from the breathing of the Great Being. If the one set of works are superhuman, it may fairly be argued that the others are so likewise. According to the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, neither of them (if we except only the Vedāntas or Upanishads) can be placed in the highest rank, as they equally inculcate a science which is only of secondary importance.

As, however, Śankara (who, no doubt, perceived that it would be inconsistent with modern theories to admit that any of the works usually classed under the head of Smṛiti had been really breathed forth by the Creator, and that such a directly divine origin could, on orthodox principles, be assigned only to writings coming under the designation of Śruti), maintains in his comment on the text of the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad that the whole of the works there enumerated, excepting the Sanhitās of the four Vedas, are in reality portions of the Brāhmaṇas, it will be necessary to quote his remarks, which are as follows (Bibl. Ind. ii. 855 ff.):

. . . *Niśvasitam iva niśvasitam | yathā aprayatnenaiva purusha-niśvāso bhavaty evaṁ vā | are kiṁ tad niśvasitaṁ tato jātam ity uchyate | Yad ṛigvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvaṅgirasaś chaturvidham mantra-jātam | itihāsaḥ ity Ūrvaśī-Purūravasor saṁvādādir "Ūrvaśī ha apsarāḥ" ityādi-brāhmaṇam eva | purāṇam "asad vā idam agre āsīd" ityādi | vidyā devajana-vidyā "vedaḥ so 'yam" ityādiḥ | upanishadaḥ "priyam ity etad upāsīta" ityādyāḥ | ślokāḥ "brāhmaṇa-prabhavāḥ mantrās tad ete ślokāḥ" ity ādayaḥ | sūtrāṇi vastu-sangraha-vākyāni vede yathā "ātmā ity eva upāsīta" ityādīni | anuvyākhyānāni mantra-vivaraṇāni | vyākhyānāni arthavādāḥ | . . . . evam ashṭavidham brāhmaṇam | evam mantra-brāhmaṇayor eva grahaṇam | niyata-rachanāvato vidyamānasyaiva vedasya abhivyaktiḥ purusha-niśvāsa-vat | na cha purusha-buddhi-prayatna-pūr-*

vakaḥ | ataḥ pramāṇam nirapekshaḥ eva svārthe | .... tena vedasya aprāmāṇyam āśankate | tad-āśankā-nivṛitty-artham idam uktam | puru-sha-niśvāsa-vad aprayatnotthitatvāt pramāṇaṁ vedo na yathā 'nyo gran-thaḥ iti |

"'His breathing' means, 'as it were, his breathing,' or it denotes the absence of effort, as in the case of a man's breathing. We are now told what that breathing was which was produced from him. It was the four classes of mantras (hymns), those of the Ṛich, Yajush, Sāman, and Atharvāngirases (Atharvaṇa); Itihāsa (or narrative), such as the dialogue between Urvaśī and Purūravas, viz. the passage in the Brāh-maṇa beginning 'Urvaśī the Apsaras,' etc. [S. P. Br. p. 855]; Purāṇa, such as, 'This was originally non-existent,' etc.; Vidyā (knowledge), the knowledge of the gods, as, 'This is the Veda,' etc.; Upanishads, such as, 'Let him reverence this, as beloved,' etc.; Ślokas, such as those here mentioned, 'The mantras are the sources of the Brāhmaṇas, on which subject there are these ślokas,' etc.; Sūtras (aphorisms) oc-curring in the Veda which condense the substance of doctrines, as, 'Let him adore this as Soul,' etc.; Anuvyākhyānas, or interpretations of the mantras; Vyakhyānas, or illustrative remarks." The commen-tator adds alternative explanations of the two last terms, and then pro-ceeds: "Here, therefore, eight sorts of texts occurring in the Brāhmaṇas are referred to; and consequently the passage before us embraces merely mantras and Brāhmaṇas. The manifestation of the Veda, which already existed in a fixed form of composition, is compared to the breathing of a person. The Veda was not the result of an effort of the intelligence of any person.[177] Consequently, as proof in respect of its own contents, it is independent of everything else."

Śankara terminates his remarks on this passage by intimating, as one supposition, that the author of the Upanishad means, in the words

[177] Compare S'ankara's Comment on Brahma Sūtra, i. 1, 3, as quoted above in p. 106, where this same text of the Bṛih. Ār. Up. is referred to. As the fact of Brahma being the author of the Vedas is there adduced to prove the transcendent character of his knowledge, and of his power, we must, apparently (unless we are to charge the great commentator with laying down inconsistent doctrines in the two passages), suppose that in the text before us he does not mean to deny that Brahma was conscious of the procession of the Vedas, etc., from himself, and cognizant of their sense (as the author of the Sānkhya aphorisms and his commentator seem to have understood, see above p. 135), but merely that his consciousness and cognizance were not the result of any effort on his part.

on which he comments, to remove a doubt regarding the authority of the Veda, arising from some words which had preceded, and therefore affirms that "the Veda is authoritative, because it was produced without any effort of will, like a man's breathing, and not in the same manner as other books." (See Sānkhya Sūtras, v. 50; above, p. 135.)

This attempt to explain the whole of the eight classes of works enumerated in the Upanishad as nothing else than parts of the Brāhmaṇas, cannot be regarded as altogether satisfactory, since some of them, such as the Sūtras, have always been referred to a distinct class of writings, which are regarded as uninspired (see Müller's Anc. Ind. Lit. pp. 75, 86); and the Itihāsas and Purāṇas had in all probability become a distinct class of writings at the period when the Upanishad was composed. And Śankara's explanation is rendered more improbable if we compare with this passage the other from the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, i. 1, 5, already quoted above (p. 31), where it is said, "The inferior science consists of the Ṛich, Yajush, Sāman, and Atharvan Vedas, accentuation (*śikshā*), ritual prescriptions (*kalpa*), grammar, commentary (*nirukta*), prosody (*chhandas*), and astronomy."[178] Here various appendages of the Vedas, which later writers expressly distinguish from the Vedas themselves, and distinctly declare to have no superhuman authority, are yet mentioned in the same category with the four Sanhitās, or collections of the hymns, as constituting the inferior science (in opposition to the knowledge of the supreme Spirit). From this we may reasonably infer that the author of the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad also, when he specifies the Sūtras and some of the other works

[178] I take the opportunity of introducing here Sāyaṇa's remarks on this passage in his Commentary on the Rig-veda, vol. i., p. 33: *Atigambhīrasya vedasya artham avabodhayitum śikshādīni shaḍ-angāni pravṛittāni | ata eva teshām apara-vidyā-rūpatvam Muṇḍakopanishady Ātharvaṇikāḥ āmananti | "dve vidye" ityādi | . . . . sādhana-bhūta-dharma-jñāna-hetutvāt shaḍ-anga-sahitānām karma-kāṇḍānām apara-vidyātvam | parama-puruśhārtha-bhūta-brahma-jñāna-hetutvād upanishadām para-vidyātvam |* "The Śikshā and other five appendages are intended to promote the comprehension of the sense of the very deep Veda. Hence, in the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, the followers of the Atharva-veda declare that these works belong to the class of inferior sciences, thus: 'There are two sciences,' etc. [see the entire passage in p. 31.] Since the sections of the Veda which relate to ceremonies [including, of course, the hymns], as well as the six appendages, lead to a knowledge of duty, which is an instrument [of something further], they are ranked as an inferior science. On the other hand the Upanishads, which conduct to a knowledge of Brahma, the supreme object of man, constitute the highest science."

which he enumerates, intended to speak of the Vedāngas or appendages of the Vedas, and perhaps the Smṛitis also, as being the breathing of Brahma. The works which in the passage from the Muṇḍaka are called Kalpa, are also commonly designated as the Kalpa Sūtras.

This conclusion is in some degree confirmed by referring to the passage from the Mahābhārata, Śānti-parvan, 7,660, which has been cited in p. 105, where it is said that the "great rishis, empowered by Svayambhū, obtained by devotion the Vedas, and the Itihāsas, which had disappeared at the end of the preceding Yuga." Whatever may be the sense of the word Itihāsa in a Vedic work, there can be no doubt that in the Mahābhārata, which is itself an Itihāsa, the word refers to that class of metrical histories. And in this text we see these Itihāsas placed on a footing of equality with the Vedas, and regarded as having been, like them, pre-existent and supernatural. See also the passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad, vii. 1, 1 ff. (Bibl. Ind., vol. iii. pp. 473 ff.), quoted above (p. 33), where the Itihāsas and Purāṇas are spoken of as "the fifth Veda of the Vedas." The same title of "fifth Veda" is applied to them in the Bhāg. Pur. iii. 12, 39 : *Itihāsa-purāṇāni pañchamaṁ vedam Īśvaraḥ | sarvebhyaḥ eva mukhebhyaḥ sasṛije sarva-darśanaḥ* | "The omniscient Īśvara (God) created from all his mouths the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, as a fifth Veda." See also the passages quoted above in pp. 27–30, from the Purāṇas and Mahābhārata, where the Itihāsas and Purāṇas themselves are placed on an equality with, if not in a higher rank, than the Vedas. The claims put forward by these popular works on their own behalf are not, indeed, recognized as valid by more critical and scientific authors, who, as we have seen at the beginning of this section, draw a distinct line of demarcation between the Vedas and all other works; but it would appear from the passages I have quoted from the Upanishads that at one time the Vedas were, at least, not so strictly discriminated from the other Śāstras as they afterwards were.

SECT. XII.—*Recapitulation of the Arguments urged in the Darśanas, and by Commentators, in support of the Authority of the Vedas, with some remarks on these reasonings.*

As in the preceding sections I have entered at some length into the arguments urged by the authors of the philosophical systems and their

commentators, in proof of the eternity and infallibility of the Vedas, it may be convenient to recapitulate the most important points in these reasonings; and I shall then add such observations as the consideration of them may suggest.

The grounds on which the apologists of the Vedas rest their authority are briefly these: First, it is urged that, like the sun, they shine by their own light, and evince an inherent power both of revealing their own perfection, and of elucidating all other things, past and future, great and small, near and remote (Sāyaṇa, as quoted above, p. 62; Śankara on Brahma Sūtras i. 1, 3, above, p. 190). This is the view taken by the author of the Sānkhya Sūtras also, who, however, expressly denies that the Vedas originated from the conscious effort of any divine being (see p. 135). Second, it is asserted that the Veda could have had no (human) personal author, as no such composer is recollected (Mādhava, above, pp. 83 ff), and cannot therefore be suspected of any such imperfection as would arise from the fallibility of such an author (pp. 69 f.; Sāyaṇa p. 106). Third, the Pūrva-mīmānsā adds to this that the words of which the Vedas are composed are eternal, and have an eternal connection (not an arbitrary relation depending upon the human will) with their meanings, and that therefore the Vedas are eternal, and consequently perfect and infallible [179] (Mīmānsā Sūtras and Commentary, above, pp. 71 ff., and Sarva-darśana-sangraha, above, pp. 91 f.) Fourth, the preceding view is either explained or modified by the commentator on the Taittirīya Sanhitā (above, p. 69), as well as by Sāyaṇa in his Introduction to the Rig-veda (above, p. 106), who say that, like time, æther, etc., the Veda is only eternal in a qualified sense, *i.e.* during the continuance of the existing mundane system; and that in reality it sprang from Brahmā at the beginning of the creation. But this origin cannot according to their view affect the perfection of the Veda, which in consequence of the faultlessness of its author possesses a self-demonstrating authority. Fifth, although the Vedānta, too, speaks of the eternity of the Veda (above, p. 105), it also in the same passage makes mention of its self-dependent author; while in another passage (p. 106) it distinctly ascribes the origin of the Indian Scripture to Brahma as its source or

[179] In the Bṛihad Araṇyaka Upanishad (p. 688 of Dr. Röer's ed.) it is said: *Vāchaiva samrāḍ Brahma jñāyate vāg vai samrāṭ paramam Brahma* | "By speech, o monarch, Bráhma is known. Speech is the supreme Brahma."

cause. Brahma here must be taken as neuter, denoting the supreme Spirit, and not masculine, designating the personal creator, as under the fourth head.[180] Sixth, according to the Naiyāyika doctrine the authority of the Veda is established by the fact of its having emanated from competent persons who had an intuitive perception of duty, and whose competence is proved by their injunctions being attended with the desired results in all cases which come within the cognizance of our senses and experience (Nyāya Sūtras, above, pp. 116). Seventh, agreeably to the Vaiśeshika doctrine, and that of the Kusumānjali, the infallibility of the Veda results from the omniscience of its author, who is God (Vaiśeshika Sūtras, Tarka Sangraha, and Kusumānjali, pp. 119 ff., 127, and 129 ff., above).

These arguments, as the reader who has studied all their details will have noticed, are sometimes in direct opposition to each other in their leading principles; and they are not likely to seem convincing to any persons but the adherents of the schools from which they have severally emanated. The European student (unless he has some ulterior practical object in view) can only look upon these opinions as matters of historical interest, as illustrations of the course of religious thought among a highly acute and speculative people. But they may be expected to possess a greater importance in the eyes of any Indian readers into whose hands this book may fall; and as such readers may desire to learn in what light these arguments are regarded by Western scholars, I shall offer a few remarks on the subject.

In regard to the first ground in support of the infallibility of the Veda, viz. the evidence which radiates from itself, or its internal evidence, I may observe first, that this is a species of proof which can only be estimated by those who have made the Indian Scripture the object of careful study; and, second, that it must be judged by the reason and conscience of each individual student. This evidence may appear conclusive to men in a certain stage of their national and personal culture, and especially to those who have been accustomed from their infancy to regard the Vedas with a hereditary veneration; whilst to persons in a different state of mental progress, and living under different influences, it will appear perfectly futile. It is quite clear that, even in India itself, there existed in former ages multitudes of learned

[180] See note in p. 205, above.

and virtuous men who were unable to see the force of this argument, and who consequently rejected the authority of the Vedas. I allude of course to Buddha and his followers. And we have even found that some of those writers who are admitted to have been orthodox, such as the authors of the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gītā, and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, while they attach the highest value to the divine knowledge conveyed by the latest portions of the Veda, depreciate, if they do not actually despise, the hymns and the ceremonial worship connected with them.

In regard to the second argument, viz. that the Vedas must be of supernatural origin, and infallible authority, as they are not known to have had any human author, I observe as follows. The Greek historian, Herodotus, remarks (ii. 23) of a geographer of his own day who explained the annual inundations of the river Nile by supposing its stream to be derived from an imaginary ocean flowing round the earth, which no one had ever seen, that his opinion did not admit of confutation, because he carried the discussion back into the region of the unapparent (*ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενείκας οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον*). The same might be said of the Indian speculators, who argue that the Veda must have had a supernatural origin, because it was never observed to have had a human author like other books;—that by thus removing the negative grounds on which they rest their case into the unknown depths of antiquity, they do their utmost to place themselves beyond the reach of direct refutation. But it is to be observed (1) that, even if it were to be admitted that no human authors of the Vedas were remembered in later ages, this would prove nothing more than their antiquity, and that it would still be incumbent on their apologists to show that this circumstance necessarily involved their supernatural character; and (2) that, in point of fact, Indian tradition does point to certain rishis or bards as the authors of the Vedic hymns. It is true, indeed, as has been already noticed (p. 85), that these rishis are said to have only "seen" the hymns, which (it is alleged) were eternally pre-existent, and that they were not their authors. But as tradition declares that the hymns were uttered by such and such rishis, how is it proved that the rishis to whom they are ascribed, or those, whoever they were, from whom they actually proceeded, were not uttering the mere productions of their own minds? The whole character of these compositions, and the circumstances under which, from internal evi-

dence, they appear to have arisen, are in harmony with the supposition that they were nothing more than the natural expression of the personal hopes and feelings of those ancient bards by whom they were first recited. In these songs the Aryan sages celebrated the praises of their ancestral gods (while at the same time they sought to conciliate their goodwill by a variety of oblations supposed to be acceptable to them), and besought of them all the blessings which men in general desire—health, wealth, long life, cattle, offspring, victory over their enemies, forgiveness of sin, and in some cases also celestial felicity.

The scope of these hymns is well summed up in the passage which I have already quoted (from Colebrooke's Misc. Essays i. 26) in the Second Volume, p. 206: *'Arthepsavaḥ ṛishayo devatāś chhandobhir abhyadhāvan* | "The rishis desiring [various] objects, hastened to the gods with metrical prayers." The Nirukta, vii. 1, quoted in the same place, says: *Yat-kāmaḥ ṛishir yasyāṁ devatāyām arthapatyam ichhan stutim prayunkte tad-devataḥ sa mantro bhavati* | "Each particular hymn has for its deity the god to whom the rishi, seeking to obtain any object of desire which he longs for, addresses his prayer." And in the sequel of the same passage from the Nirukta (vii. 3), the fact that the hymns express the different feelings or objects of the rishis is distinctly recognized:

Paroksha-kritāḥ pratyaksha-kritāś cha mantrāḥ bhūyishṭhāḥ alpaśaḥ ādhyātmikāḥ | *athāpi stutir eva bhavati na āśīrvādaḥ "Indrasya nu vīryāṇi pravocham" iti yathā etasmin sūkte* | *athāpi āśīr eva na stutiḥ "suchakshāḥ aham akshibhyām bhūyāsaṁ suvarchāḥ mukhena suśrut karṇābhyām bhūyāsam" iti* | *tad etad bahulam ādhvaryave yājneshu cha mantreshu* | *athāpi śapathābhiśāpau* | *"adya murīya" ityādi . . . athāpi kasyachid bhāvasya āchikhyāsā* | *"na mṛityur āsīd" ityādi . . .* | *athāpi paridevanā kasmāchchid bhāvāt* | *"sudevo adya prapated anāvṛid" ityādi* | *athāpi nindā-praśaṁse* | *"kevalāgho bhavati kevalādī" ityādi* | *evam aksha-sūkte dyūta-nindā cha kṛishi-praśaṁsā cha* | *evam uchchāvachair abhiprāyair ṛishīṇām mantra-dṛishṭayo bhavanti* |

"[Of the four kinds of verses specified in the preceding section], (*a*) those which address a god as absent, (*b*) those which address him as present, and (*c*) those which address the worshippers as present and the god as absent, are the most numerous, while those (*d*) which refer to the speaker himself are rare. It happens also that a god is

praised without any blessing being invoked, as in the hymn (R.V. i. 32). 'I declare the heroic deeds of Indra,' etc. Again, blessings are invoked without any praise being offered; as in the words, 'May I see well with my eyes, be resplendent in my face, and hear well with my ears.' This frequently occurs in the Ādhvaryava (Yajur) Veda, and in the sacrificial formulæ. Then again we find oaths and curses, as in the words (R.V. vii. 104, 15), 'May I die to-day, if I am a Yātudhāna,' etc. (See Vol. I. p. 327.) Further, we observe the desire to describe some particular state of things, as in the verse (R.V. x. 129, 2), 'Death was not then, nor immortality,' etc. Then there is lamentation, arising out of a certain state of things, as in the verse (R.V. x. 95, 14), 'The beautiful god will disappear and never return,' etc. Again, we have blame and praise, as in the words (R.V. x. 117, 6), 'The man who eats alone, sins alone,' etc. So, too, in the hymn to dice (R.V. x. 34, 13) there is a censure upon dice, and a commendation of agriculture. Thus the objects for which the hymns were seen by the rishis were very various." [181]

It is to be observed, however, that although in this passage the author, Yāska, speaks of the various desires which the rishis expressed in different hymns, he nevertheless adheres to the idea which was recognized in his age, and in which he doubtless participated, that the rishis "saw" the hymns.

In the Nirukta, x. 42, the form of the metre in particular hymns is ascribed to the peculiar genius of the rishi Paruchhepa: [182] *Abhyāse*

[181] In Nirukta, iv. 6, allusion is made to a rishi Trita perceiving a particular hymn when he had been thrown into a well (*Tritaṁ kūpe 'vahitam etat sūktam prati babhau*).

[182] A Paruchhepa is mentioned in the Taittīriya Sanhitā, ii. 5, 8, 3, as follows: *Nṛimedhas cha Paruchhepaś cha brahmavādyam avadetām "asmin dā.āv ārdre 'gniṁ janayāva yataro nau brahmīyān" iti | Nṛimedho 'bhyavadat sa dhūmam ajanayat | Paruchhepo 'bhyavadat so "gnim ajanayat | "ṛishe" ity abravīd "yat samāvadvidva kathā tvam agnim ajījano nāham" iti | "sāmidhenīnām eva ahaṁ varṇaṁ veda" ity abravīt | "yad ghṛitavat padam anūchyate sa āsāṁ varṇas 'taṁ tvā samidbhir Angiraḥ' ity āha sāmidheṅīshv eva taj jyotir janayati"* | "Nṛimedha and Paruchhepa had a discussion concerning sacred knowledge. They said, 'Let us kindle fire[1] in this moist wood, in order to see which of us has most sacred knowledge.' [2] Nṛimedha pronounced (a text); but produced only smoke. Paruchhepa pronounced (a text) and generated fire. Nṛimedha said, 'Rishi, since our knowledge is equal, how is it that thou hast generated fire, while I have not.' Paruchhepa replied, 'I know the lustre

[1] "Without friction."—Comm.

[2] "In regard to the Sāmidhenī formulas."—Comm.

bhūyāṁsam artham manyante yathā "aho darśanīya aho darśanīya" iti | tat Paruchchhepasya śīlam | "Men consider that by repetition the sense is intensified, as in the words 'o beautiful, o beautiful.' This is Paruchchhepa's habit."

In Nirukta, iii. 11, the rishi Kutsa is mentioned as being thus described by the interpreter Aupamanyava: *Ṛishiḥ Kutso bhavati karttā stomānām ity Aupamanyavaḥ* | "'Kutsa is the name of a rishi, a maker of hymns,' according to Aupamanyava."

So too the same work, x. 32, says of the rishi Hiraṇyastūpa that "he declared this hymn" (*Hiraṇyastūpaḥ ṛishir idaṁ sūktam provācha*).

I do not, as I have already intimated, adduce these passages of the Nirukta to show that the author regarded the hymns as the ordinary productions of the rishis' own minds, for this would be at variance with the expression "seeing," which he applies to the mental act by which they were produced. It appears also from the terms in which he speaks of the rishis in the passage (Nirukta, i. 20) quoted above, p. 120, where they are described as having an intuitive insight into duty, that he placed them on a far higher level than the inferior men of later ages. But it is clear from the instances I have adduced that Yāska recognizes the hymns as being applicable to the particular circumstances in which the rishis were placed, and as being the bonâ fide expression of their individual emotions and desires. (See also the passages from the Nirukta, ii. 10 and 24, quoted in Vol. I. pp. 269 and 338, which establish the same point.) But if this be true, the supposition that these hymns, *i.e.* hymns specifically suited to express the various feelings and wishes of all the different rishis, were eternally pre-existent, and were perceived by them at the precise conjunctures when they were required to give utterance to their several aims, is perfectly gratuitous and unnecessary. It might be asserted with nearly the same shew of reason that the entire stock of ordinary language employed by human beings to express their ideas had existed from eternity.[183]

of the Sāmidhenīs. The sentence which contains the word ghṛita (butter) forms their lustre. When any one repeats the words, "We augment thee, o Angiras (Agni) with fuel and with butter," he then generates that lustre in the Sāmidhenīs.'"

[183] A difficulty of the same nature as that here urged, viz. that men and objects which existed in time are mentioned in the Vedas which are yet said to be eternal, was felt by Jaimini, as we have already seen (pp. 77 ff.). I recur to this subject in p. 215.

In regard to the third argument for the authority of the Vedas, viz. that they are eternal, because the words of which they are composed are eternal, and because these words have an inherent and eternal (and not a merely conventional) connection with the significations or objects, or the species of objects, which they represent, it is to be observed that it is rejected both by the Nyāya and Sānkhya schools.[184] And I am unable (if I rightly comprehend this orthodox reasoning) to see how it proves the authority of the Véda more than that of any other book. If the words of the Véda are eternal, so must those of the Bauddha books be eternal, and consequently, if eternal pre-existence is a proof of perfection, the infallibility of these heretical works must be as much proved by this argument as the divine origin of the Vedas, whose pretensions they reject and oppose. Or if the meaning is that the words of the Veda alone are eternal and infallible, this is an assumption which requires proof. If their reception by great rishis be alleged as evidence, it must be remarked that the authority of these rishis is itself a point which cannot be admitted until it has been established.

In regard to the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh of the arguments above stated, as put forward by the representatives of different schools or opinions in favour of the authority of the Veda, it may suffice to say that they for the most part assume the point to be proved, viz. that the Veda did proceed from an omniscient, or at least a competent, author. The only exception to this remark is to be found in the reasoning of the Nyāya and Sānkhya aphorisms that the infallibility of the Vedas is shown by the fact that the employment of the formulas or prescriptions of those parts of them which deal with temporal results, such as can be tested by experience, is always found to be efficacious; a premiss from which the conclusion is drawn that those other parts of the Veda, which relate to the unseen world, must be equally authoritative, as the authors of these different parts are the same persons. This argument cannot appear convincing to any but those who admit first, the invariable efficacy of all the formulas and prescriptions

See, however, the comment on Brahma Sūtra, i. 3, 30, regarding the perpetual recurrence of the same things in successive creations from, and to, all eternity, which will be quoted in the Appendix.

[184] See Dr. Ballantyne's remarks on this controversy, in pp. 186, 189, 191, and 192 of his "Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy."

of the Veda which relate to such matters as can be tested by experience, and secondly, the identity of the authors of the parts of the Veda which contain these formulas and prescriptions with the authors of the other parts. It would be impossible to prove the former point, and next to impossible to prove the latter.

Against the eternity of the Vedas an objection has been raised, which Jaimini considers it necessary to notice, viz. that various historical personages are named in their pages, and that as these works could not have existed before the persons whose doings they record, they must have commenced to exist in time. This difficulty Jaimini attempts, as we have seen above (pp. 77 ff.), to meet by explaining away the names of the historical personages in question. Thus Babara Prāvahaṇi is said to be nothing else than an appellation of the wind, which is eternal. And this method, it is said, is to be applied in all similar cases. Another of the passages mentioned by an objector (see above, p. 79) as referring to non-eternal objects is R.V. iii. 53, 14, "What are the cows doing for thee among the Kīkaṭas?" etc. The author of the Mīmānsā Sūtras would no doubt have attempted to show that by these Kīkaṭas we are to understand some eternally pre-existing beings. But Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, who had not been instructed in any any such subleties, speaks of the Kīkaṭas as a non-Āryan nation. (Vol. I. p. 342, and Vol. II. p. 362.) It is difficult to suppose that Jaimini—unless he was an enthusiast, and not the cool and acute reasoner he has commonly proved himself to be—could have seriously imagined that his rule of interpretation could ever be generally received or carried out.[185] The Brāhmaṇas evidently intend to represent the numerous occurrences which they narrate, as having actually taken place in time, and the actors in them as having been real historical personages. See, for instance, the legends from the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas, the Taittarīya Sanhitā, etc., quoted in the First

[185] In Sāyaṇa's Introduction to R.V. vol. i. p. 23, it is said: *Manushya-vṛittānta-pratipādakaḥ ṛicho nārāśaṁsyaḥ* | "The Nārāśaṁsīs are verses which set forth the histories of men." Yāska's definition is the same in substance, Nir. ix. 9. If these Nārāśaṁsīs are, as Sāyaṇa says, verses of the hymns (*ṛichaḥ*), and if according to his definition their object is to record events in human history, it follows that they must refer to non-eternal objects. See also the explanation of the words *nārāsaṁśena stomena* in Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 3, 53, given by the Commentator Mahīdhara, which will be quoted further on.

Volume of this work, pp. 182, 192, 194, 328, 355, etc. And it is impossible to peruse the Vedic hymns without coming to the conclusion that they also record a multitude of events, which the writers believed to have been transacted by men on earth in former ages. (See the passages quoted from the Rig-veda in the First and Second Volumes of this work, passim; those, for example, in Vol. I. pp. 162 ff., 318 ff., 339 ff., and Vol. II. p. 208.)

We shall, no doubt, be assisted in arriving at a correct conclusion in regard to the real origin and character of the hymns of the Veda, if we enquire what opinion the rishis, by whom they were confessedly spoken, entertained of their own utterances; and this I propose to investigate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

THE RISHIS, AND THEIR OPINIONS IN REGARD TO THE ORIGIN OF THE VEDIC HYMNS.

I HAVE already shewn, in the preceding pages, as well as in the Second Volume of this work, that the hymns of the Rig-veda themselves supply us with numerous data by which we can judge of the circumstances to which they owed their origin, and of the manner in which they were created. We have seen that they were the natural product and expression of the particular state of society, of the peculiar religious conceptions, and of all those other influences, physical and moral, which prevailed at the period when they were composed, and acted upon the minds of their authors. (Vol. I. pp. 161 f., Vol. II. pp. 205 ff.; and above, pp. 211 f.) We find in them ideas, a language, a spirit, and a colouring totally different from those which characterize the religious writings of the Hindus of a later era. They frequently discover to us the simple germs from which the mythological conceptions current in subsequent ages were derived,—germs which in many cases were developed in so fanciful and extravagant a manner as to shew that the simplicity of ancient times had long since disappeared, to make way for a rank and wild luxuriance of imagination. They afford us very distinct indications of the locality in which they were composed (Vol. II. Pp. 354–372); they shew us the Aryan tribes living in a state of warfare with surrounding enemies (some of them, probably, alien in race and language), and gradually, as we may infer, forcing their way onward to the east and south (Vol. II. pp. 374 ff., 384 ff., 414 ff.); they supply us with numerous specimens of the particular sorts of prayers, viz. for protection and victory, which men so circumstanced would naturally address to the gods whom they worshipped, as well as of those

more common supplications which men in general offer up for the various blessings which constitute the sum of human welfare; and they bring before us as the objects of existing veneration a class of deities (principally, if not exclusively, personifications of the elements, and of the powers either of nature, or of reason) who gradually lost their importance in the estimation of the later Indians, and made way for gods of a different description, invested with new attributes, and in many cases bearing new appellations.

These peculiarities of the hymns abundantly justify us in regarding them as the natural product and spontaneous representation of the ideas, feelings, and aspirations of the bards with whose names they are connected, or of other ancient authors, while the archaic forms of the dialect in which they are composed, and the references which are made to them, as pre-existent, in the liturgical works by which they are expounded and applied, leave no reason for doubt that they are the most ancient of all the Indian Scriptures.

We can also, as I have shewn, discover from the Vedic hymns themselves, that some of them were newer and others older, that they were the works of many successive generations of poets, that their composition probably extended over several centuries, and that in some places their authors represent them as being the productions of their own minds, while in other passages they appear to ascribe to their own words a certain divine character, or attribute their composition to some supernatural assistance. (Vol. I. p. 4, and II. pp. 206 ff., 219 ff.)

I shall now proceed to adduce further proofs from the hymns of the Rig-veda in support of these last mentioned positions, repeating, at the same time, for the sake of completeness, the texts which I have already cited in the Second Volume.

Sect. I.—*Passages from the Hymns of the Veda which distinguish between the Rishis as Ancient and Modern.*

The appellations or epithets applied by the authors of the hymns to themselves, and to the sages who in former times had instituted, as well as to their contemporaries who continued to conduct, the different rites of divine worship, are the following: *ṛishi*, *kavi*, *medhāvin*, *vipra*,

vipaśchit, vedhas, muni, etc. The rishis are defined in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, to be persons "who, whether singly or in chorus, either on their own behalf or on behalf of others, invoked the gods in artificial language, and in song;", and the word is said to denote especially "the priestly bards who made this art their profession." The word *kavi* means "wise," or "a poet," and has ordinarily the latter sense in modern Sanskrit. *Kṛipra* means "wise," and, in later Sanskrit, a "Brāhman;" *medhāvin* means "intelligent;" *vipaśchit* and *vedhas*, "wise" or "learned." *Muni* signifies in modern Sanskrit a "sage" or "devotee." It is not much used in the Rig-veda, but occurs in viii. 17, 13 (Vol. II. p. 397).

The following passages from the Rig-veda either expressly distinguish between contemporary rishis and those of a more ancient date, or, at any rate, make reference to the one or the other class. This recognition of a succession of rishis constitutes one of the historical elements in the Veda. It is an acknowledgment on the part of the rishis themselves that numerous persons had existed, and events occurred, anterior to their own age, and, consequently, in time; and it therefore refutes, by the testimony of the Veda itself, the assertion of Jaimini (above, pp. 77 ff.) that none but eternally pre-existing objects are mentioned in that book.

If, under this and other heads of my inquiry, I have cited a larger number of passages than might have appeared to be necessary, it has been done with the intention of showing that abundant evidence of my various positions can be adduced from all parts of the Hymn-collection.[1]

R. V. i. 1, 2. *Agniḥ pūrvebhir ṛishibhir īḍyo nūtanair uta | sa devān eha vakshati |*

"Agni, who is worthy to be celebrated by former, as well as modern rishis, will bring the gods hither."

The word *pūrvebhiḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa thus: *Purātanair Bhṛigv-angiraḥ-prabhṛitibhir ṛishibhiḥ |* "By the ancient rishis, Bhṛigu, Angiras," etc.; and *nūtanaiḥ* is interpreted by *idānīntanair asmābhir api*, "by us of the present day also." See also Nirukta, vii. 16.

[1] I have to acknowledge the assistance kindly rendered to me by Prof. Aufrecht in the revision of my translation of the passages quoted in this and the following sections. As, however, the texts are mostly quite clear in so far as regards the points which they are adduced to prove, any inaccuracies with which I may be chargeable in other respects are of comparatively little importance.

i. 45, 3. *Priyamedha-vad Atri-vaj Jātavedo Virūpa-vat | Angiras-vad mahi-vrata Praskaṇvasya śrudhi havam | 4. Mahi-kerṇvaḥ ūtaye Priyamedhāḥ ahūshata |*

"O (god) of great power, listen to the invocation of Praskaṇva, as thou didst listen to Priyamedha, Atri, Virūpa, and Angiras. 4. The Priyamedhas, skilled in singing praises, have invoked thee."

Here Praskaṇva is referred to, in verse 3, as alive, whilst Priyamedha, Atri, Virūpa, and Angiras belong to the past. In verse 4 the descendants of Priyamedha are however alluded to as existing. The three other names are also, no doubt, those of families. In R.V. iii. 53, 7, (see Vol. I. p. 341) the Virūpas appear to be referred to; while in viii. 64, 6 (which will be quoted below), a Virūpa is addressed. In v. 22, 4, the Atris are spoken of.

i. 48, 14. *Ye chid hi tvām ṛishayaḥ pūrve ūtaye juhūre ityādi |*

"The former rishis who invoked thee for succour," etc.

i. 80, 16. *Yām Atharvā Manush pitā Dadhyaṅ dhiyam atnata | tasmin brahmāṇi pūrvathā Indre ukthā samagmata ityādi |*

"In the ceremony [or hymn] which Atharvan, or our father Manu, or Dadhyanch performed, the prayers and praises were, as of old, congregated in that Indra," etc.

i. 118, 3 (repeated in iii. 58, 3). *Āhur viprāsaḥ Aśvinā purājaḥ |*

"O Aśvins, the ancient sages say," etc.

i. 131, 6. *Ā me asya vedhaso navīyaso manma śrudhi navīyasaḥ |*

"Hear the hymn of me this modern sage, of this modern [sage]."

i. 139, 9. *Dadhyaṅ ha me janusham pūrvo Angirāḥ Priyamedhaḥ Kaṇvo Atrir Manur vidur ityādi |*

"The ancient Dadhyanch, Aṅgiras, Priyamedha, Kaṇva, Atri, and Manu know my birth."

i. 175, 6. *Yathā pūrvebhyo jaritṛibhyaḥ Indra mayaḥ iva āpo na tṛishyate babhūtha | Tām anu tvā nividaṁ johāvīmi ityādi |*

"Indra, as thou hast been like a joy to former worshippers who praised thee, like waters to the thirsty, I invoke thee again and again with this hymn," etc.

iv. 20, 5. *Vi yo rarapśe ṛishibhir navebhir vṛiksho na pakvaḥ sṛinyo na jetā | maryo na yoshām abhi manyamāno achhā vivakmi puruhūtam Indram |*

"Like a man desiring a woman, I call hither that Indra, invoked by

many, who, like a ripe tree, like a conqueror expert in arms,[2] has been celebrated by recent rishis."

iv. 50, 1. *Tam pratnāsaḥ ṛishayo dīdhyānāḥ puro viprāḥ dadhire mandra-jihvam* |

"The ancient rishis, resplendent and sage, have placed in front of them [Bṛihaspati] with gladdening tongue."

v. 42, 6. . . . . *Nu te pūrve Maghavan na aparāso na vīryaṁ nūtanaḥ kaśchana āpa* |

"Neither the ancients nor later men, nor any modern man, has attained to [conceived] thy prowess, o Maghavan."

x. 54, 3. *Ke u nu te mahimanaḥ samasya asmat pūrve ṛishayo antam āpuḥ* | *yad mātaraṁ cha pitaraṁ cha sākam ajanayathās tanvāḥ svāyāḥ* |

"Who among the rishis who were before us have attained to the end of all thy greatness? for thou didst at once produce from thy own body both the mother and the father (earth and heaven)."

vi. 19, 4. *Yathā chit pūrve jaritāraḥ āsur anedyāḥ anavadyāḥ arishṭāḥ* |

"As [Indra's] former worshippers were, [may we be] blameless, irreproachable, and unharmed."

vi. 21, 5. *Idā hi te vevishataḥ purājāḥ pratnāsaḥ āsuḥ purukṛit sakhāyaḥ* | *Ye madhyamāsaḥ uta nūtanāsaḥ utāvamasya puruhūta bodhi* |

"For now, o energetic god, men are thy worshippers, as the ancients born of old and the men of the middle and later ages have been thy friends. And, o much-invoked, think of the most recent of all."[3]

vi. 21, 1. *Sa tu śrudhi Indra nūtanasya brahmaṇyato vīra kārudhāyaḥ* |

"Heroic Indra, supporting the poet, listen to the modern [bard] who wishes to celebrate thee."

vi. 22, 2. *Tam u naḥ pūrve pitaro navagvāḥ sapta viprāsaḥ abhi vājayantaḥ ityādi* |

"To Him (Indra) our ancient fathers, the seven Navagva sages, desiring food, (resorted) with their hymns," etc.

vi. 50, 15. *Evā napāto mama tasya dhībhir Bharadvājāḥ abhyarchanti arkaiḥ* |

"Thus do the Bharadvājas my grandsons adore thee with (my?) hymns and praises."

[2] Prof. Aufrecht thinks *śṛiṇyo na jetā* may perhaps mean, "like a winner of sickles (as a prize)."

[3] This verse is translated in Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 76, col. i.

vii. 18, 1. *Tve ha yat pitaraś chid naḥ Indra viśvā vāmā jaritāro asanvann ityādi* |

"Since, in thee, o Indra, even our fathers, thy worshippers, obtained all riches," etc.

vii. 29, 4. *Uto gha te purushyāḥ id āsan yeshām pūrveshām aśriṉor ṛishīṉām* | *adha ahaṁ tvā Maghavaṉ johavīmi tvaṁ naḥ Indra asi pramatiḥ piteva* |

"Even they were of mortal birth,—those former rishis whom thou didst hear. I invoke thee again and again, o Maghavan; thou art to us wise as a father."

vii. 53, 1. . . . . *Te chid hi pūrve kavayo gṛiṉantaḥ puro mahī dadhire devaputre* |

"The ancient poets, celebrating their praises, have placed in the front these two great [beings, heaven and earth] of whom the gods are the children."

vii. 76, 4. *Te id devānāṁ sadhamādaḥ āsann ṛitāvānaḥ kavayaḥ pūrvyāsaḥ* | *gūḷhaṁ jyotiḥ pitaro anvavindan satya-mantrāḥ ajanayann ushāsam* |

"They shared in the enjoyments of the gods, those ancient pious sages. Our fathers discovered the hidden light; with true hymns they caused the dawn to arise."

vii. 91, 1. *Kuvid anga namasā ye vṛidhāsaḥ purā devāḥ anavadyāsaḥ āsan* | *te Vāyave Manave bādhitāya avāsayann*[4] *ushasaṁ sūryeṉa* |

"Certainly those gods who were formerly magnified (or grew) by worship were altogether blameless. They lighted up the dawn and the sun to Vāyu (Āyu?) and the afflicted Manu." (See Vol. I. p. 172.)

viii. 36, 7. *Śyāvāśvasya sunvatas tathā śṛiṉu yathā aśriṉor Atreḥ karmāṉi kṛiṉvataḥ* |

"Listen to Śyāvāśva pouring forth libations, in the same way as thou didst listen to Atri when he celebrated sacred rites."[5]

ix. 96, 11. *Tvayā hi naḥ pitaraḥ Soma pūrve karmāṉi chakruḥ pavamāna dhīrāḥ* |

"For through thee, o pure Soma, our wise forefathers of old performed their sacred rites."

[4] See Benfey's Glossary to Sāma-veda, under the word *vas* 2.

[5] Compare viii. 35, 19; and viii. 37, 7.

ix. 110, 7. *Tve Soma prathamāḥ vṛikta-varhisho mahe vājāya śravase dhiyaṁ dadhuḥ* |

"The former [priests] having strewed the sacred grass, offered up a hymn to thee, o Soma, for great strength and food."

x. 14, 15 (=A.V. xviii. 2, 2). *Idaṁ namaḥ ṛishibhyaḥ pūrvajebhyaḥ pathikṛidbhyaḥ* |

"This reverence to the rishis, born of old, the ancients, who showed us the road." (This verse may also be employed to prove that at the end of the Vedic period the rishis had become objects of veneration.)

x. 66, 14. *Vasishṭhāsaḥ pitṛivad vācham akrata devān ilānāḥ ṛishivad* | *ityādi* |

"The Vasishṭhas, like the forefathers, like the rishis, have uttered their voice, worshipping the gods."

x. 67, 1—will be quoted in a following section.

x. 96, 5. *Tvam aharyathāḥ upastutaḥ pūrvebhir Indra harikeśa yajvabhiḥ* |

"Indra, with golden hair, thou didst rejoice, when lauded by the ancient priests."

x. 98, 9. *Tvām pūrve ṛishayo gīrbhir āyan tvām adhvareshu puruhūta viśve* |

"To thee the former rishis resorted with their hymns; to thee, thou much invoked, all men [resorted] at the sacrifices."

Vājasaneyi Saṅhitā, xviii. 52. *Imau te pakshāv ajarau patatriṇau yābhyaṁ rakshāṁsi apahaṁsi Agne* | *tābhyām patema sukṛitām u lokaṁ yatra ṛishayo jagmuḥ prathamajāḥ purāṇāḥ* |

"But these undecaying, soaring pinions, with which, o Agni, thou slayest the Rakshases,—with them let us ascend to the world of the righteous, whither the earliest-born ancient rishis have gone." (This verse is quoted in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 4, 4, 4, p. 739.)

The ancient rishis, as Sāyaṇa says in his note on R.V. i. 2, were Bhṛigu, Angiras, and others whom he does not name. In another place we find Atharvan, Manu, Dadhyanch, and others mentioned. I will not here enter into any particulars regarding these ancient sages. For some texts relating to Bhṛigu, I may refer to the First Volume of this work, pp. 443 ff.; and various passages relating to Manu will be found in the same volume pp. 162 ff., and in pp. 324–332 of the Second Volume. In regard to Atharvan, as well as Angiras, Professor Gold-

stücker's Sanskrit and English Dictionary, and in regard to the same personages and Dadhyanch, the Sanskrit and German Lexicon of Boehtlingk and Roth, may be consulted.

SECT. II.—*Passages from the Veda in which a distinction is drawn between the older and the more recent hymns.*

From the passages which I propose to bring forward in the present section, it will be found that the hymns which the rishis addressed to the gods are frequently spoken of as new, while others of ancient date are also sometimes mentioned. The rishis no doubt entertained the idea that the gods would be more highly gratified if their praises were celebrated in new, and perhaps more elaborate and beautiful compositions, than if older, and possibly ruder, prayers had been repeated.

The fact that a hymn is called new by its author, does not, however, by any means enable us to determine its age relatively to that of other hymns in the collection, for this epithet of new is, as we shall see, applied to numerous compositions throughout the Veda; and often when a hymn is not designated as new, it may, nevertheless, be in reality of recent date, compared with the others by which it is surrounded. When, however, any rishi characterizes his own effusion as new, we are of course necessarily led to conclude that he was acquainted with many older songs of the same kind. The relative ages of the different hymns can only be settled by means of internal evidence furnished by their dialect, style, metre, ideas, and general contents; and we may, no doubt, hope that much will by degrees be done by the researches of critical scholars towards such a chronological classification of the constituent portions of the Rig-veda.

The hymns, praises, or prayers uttered by the rishis are called by a great variety of names, such as *ṛich*, *sāman*, *yajush*, *brahman*, *arka*, *uktha*, *mantra*, *manman*, *mati*, *manīshā*, *sumati*, *dhī*, *dhīti*, *dhishaṇā*, *stoma*, *stuti*, *sushṭuti*, *praśasti*, *śaṁsa*, *gir*, *vāch*, *vachas*, *nītha*, *nivid*, etc.

R.V. i. 12, 11. *Sā naḥ stavānaḥ ābhara gāyatreṇa navīyasā | rayiṁ vīravatīm ishaṁ |*

"Glorified by our newest[6] hymn, do thou bring to us wealth and food with progeny." (Sāyaṇa explains *navīyasā* by *pūrvakair apy asampāditena gāyatreṇa* | "A hymn not formed even by former rishis.")

[6] Compare Psalms, 33, 3; 40, 3; 96, 1; 98, 1; 144, 9; 149, 1; and Isaiah, 42, 10.

i. 27, 4. *Imam ū shu tvam asmākaṁ saniṁ gāyatraṁ navyāṁsam | Agne deveshu právochaḥ |*

"Agni, thou hast announced [or do thou announce] among the gods this our offering, our newest hymn."

i. 60, 3. *Taṁ navyasī hṛidaḥ ā jāyamānam asmat sukīrttir madhujihvam aśyāḥ | yam ṛitvijo vṛijane mānushāsaḥ prayasvantaḥ āyavo jījananta |*

"May our newest laudation (springing) from (our) heart, reach him, the sweet-tongued, at his birth, (him) whom mortal priests the descendants of Manu, offering oblations, have generated in the ceremonial." (See iii. 39, 1, in next page, and i. 171, 2 and ii. 35, 2, which will be quoted further on in the next section).

i. 89, 3. *Tān pūrvayā nividā hūmahe vayam Bhagam Mitram Aditiṁ Daksham Asridham ityādi |*

"We invoke with an ancient hymn Bhaga, Mitra, Aditi, Daksha, Asridh [or the friendly]," etc. (*Pūrvakālīnayā | nityayā | nividā | vedātmikayā vāchā* | "With an ancient—eternal, hymn—a Vedic text."—Sāyaṇa.)

i. 96, 2. *Sa pūrvayā nividā kavyatā Āyor imāḥ prajāḥ ajanayad manūnām |*

"Through the ancient hymn, the poetic work, of Āyu he (Agni) generated these children of men." [7]

i. 130, 10. *Sa no navyebhir vṛisha-karmann ukthais purāṁ darttaḥ pāyubhiḥ pāhi śagmaiḥ |*

"Through our new hymns, do thou, vigorous in action, destroyer of cities, sustain us with invigorating blessings."

i. 143, 1. *Pra tavyasīṁ navyasīṁ dhītiṁ Agnaye vācho matiṁ sahasaḥ sūnave bharā |*

"I bring to Agni, the son of strength, a new and energetic hymn, a production of thought uttered by the voice (*vāchaḥ*)."

ii. 17, 1. *Tad asmai navyam Angiras-vad archata ityādi |*

"Utter to him [Indra] that new [hymn] like Angiras." ("New, *i.e.* never before seen among other people" *anyeshv adṛishṭa-pūrvam*—Sāyaṇa.)

ii. 18, 3. *Harī nu kaṁ rathe Indrasya yojam āyai sūktena vachasā navena | mo shu tvām atra bahavo hi viprāḥ ni ṛīraman yajamānāso anye |*

[7] See the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, p. 143 of Prof. Haug's translation; and Vol. I. p. 180.

"With this new and well-expressed hymn I have yoked[8] the steeds in Indra's car, in order that he may come hither. Let not the other wise sacrificers, who are numerous, stop thee (from coming to me)."

ii. 24, 1. *Sa imām aviḍḍhi prabhṛitiṁ yaḥ śśishe | ayā vīḍhema navayā mahā girā |*

"Do thou who rulest receive this, our offering [of praise]: let us worship thee with this new and grand song."

iii. 1, 20. *Etā te Agne janimā sanāni pra pūrvyāya nūtanāni vocham |*

"These ancient [and these] new productions I have uttered to thee, Agni, who art ancient." (Comp. R.V. viii. 84, 5, in the next section.)

iii. 32, 13. *Yaḥ stomebhir vāvṛidhe pūrvyebhir yo madhyamebhir uta nūtanebhiḥ |*

"[Indra] who has grown through (or been magnified by) ancient, intermediate, and modern hymns."

iii. 39, 1. *Indram matir hṛidaḥ ā vachyamānā achhā patiṁ stomatashṭā jigāti | ā jāgṛivir vidathe śasyamānā Indra yat te jāyate viddhi tasya | 2. Divaś chid ā pūrvyā jāyamānā vi jāgṛivir vidathe śasyamānā | bhadrā vastrāṇi arjunā vasānā sā iyam asme sanajā pitryā dhīḥ |*

"1. The vigilant hymn, formed of praise, and uttered from the heart, proceeds to Indra the lord, when chaunted at the sacrifice: be cognizant, Indra, of this [praise] which is produced for thee. 2. Produced even before the daylight, vigilant, chaunted at the sacrifice, clothed in beautiful and radiant garments,—this is our ancient ancestral hymn." (*Pitryā* is rendered by Sāyaṇa as *pitṛi-kramāgatā*, "received by succession from our fathers.")

iii. 62, 7. *Iyaṁ te Pūshann āghṛiṇe sushṭutir deva navyasī | asmābhis tubhyaṁ śasyate |*

"Divine and glowing Pūshan, this new laudation is recited by us to thee."

v. 42, 13. *Pra sū mahe suśaraṇāya medhāṁ giram bhare navyasīṁ jāyamānām |*

"I present to the mighty protector a mental production, a new utterance [now] springing up."

[8] Compare the expressions *vacho-yujā harī*, "brown horses yoked by the hymn (R.V. viii. 45, 39; viii. 87, 9); *brahma-yuj*, "yoked by prayer" (i. 177, 2; iii. 35, 4; viii. 1, 24; viii. 2, 27; viii. 17, 2); and *mano-yuj*, "yoked by the mind, or will" (i. 14, 6; i. 51, 10; iv. 48, 4; v. 75, 6; viii. 5, 2).

v. 55, 8. *Yat pūrvyam Maruto yach cha nūtanaṁ yad udyate Vasavo yach cha śasyate | viśvasya tasya bhavatha navedasaḥ* |

"Be cognizant of all that is ancient, Maruts, and of all that is modern, of all that is spoken, Vasus, and of all that is recited."

vi. 17, 13. . . . . *Suvīraṁ tvā svāyudhaṁ suvajram ā brahma navyam avase vavṛityāt* |

"May the new prayer impel thee, the heroic, well-accoutred, the loud-thundering, to succour us." ("New, *i.e.* never made before by others' prayer, *i.e.* the hymn made by us" *Nūtanam anyair akṛita-pūrvam | brahma asmābhiḥ kṛitaṁ stotram*—Sāyaṇa.)

vi. 22, 7. *Taṁ vo dhiyā navyasyā śavishṭham pratnam pratna-vat paritaṁsayadhyai* |

"I seek, like the ancients, to stimulate thee, the ancient, with a new hymn."

vi. 34, 1. *Saṁ cha tve jagmur giraḥ Indra pūrvīr vi cha tvad yanti vibhvo manīshāḥ | purā nūnaṁ cha stutayaḥ ṛishīṇām paspṛidhre Indre adhi ukthārkāḥ* |

"Many songs, Indra, are collected in thee; numerous thoughts issue forth from thee; both before and now the praises, texts and hymns of rishis have hastened emulously to Indra."

vi. 44, 13. *Yaḥ pūrvyābhir uta nūtanābhir gīrbhir vāvṛidhe gṛiṇatām ṛishīnām* |

"He (Indra) who grew through the ancient and modern hymns of lauding rishis." (See R.V. iii. 32, 13, above p. 223.)

vi. 48, 11. *Ā sakhāyaḥ subardughāṁ dhenum ajadhvam upa navyasā vachaḥ* |[9]

"Friends, drive hither the milch cow with a new hymn."

vi. 49, 1. *Stushe janaṁ suvrataṁ navyasībhir gīrbhir Mitrāvaruṇā sumnayantā* |

"With new praises I celebrate the righteous race, with Mitra and Varuna, the beneficent." ("The well-acting race, *i.e.* the divine race, the company of the gods," *sukarmāṇaṁ janaṁ daivyaṁ janaṁ deva-sangham*—Sāyaṇa.)

vi. 50, 6. *Abhi tyaṁ vīraṁ girvaṇasam archa Indram brahmaṇā jaritar navena* |

"Sing, o worshipper, with a new hymn, to the heroic Indra, who delights in praise."

[9] Compare the words *ni Agne navyasā vachas tanūshu śaṁsam esham*, viii. 39, 2.

vi. 62, 4. *Tā navyaso jaramāṇasya manma upa bhūshato yuyujānasaptī ityādi* | 5. *Tā valgū dasrā puruśākatamā pratnā navyasā vachasā vivāse* |

"4. These (Aśvins), with yoked horses, approach the hymn of their new worshipper. . . . 5. I adore with a new hymn these brilliant, strong, most mighty, and ancient (gods)."

vii. 35, 14, will be quoted in the next section.

vii. 53, 2. *Pra pūrvaje pitarā navyasībhir gīrbhiḥ kṛiṇudhvaṁ sadane ṛitasya ityādi* |

"In the place of sacrifice propitiate with new hymns the ancient, the parents" (*i. e.* Heaven and Earth), etc.

vii. 56, 23. *Bhūri chakra Marutaḥ pitryāṇi vkthāni yā vaḥ śasyante purā chit* |

"Ye have done great things, o Maruts, when our fathers' hymns were recited of old in your honour."

vii. 59, 4. . . . . *abhi vaḥ āvartt sumatir navīyasī*[10] *tūyaṁ yāta pipīshavaḥ* |

"May the new hymn turn you hither; come quickly, desirous to drink."

vii. 61, 6. . . . . *Pra vām manmāni ṛichase navāni kṛitāni brahma jujushann imāni* |

"May the new hymns made to praise you, may these prayers gratify you."

vii. 93, 1. *S'uchiṁ nu stomaṁ nava-jātam adya Indrāgnī Vṛittra-hanā jushetham | ubhā hi vāṁ suhavā johavīmi ityādi* |

"Indra and Agni, slayers of Vṛittra, receive with favour the pure hymn newly produced to-day. For again and again do I invoke you who lend a willing ear," etc.

viii. 5, 24. *Tābhir āyātam ūtibhir navyasībhiḥ suśastibhiḥ yad vāṁ vṛishaṇvasū huve* |

"Come with those same succours, since I invoke you, bountiful [deities], with new praises." (The epithet *navyasībhiḥ* in this text might possibly be construed with the word *ūtibhiḥ*, "aids.")

viii. 6, 11. *Aham pratnena manmanā giraḥ śumbhāmi Kaṇva-vat | yena Indraḥ śushmam id dadhe* |

[10] The same words, *sumatiḥ navīyasī*, occur in viii. 92, 9, where they may not have the same sense as here.

"I decorate my praises with an ancient hymn, after the manner of Kaṇva, whereby Indra put on strength."

viii. 6, 43. *Imāṁ su pūrvyāṁ dhiyam madhor ghṛitasya pipyushīṁ Kaṇvāḥ ukthena vavṛidhuḥ* |

"The Kaṇvas with their praise have augmented this ancient hymn, replenished with sweet butter."

viii. 12, 10. *Iyáṁ te ṛitviyāvatī dhītir eti navīyasī saparyantī ityādi* |

"This new and solemn hymn advances to honour thee," etc.

viii. 20, 19. *Yūnaḥ ū su navishṭhayā vṛishṇaḥ pāvakān abhi Sobhare girā* | *gāya ityādi* |

"Sing, o Sobhari, with a new hymn to these youthful, vigorous, and brilliant (gods).

viii. 23, 14. *S'rushṭī Agne navasya me stomasya vīra viśpate vi māyinas tapushā rakshaso daha* |

"Heroic Agni, lord of the people, on hearing my new hymn, burn up with thy heat the deluding Rakshases."

viii. 25, 24. . . . . *Kaśāvantā viprā navishṭhayā matī* | *maho vājināv arvantā sachā asanam* |

"I have celebrated at the same time with a new hymn, these two sage and mighty [princes], strong, swift, and carrying whips."

viii. 39, 6. *Agnir veda marttānām apīchyam . . . . Agnir dvārā vyūrṇute svāhuto navīyasā* |

"Agni knows the secrets of mortals . . . . Agni, invoked by a new [hymn], opens the doors."

viii. 40, 12. *Eva Indrāgnibhyām pitṛi-vad navīyo Māndhātṛi-vad Angiras-vad avāchi ityādi* |

"Thus has a new [hymn] been uttered to Indra and Agni after the manner of our fathers, and of Māndhātṛi, and of Angiras."

viii. 41, 2. *Tam ū shu samanā girā pitṛīṇāṁ cha manmabhiḥ Nābhākasya praśastibhir yaḥ sindhūnām upa udaye saptá-svasā sa madhyamaḥ* |

"[Worship] him (Varuṇa) continually with a song, with the hymns of the fathers,[11] and with the praises of Nābhāka. He who dwells at the

[11] The expression here employed, *pitṛīṇāṁ cha manmabhiḥ*, occurs also in R.V. x. 57, 3 (=Vāj. S. 3, 53): *Mano nu ā huvāmahe nārāśaṁsena somena pitṛīṇāṁ cha manmabhiḥ* | "We summon his soul with Soma, accompanied by human praises, and with the hymns of the fathers." The Vājasaneyi Saṇhitā reads *stomena*, "hymn," instead of *somena*. The commentator there explains *nārāśaṁsena stomena* as "a hymn

birth-place of the streams, the lord of the seven sisters, abides in the centre." (This verse is quoted in the Nirukta x. 5. Nābhāka is said by Yāska to have been a rishi (*ṛishir Nābhāko babhūva*). A translation of the passage is given in Roth's Illustrations of the Nir. p. 235, where reference is also made to two verses of the preceding hymn (viii. 40, 4, 5), in which Nābhāka (the ancestor of Nābhāka) is mentioned thus: (verse 4) *Abhyarcha Nābhāka-vad Indrāgnī yajasā girā* . . . . (verse 5) *Pra brahmāṇi Nābhāka-vad Indrāgnibhyām irajyata* | "Worship Indra and Agni with sacrifice and hymn, like Nābhāka . . . . Like Nābhāka, direct your prayers to Indra and Agni." In explanation of the seven sisters, Roth refers to Nir. v. 27 (R.V. viii. 58, 12) where the seven rivers are mentioned. See his Illustrations of Nir. pp. 70, 71.

viii. 44, 12. *Agniḥ pratnena manmanā śumbhānas tanvaṁ svām kaviḥ vipreṇa vavṛidhe* |

"The wise Agni, illuminating his own body at [the sound of] the sage and ancient hymn, has become augmented."

viii. 55, 11. *Vayaṁ gha te apūrvyā Indra brahmāṇi vṛittrahan* | *purutamāsaḥ puruhūta vajrivo bhṛitiṁ na pra bharāmasi* |

"Indra, slayer of Vṛittra, thunderer, invoked of many, we [thy] numerous [worshippers] bring to thee, as thy hire, hymns which never before existed."

viii. 63, 7, 8. *Iyaṁ te navyasī matir Agne adhāyi asmad ā mandra sujāta sukrato amūra dasma atithe* | *sā te Agne śantamā chanishṭhā bhavatu priyā tayā vardhasva sushṭutaḥ* |

"O Agni, joyful, well-born, strong, unerring, and wondrous guest, this new hymn has been offered to (or, made for) thee by us; may it be dear to thee, agreeable and pleasant: lauded by it, do thou increase."

viii. 65, 5, 6. . . . . *Indraṁ gīrbhir havāmahe* | *Indram pratnena manmanā marutvantam hávāmahe ityādi* | 12. (=S.V. ii. 340.) *Vācham ashṭāpadīm aham nava-sraktim ṛita-spṛiśam* | *Indrāt pari tanvam mame* |

"5. We invoke Indra with songs; we invoke Indra, attended by the Maruts, with an ancient hymn. . . . 12. I compose for the sake of

in which men are praised," and *pitṝṇāṁ cha manmabhiḥ*, as hymns "in which the fathers are reverenced" (*pitaro yaiḥ stotrair manyante te manmānas tair ityādi*). See Prof. Max Müller's translation of this hymn in the Journal of Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, pp. 449 and 458.

Indra a hymn of eight feet and nine lines, abounding in sacred truth." (This verse is translated and explained by Professor Benfey, Sāma-veda, p. 255.)

ix. 9, 8. *Nu navyase navīyase sūktāya sādhaya pathaḥ | pratna-vad rochaya ruchaḥ |*

"Prepare (o Soma) the paths for our newest, most recent, hymn; and, as of old, cause the lights to shine."

ix. 42, 2. *Eshu pratnena manmanā devo devebhyaḥ pari | dhārayā pavate sutaḥ |*

"This god, poured forth to the gods, with an ancient hymn, purifies with his stream."

ix. 91, 5. *Sa pratna-vad navyase viśva-vāra sūktāya pathaḥ kṛiṇuhi prāchaḥ ityādi |*

"O god, who possessest all good, make, as of old, forward paths for this new hymn."

ix. 99, 4 (= S.V. ii. 983). *Taṁ gāthayā purānyā punānam abhi anūshata | uto kṛipanta dhītayo devānāṁ nāma bibhratīḥ |*

"They praised the pure god with an ancient song; and hymns embracing the names of the gods have supplicated him." (Benfey translates the last clause differently.)

x. 4, 6. . . . . *Iyaṁ te Agne navyasī manīshā yukshva rathaṁ na śuchayadbhir angaiḥ |*

"This is for thee, Agni, a new hymn: yoke thy car as it were with shining parts."

x. 89, 3. *Samānam asmai anapāvṛid archa kshmayā divo asamam brahma navyam ityādi |*

"Sing (to Indra) without ceasing a new hymn, worthy of him, and unequalled in earth or heaven."

x. 91, 13. *Imām pratnāya sushṭutiṁ navīyasīṁ vocheyam asmai uśate śṛiṇotu naḥ |*

"I will address to this ancient [deity] my new praises, which he desires; may he listen to us."

x. 96, 11. . . . . *Navyaṁ navyaṁ haryasi manma nu priyam ityādi |*

"Thou delightest in ever new hymns, which are dear to thee," etc.

x. 160, 5. *Aśvāyanto gavyanto vājayanto havāmahe tvā upa gantavai u | ābhūshantas te sumatau navāyāṁ vayam Indra tvā śunaṁ huvema |*

"Desiring horses, cattle, and wealth, we invoke thee to approach us.

Paying homage to thee in a new hymn, may we, o Indra, invoke thee auspiciously."

Sect. III.—*Passages of the Rig-veda, in which the rishis describe themselves as the composers of the hymns.*

In this section I propose to quote, first of all, those passages in which the rishis distinctly speak of themselves as the authors of the hymns, and express no consciousness whatever of deriving assistance or inspiration from any supernatural source. I shall then adduce some further texts in which, though nothing is directly stated regarding the composition of the hymns, there is at the same time nothing which would lead the reader to imagine that the rishis looked upon them as anything else than the offspring of their own minds.

I shall arrange the quotations in which the rishis distinctly claim the authorship, according to the particular verb which is employed to express this idea. These verbs are (1) *kṛi*, "to make," (2) *taksh* (= the Greek τεκταίνομαι), "to fabricate," and (3) *jan*, "to beget, generate, or produce," with others which are less explicit.

I. I adduce first the passages in which (1) the verb *kṛi*, "to make," is applied to the composition of the hymns. (Compare R.V. vii. 61, 6, already quoted in the last section.)

R.V. i. 20, 1. *Ayaṁ devāya janmane stomo viprebhir āsayā*[12] | *akāri ratna-dhātamaḥ* |

"This hymn, conferring wealth, has been *made* to the divine race, by the sages, with their mouth [or in presence of the gods]."

i. 31, 18. *Etena Agne brahmaṇā vāvṛidhasva śaktī vā yat te chakṛima vidā vā* |

"Grow, o Agni, by this prayer which we have *made* to thee according to our power, or our knowledge."

i. 47, 2. . . . . *Kaṇvāso vām brahma kriṇvanti adhvare teshāṁ su śṛiṇutaṁ havam* |

"The Kaṇvas make a prayer to you: hear well their invocation."

i. 61, 16. *Evā te hariyojanā suvṛikti Indra brahmāṇi Gotamāsaḥ akran* |

"Thus, o Indra, yoker of steeds, have the Gotamas *made* hymns for thee efficaciously."

[12] See the note on vi. 32, 1, below.

i. 117, 25. *Etāni vām Aśvinā vīryāṇi pra pūrvyāṇi āyavaḥ avochan | brahma kṛiṇvanto*[13] *vṛishaṇā yuvabhyāṁ suvīrāso vidatham ā vadema |*

"These, your ancient exploits, o Aśvins, men have declared. Let us, who are strong in bold men, *making* a hymn for you, o vigorous gods, utter our offering of praise."

i. 184, 5. *Eshā vām stomo Aśvināv akāri mānebhir maghavānā suvṛikti |*

"This hymn has efficaciously been *made* to you, o opulent Aśvins, by the Mānas. (Comp. i. 169, 8; 171, 5; 182, 8; 184, 3.)

ii. 39, 8. *Etāni vām Aśvinā vardhanāni brahma stomaṁ Gṛitsamadāsaḥ akran |*

"These magnifying prayers, [this] hymn, o Aśvins, the Gṛitsamadas have *made* for you."

iii. 30, 20. *Svaryavo matibhis tubhyaṁ viprāḥ Indrāya vāhaḥ Kuśikāsaḥ akran |*

"Aspiring to heaven, the sage Kuśikas have *made* a hymn with praises to thee, o Indra." (The word *vāhaḥ* is stated by Sāyaṇa to be = *stotra*, "a hymn.")

iv. 6, 11. *Akāri brahma samidhāna tubhyaṁ ityādi |*

"O kindled [Agni], a prayer has been *made* to thee."

iv. 16, 20. *Eved Indrāya vṛishabhāya vṛishṇe brahma akarma Bhṛiyavo na ratham | . . . . 21. Akāri te harivo brahma navyaṁ dhiyā syāma rathyaḥ sadāsāḥ |*

"Thus have we *made* a prayer for Indra, the productive, the vigorous, as the Bhṛigus [fashioned] a car. . . . . 21. A *new* prayer has been *made* for thee, o lord of steeds. May we, through our hymn (or rite), become possessed of chariots and perpetual wealth."

vi. 52, 2. *Ati vā yo maruto manyate no brahma vā yaḥ kriyamāṇaṁ ninitsāt | tapūṁshi tasmai vṛijināni santu brahma-dvisham abhi taṁ śochatu dyauḥ |*

"Whoever, o Maruts, regards himself as superior to us, or reviles the prayer which is being *made*, may burning injuries be his lot; may the sky scorch the enemy of prayer.[14]

[13] The reader will find Prof. Haug's opinion of the sense of this phrase in p. 11 f. of his German dissertation "on the original signification of the word *brahma*," of which the author has been kind enough to send me a copy, which has reached me as this sheet is passing through the press. Prof. Haug mentions R.V. i. 88, 4; vii. 103, 8, as passages (additional to those I have given) in which the expression occurs.

[14] Translated by Prof. Haug in the Dissertation above referred to, p. 6.

vii. 35, 14. *Ādityāḥ Rudrāḥ Vasavo jushanta* (the Atharva-veda has *jushantām*) *idam brahma kriyamāṇaṁ navīyaḥ | śṛiṇvantu no divyāḥ pārthivāso gojātāḥ ityādi |*

"The Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus receive with pleasure this new prayer which is being *made*. May the gods of the air, the earth, and the sky hear us."

vii. 37, 4. *Vayaṁ nu te dāśvāṁsaḥ syāma brahma kṛiṇvantaḥ ityādi |*

"Let us offer oblations to thee, *making* prayers," etc.

vii. 97, 9. *Iyaṁ vām Brahmaṇaspate suvṛiktir brahma Indrāya vajriṇe akāri |*

"Brahmaṇaspati, this efficacious hymn, [this] prayer has been *made* for thee, and for Indra, the thunderer."

viii. 51, 4. *Āyāhi kṛiṇavāma te Indra brahmāṇi varddhanā ityādi |*

"Come, Indra, let us *make* prayers, which magnify thee," etc.

viii. 79, 3. *Brahma te Indra girvaṇaḥ kriyante anatidbhutā | imā jushasva haryaśva yojanā yā te amanmahi |*

"Unequalled prayers are made for thee Indra, who lovest hymns. Receive favourably, lord of the brown steeds, those which we have thought out for thee, to yoke thy horses."

x. 54, 6. . . . . *Adha priyam śūsham Indrāya manma brahmakṛito*[15] *Vṛihadukthād avāchi |*

". . An acceptable and powerful hymn has been uttered to Indra by Vṛihaduktha, *maker* of prayers."[16]

x. 101, 2. *Mandrā kṛiṇudhvaṁ dhiyaḥ ā tanudhvaṁ nāvam aritraparaṇīṁ kṛiṇudhvam |*

"*Make* pleasant (hymns), prepare prayers, make a ship propelled by oars."

It is possible that in many of these passages the verb *kṛi* may have merely the signification which the word *make* has in English when we speak of "making supplications," etc., in which case it of course means to *offer up*, rather than to *compose*. But this cannot be the case in such passages as R.V. iv. 16, 20 (p. 233), where the rishi speaks of making

[15] Compare *ṛishayo mantṛakṛito manīshiṇaḥ* in Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 8, 8, 5; and R.V. ix. 114, 2: *Ṛishe mantra-kṛitāṁ stomaiḥ Kaśyapodvardhayam giraḥ | somaṁ namasya rājanaṁ yo jajne vīrudhām patiḥ |* "Ṛishi Kaśyapa, augmenting thy words with the praises of the makers of hymns, reverence King Soma, who was born the lord of plants."

[16] Prof. Haug thinks the word *brahma-kṛit* here refers to hymns, and mentions other passages in which it occurs: see p. 12 of the Dissertation above referred to.

the hymn as the Bhṛigus made a chariot.[17] And such an interpretation would be altogether inadmissible in the case of the texts which I next proceed to cite.

II. Passages in which the word *taksh*, "to fashion, or fabricate," is applied to the composition of the hymns.

i. 62, 13. *Sanāyate Gotamaḥ Indra navyam atakshad brahma hariyojanāya ityādi* |

"Nodhas, descendant of Gotama, *fashioned* this new hymn for [thee], Indra, who art of old, and who yokest thy steeds," etc.

i. 130, 6. *Imāṁ te vāchaṁ vasuyantaḥ āyavo rathaṁ na dhīraḥ svapāḥ atakshishuḥ sumnāya tvām atakshishuḥ* |

"Desiring wealth, men have *fashioned* for thee this hymn, as a skilful workman [fabricates] a car; and thus they have disposed (*lit.* fashioned) thee to (confer) happiness."

i. 171, 2. *Esha vaḥ stomo Maruto namasvān hṛidā tashṭo manasā dhāyi devāḥ* |

"This reverential hymn, o divine Maruts, *fashioned* by the heart, has been presented [or, made] by the mind. [According to Sāyaṇa, the last words mean, 'let it be received by you with a favourable mind']."

ii. 19, 8. *Evā te Gṛitsamadāḥ śūra manma avasyavo na vayunāni takshuḥ* |

"Thus, o hero, have the Gṛitsamadas, desiring succour, *fashioned* for thee a hymn, as men make works." (Sāyaṇa explains *vayuna* by "road.")

ii. 35, 2. *Imaṁ su asmai hridaḥ ā sutashṭam mantraṁ vochema kuvid asya vedat* |

"Let us address to him this *well-fashioned* hymn proceeding from the heart; will he not be aware of it?"

v. 2, 11. *Etaṁ te stomaṁ tuvi-jāta vipro rathaṁ na dhīraḥ svapāḥ atakshaṁ* |

"I, a sage, have *fabricated* this hymn for thee, o powerful [deity], as a skilful workman fashions a car."

v. 29, 15. *Indra brahma kriyamāṇā jushaṣva yā te śavishṭha navyā akarma | vastreva bhadrā sukṛitā vasūyuḥ rathaṁ na dhīraḥ svapāḥ atakshaṁ* |

[17] See also v. 29, 15, and x. 39, 14, which will be quoted a little further on; and in which the verbs *kṛi* and *taksh* are both employed.

"O mighty Indra, regard with favour the prayers which are *made*, the new [prayers] which we have *made* for thee. Desirous of wealth, I have *fabricated* them like beautiful well-fashioned garments, as a skilful workman [constructs] a car." (Compare R.V. iii. 39, 2; above, p. 226.)

v. 73, 10. *Imā brahmāṇi vardhanā Aśvibhyāṁ santu śantamā | yā takshāma rathān iva avochāma bṛihad namaḥ |*

"May these magnifying prayers which we have *fashioned*, like cars, be pleasing to the Aśvins: we have uttered great adoration."

vi. 32, 1 (=S.V. i. 322). *Apūrvyā purutamāni asmai mahe vīrāya tavase turāya | virapśine vajriṇe śantamāni vachāṁsi āsā*[18] *sthavirāya taksham |*

"To this great hero, vigorous, energetic, the adorable, unshaken thunderer, I have with my mouth *fabricated* copious and pleasing prayers, which have never before existed."

vi. 16, 47. *Ā te Agne ṛichā havir hṛidā tashṭam bharāmasi |*

"In this verse, Agni, we bring to thee an oblation *fabricated* by the heart." (Comp. R.V. iii. 39, 1, in p. 226.)

vii. 7, 6. *Ete dyumnebhir viśvam ātiranta mantraṁ ye vā araṁ naryāḥ atakshan |*

"These manly (Vasishthas), who have skilfully *fabricated* the hymn, have by their energy accomplished all things (?)."

vii. 64, 4. *Yo vāṁ garttam manasā takshad etam ūrddhvāṁ dhītiṁ kṛiṇavad dhārayach cha |*

"May he who with his mind *fashioned* for you (Mitra and Varuṇa) this car, make and sustain the lofty hymn." (The same expression *ūrddhvā dhītiḥ* occurs in R.V. i. 119, 2.)

viii. 6, 33. *Uta brahmaṇyā vayaṁ tubhyam pravṛiddha vajrivo viprāḥ atakshma jīvase |*

"O mighty thunderer, we, who are sage, have *fabricated* prayers for thee, that we may live."

x. 39, 14. *Etaṁ vāṁ stomam Aśvināv akarma atakshāma Bhṛigavo na ratham | ni amṛikshāma yoshaṇāṁ na maryye nityaṁ na sūnuṁ tanayaṁ dadhānāḥ |*

"This hymn, Aśvins, we have *made* for you; we have *fabricated* it

[18] On the sense of *āsā* see Prof. Müller's article in the Journal of Roy. As. Soc. for 1867, p. 232 f.; and Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*

as the Bhrigus [constructed] a car; we have decorated it, as a bride for her husband, continuing the series [of our praises] like an unbroken line of descendants." (See iv. 16, 20, above, p. 233.)

(The following is Sāyaṇa's comment on this passage, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller: *He Aśvinau vāṁ yuvayor etaṁ yathoktaṁ stomaṁ stotraṁ akarma akurma | Tad etad āha | Bhṛigavo na Bhṛigavaḥ iva rathaṁ atakshāma vayaṁ stotram saṁskṛitavantaḥ | karmayogād Ṛibhavo Bhṛigavaḥ uchyante | athavā rathakārāḥ Bhṛigavaḥ | kincha vayaṁ nityaṁ śāśvataṁ tanayaṁ yāgādīnāṁ karmaṇāṁ tanitāraṁ sūnuṁ na aurasaṁ putram iva stotraṁ dadhānāḥ dhārayanto martye manushye nyamṛikshāma yuvayoḥ stutiṁ nitarāṁ saṁskṛitavantaḥ* | "Aśvins, we have made this preceding hymn or praise of you. He means to say this. Like the Bhṛigus, we have made a car, we have carefully constructed a hymn. The Ribhus are, in this passage, ... styled Bhṛigus; or Bhṛigus are chariot-makers. Moreover, maintaining praise as a constant perpetuator (like a legitimate son) of sacrifice and other rites, we have polished, *i.e.* carefully composed a celebration of you among men [?]." In this comment the word *yoshaṇā* is left unexplained. In verse 12 of this hymn the Aśvins are supplicated to come in a car fleeter than thought, constructed for them by the Ṛibhus—*ā tena yātam manaso javīyasā rathaṁ yaṁ vām Ṛibhavaś chakrur Aśvinā* | .)

x. 80, 7. *Agnaye brahma Ṛibhavas tatakshuḥ* |

"The Ṛibhus [or the wise] *fabricated* a hymn for Agni.

III. I next quote some texts in which the hymns are spoken of as being *generated* by the rishis. (Comp. R.V. vii. 93, 1, in p. 228.)

iii. 2, 1. *Vaiśvānarāya dhishaṇām ṛitāvṛidhe ghṛitaṁ na pūtam Agnaye janāmasi* |

"We *generate* a hymn, like pure butter, for Agni Vaiśvānara, who promotes our sacred rites."

vii. 15, 4. *Navaṁ nu stomam Agnaye divaḥ śyenāya jījanam | vasvaḥ kuvid vanāti naḥ* |

"I have *generated* a new hymn to Agni, the falcon of the sky; will he not bestow on us wealth in abundance?"

vii. 22, 9. *Ye cha pūrve ṛiṣayo ye cha nūtnāḥ Indra brahmāṇi janayanta viprāḥ* |

"Indra, the wise rishis, both ancient and modern, have *generated* prayers."

vii. 26, 1. *Na somaḥ Indram asuto mamāda na abrahmāṇo maghavānaṁ sutāsaḥ | tasmai ukthaṁ janaye yaj jujoshad nṛivad navīyaḥ śṛiṇavad yathā naḥ |*

"The soma exhilarates not Indra unless it be poured out; nor do libations [gratify] Maghavan when offered without a prayer. To him I *generate* a hymn such as may please him, that, after the manner of men, he may hear our new [production]."

vii. 31, 11. . . . . *Suvṛiktim Indrāya brahma janāyanta viprāḥ |*

"The sages *generated* an efficacious production and a prayer for Indra."

vii. 94, 1, 2 (=S.V. ii. 266). *Iyaṁ vām asya manmanaḥ Indrāgnī pūrvya-stutir abhrād vṛishṭir iva ajani | śṛiṇutaṁ jaritur havam ityādi |*

"This excellent praise has been *generated* for you, Indra and Agni, from the soul of this [your worshipper], like rain from a cloud. Hear the invocation of your encomiast." (Benfey thinks *manman*, "spirit," is to be understood of Soma, whose hymn, *i.e.* the sound of his dropping, resembles the falling of rain. The scholiast of the S.V. makes *manman* = *stotṛi*, "worshipper".)

viii. 43, 2. *Asmai te pratiharyate Jātavedo vicharshaṇe Agne janāmi sushṭutim |*

"Wise Agni Jātavedas, I *generate* a hymn for thee, who receivest it with favour."

viii. 77, 4. *Ā tvā ayam arkaḥ ūtaye vavarttati yaṁ Gotamāḥ ajījanan |*

"This hymn which the Gotamas have *generated*, incites thee to succour us."

viii. 84, 4, 5. *Śrudhi havaṁ Tiraśchyāḥ Indra yas tvā saparyati suvīryasya gomato rāyaḥ pūrdhi mahān asi | Indra yas te navīyasīṁ giram mandrām ajījanat chikitvin-manasaṁ dhiyam pratnām ṛitasya pipyushīm |*

"Hear, Indra, the invocation of Tiraśchī, thy worshipper; replenish him with wealth in strong men and in cattle, for thou art great. Indra (do this for him] who has *generated* for thee the *newest* exhilarating hymn, springing from an intelligent mind, an *ancient* mental product, full of sacred truth."

(These verses occur also in the Sāma-veda ii. 233, 234, and are translated by Professor Benfey, at pp. 230 and 250 of his edition. The hymn referred to in this passage is apparently designated as both

new and old. How can it be both? It may have been an old hymn re-written and embellished; ancient in substance, though new in expression.[19] Compare St. John's Gospel, xiii. 34, and the First Epistle of St. John, ii. 7, 8, and iii. 11.)

ix. 73, 2. . . . . *madhor dhārābhir janayanto arkam it priyām Indrasya tanvam avīvṛdhan* |

"*Generating* the hymn, they have augmented the beloved body of Indra with the honied streams."

ix. 95, 1 (= S.V. i. 530). . . . . *ato matīr janayata svadhābhiḥ* |

"Wherefore *generate* hymns with the oblations." (Professor Benfey makes *janayata* the 3rd person singular of the imperfect middle, and applies it to Soma.)

x. 7, 2. *Imāḥ Agne matayas tubhyaṁ jātāḥ gobhir aśvair abhi gṛiṇanti rādhaḥ* |

"These hymns, Agni, *generated* for thee, celebrate thy bounty in cows and horses."

x. 23, 5, 6, 7. *Yo vāchā vivācho mṛidhravāchaḥ purū sahasrā aśivā jaghāna* | *Tat tad id asya pauṁsyaṁ gṛiṇīmasi pitā iva yas tavishīṁ vāvṛidhe śavaḥ* | 6. *Stomaṁ te Indra Vimadāḥ ajījanann apūrvyam purutamaṁ sudānave* | *Vidma hi asya bhojanam inasya yad ā paśuṁ na gopāḥ karāmahe* | 7. *Mā kir naḥ enā sakhyā viyaushus tava cha Indra Vimadasya cha ṛisheḥ* | *Vidma hi te pramatiṁ deva jāmi-vad asme te santu sakhyā śivāni* |

"5. Who (Indra) with his voice slew many thousands of the wicked uttering confused and hostile cries. We laud his several acts of valour, who, like a father, grew in vigour and strength. 6. For thee, o Indra, who art bountiful, the Vimadas have *generated* a copious hymn, which never before existed (*apūrvya*); for we know that it is gratifying to this mighty god, when we attract him hither as a cowherd drives his cattle. 7. Indra, may that friendship of ours never be dissolved, which exists between thee and the rishi Vimada: for we know thy wisdom, o god; may thy friendship be favourable to us, like that of a kinsman."

x. 67, 1. *Imām dhiyaṁ sapta-śīrshṇīm pitā naḥ ṛitaprajātām bṛihatīm avindat* | *turīyaṁ svij janayad viśvajanyo Ayāsyaḥ uktham Indrāya śansan* |

[19] As Prof. Aufrecht expresses it: "*Gir* is opposed to *dhī*, as form to substance a new utterance, but a primordial homage."

"Our father hath discovered [or invented] this great, seven-headed hymn, born of sacred truth; Ayāsya, friend of all men, celebrating Indra, has *generated* the fourth song of praise." (In his Lexicon, Roth gives Ayāsya as a proper name; but says it may also be an adjective with the sense of "unwearied.")

x. 91, 14. *Kīlālu-pe soma-pṛishṭāya vedhase hṛidā ṡatiṁ janaye chārum Agnaye* |

"With my heart I *generate* a beautiful hymn for Agni, the drinker of nectar, the soma-sprinkled, the wise." (See also R.V. i. 109, 1, 2, which will be quoted below.)

IV. In the following texts the verbal root *ṛi*, "to move, send forth," etc., used with or without a preposition, is applied to the utterance or (it may even mean) the production of hymns.

i. 116, 1. *Nāsatyābhyām barhir iva pravṛinje stomān iyarmi abhriyā iva vātaḥ* | *yāv arbhagāya Vimadāya jāyāṁ senājuvā ni ūhatuḥ rathena* |

"In like manner as I spread the sacrificial grass to the Nāsatyas (Aśvins), so do I *send forth* to them hymns, as the wind [drives] the clouds; to them (I say), who bore off to the youthful Vimada his bride in a chariot swift as an arrow."

vii. 61, 2. *Pra vāṁ sa Mitrā-Varuṇau ṛitāvā vipro manmāni dīrghaśrud iyartti* | *Yasya brahmāṇi sukratū avāthaḥ ā yat kratvā na śaradaḥ pṛiṇaithe* |

"The devout sage, heard afar off, *sends forth* his hymns to you, o Mitra and Varuna. Do you, mighty gods, receive his prayers with favour, so that for (many) autumns ye may not be satiated with his fervour." (See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* *ā* + *pṛi*.)

viii. 12, 31. *Imāṁ te Indra sushṭutiṁ vipraḥ iyartti dhītibhiḥ* | *jāmim padā iva pipratīm pra adhvare* |

"In the sacrifice the sage, with praises, *sends forth* to thee this hymn, which is of kin to thee, and, as it were, supplies the places (of others?)

viii. 13, 26. . . . . *Ṛitād iyarmi te dhiyam manoyujam* |

". . . . From the sacred ceremony I *send forth* a prayer which will attract thy heart."

x. 116, 9. *Pra Indrāgnibhyāṁ suvachasyām iyarmi sindhāv iva prerayaṁ nāvam arkaiḥ* |

"I *send forth* a [hymn] with beautiful words to Indra and Agni; with my praises I have, as it were, launched a ship on the sea."

(Compare R.V. ii. 42, 1, spoken of Indra in the form of the bird called Kapinjala, a sort of partridge: *Iyartti vācham ariteva nāvam* | "It sends forth a voice, as a rower propels a boat." See also R.V. x. 101, 2, quoted above, p. 234.)

x. 4, 1. *Pra te yakshi pra te iyarmi manma bhuvo yathā vandyo no haveshu | dhanvann iva prapā asi tvam Agne iyakshave pūrave pratna rājan |*

"I offer thee worship, I send forth to thee a meditation, that thou mayest be accessible to adoration in our invocations. For thou, Agni, ancient king, art like a trough of water in the desert to the man who longs for thee."

V. In the following passages other verbs are employed to denote the composition or presentation of hymns:

i. 61. 2. *Indrāya hṛidā manasā manīshā pratnāya patye dhiyo marjayanta |*

"To Indra, the ancient lord, they *prepared* [or polished] hymns [or ceremonies] with the heart, mind, and understanding."

i. 61, 4. *Asmai id u stomaṁ saṁhinomi rathaṁ na tashṭā iva ityādi |*

"To him (Indra) I *send forth* a hymn, as a carpenter a car," etc.

i. 94, 1 (= S.V. i. 66). *Imaṁ stomaṁ arhate Jātavedase ratham iva sam mahema manīshayā | bhadrā hi naḥ pramatir asya saṁsadi Agne sakhye mā rishāma vayaṁ tava |*

"Let us with our intellect *construct* (or, *send forth*) this hymn for the adorable Jātavedas like a car, for his wisdom is favourable to us in the assembly. Agni, in thy friendship may we never suffer." (The root *mah* means to honour or worship.[20] The reader may compare Benfey's translation.)

There is to be found in the hymns a great multitude of passages in which the rishi speaks of presenting his hymns and prayers to the various deities who are the objects of his worship, without directly claiming for himself the authorship of those compositions. The natural inference to be drawn from the expressions which we shall find to be employed in most of the cases to which I refer, would, I think, be that the personality of the rishi himself was uppermost in his mind, and that he was not conscious that the praises which he was uttering to

[20] See, however, the various reading suggested by Böthlingk and Roth *s.v. mah + sam* and *ah + sam*.

the gods proceeded from any other source than his own unaided faculties. Of this description are the following texts, which represent a manner of thinking and speaking very prevalent in the hymns:

i. 60, 5. *Tam tvā vayam patim Agne rayīṇām praśamsāmo matibhir Gotamāsaḥ* |

"We, the Gotamas, praise with hymns thee, Agni, the lord of riches."

i. 77, 5. *Eva Agnir Gotamebhir ṛitāvā viprebhir astoshṭa jātavedaḥ* |

"Thus has the holy Agni Jātavedas been celebrated by the sage Gotamas."

i. 78, 5. *Avochāma Rahūgaṇāḥ Agnaye madhumad vachaḥ* | *dyumnair abhi pra nonumaḥ* |

"We, the Rahūgaṇas, have uttered to Agni honied speech; we incessantly laud him with eulogies."

i. 91, 11. *Soma gīrbhis tvā vayaṁ vardhayāmo vacho-vidaḥ* | *sumṛilīko naḥ āviśa* |

"Soma, we who are skilled in speech magnify thee with praises; do thou enter into us, full of kindness."

i. 102, 1. *Imāṁ te dhiyam prabhare maho mahīm* . . . .

"I present to thee joyfully this great hymn . . . .

i. 183, 6. *Atārishma tamasas pāram asya prati vāṁ stomo Aśvināv adhāyi* |

"We have crossed over this darkness; a hymn, o Aśvins, has been addressed to you."

iii. 53, 2. *Pitur na putraḥ sicham ā rabhe te Indra svādishṭhayā girā śachīvaḥ* |

"Powerful Indra, I lay hold of thy skirt (as a son does that of his father), with a very sweet hymn."

iv. 3, 16. *Etā viśvā vidushe tubhyaṁ vedho nīthāni Agne niṇyā vachāṁsi* | *nivachanā kavaye kāvyāni aśaṁsisham matibhir vipraḥ ukthaiḥ* |

"Intelligent Agni, to thee, who knowest, [have I uttered] all these songs and mysterious words; to thee, who art a bard, have I, a sage, uttered these hymns, these poems, with meditations and praises."

iv. 32, 12. *Avīvṛidhanta Gotamāḥ Indra tve stoma-vāhasaḥ* |

"The Gotamas, Indra, bringing hymns to thee, have magnified thee."

v. 11, 5. *Tubhya idam Agne madhumattamaṁ vachas tubhyam manīshā iyam astu śaṁ hṛide* | *Tvāṁ giraḥ sindhum iva avanīr mahīr ā pṛiṇanti śavasā vardhayanti cha* |

"Agni, may this sweetest of prayers, may this mental production be pleasant to thy heart. As great rivers fill the ocean, so do the words of praise fill thee, and augment thee with strength."

v. 22, 4. *Agne chikiddhi asya naḥ idaṁ vachaḥ sahasya | Taṁ tvā suśipra dampate stomair vardhanti Atrayo gīrbhiḥ śumbhanti Atrayaḥ |*

"Vigorous Agni, observe these our words; thee, with the beautiful nose, the lord of the house, the Atris magnify with praises, the Atris decorate with hymns."

v. 45, 4. *Sūktebhir vo vachobhir deva-jushtair Indrā nu Agnī avase huvadhyai |*

"Let me invoke you for help, o Indra and Agni, with well-spoken words, such as are acceptable to the gods.

vi. 38, 3. *Taṁ vo dhiyā paramayā purājām ajaram Indram abhi anūshi arkaiḥ ityādi |*

"I adore thee, the ancient, imperishable Indra with an excellent hymn and with praises."

vii. 67, 5. *Prāchīm ū devā Aśvinā dhiyam me amṛidhrāṁ sātaye kṛitaṁ vasūyum |*

"O divine Aśvins, bring to fulfilment my unwearied prayer which supplicates wealth."

vii. 85, 1. *Punīshe vām arakshasam manīshām somam Indrāya Varuṇāya juhvat | ghṛita-pratīkām Ushasaṁ na devīm ityādi |*

"Offering soma to Indra and Varuna, I prepare for you twain the sincere hymn, like the goddess Ushas, with glittering face."[21]

viii. 5, 18. *Asmākam adya vām ayaṁ stomo vāhishṭho antamaḥ | yuvābhyaṁ bhūtu Aśvinā |*

"May this hymn of ours approach near to you, to-day, o Aśvins, and be effectual in bearing you hither."

viii. 8, 8. *Kim anye paryāsate asmat stomebhir Aśvinā | putraḥ Kaṇvasya vām ṛishir gīrbhir Vatso avīvṛidhat |*

"Aśvins, do others than we sit round you with songs? Vatsa, the son of Kaṇva, has magnified you by his hymns."

viii. 27, 8. *Ā pra yāta Maruto Vishṇo Aśvinā Pūshan mākīnayā dhiyā | 11. Idā hi vaḥ upastutim idā vāmasya bhaktaye upa vo viśvavedaso namasyur āsṛikshi |*

[21] Compare vi. 8, 1. *Vaiśvānarāya matir navyasī śuchiḥ somaḥ iva pavate chārur Agnaye |* "A new and bright hymn is purified, like beautiful soma, for Agni Vaiśvānara."

"8. Come, o Maruts, Vishṇu, Aśvins, Pūshan, at my hymn. 11. For now, possessors of all riches, now, in order to obtain wealth, have I, full of reverence, sent forth to you a hymn."

viii. 44, 2. *Agne stomaṁ jushasva me vardhasva anena manmanā | prati sūktāni harya naḥ |* 22. *Uta tvā dhītayo mama giro varddhantu viśvahā | Agne sakhyasya bodhi naḥ |* 26. *Yuvānaṁ pispatiṁ kaviṁ viśvādam puru-vepasam | Agniṁ śumbhāmi manmabhiḥ |*

"2. Agni, receive my hymn: grow by this product of my thought: rejoice in our beautiful words. 22. And may my thoughts and words always augment thee; Agni, think of our friendship. 26. With my mental productions I adorn Agni, the young, the lord of the people, the sage, the all-devouring, the very restless."

x. 42, 1. *Astā iva supratarāṁ lāyam asyan bhūshann iva prabhara stomam asmai | vāchā viprās tarata vācham aryo niramaya jaritaḥ some Indram |*

"Like an archer discharging his far-shooting arrow, with zeal present the hymn to Indra. Sages, by your song, overcome the song of the enemy; worshipper, arrest Indra at the soma."

x. 63, 17. *Eva Plateḥ sūnur avīvṛidhad vo viśve Ādityāḥ Adite manīshī | īśānāso naro amartyena astāvi jano divyo Gayena |*

"Thus, all ye Ādityas, Aditi, and ye ruling powers, has the wise son of Plati magnified you. The celestial race has been lauded by the immortal Gaya."

x. 111, 1. *Manīshiṇaḥ prabharadhvam manīshām yathā yathā matayaḥ santi nṛiṇam | Indraṁ satyair ā īrayāma kṛitebhiḥ sa hi vīro girvaṇasyur vidānaḥ |*

"Sages, present the prayer, according as are the various thoughts of men. Let us by our sincere rites stimulate Indra, for he is a hero, he is wise and loves our songs."

In the following verse, from a hymn in praise of liberality, it is said, though no doubt only figuratively, that the *true rishi* is the prince who is bountiful to the priesthood.

x. 107, 6. *Tam eva ṛishiṁ tam ū brahmāṇam āhur yajñanyaṁ sāmagām ukthaśasam | sa śukrasya tanvo veda tisro yaḥ prathamo dakshiṇayā rarādha |*

"He it is whom they call a rishi, a priest, a pious sacrificer, a chaunter of prayers, a reciter of hymns; he it is who knows the three bodies of the brilliant (Agni),—the man who is most prominent in bestowing gifts."

SECT. IV.—*Passages of the Rig-veda in which a supernatural character is ascribed to the rishis or the hymns.*

In the present section I propose to collect the most distinct indications which I have noticed in the Vedic hymns of any supernatural attributes attaching, in the opinion of the authors, either to the rishis themselves, or to their compositions. We shall see in the course of this enquiry (1) that a certain superhuman character was ascribed by the later rishis, who composed the hymns, to some of their predecessors; (2) that expressions are occasionally employed by the rishis which appear to ascribe their compositions to a divine influence generally; while there is a still more numerous set of texts in which the hymns are attributed in various forms of phraseology to the agency of one or more particular and specified deities; and (3) that there is a considerable number of passages in which a mysterious or magical power is ascribed to the hymns or metres.

I proceed to furnish specimens of these several classes of quotations.

I. I adduce some passages which ascribe a superhuman character or supernatural faculties to the earlier rishis.[22] These are the following:

R.V. i. 179, 2. *Ye chid hi pūrve ṛitasāpaḥ āsan sākaṁ devebhir avadann ṛitāni | te chid avāsur ityādi |*

"The pious sages who lived of old, and who conversed about sacred truths with the gods, led a conjugal life," etc.

vii. 76, 4. *Te id devānāṁ sadhamādaḥ āsann ṛitāvānaḥ kavayaḥ pūrvyāsaḥ | gūḷhaṁ jyotiḥ pitaro anvavindan satyamantrāḥ ajanayann ushāsam |*

"They were the associates of the gods, those ancient pious sages. The fathers found out the hidden light; with true hymns they generated the dawn."

x. 14, 15. *Yamāya madhumattamaṁ rājne havyaṁ juhotana | idaṁ namaḥ ṛishibhyaḥ pūrvajebhyaḥ pūrvebhyaḥ patkikṛidbhyaḥ |*

"Offer to king Yama a most sweet oblation. (Let) this reverence (be paid) to the rishis born of old, who were the earliest guides."

[22] Compare A.V. x. 7, 14, quoted above in p. 3.

The sixty-second hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala contains the following passage regarding the Angirases (see above, p. 223):

1. *The Angirases.*—x. 62, 1, 3. *Ye yajnena dakshiṇayā samaktāḥ Indrasya sakhyam amṛitatvam ānaśa | tebhyo bhadram Angirasaḥ vaḥ astu prati gṛibhṇīta mānavaṁ sumedhasaḥ | 3. Ye ṛitena sūryam arohayan divi aprathayan pṛithivīm mātaram vi ityādi |*

"1. Blessings be on you, Angirases, who, sanctified by sacrifice and liberality, attained the friendship of Indra and immortality. Do ye, o sages, graciously receive the man (who addresses you). 3. Ye who by sacrifice caused the sun to ascend the sky; and spread out our mother earth," etc.

This is succeeded by the following verses:

x. 62, 4. *Ayaṁ Nābhā vadati valguvo gṛihe deva-putrāḥ ṛishayas tat śṛiṇotana . . . | 5. Virūpāsaḥ id ṛishayas te id gambhīra-vepasaḥ | Angirasaḥ sūnavas te Agneḥ pari jajnire |*

"This Nābhan addresses you, brilliant beings, within the house. Hear this, ye rishis, sons of the gods. . . . 5. The Virūpas are rishis, profound in emotion; they are the sons of Angiras; they have been born from Agni."

(The fifth verse is quoted in the Nirukta, xi. 17. See Roth's illustrations of the passage.)[23]

2. *Vasishṭha.*—A supernatural character is attributed to Vasishṭha also in the following passage (which has been already quoted and illustrated in Vol. I. pp. 318 ff.).

vii. 33, 7 ff. *Trayaḥ kṛiṇvanti bhuvanasya retas tisraḥ prajāḥ āryāḥ jyotir-agrāḥ | trayo gharmāsaḥ ushasaṁ sachante sarvān it tān anu vidur Vasishṭhāḥ | 8. Sūryasyeva vakshatho jyotir eshāṁ samudrasyeva mahimā gabhīraḥ | vātasyeva prajavo na anyena stomo Vasishṭhāḥ anu etave vaḥ |*

[23] The next verse (which, with the sequel, is quoted in my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian society in the Vedic age," Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, p. 276) is as follows: 6. *Ye Agneḥ pari jajnire Virūpāso divas pari | Navagvo nu Dasagvo Angirastamaḥ sachā deveshu mamhate |* "The Virūpas who were produced from Agni, from Dyaus,—the Navagva, the Dasagva, who is a most eminent Angiras, lavishes gifts along with the gods." Here the Virūpas would seem rather to be princes than rishis: and the same is the case in the following passage also: iii. 53, 6. *Ime bhojāḥ Angiraso Virūpāḥ divas putrāso asurasya vīrāḥ | Viśvāmitrāya dadato maghāni sahasrasāve pra tiranta āyuḥ |* "These liberal Virūpas of the race of Angiras, heroic sons of the divine Dyaus (the sky), bestowing gifts on Viśvāmitra at the ceremony with a thousand libations, have prolonged their lives." (See Vol. I. p. 341 f.)

9. *Te id ninyam hṛidayasya praketaiḥ sahasra-valśam abhi sancharanti | yamena tatam paṛidhiṁ vayantaḥ apsarasaḥ upa sedur Vasishṭhāḥ | 10. Vidyuto jyotiḥ parisanjihānam Mitrā-Varuṇā yad apaśyatāṁ tvā | tat te janma uta ekaṁ Vasishṭha Agastyo yat tvā viśaḥ ājabhāra | 11. Utāsi Maitrāvaruṇo Vasishṭha Urvaśyāḥ brahman manaso 'dhi jātaḥ | drapsaṁ skannam brahmaṇā daivyena viśve devāḥ pushkare tvā adadanta | 12. Sa praketaḥ ubhayasya pravidvān sahasra-dānaḥ uta vā sadānaḥ | yamena tatam paridhiṁ vayishyan apsarasaḥ pari jajne Vasishṭhaḥ | 13. Satre ha jātāv ishitā namobhiḥ kumbhe retaḥ sisichituḥ samānam | tato ha Mānaḥ udiyāya madhyāt tato jātam ṛishim āhur Vasishṭham |*

"7. Three [gods] create the fecundating principle in (all) existences; [there exist] three excellent productions of which light is the first: three fires attend upon the dawn: all these the Vasishṭhas know. 8. The splendour of these [sages] is like the full glory of the sun; their grandeur is profound as that of the ocean; like the swiftness of the wind, your hymns, o Vasishṭhas, cannot be followed by any other bard. 9. Through the intuitions of their hearts they seek out the mystery with a thousand branches. Weaving the envelopment extended by Yama [Agni? see R.V. i. 66, 4] the Vasishṭhas sat near the Apsaras. 10. When Mitra and Varuṇa saw thee quitting the gleam of the lightning, that was thy birth, Vasishṭha, and [thou hadst] one [other], when Agastya brought thee to the people. 11. And, Vasishṭha, thou art the son of Mitra and Varuṇa, born, o priest, from the mind of Urvaśī; all the gods placed thee—the drop fallen through divine contemplation—in the vessel. 12. He the wise, knowing both [worlds?], with a thousand gifts, or with gifts, Vasishṭha, being about to weave the envelopment extended by Yama, was produced from the Apsaras. 13. Born at the sacrifice, and impelled by adorations, they [Mitra and Varuṇa] let the same equal procreative energy fall into the jar; from the midst of this Māna (Agastya) issued forth; from this men say the rishi Vasishṭha was produced."

Two of these verses are quoted in the Nirukta, verse 8, in xi. 20, and verse 11, in v. 14. See also Prof. Roth's Illustrations of that work, p. 64, where he states his opinion that the foregoing verses which describe the miraculous birth of Vasishṭha in the style of the epic mythology, are a later addition to an older hymn. See the note in p. 321 of the First Volume of this work.

The two following passages also have reference to knowledge supernaturally communicated, or favours divinely conferred on Vasishṭha. See Vol. I. p. 325 ff.

vii. 87, 4. *Uvācha me Varuṇo medhirāya trir̥iḥ sapta nāmn̥a aghnyā bibhartti | vidvān padasya guhyā na vochad yugāya vipraḥ uparāya śikshan |*

"Varuṇa said to me, the intelligent, 'the cow has thrice seven names.' The wise [god], though he knows them, has not declared the mysteries of the word, which he desires to reveal to a later generation."

vii. 88, 4. *Vasishṭhāṁ ha Varuṇo nāvi ā adhād r̥ishiṁ chakāra svapāḥ mahobhiḥ | stotāram vipraḥ sudinatve ahnāṁ yād nu dyāvas tatanan yād ushasaḥ |*

"Varuṇa took Vasishṭha into the boat; by his mighty acts, working skilfully he (Varuṇa) has made him a rishi; the wise (god) has made him to utter praises in an auspicious time, that his days and dawns may be prolonged." (See Vol. I. p. 325 f.; and compare R.V. x. 101, 2, and x. 116, 9, in pp. 234 and 240, above.)

3. *Viśvāmitra.*—In one or more of the texts which I shall next produce, a superhuman character is ascribed to Viśvāmitra, if not to the Kuśikas.

iii. 29, 15. *Amitrāyudho marutām iva prayāḥ prathamajāḥ brahmaṇo viśvam id viduḥ | dyumnavad brahma Kuśikāsaḥ erire ekaḥ eko dame Agniṁ samīdhire |*

"Combating their foes, like hosts of Maruts, (the sages) the first-born of prayer are masters of all knowlege; the Kuśikas have uttered an enthusiastic prayer; each of them has kindled Agni in his house." (See Vol. I. p. 347.)

iii. 43, 5. *Kuvid mā gopāṁ karase janasya kuvid rājānam Maghavann r̥ijīshan | kuvid mā r̥ishiṁ papivāṁsaṁ sutasya kuvid me vasvaḥ amr̥itasya śikshāḥ |*

"Dost thou not make me a shepherd of the people? dost thou not make me a king, o impetuous Maghavan? dost thou not make me a rishi, a drinker of the soma? wilt thou not bestow upon me imperishable wealth?" (See Vol. I. p. 344.)

iii. 53, 9. *Māhan r̥ishir devajāḥ devajūtaḥ astabhnāt sindhum arṇavaṁ nr̥ichakshāḥ | Viśvāmitro yad avahat Sudāsam apriyāyata Kuśikebhir Indraḥ !*

"The great rishi (Viśvāmitra), leader of men, god-born, god-impelled, stemmed the watery current. When Viśvāmitra conducted Sudās, Indra was propitiated through the Kuśikas." (See Vol. I. pp. 342. Indra himself is called a Kauśika in R.V. i. 10, 11. See Vol. I. p. 347.)

According to ix. 87, 3, of which Uśanas is the traditional rishi, certain mysterious knowledge is said to have been possessed by that personage:

Ṛishiṛ viprah pura-etā janānām ṛibhur dhīrah Uśanā kāvyena | sa chid viveda nihitaṁ yad āsām apīchyaṁ guhyaṁ nāma gonām |

"A wise rishi, a leader of men, skilful, and prudent, is Uśanas, through his insight as a seer; he has known the hidden mysterious name applied to these cows."

Again in ix. 97, 7, it is said: *Pra kāvyam Uśaneva bruvāno devo devānāṁ janimā vivakti |*

"Uttering, like Uśanas, the wisdom of a sage, the god (Soma) declares the births of the gods."

In a hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala, the rishis are spoken of as "seeing" the objects of their contemplation in a way which seems to imply a supernatural insight (see above, pp. 116, 118, 125 ff.); in this hymn, x. 72, 1, 2, it is said:

Devānāṁ nu vayaṁ jānā pravochāma vipanyayā | uktheshu śasyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge | Brahmaṇaspatir etā saṁ karmāraḥ iva adhamat | devānām pūrvye yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata |

"Let us, from the love of praise, celebrate in recited hymns the births of the gods,—any one of us who in this later age may *see* them. Brahmaṇaspati has kindled these births, as a blacksmith [blows a flame]: in the earliest age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent." [24] (See Vol. I. p. 46.)

Another not less decided instance of this use of the verb *to see*, in the sense of supernatural insight, may be found in the verse of the Vālakhilya already quoted in Vol. II. p. 220, which will be cited below. See also x. 130, 6, which will be quoted further on.

The next two passages speak of the *radiance* of the rishis.

viii. 3, 3 (= S.V. i. 250, and Vāj. S. 33, 81). *Imāḥ u tvā purūvaso*

[24] The first of these verses is translated by Prof. Benfey in his Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 154.

giro vardhantu yāḥ mama | pāvaka-varṇāḥ śuchayo vipaśchitaḥ abhi stomair anūshata |

"Lord of abundant wealth, may these prayers of mine magnify thee! Pure sages of radiant appearance have celebrated thee with hymns."

viii. 6, 10. *Aham id hi pituḥ pari medhām ṛitasya jagrabha | aham sūryaḥ iva ajani |*

"I have acquired knowledge of the ceremonial from [my] father; I have become like the sun." (Is Indra the father here referred to?)

The following texts, which occur in the last book of the Rig-veda, speak of *tapas* ("fervour" or "austerity") being practised by the rishis much in the same way as the later epic literature does. This use of the word is not known in the earlier books of the R.V. (See Boehtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the word *tapas*.)

x. 109, 4. *Devāḥ etasyām avadanta pūrve sapta ṛishayas tapase ye nisheduḥ |*

"The ancient gods spoke of her, the seven rishis who sat down for austere-fervour." (See my article "On the priests of the Vedic age" in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, p. 270.)

x. 154, 2. *Tapasā ye anādhṛiśyās tapasā ye svar yayuḥ | tapo ye chakṛire mahas tāṁs chid eva api gachchatāt | 5. Sahasra-nīthāḥ kavayo ye gopāyanti sūryam ṛishīṁs tapasvato Yama tapojān api gachhatāt |*

"Let him (the deceased) go to those who through austere-fervour are invincible, who by austere-fervour have gone to heaven, who have performed great austerity. 5. Let him go, Yama, to the sages of a thousand songs who guard the sun (see Wilson, Vish. Pur. vol. ii. pp. 284 ff.), to the devout rishis, born from fervour." (See my article "On Yama" in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc.)

x. 190, 1. *Ṛitaṁ cha satyaṁ cha abhīddhāt tapaso adhyajāyata | tato rātrī ajāyata tataḥ samudraḥ arṇavaḥ |*

"Right and truth sprang from kindled austerity; thence sprang night, thence the watery ocean."

In x. 167, 1, it is even said that Indra attained heaven by austerity:

Tvaṁ tapaḥ paritapya ajayaḥ svaḥ |

"By performing austerity thou didst conquer heaven."

In some places the gods are said to possess in the most eminent degree the qualities of *rishis*, or *kavis*. This may possibly imply, *e converso*, that the rishis were conscious of a certain affinity with the divine

nature, and conceived themselves to participate in some degree in the superior wisdom and knowledge of the deities.

R.V. i. 31, 1. *Tvam Agne prathamo Angirāḥ ṛishir devo devānām abhavaḥ śivaḥ sakhā ityādi* | 2. *Tvam Agne prathamo Angirastamaḥ kavir devānām paribhūshasi vratam* |

"1. Thou, Agni, the earliest *rishi* Angiras, a god, hast been the auspicious friend of the gods. . . . . 2. Thou, Agni, the earliest and most Angiras-like sage, administerest the ceremonial of the gods."

i. 66, 2. . . . *Ṛishiṁ na stubhvā vikshu praśastaḥ ityādi* |

"Like a *rishi*, who praises [the gods], he (Agni) is famous among the people," etc.

iii. 21, 3. . . . *Ṛishiḥ śreshṭhaḥ samidhyase yajnasya pra avitā bhava* |

"Thou, Agni, the most eminent *rishi*, art kindled; be the protector of the sacrifice."

v. 29, 1. . . . *Archanti tvā marutaḥ pūta-dakshās tvam eshām ṛishir Indra asi dhīraḥ* |

"The Maruts, endowed with pure dispositions, worship thee; thou, Indra, art their wise *rishi*." (Sāyaṇa, however, here renders *ṛishi* by *drashṭā*, "beholder.")

vi. 14, 2. *Agnir id hi prachetāḥ Agnir vedhastamaḥ ṛishiḥ* |

"Agni is wise; Agni is a most sage *rishi*."

viii. 6, 41. *Ṛishir hi pūrvajā asi ekaḥ īśanaḥ ojasā* | *Indra choshkūyase vasu* |

"Thou art an anciently-born *rishi*, who alone rulest by thy might; Indra thou lavishest riches."

viii. 16, 7. *Indro brahmā Indraḥ ṛishir Indraḥ puru puru-hūtaḥ* | *mahān mahībhiḥ śachībhiḥ* |

"Indra is a priest, Indra is a *rishi*, Indra is much invoked; he is great through his great powers."

ix. 96, 18 (= S.V. ii. 526). *Ṛishi-manā yaḥ ṛishi-kṛit svarshāḥ sahasranīthaḥ padavīḥ kavīnām* |

"Soma, *rishi*-minded, *rishi*-maker, bestower of good, master of a thousand songs, the leader of sages," etc.

ix. 107, 7. . . . *Ṛishir vipro vichakshaṇaḥ* | *tvaṁ kavir abhavo devavītamaḥ ityādi* |

"A *rishi*, a sage, intelligent, thou (Soma) wast a poet, most agreeable to the gods," etc.

x. 27, 22. . . . *Indrāya sunvad ṛishaye cha śikshat* |

". . . Let [men] present libations to Indra, and offerings to the *rishi*."

x. 112. 9. *Ni shu sīda gaṇapate gaṇeshu tvām āhur vipratamaṁ kavīnāṃ* | *na ṛite tvat kriyate kinchana āre mahām arkam Maghavaṇś chitram archa* |

"Sit, lord of multitudes, among our multitudes; they call thee the greatest of sages [or poets]; nothing is done without, or apart from, thee; sing, Maghavan, a great and beautiful hymn."

x. 115, 5. *Agniḥ kaṇvatamaḥ kaṇva-sakhā ityādi* |

"Agni is the greatest of the Kaṇvas, the friend of Kaṇva," etc.

II. The Vedic rishis, as we have seen, expected to receive from their gods every variety of temporal blessings, strength, long life, offspring, riches, cattle, rain, food, and victory, and they also looked for forgiveness of their offences, and sometimes for exaltation to paradise, to the same benefactors. Hence it would be nothing more than we might have anticipated, if we should further find them asking their different deities to enlighten their minds, to direct their ceremonies, to stimulate their devotion, to augment their powers of poetical expression, and to inspire them with religious fervour for the composition of their hymns. I think the following passages will justify this expectation by showing that the rishis (though, as we have seen, they frequently speak of the hymns as their own work) did also sometimes entertain the idea that their prayers, praises, and ceremonies generally, were supernaturally suggested and directed. One of the modes (if not the most important) in which this idea is expressed is, as we shall discover, the personification of speech under different appellations. The following are the passages to which I refer: they are—

First, such as refer to the gods generally:

R.V. i. 37, 4. *Pra vaḥ śardhāya ghṛishvaye tvesha-dyumnāya śushmiṇe* | *brahma devattaṁ gāyata* |

"To your vigorous, overpowering, energetic, host [of Maruts] sing the *god-given* prayer."

S.V. i. 299. *Tvashṭā no daivyaṁ vachaḥ Parjanyo Brahmaṇaspatiḥ* | *putrair bhrātṛibhir Aditir nu pātu no dushṭaram trāmaṇaṁ vachaḥ* |

"May Tvashṭri, Parjanya, and Brahmaṇaspati [prosper] our *divine* utterance: may Aditi with her [?] sons and brothers prosper our invincible and protective utterance."

In the next passage, the hymn or prayer is spoken of as *inconceivable*.

R.V. i. 152, 5. *Achittam brahma jujushur yuvānaḥ ityādi* |

"The youths received with joy the incomprehensible prayer," etc.

In R.V. x. 20, 10, Vimada, a rishi, is connected with the immortals:

Agne Vimado manīshām ūrjonāpād amṛitebhiḥ sajoshāḥ giraḥ āvakshat sumatīr iyānaḥ ityādi |

"O Agni, son of strength, Vimada, united with the immortals, hastening, has brought to thee a product of thought, and beautiful hymns."

In the two following texts the gods are said to have *generated* the hymn or prayer:

x. 61, 7. . . . *Svādiṣṭho ajanayan brahma devāḥ Vāstoshpatiṁ vratapāṁ niratakshan* |

"The thoughtful gods *generated* prayer: they fashioned Vastoshpati the protector of sacred rites."

x. 88, 8. *Sūkta-vākam prathamam ād id Agnim ād id havir ajanayanta devāḥ* | *sa eshāṁ yajno abhavat tanūpāḥ tam dyaur veda tam pṛithivī tam āpaḥ* |

"The gods first *generated* the hymn, then Agni, then the oblation. He was their sacrifice, the protector of their life. Him the Sky, the Earth, and the Waters know."

In the latter of the two following verses, *Vāch* (speech) is said to be divine, and to have been *generated* by the gods. Though speech is here spoken of generally, and nothing is said of the hymns, still these may have already come to be connected with her in the minds of the Vedic bards, as they were afterwards regarded as her most solemn and important expression.

R.V. viii. 89, 10. *Yad vāg vadantī avichetanāni rāshṭrī devānāṁ nishasāda mandrā* | *chatasraḥ ūrjaṁ duduhe payāṁsi kva svid asyāḥ paramaṁ jagāma* | 11. *Devīṁ vācham ajanayanta devās tāṁ viśvarūpāḥ paśavo vadanti* | *sā no mandrā isham ūrjaṁ duhānā dhenur vāg asmān upa sushṭutā ā etu* |

"When Vāch, speaking unintelligible things, queen of the gods, sat down, melodious, she milked forth sustenance and waters towards the four quarters: whither has her highest element departed? The gods *generated* the divine Vāch; animals of all kinds utter her; may this melodious cow Vāch, who yields us nourishment and sustenance,—approach us, when we celebrate her praises.

The last verse (as well as R.V. viii. 90, 16, which will be quoted below), derives some illustration from the following passage of the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, p. 982 (p. 251 English transl.), in which also Vāch is designated as a cow:

Vāchaṁ dhenum upāsīta | tasyāś chatvāraḥ stanāḥ svāhā-kāro vashaṭ-kāro hanta-kāraḥ svadhā-kārah | tasyāḥ dvau stanau devāḥ upajīvanti svāhā-kāram cha vashaṭ-kāraṁ cha hanta-kāram manushyāḥ svadhā-kāram pitaraḥ | tasyāḥ prāṇaḥ rishabho mano vatsaḥ |

"Let a man worship the cow Vāch. She has four udders, the formulæ *svāhā, vashat, hanta,* and *svadhā*. The gods live upon her two udders, *svāhā* and *vashaṭ;* men upon *hanta;* and the fathers upon *svadhā*. Breath is her bull; the mind, her calf."

The two verses, R.V. viii. 89, 10, and 11, occur in the Nirukta, xi. 28, 29. Roth (in his Illustrations of that work), p. 152, says the unintelligible utterance of Vāch in verse 10, means thunder. Whether this be the case, or not, the word appears to have a more general signification in the next verse, and to refer to speech in general, personified as a divine being. The speech which all the animals utter cannot of course be thunder.

In some of the preceding verses of this hymn there is a curious reference made to some sceptical doubts regarding the existence of Indra; which I quote here, though unconnected with the present subject.

R.V. viii. 89, 3, 4. *Pra su stomam bharata vājayantam Indrāya satyaṁ yadi satyam asti | na Indro asti iti nemaḥ u tvaḥ āha kaḥ īm dadarśa kam abhi stavāma | Ayam asmi jaritaḥ paśya mā iha viśvā jātāni abhi asmi mahnā | ṛitasya mā pradiśo varddhayanti ādardiro bhuvanā dardarīmi |*

"Present to Indra a hymn soliciting food, a true [hymn] if he truly exists. 'Indra does not exist,' says some one: 'who has seen him? whom shall we praise?' 'I am here, worshipper' [answers Indra]; 'behold me, I surpass all creatures in greatness; the directors of the sacrifice augment me; crushing, I destroy the worlds.'"

Second: the next set of passages which I shall bring forward either refer to Sarasvatī, Vāch, etc. (various names of the goddess of speech, or different personifications of speech, or of prayer), or at least speak of prayer as *divine.*

R.V. i. 3, 11, 12. *Chodayitrī sūnṛitānāṁ chetantī sumatīnām | yajñaṁ dadhe Sarasvatī | . . . . dhiyo viśvā virājati |*

"Sarasvatī, who furthers our hymns, and who is cognizant of our prayers, has sustained our sacrifice. . . . . She enlightens all intellects."

i. 22, 10. *Ā gnāḥ Agne iha avase Hotrāṁ yavishṭha Bhāratīm | Varūtrīṁ Dhishaṇāṁ vaha |*

"Bring here, youthful Agni, to our help, the wives [of the gods], Hotrā, Bhāratī, Varūtrī, and Dhishaṇā."

(*Varūtrī*, "the eligible," may be merely an epithet of Dhishaṇā which, according to Sāyaṇa, at least, is = *vāg-devī*, "the goddess of speech.")

i. 31, 11. *Iḷām akṛiṇvan manushasya śāsanīm ityādi |*

"The gods made Iḷā to be the instructress of men." (See Professor Wilson's note on this passage, p. 82 of his translation of the R.V. vol. i.)

ii. 3, 8. *Sarasvatī sādhayantī dhiyaṁ naḥ Iḷā devī Bhāratī viśvatūrttiḥ | Tisro devīḥ svadhayā barhir edam achhidram pāntū śaraṇaṁ nishadya |*

"May Sarasvatī, perfecting our hymn, may the divine Iḷā, and the all-pervading Bhāratī; may these three goddesses, seated on the place of sacrifice, preserve by their power the sacrificial grass uninjured." (See Prof. Müller's translation of part of the verse in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1867, vol. iii. p. 224.)

iii. 18, 3. . . . . *Yāvad īśe brahmaṇā vandamānaḥ imāṁ dhiyaṁ śataseyāya devīm |*

"Worshipping thee with a prayer according to the best of my power, in this *divine* hymn, to obtain unbounded wealth."

iv. 43, 1. *Ka u śravat katamo yajniyānāṁ vandāru devaḥ katamo jushāte | kasya imāṁ devīm amṛiteshu preshṭhāṁ hṛidi śreshyāma sushṭutiṁ suhavyām |*

"Who will hear us? which of all the objects of adoration? which of all the gods will be gratified by our praises? In the heart of whom among the immortals can we lodge this our *divine* and dearest hymn of praise and invocation?"

vii. 34, 1. *Pra śukrā etu devī manīshā asmat sutashṭo ratho na vājī |*

"May prayer, brilliant and *divine*, proceed from us, like a well-fabricated chariot drawn by steeds."

vii. 34, 9. *Abhi vo devīṁ dhiyaṁ*[25] *dadidhvam pra vo devatrā vāchaṁ kṛiṇudhvam |*

[25] Compare the same phrase *dhiyam devīm* in A.V. iii. 15, 3, and *daivyā vāchā* in A.V. viii. 1, 3.

"Receive towards you the *divine* hymn; proclaim the song for yourselves among the gods."

viii. 27, 13. *Devaṁ devaṁ huvema vājasātaye gṛiṇanto devyā dhiyā |*

"Let us invoke each of the gods to bestow riches, praising them with a *divine* hymn."

viii. 90, 16. *Vacho-vidaṁ vācham udīrayantīṁ viśvālhir dhībhir upatishṭhamānām | devīṁ devebhyaḥ pari eyushīṁ gām ā mā avṛikta marttyo dabhrachetāḥ |*

"Let not any mortal of little intelligence do violence to the cow, the *divine* Vāch, who is skilled in praise, who utters her voice aloud, who arrives with all the hymns, and who has come from the gods."

ix. 33, 5. *Abhi brahmīr anūshata yahvīr ṛitasya mātaro marmṛijyante divaḥ śiśum |*

"The great and sacred mothers of the sacrifice have uttered praise: they decorate the child of the sky."

x. 71, 1. *Bṛihaspate prathamaṁ vācho agraṁ yat prairata nāmadheyaṁ dadhānāḥ | yad eshāṁ śreshṭhaṁ yad aripram āsīt preṇā tad eshāṁ nihitaṁ guhā āviḥ | 2. Saktum iva titaunā punanto yatra dhīrāḥ manasā vācham akrata | atra sakhāyaḥ sakhyāni jānate bhadrā eshāṁ lakshmīr nihitā adhi vāchi | 3. Yajnena vāchaḥ padavīyam āyan tām anvavindann ṛishishu pravishṭām | tām ābhṛitya vyadadhuḥ purutrā tāṁ sapta rebhāḥ abhi sannavante | 4. Uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācham uta tvaḥ śṛiṇvan na śṛiṇoti enām | uto tvasmai tanvaṁ visasre jāyeva patye uśatī suvāsāḥ | 5. Uta tvaṁ sakhye sthirapītam āhur nainaṁ hinvanty api vājineshu | adhenvā charati māyayā esha vāchaṁ śuśruvān aphalām apushpām | 6. Yas tityāja sachi-vidaṁ sakhāyaṁ na tasya vāchi api bhāgo asti | yad īṁ śṛiṇoti alakaṁ śṛiṇoti na hi praveda sukṛitasya panthām |*

"1. When, o Bṛihaspati, men sent forth the first and earliest utterance of Vāch (speech), giving a name (to things), then all which was treasured within them, the most excellent and spotless, was disclosed through love. 2. Wherever the wise,—cleansing, as it were, meal with a sieve,—have uttered speech with intelligence, there friends recognize [their] friendly acts; an auspicious fortune is impressed upon their speech. 3. Through sacrifice they followed the track of Vāch, and found her entered into the rishis: [26] taking, they divided her into many portions: her the seven poets celebrate. 4. One man, seeing, sees not

[26] See the use made by S'ankara of this text, above, p. 105.

Vāch; another, hearing, hears her not; to another she discloses her form, as an elegantly attired and loving wife displays her person to her husband. 5. They say that one man has a sure defence in [her] friendship; men cannot overwhelm him even in the conflicts (of discussion); but that man consorts with an unprofitable delusion who has [only] heard speech [Vāch] which is [to him] without fruit or flower. 6. He who has abandoned his discerning friend, has no portion in Vāch; whatever he hears he hears in vain; he knows not the path of virtue."

The second, fourth, and fifth verses of this obscure hymn are quoted in the Nirukta, iv. 10; i. 19, 20; and are explained in Professor Roth's Illustrations. Verses 2 and 4 are also quoted and interpreted in the Mahābhāshya; see pp. 30 and 31 of Dr. Ballantyne's edition. The verse which is of most importance for my present purpose, is, however, the third, which speaks of Vāch having "entered into the rishis." See the First Volume of this work, pp. 254 f. The idea of Vāch being divided into many portions will be found again below in R.V. x. 125, 3.

x. 110, 8 (=Vāj. S. 29, 33). *Ā no yajnam Bhāratī tūyam etu Iḷā manushvad iha chetayantī | tisro devīr barhir ā idam syonaṁ Sarasvatī svapasaḥ sadantu |*

"Let Bhāratī come quickly here to our sacrifice, with Iḷā, who instructs us like Manush [or like a man], and with Sarasvatī: let these three goddesses, skilful in rites, sit down upon this beautiful sacrificial grass."

x. 125, 3. *Ahaṁ rāshṭrī sangamanī vasūnāṁ chikitushī prathamā yajniyānām | tām mā devā vyadadhuḥ purutrā bhūristhātrām bhūri āveśayantīm | 4. Mayā so annam atti yo vipaśyati yaḥ prāṇiti ya īṁ śṛiṇoti uktam | amantavo māṁ te upa kshiyanti śrudhi śruta śraddhivaṁ te vadāmi | 5. Aham eva svayam idaṁ vadāmi jushṭaṁ devebhir uta mānushebhiḥ | yaṁ kāmaye taṁ tam ugraṁ kṛiṇomi tam brahmāṇaṁ tam ṛishiṁ taṁ sumedhām |*

"3. I am the queen, the centre of riches, intelligent, the first of the objects of adoration: the gods have separated me into many portions, have assigned me many abodes, and made me widely pervading. 4. He who has insight, he who lives, he who hears [my] sayings, eats food through me. These men dwell in my vicinity, devoid of understanding. Listen, thou who art learned, I declare to thee what is worthy of belief. 5. It is even I myself who make known this which is agreeable

both to gods and men. Him whom I love I make terrible, [I make] him a priest, [I make] *him a rishi*, [I make] him intelligent." [27]

x. 176, 2. *Pra devañ devyā dhiyā bharata Jātavedasam havyā no vakshad ānushak* |

"By *divine prayer* bring hither Jātaveḍas: may he present our oblations in order."

x. 177, 1. *Patangam aktam asurasya māyayā hṛidā paśyanti manasā vipaśchitaḥ* | *samudre antaḥ kavayo vichakshate marīchīnām padam ichhanti vedhasaḥ* | 2. *Patango vācham manasā bibhartti tāñ Gandharvo avadad garbhe antaḥ* | *tāñ dyotamānāñ svaryam manīshām ṛitasya pade kavayo nipānti* |

"1. Sages behold with the heart and mind the Bird illuminated by the wisdom of the Asura: the wise perceive him in the (aerial) ocean: the intelligent seek after the abode of his rays. 2. The Bird cherishes speech with his mind: the Gandharva hath uttered her in the womb: the bards preserve in the place of sacred rites this shining and celestial intellect." (See also x. 189, 3, *vāk patangāya dhīyate.*)

Third: I shall now adduce the passages in which other Vedic deities, whether singly or in concert, are spoken of as concerned in the production of the hymns:

Aditi.—In R.V. viii. 12, 14, Aditi is mentioned as fulfilling this function:

Yad uta svarāje Aditiḥ stomam Indrāya jījanat puru-praśastam ūtaye ityādi |

"When Aditi *generated* for the self-resplendent Indra a hymn abounding in praises, to supplicate succour," etc.

Agni.—R.V. i. 18, 6, 7.—*Sadasaspatim adbhutam priyam Indrasya kāmyam* | *sanim medhām ayāsisham* | *yasmād ṛite na siddhyati yajno vipaśchitaś chana* | *sa dhīnāñ yogam invati* |

"6. I have resorted, for wisdom, to Sadasaspati (Agni), the wonderful, the dear, the beloved of Indra, the beneficent; (7) without whom

[27] This passage, which is commonly understood of Vāch, occurs also in the Atharva-veda, iv. 30, 2 ff., but with some various readings, as *āveśayantaḥ* for *āveśayantīm*, and *śraddheyam* for *śraddhivam*, etc. The hymn is translated by Mr. Colebrooke, Ess. i. 32, or p. 16 of Williams and Norgate's edition. Professor Whitney, as I learn from a private communication with which he has favoured me, is of opinion that there is nothing in the language of the hymn which is specially appropriate to Vāch, so as to justify the ascription of it to her as the supposed utterer.

the sacrifice of the wise does not succeed: he promotes the course of our hymns."

iv. 5, 3. *Sāma dvi-barhāḥ mahi tigma-bhṛishṭiḥ sahasra-retāḥ vṛishabhas tuvishmān | padaṁ na gor apagūḷhaṁ vividvān Agnir mahyaṁ pra id u vochad manīshām* | 6. *Idam me Agne kiyate pāvaka aminate gurum bhāraṁ na manma | Bṛihad dadhātha dhṛishatā gabhīraṁ yahvam pṛishṭham prayasā saptadhātu* |

"Agni occupying two positions, the fierce-flaming, the infinitely prolific, the vigorous, the powerful, who knows the great hymn, mysterious as the track of a [missing] cow, has declared to me the knowledge [of it]. 6. To me who am feeble, though innoxious, thou, o Agni, the luminous, hast given, as a heavy load, this great, profound, and extensive Pṛishṭha hymn, of seven elements, with efficacious oblations."

iv. 6, 1. *Tvaṁ hi viśvam abhi asi manma pra vedhasaś chit tirasi manīshām* |

"Thou presidest over all thoughts [or prayers]; thou augmentest the intelligence of the sage."

iv. 11, 3. *Tvad Agne kāvyā tvad manīshās tvad ukthā jāyante rādhyāni* |

"From thee, Agni, are *generated* poetic thoughts; from thee the products of the mind; from thee effective hymns."

x. 21, 5. *Agnir jāto Atharvaṇā vidad viśvāni kāvyā* |

"Agni, generated by Atharvan, is acquainted with all wisdom."

x. 91, 8. . . . . *Medhākāraṁ vidathasya prasādhanam Agnim ityādi* |

"Agni, the giver of understanding, the accomplisher of sacrifice."

x. 4, 5. *Yad vo vayam pramināmo vratāni vidushāṁ devāḥ avidustarāsaḥ | Agnis tad viśvam āpṛiṇāti vidvān yebhir devān ṛitubhiḥ kalpayāti | Yat pākatrā manasā dāna-dakshāḥ na yajnasya manvate martyāsaḥ | Agnis tad hotā kratuvid vijānan yajishṭho devān ṛituśo yajāti* |

"When, o [ye] gods, we, the most unwise among the wise, transgress the ordinances of your worship, the wise Agni completes them all, at the stated seasons which he assigns to the gods. When men, devoted to sacrifice, do not, from their ignorance, rightly comprehend the mode of worship, Agni, the skilful sacrificer, and most eminent of priests, knowing the ceremonial, worships the gods at the proper seasons."

(As rites and hymns were closely united in the practice of the early Indians, the latter finding their application at the former; if Agni was

supposed to be the director of the one, viz., the oblations, he might easily come to be also regarded as aiding in the production of the other—the hymns. Verse 4 occurs also in the A.V. xix. 59, 1, 2, where, however, *āpriṇātu* is read instead of *āpriṇāti*, and in place of the words *yebhir devān*, etc., at the close of the verse, we have, *somaś cha yo brāhmaṇān ā viveśa* | "and Soma, who entered into the priests.")

Brahmaṇaspati.—R.V. i. 40, 5, 6. *Prā nūnam Brahmaṇaspatir mantraṁ vadati ukthyam | yasmin Indro Varuṇo Mitraḥ Aryamā devāḥ okāṁsi chakrire | Tam id vochema vidatheshu śaṁbhuvam mantraṁ devāḥ anehasam ityādi |*

"Brahmaṇaspati (abiding in the worshipper's mouth, according to the scholiast) utters the hymn accompanied with praise, in which the gods, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, have made their abode. Let us utter, gods, at sacrifices, that spotless hymn, conferring felicity." (Roth in his Lexicon considers *okas* to mean "good pleasure," "satisfaction." See also his Essay on Brahma and the Brāhmans, Journal of the Germ. Or. Soc. i. 74.)

Bṛihaspati.—R.V. ii. 23, 2. *Usrāḥ iva sūryo jyotishā maho viśveshām ij janitā brahmaṇām asi |*

"As the sun by his lustre instantly generates rays, so art thou (Bṛihaspati) the *generator* of all prayers."

x. 36, 5. *Ā Indro barhiḥ sīdatu pinvatām Iḷā Bṛihaspatiḥ sāmabhir ṛikvo archatu |*

"Let Indra sit upon the sacred grass; let Iḷā abound in her gifts; let the bard Bṛihaspati offer praise with hymns."

Gandharva.—According to Professor Roth (see under the word in his Lexicon) the Gandharva is represented in the Veda as a deity who knows and reveals the secrets of heaven, and divine truths in general; in proof of which he quotes the following texts:

R.V. x. 139, 5. *Viśvāvasur abhi tad no gṛiṇātu divyo Gandharvo raṇaso vimānaḥ | Yad vā ghā satyam uta yad na vidma dhiyo hinvāno dhiyaḥ id naḥ avyāḥ*

"May the celestial Gandharva Viśvāvasu, who is the measurer of the atmosphere, declare to us that which is true, or which we know not. May he stimulate our hymns, and may he prosper our hymns.

A.V. ii. 1, 2. *Pra tad voched amṛitasya vidvān Gandharvo dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat |*

"May the Gandharva, who knows the (secret of) immortality, declare to us that supreme and mysterious abode."

Indra.—R.V. iii. 54, 17. *Mahat tad vaḥ kavayaś chāru nāma yad ha devāḥ bhavatha viśve Indre | sakhā Ṛibhubhiḥ puruhūta priyebhir imāṁ dhiyaṁ sātaye takshata naḥ |*

"Great, o sage deities, is that cherished distinction of yours, that ye are all associated with Indra. Do thou, much invoked (Indra), our friend, with the beloved Ribhus, *fabricate* (or dispose) this hymn for our welfare." (This may merely mean that Indra was asked to give a favourable issue to the prayer of the worshipper, not to *compose* his hymn for him. See Roth's Lexicon, under the word *taksh*, 3.)

vi. 62, 3. *Tvaṁ kaviṁ chodayaḥ arkasātāv ityādi |*

"Thou (Indra) didst stimulate the poet in the composition of his hymns," etc. (Sāyaṇa renders *arkasātau*, "for the sake of finding food.")

vi. 18, 15. *Kṛishva kṛitno akṛitaṁ yat te asti ukthaṁ navīyo janayasva yajnaiḥ |*

"Energetic (Indra), do what thou hast never yet done; *generate* a new hymn with the sacrifices."

vi. 34, 1. *Saṁ cha tve jagmur giraḥ Indra pūrvīr vi cha tvad yanti vibhvo manīshāḥ |*

"Many hymns are congregated in thee, o Indra, and numerous products of the mind issue from thee." (This half-verse has been already quoted in p. 227.)

vi. 47, 10. *Indra mṛiḷa mahyaṁ jīvātum ichcha chodāya dhiyam ayaso na dhārām | Yat kincha ahaṁ tvāyur idaṁ vadāmi taj jushasva kṛidhi mā devavantam |*

"O Indra, gladden me, decree life for me, *sharpen my intellect* like the edge of an iron instrument. Whatever I, longing for thee, now utter, do thou accept; give me divine protection." (Compare with the word *chodaya* the use of the word *prachodayāt* in the Gāyatrī, R.V. iii. 62, 10, which will be given below.)

vii. 97, 3. *Tam u namasā havirbhiḥ suśevam Brahmaṇaspatiṁ gṛiṇīshe | Indraṁ śloko mahi daivyaḥ sishaktu yo brahmaṇo devakṛitasya rājā | 5. Tam ā no arkam amṛitāya jushṭam ime dhāsur amṛitāsaḥ purājāḥ ityādi |*

"3. I invoke with reverence and with offerings the beneficent Brahmaṇaspati. Let a great and *divine* song celebrate Indra, who is king

of the prayer *made by the gods*. 5. May these ancient immortals make this our hymn acceptable to the immortal," etc.

viii. 13, 7. *Pratna-vaj janaya giraḥ śṛiṇudhi jaritur havam* |

"As of old, *generate* hymns; hear the invocation of thy worshipper."

viii. 52, 4. *Sa pratnathā kavi-vṛidhaḥ Indro vākasya vakshaṇiḥ* |

"Indra was of old the promoter of the poet, and the augmenter of the song."

viii. 78, 6. *Yaj jāyathā apūrvya Maghavan Vṛittra-hatyāya,* | *tat pṛithivīm aprathayas tad asṭabhnāḥ uta dyām* | 7. *Tat te yajno ajāyata tad arkaḥ uta haskṛitiḥ* | *tad viśvam abhibhūr asi yaj jātaṁ yach cha jantvam* |

"When, o unparalleled Maghavan, thou wast born to slay Vṛittra, thou didst then spread out the earth (the broad one) and sustain the sky: then thy sacrifice was produced, *then the hymn*, and the haskṛiti: (since) then thou surpassest everything that has been, or shall be, born."

Here therefore the hymn is asserted to be as old as Indra; though nothing more need be meant than that hymns then began to be produced. The hymn in which this verse occurs is not necessarily meant.

x. 112, 9. *Ni shu sīda gaṇapate gaṇeshu tvām āhur vipratamaṁ kavīnām* | *na ṛite tvat kriyate kiṁchana āre mahām arkam Maghavan chitram archa* |

"Lord of assemblies, sit amid our multitudes; they call thee the wisest of poets. *Nothing is done without, or apart from thee;* sing, o Maghavan, a great and beautiful hymn." (Already quoted in p. 252.)

Indra and Vishṇu.—R.V. vi. 69, 2. *Yā viśvāsāṁ janitārā matīnām Indrā-Vishṇū kalaśā soma-dhānā* | *Pra vāṁ giraḥ śasyamānāḥ avantu pra stomāso gīyamānāsaḥ arkaiḥ* |

"Indra and Vishṇu, ye who are the *generators* of all hymns, who are the vessels into which soma is poured, may the praises which are now recited gratify you, and the songs which are chaunted with encomiums."

Indra and Varuṇa.—The following passage is not, properly speaking, a portion of the Rig-veda, as it is part of one of the Vālakhilyas or apocryphal additions (described in Vol. II. p. 210), which are found inserted between the 48th and 49th hymns of the 8th Maṇḍala. From its style, however, it appears to be nearly as old as some parts of the R.V.

xi. 6. *Indrāvaruṇā yad ṛishibhyo manīshāṁ vācho matiṁ śrutam adattam agre* | *yāni sthānāny asṛijanta dhīrāḥ yajnaṁ tanvānās tapasā 'bhyapaśyam* |

"Indra and Varuṇa, I have *seen* through austere-fervour that which *ye formerly gave* to the rishis, wisdom, understanding of speech, sacred lore, and all the places which the sages created, when performing sacrifice." (See Vol. II. p. 220.)

The Maruts.—R.V. viii. 78, 3. *Pra vaḥ Indrāya bṛihate Maruto brahma archata* |

"Sing, Maruts, your hymn to the great Indra." (Compare verse 1, of the same hymn, and the words *brahmakṛitā Mārutena gaṇena* in iii. 32, 2.)

Pūshan.—R.V. x. 26, 4. *Maṁsīmahi tvā vayam asmākaṁ deva Pūshan matīnāṁ cha sādhanam viprāṇāṁ cha ādhavam* |

"We have called thee to mind, divine Pūshan, the accomplisher of our hymns, and the stimulator of sages." (The first clause of this, however, may merely mean that the god gives effect to the wishes expressed in the hymns. Compare vi. 56, 4: *Yad adya tvā purushṭuta bravāma dasra mantumaḥ* | *tat su no manma sādhaya* | "Accomplish for us the (objects of the) hymn, which we utter to thee to-day, o powerful and wise god."

Savitṛi.—R.V. iii. 62 (= S.V. ii. 812, and Vāj. S. iii. 35). *Tat Savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi* | *dhiyo yo naḥ prachodayāt* |

"We have received that excellent glory of the divine Savitṛi; may he stimulate our understandings [or hymns, or rites]."

(This is the celebrated Gāyatrī, the most sacred of all the texts in the Veda. See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. pp. 29, 30, 127, and 175; or pp. 14, 15, 78, and 109 of Williams and Norgate's ed. Benfey (S.V. p. 277) translates the Gāyatrī thus: "May we receive the glorious brightness of this, the generator, of the god who shall prosper our works." On the root from which the word *dhīmahi* is derived, and its sense, see also Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.vv. dhā* and *dhī*; and compare my article "On the Interpretation of the Veda," Journ. Roy. As. Soc. p. 372.

The Linga Purāṇa (Part II. sec. 48, 5 ff., Bombay lithographed ed.) gives the following "varieties" of the Gāyatrī, adapted to modern Śaiva worship:

Gāyatrī-bhedāḥ | *Tatpurushāya vidmahe vāg-viśuddhāya dhīmahi* | *Tan naḥ Śivaḥ prachodayāt* | *Gaṇāmbikāyai vidmahe karma-siddhyai cha dhīmahi* | *Tan no Gaurī prachodayāt* | *Tatpurushāya vidmahe Mahā-*

devāya dhīmahi | Tan no Rudraḥ prachodayāt | Tatpurushāya vidmahe Vaktratuṇḍāya dhīmahi | Tan no Dantiḥ prachodayāt | Mahāsenāya vidmahe vāg-viśuddhāya dhīmahi | Tan naḥ Skandaḥ prachodayāt | Tīkshṇaśṛiṇgāya vidmahe Vedapādāya dhīmahi | Tan no Vṛishaḥ pracodayād ityādi |

"1. We contemplate That Purusha, we meditate[28] him who is pure in speech; may That Śiva stimulate us. 2. We contemplate Gaṇāmbikā, and we meditate Karmasiddhi (the accomplishment of works); may That Gaurī stimulate us. 3. We contemplate That Purusha, and we meditate Mahādeva; may that Rudra stimulate us. 4. We contemplate That Purusha, and we meditate Vaktratuṇḍa (Ganeśa); may That Danti (the elephant) stimulate us. 5. We contemplate Mahāsena (Kārtikeya, and we meditate him who is pure in speech; may That Skanda stimulate us. 6. We contemplate Tīkshṇaśṛinga (the sharp-horned), and we meditate the Veda-footed; may Vṛisha (the bull) stimulate us."

Soma.—R.V. vi. 47, 3. *Ayam me pītaḥ udiyartti vācham ayam manīshām uśatīm ajīgaḥ |*

"This [soma], when drunk, stimulates my speech [or hymn]; this called forth the ardent thought."

It may be said that this and the other following texts relating to Soma, should not be quoted as proofs that any idea of divine inspiration was entertained by the ancient Indian bards, as they can mean nothing more than that the rishis were sensible of a stimulating effect on their thoughts and powers of expression, produced by the exhilarating draughts of the juice of that plant in which they indulged. But the rishis had come to regard Soma as a god, and apparently to be passionately devoted to his worship. See the Second Volume of this work, pp. 470 ff., and especially pp. 474, 475; and my account of this deity in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 135 ff.

Compare what is said of the god Dionysus (or Bacchus) in the Bacchæ of Euripides, 294:

Μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὅδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον
Καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει.
Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολύς,
Λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς μεμηνότας ποιεῖ.

[28] I retain here this sense of the word, which is probably the most commonly received.

"And this deity is a prophet. For Bacchic excitement and raving have in them much prophetic power. For when this god enters in force into the body, he causes those who rave to foretell the future."

R.V. viii. 48, 3. *Apāma somam amṛitāḥ abhūma aganma jyotir avidāma devān | kiṁ nūnam asmān kṛiṇavad arātiḥ kim u dhūrttir amṛita martyasya |*

"We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods; what can an enemy now do to us? what can the malice of any mortal effect, o immortal god?"[29]

(This passage is quoted in the commentary of Gauḍapāda on the Sānkhya Kārikā, verse 2, and is translated (incorrectly as regards the last clause), by Prof. Wilson, in p. 13 of his English version.)

A curious parallel to this last Vedic text is to be found in the satirical drama of Euripides, the Cyclops, 578 ff.; though there, of course, the object is merely to depict the drunken elevation of the monster Polyphemus:

Ὁ δ' οὐρανός μοι συμμεμιγμένος δοκεῖ
Τῇ γῇ φέρεσθαι, τοῦ Διός τε τὸν θρόνον
Λεύσσω τὸ πᾶν τε δαιμόνων ἁγνὸν σέβας.

"The sky, commingled with the earth, appears
To whirl around; I see the throne of Jove,
And all the awful glory of the gods."

R.V. ix. 25, 5. *Arusho janayan giraḥ Somaḥ pavate āyushag Indraṁ gachchan kavikratuḥ |*

"The ruddy Soma, *generating hymns*, with the powers of a poet (or with the understanding of a sage), united with men, is purified, resorting to Indra."

ix. 76, 4. . . . . *Pitā matīnām asamashṭa-kāvyaḥ |*

"[Soma] father of our hymns, of incomparable wisdom."

ix. 95, 2. *Hariḥ sṛijānaḥ pathyām ṛitasya iyartti vācham ariteva nāvam | devo devānāṁ guhyāni nāma āvishkṛiṇoti barhishi pravāche |*

[29] This text may be versified as follows:

We've quaffed the soma bright,
And are immortal grown;
We've entered into light,
And all the gods have known.
What foeman now can harm,
Or mortal vex us, more?
Through thee, beyond alarm,
Immortal god, we soar.

"The golden [Soma] when poured out along the path of the ceremony, sends forth his voice, as a rower propels a boat. A god, he reveals the mysterious natures of the gods to the bard upon the sacred grass." (See R.V. ii. 42, 1, and x. 116, 9, quoted in p. 240.)

ix. 96, 5 (= S.V. ii. 293–5). *Somaḥ pavate janitā matīnāṁ janitā divo janitā pṛithivyēḥ | janitā Agner janitā sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitā uta Vishṇoḥ | 6. Brahmā devānām padavīḥ kavīnām ṛishir viprāṇām mahisho mṛigāṇām | śyeno gṛidhrāṇāṁ svadhitir vanānāṁ Somaḥ pavitram ati eti rebhan | 7. Prāvīvipad vāchaḥ ūrmiṁ na sindhur giraḥ somaḥ pavamāno manīshāḥ ityādi |*

"Soma is purified, he who is the *generator* of hymns, of Dyaus, of Pṛithivī, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Vishṇu. 6. Soma, who is a brāhmăn-priest among the gods (or priests),[30] a leader among the poets, a rishi among sages, a buffalo among wild beasts, a falcon among vultures, an axe amid the forests, advances to the filter with a sound. The purified Soma, like the sea rolling its waves, has poured forth songs, hymns, and thoughts," etc. (See Benfey's translation of this passage in his Sāma-veda, pp. 238 and 253; and Nirukta-pariśishṭa, ii. 12, 13.)

Varuṇa.—R.V. viii. 41, 5, 6. *Yo dharttā bhuvanānāṁ yaḥ usrāṇām apīchyā veda nāmāni guhyā | sa kaviḥ kāvyā puru rūpam dyaur iva pushyati . . . . | Yasmin viśvāni kāvyā chakre nābhir ivi śritā ityādi |*

"He who is the upholder of the worlds (Varuṇa), who knows the secret and mysterious natures of the cows, he, a sage [or poet], manifests sage [or poetical] works, as the sky does many forms. . . . . In him all sage works abide, as the nave within a wheel," etc. (See R.V. vii. 87, 4, in p. 248, and ix. 95, 2, above, in this page.)

Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman.—R.V. vii. 66, 11. *Vi ye dadhuḥ śaradam māsam ād ahar yajnam aktuṁ cha ād ṛicham | anāpyam Varuṇo Mitraḥ Aryamā kshatraṁ rājānaḥ āśata |*

"The kings, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, who made the autumn, the month, and then the day, the sacrifice, night, and then the Ṛich, possess an unrivalled power." [31]

[30] It appears from Prof. Benfey's note on S.V. ii. 294 (=R.V. ix. 96, 6, quoted here), that the scholiast on that passage makes *devānām* = *ṛitvijām*, "priests."

[31] As this verse ascribes the formation of the Ṛich to the gods who are named in it, my remark, in p. 3 above, that the Purusha Sūkta contains "the only passage in

The following passage of the Rig-veda has (as we have seen above, p. 69, note 79, and p. 75) been quoted by Indian commentators and aphorists to prove the eternity of the Veda, on its own authority:

R.V. viii. 64, 6. *Tasmai nūnam abhidyave vāchā Virūpa nityayā | vṛishṇe chodasva sushṭutim |.*

"Send forth praises, Virūpa, to this heaven-aspiring and prolific Agni, *with perpetual voice.*" (See i. 45, 3, etc., quoted above, p. 220.)

There is, however, no reason whatever to suppose that the words *nityayā vāchā* mean anything more than *perpetual voice.* There is no ground for imagining that the rishi entertained any such conception as became current among the systematic theologians of later times, that his words were eternal. The word *nitya* is used in the same sense "perpetual" in R.V. ix. 12, 7 (= S.V. ii. 55, 2), where it is said of Soma: *nitya-stotro vanaspatir dhīnām antar ityādi* | "The monarch of the woods, *continually-praised,* among the hymns," etc., as well as in the two following texts:

R.V. ix. 92, 3.—*Somaḥ punānaḥ sadaḥ eti nityam ityādi* |

"The pure Soma comes to his *perpetual* abode [or to his abode *continually*], etc.

x. 39, 14 (quoted above, p. 236). *Nityāṁ na sūnuṁ tanayaṁ dadhānāḥ* |

"Continuing the series like an *unbroken* line of descendants."

The tenor of the numerous texts adduced in this Section seems clearly to establish the fact that some at least of the ancient Indian rishis conceived themselves to be prompted and directed, in the composition of their hymns and prayers, by supernatural aid, derived from various deities of their pantheon. It may add force to the proof derived from these texts, and show that I am the less likely to have misunderstood their purport and spirit, if I adduce some evidence that a similar conception was not unknown in another region of the ancient Indo-European world, and that the expressions in which the early Grecian bards laid claim to an inspiration emanating from the Muses, or from Apollo, were not mere figures of speech, but significant, originally, of a popular belief. Most of the following passages, from Hesiod

the hymns of the R.V. in which the creation of the Vedas is described," requires some qualification.

and Homer, in which this idea is enunciated, are referred to in Mr. Grote's History of Greece, i. 478.

Hesiod, Theogony, 22:

Αι νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδὴν
Ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ὕπο ζαθέοιο.
Τόνδε ἥ με πρώτιστα θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπαν,
Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.
Ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἶον,
Ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
Ἴδμεν δ', εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι.
Ὡς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτιέπειαι·
Καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον, δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον,
Δρέψασαι θηητόν· ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι ἀνδὴν
Θείην, ὡς κλείοιμι τά τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρό τ' ἐόντα,
Καί με κέλονθ' ὑμνεῖν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων,
Σφᾶς τ' ἀυτὰς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστερον αἰὲν ἀείδειν.

"The Muses once conferred the dower
On Hesiod of poetic power,
As underneath the sacred steep
Of Helicon he fed his sheep.
And thus they spake, 'Inglorious race
Of rustic shepherds, gluttons base,
Full many fictions we can weave
Which by their truthlike air deceive;
But, know, we also have the skill
True tales to tell, whene'er we will.'
They spake, and gave into my hand
A fair luxuriant laurel wand;
And breathed into me speech divine,
That two-fold science might be mine;
That future scenes I might unveil,
And of the past unfold the tale.
They bade me hymn the race on high
Of blessed gods who never die;
And evermore begin my lays,
And end them, with the Muses' praise."

Hesiod, Theogony, 94:

Ἐκ γὰρ Μουσάων καὶ ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
Ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κιθαρισταί,
Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες.

"The bards who strike the lyre and sing,
From Phœbus and the Muses spring:
From Jove's high race descends the king."

The following are the words in which the author of the Iliad invokes the aid of the Muses, to qualify him for enumerating the generals of the Grecian host (Iliad, ii. 484):

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ολύμπια δωμάτ' ἔχουσαι,
Ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε πάρεστέ τε ἴστε τε πάντα,
Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν.

"Tell me the truth, ye Muses, tell,
Ye who on high Olympus dwell;
For, omnipresent, ye can scan
Whate'ever on earth is done by man,
Whilst we vague rumours only learn
And nothing certain can discern."

But the Muses could also take away, as well as impart, the gift of song, as appears from Iliad, ii. 594 ff.:

Ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι
Ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς·
Στεῦτο γὰρ ἐυχόμενος νικησέμεν, εἴπερ ἂν ἀυταὶ
Μοῦσαι, ἀείδοιεν, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.
Αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, ἀυτὰρ ἀοιδὴν
Θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο, καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριστύν.

"'Twas there the Muses, we are told,
Encountered Thamyris of old.
He boasted that the minstrel throng
To him must yield the prize of song;
Yes, even although, among the rest,
The Muses should the palm contest.
Aware of his presumption, they
Both took his skill in song away,
And power to wake the tuneful lyre;—
And struck him blind, in vengeful ire."

The following passages from the Odyssey refer to Demodocus, the bard who sang at the court of Alcinous, King of the Phæacians (Odyssey, viii. 43 ff.):

Καλέσασθε δὲ θεῖον ἀοιδόν,
Δημόδοκον· τῷ γάρ ῥα θεὸς περὶ δῶκεν ἀοιδήν,
Τέρπειν, ὅππῃ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃσιν ἀείδειν.

"And go, the bard divine invite:—
The god hath given him skill
By song all others to delight,
Whenever he may will.

Odyssey, viii. 62 ff.:

Κῆρυξ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθεν ἄγων ἐριήρον ἀοιδὸν·
Τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε,
Ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε δίδου δ' ἡδεῖαν ἀοιδήν.

"The herald came, and within him brought
The bard whom all with longing sought.
The Muse's darling, he had good
As well as ill from her received;
With power of dulcet song endued,
But of his eyesight too bereaved."

Here the Muse is described as the arbitress of the bard's destiny in other points besides the gift and withdrawal of song.

Odyssey, viii. 73:

Μοῦσ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν κ.τ.λ.

"Stirr'd by the Muse the bard extoll'd
In song the deeds of warriors bold."

A little further on, Ulysses says of Demodocus (Odyssey, viii. 479 ff.):

Πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδοὶ
Τιμῆς ἔμμοροί εἰσι καὶ αἰδοῦς, ὕνεκ' ἄρα σφέας
Ὄιμας Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, φίλησε δὲ φῦλον ἀοιδῶν.

"All mortal men with awe regard,
And honourably treat, the bard;
Because the Muse has taught him lays,
And dearly loves his tuneful race."

And again he addresses him thus (Odyssey, viii. 487):

Δημόδοκ', ἔξοχα δή σε βροτῶν αἰνίζομ' ἁπάντων.
Ἢ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε Διὸς πᾶις, ἢ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων.
Λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν ὄιτον ἀείδεις, κ.τ.λ.

"Demodocus, beyond the rest
Of mortals I esteem thee blest.
For thee, the Muse, Jove's child, has taught,
Or Phœbus in thee skill has wrought;
So perfectly thou dost relate
The story of the Argives' fate." [32]

Phemius, the Ithacan minstrel, thus supplicates Ulysses to spare his life (Odyssey, xxii. 345 ff.):

Αὐτῷ τοι μετόπισθ' ἄχος ἔσσεται, ἔικεν ἀοιδόν
Πέφνης, ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀείδω.
Αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν ὅτιμας
Παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν.

"Thou soon wilt grieve, if thou the bard shouldst slay,
To gods as well as men who pours his lay.
Self-taught I am; and yet within my mind
A god hath gendered strains of every kind."

[32] "That is," says Mr. Grote, "Demodocus has either been inspired as a poet by the muse, or as a prophet by Apollo, for the Homeric Apollo is not the god of song. Kalchas, the prophet, receives his inspiration from Apollo, who confers upon him the same knowledge, both of past and future, as the Muses give to Hesiod." But does not this passage (Odyssey viii. 488) rather show that the Homeric Apollo was the god of song, as well as the bestower of prophetic intuition; and do we not learn the same from Iliad, i. 603? In any case, it is quite clear from Theog. 94, quoted above, that Hesiod regarded Apollo in this character.

The early Greeks believed that the gift of prophecy also, as well as that of song, was imparted by the gods to mortals. This appears both from Hesiod, as already quoted, and from the following passage of Homer (Iliad, i. 69):

Κάλχας Θεστορίδης, οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος,
Ὃς ἤδη τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρό τ' ἐόντα,
Καὶ νήεσσ' ἡγήσατ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἴλιον ἔισω,
Ἧν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τήν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

"Of augurs wisest, Calchas knew
Things present, past, and future too.
By force of that divining skill,
Vouchsafed to him by Phœbus' will,
The Grecian fleet he safely bore
From Aulis' bay to Ilion's shore."

It is thus argued by Mr. Grote that the early Greeks really believed in the inspiration of their bards by the Muses (History of Greece, i. 477 ff.):

"His [the early Greek's] faith is ready, literal and uninquiring, apart from all thought of discriminating fact from fiction, or of detecting hidden and symbolized meaning: it is enough that what he hears be intrinsically plausible and seductive, and that there be no special cause to provoke doubt. And if indeed there were, the poet overrules such doubts by the holy and all-sufficient authority of the Muse, whose omniscience is the warrant for his recital, as her inspiration is the cause of his success. The state of mind, and the relation of speaker to hearers, thus depicted, stand clearly marked in the terms and tenor of the ancient epic, if we only put a plain meaning upon what we read. The poet — like the prophet, whom he so much resembles — sings under heavenly guidance, inspired by the goddess to whom he has prayed for her assisting impulse. She puts the words into his mouth and the incidents into his mind; he is a privileged man, chosen as her organ, and speaking from her revelations. As the Muse grants the gift of song to whom she will, so she sometimes in her anger snatches it away, and the most consummate human genius is then left silent and helpless. It is true that these expressions, of the Muse inspiring and the poet singing a tale of past times, have passed from the ancient epic to compositions produced under very different circumstances, and have now degenerated into unmeaning forms of speech; but they gained currency originally in their genuine and literal acceptation. If poets had from

the beginning written or recited, the predicate of singing would never have been ascribed to them; nor would it ever have become customary to employ the name of the Muse as a die to be stamped on licensed fiction, unless the practice had begun when her agency was invoked and hailed in perfect good faith. Belief, the fruit of deliberate inquiry, and a rational scrutiny of evidence, is in such an age unknown; the simple faith of the time slides in unconsciously, when the imagination and feeling are exalted; and inspired authority is at once understood, easily admitted, and implicitly confided in."

If we extend our researches over the pages of Homer, we shall speedily discover numerous other instances of a belief in divine interference in human affairs, not merely (1) in the general government of the world, in the distribution of good and evil, and the allotment of the diversified gifts, intellectual, moral, and physical, which constitute the innumerable varieties of human condition, but also (2) in the way of special suggestion, guidance, encouragement, and protection, afforded to individuals.

Illustrations of the general control exercised by the gods over the fortunes of mankind may be found in the following passages of the Iliad,—xiii. 730 ff., and of the Odyssey,—i. 347 f.; iv. 236 f.; vi. 188 f.; viii. 167–175; xvii. 218, 485 ff.

The following are illustrations of the special interference of the gods on behalf of their favourites: Iliad, i. 194 ff., 218; iii. 380 ff.; v. 1 ff.; vii. 272; xiii. 60 f., 435; xvi. 788 ff.:—Odyssey, i. 319 ff.; iii. 26 ff.; xiv. 216 f., 227; xvi. 159 ff.[33] Of the latter class of passages, I quote two specimens.

Odyssey, i. 319 ff.:

Ἡ μὲν ἄρ ὣς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
Ὄρνις δ' ὣς ἀνοπαῖα διέπτατο· τῷ δ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
Θῆκε μένος καὶ θάρσος, ὑπέμνησέν τέ ἑ πατρός
Μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν· ὁ δὲ φρεσὶν ᾗσι νοήσας
Θάμβησεν κατὰ θυμόν, ὀΐσατο γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι.

"As thus she spake, Athene flew
Aloft, and soared beyond his view.
His soul she filled with force and fire,
And stronger memory of his sire.
Amazed, he felt the inward force,
And deemed a god must be its source."

[33] Compare Prof. Blackie's dissertation on the theology of Homer in the "Classical Museum," vol. vii. pp. 414 ff.

When Telemachus urges his youth and inexperience as a reason for diffidence in approaching Nestor, Minerva says to him (Odyssey, iii. 26):

Τηλέμαχ', ἄλλα μὲν ἀντὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῇσι νοήσεις,
Ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται· οὐ γὰρ οἴω
Ὄυ σε θεῶν ἀέκητι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε.

"Some things thy mind itself shall reach,
And other things a god shall teach;
For born and bred thou ne'er hadst been
Unless they gods had will'd, I ween.

These passages, however, afford only one exemplification of the idea which runs through, and in fact created, the entire mythology of the Greeks, viz. that all the departments of life and of nature were animated, controlled, and governed by particular deities, by whom they were represented, and in whom they were personified.

The Indian mythology,—as is evident to every reader of the Vedas, as well as (to some extent) to the student of the Purāṇas,—is distinguished by the same tendency as the Grecian. Indra, Agni, Vāyu, Savitṛi, Sūrya, and many other gods are nothing else than personifications of the elements, while Vāch or Sarasvatī and some other deities, represent either the divine reason by which the more gifted men were supposed to be inspired, or some mental function, or ceremonial abstraction.

In the later religious history, however, of the two races, the Hellenic and the Indian, there is in one respect a remarkable divergence. Though the priestesses of the different oracles, and perhaps some other pretenders to prophetical intuition, were popularly regarded as speaking under a divine impulse,[34] the idea of inspiration as attaching to poems or other compositions of a religious, didactic, or philosophical character, very soon became extinct. The Greeks had no sacred Scriptures. Although a supernatural character was popularly ascribed to Pythagoras, Epimenides, and Empedocles, the Hellenic philosophers in general spoke and wrote in dependance on their own reason alone. They rarely professed to be guided by any supernatural assistance, or claimed any divine authority for their dogmas.[35] Nor (unless such

[34] See Nägelsbach's Nachhomerische Theologie, pp. 173 ff., and Dr. Karl Köhler's Prophetismus der Hebræer und die Mantik der Griechen in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältniss, (Darmstadt, 1860), pp. 39 ff.

[35] I express myself cautiously here, as a learned friend profoundly versed in the study of Plato is of opinion that there are traces in the writings of that author of a

may have been the case at a very late period) was any infallibility claimed for any of them by their successors.

In India, on the other hand, the indistinct, and perhaps hesitating, belief which some of the ancient rishis seem to have entertained in their own inspiration was not suffered to die out in the minds of later generations. On the contrary this belief grew up (as we have seen above, pp. 57–138, and 207 ff.) by degrees into a fixed persuasion that all the literary productions of those early sages had not only resulted from a supernatural impulse, but were infallible, divine, and even eternal. These works have become the sacred Scriptures of India. And in the popular opinion, if not in the estimation of the learned, most Indian works of any importance, of a religious, scientific, or philosophical kind, which were produced at a later period, have come to be regarded as inspired, as soon as the lapse of ages had removed the writers beyond familiar or traditional knowledge, and invested their names with a halo of reverence.

To return from this digression to the inquiry which was being pursued regarding the opinions of the ancient Vedic rishis on the subject of their own inspiration:

How, it will be asked, are we to reconcile this impression which the rishis manifest of being prompted by supernatural aid, with the circumstance, which seems to be no less distinctly proved by the citations made in the preceding section (pp. 232 ff.), that they frequently speak of themselves as having *made*, *fabricated*, or *generated* the hymns, without apparently betraying any consciousness that in this process they were inspired or guided by any extraneous assistance?

In reply to this I will only suggest (1) that possibly the idea of inspiration may not have been held by the earliest rishis, but may have grown up among their successors; or (2) that it may have been entertained by some rishis, and not by others; or again (3), if both ideas

claim to supernatural guidance, though by no means to infallibility. See also the mention made of the inspiration ascribed to Pythagoras, in Mr. Grote's Greece, iv. 528, 530; and the notices of Epimenides and Empedocles given by the same author, vol. iii. 112 ff., vol. vii. p. 174, and vol. viii. 465 f.; and compare on the same subjects Bp. Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece, ii. 32 ff., and 155 ff.; and Plato, Legg. i. p. 642. See also Prof. Geddes's Phædo, note P. p. 251, and the passages there referred to; and the Tract of Dr. Köhler, above cited, pp. 60 and 64.

can be traced to the same author, we may suppose that the one notion was uppermost in his mind at one moment, and the other at another; or (4) that he had no very clearly defined ideas of inspiration, and might conceive that the divine assistance of which he was conscious, or which at least he implored, did not render his hymn the less truly the production of his own mind; that, in short, the existence of a human, was not incompatible with that of a superhuman, element in its composition.

The first of these suppositions is, however, attended with this difficulty, that both conceptions, viz., that of independent unassisted composition, and that of inspiration, appear to be discoverable in all parts of the Rig-veda. As regards the second supposition, it might not be easy (in the uncertainty attaching to the Vedic tradition contained in the Anukramaṇī or Vedic index) to show that such and such hymns were written by such and such rishis, rather than by any others. It may, however, become possible by continued and careful comparison of the Vedic hymns, to arrive at some probable conclusions in regard to their authorship, so far at least as to determine that particular hymns should probably be assigned to particular eras, or families, rather than to others. I must, however, leave such investigations to be worked out, and the results applied to the present subject, by more competent scholars than myself.

III. While in many passages of the Veda, an efficacy is ascribed to the hymns, which is perhaps nothing greater than natural religion teaches all men to attribute to their devotions, in other texts a mystical, magical, or supernatural power is represented as residing in the prayers and metres. (See Weber's Vājasaneyi-Sanhitæ specimen, p. 61; and Vol. I. of this work, p. 242.) Some of the following texts are of the latter kind.

Thus in R.V. i. 67, 3, it is said:

Ajo na kshāṁ dadhāra prithivīṁ tastambha dyām mantrebhiḥ satyaiḥ |

"(Agni) who like the unborn, supported the broad earth, and upheld the sky by true prayers."

The following is part of Sāyaṇa's annotation on this verse:

Mantrair divo dhāraṇaṁ Taittirīye samāmnātaṁ | "*devāḥ vai ādityasya svarga-lokasya parācho 'tipātād abibhayuḥ* | *taṁ chhandobhir adṛihan dhṛityā*" *iti* | *yadvā satyair mantraiḥ stūyamāno 'gnir dyāṁ tastambha iti* |

"The supporting of the sky by mantras is thus recorded in the Taittirīya: 'The gods feared lest the sun should fall down from the heaven; they propped it up by metres.' Or the verse may mean that Agni, being lauded by true mantras, upheld the sky."

See also R.V. i. 96, 2, quoted above, in p. 225, and Ait. Br. ii. 33, cited in the First Volume of this work, p. 180.

i. 164, 25. *Jagatā sindhuṁ divi astabhāyad rathantare sūryam pari apaśyat | gāyatrasya samidhas tisraḥ āhus tato mahnā pra ririche mahitvā |*

"By the Jagatī metre he fixed the waters in the sky; he beheld the sun in the Rathantara (a portion of the Sāma-veda): there are said to be three divisions of the Gāyatra; hence it surpasses [all others] in power and grandeur."

iii. 53, 12. *Viśvāmitrasya rakshati brahma idam Bhāratam janam |*

"The prayer of Viśvāmitra protects this tribe of the Bharatas." (See Vol. I. pp. 242 and 342.)

v. 31, 4. *Brahmāṇaḥ Indram mahayanto arkair avardhayan Ahaye hantavai u |*

"The priests magnifying Indra by their praises, have fortified him for slaying Agni."

Compare the following texts already quoted, iii. 32, 13, p. 226; vi. 44, 13, p. 227; viii. 6, 11, p. 228; viii. 8, 8, p. 243; viii. 44, 12, p. 230; viii. 63, 8, p. 230; x. 67, 13, p. 244; and also i. 10, 5; ii. 11, 2; ii. 12, 14; iii. 34, 1, 2; v. 31, 10; viii. 6, 1, 21, 31, 35; viii. 13, 16; viii. 14, 5, 11; viii. 82, 27; and viii. 87, 8, where a similar power of augmenting, or strengthening, the gods is attributed to the hymns.

v. 40, 6. . . . . *Gūḷham sūryaṁ tamasā apavratena turīyeṇa brahmaṇā avindad Atriḥ |* 8. . . . . *Atriḥ sūryasya divi chakshur ādhāt svarbhānor apa māyāḥ aghukshat |* 9. *Yaṁ vai sūryaṁ svarbhānus tamasā avidhyad āsurah | Atrayas tam anvavindan na hi anye aśaknuvan |*

"Atri, by his fourth prayer, discovered the sun which had been concealed by the hostile darkness. 8. . . . . Atri placed the eye of the sun in the sky, and dispelled the illusions of Svarbhānu. 9. The Atris discovered the sun, which Svarbhānu, of the Asura race, had pierced with darkness; no other could [effect this]." (See Vol. I. of this work, pp. 242 and 469.)

vi. 75, 19. . . . . *Devās tam̃ sarve dhūrvantu brahma varma mamāntaram* |

"May all the gods destroy him; the prayer is my protecting armour."

vii. 19, 11. *Nu Indra śūra stavamānaḥ ūtī brahma-jūtas tanvā vavṛidhasva ityādi* |

"Heroic Indra, lauded, and impelled by our prayers, grow in body through (our) aid [or longing]," etc. (Compare viii. 13, 17, 25.)

vii. 33, 3. . . . . *Even nu kam̃ dāśarājñe Sudāsam prāvad Indro brahmaṇā vo Vasishṭhāḥ* | 5. . . . . *Vasishṭhasya stuvataḥ Indraḥ aśrod uruṁ Tritsubhyaḥ akriṇod u lokam* |

"Indra has delivered Sūdas in the combat of the ten kings through your prayer, o Vasishṭhas. 5. Indra heard Vasishṭha when he praised, and opened a wide place for the Tritsus." (See Vol. I. pp. 242 and 319.)

viii. 49, 9. *Pāhi naḥ Agne ekayā pāhi uta dvitīyayā* | *pāhi gīrbhis tisṛibhir ūrjāmpate pāhi chatasṛibhir vaso* |

"Protect us, Agni, through the first, protect us through the second, protect us, lord of power, through three hymns, protect us through four, thou bright god."

The following passage celebrates the numbers of the metres:

x. 114, 8, 9. *Sahasradhā panchadaśāni ukthā yāvad dyāvā-pṛithivī tāvad it tat* | *Sahasradhā mahimānaḥ sahasram̃ yāvad brahma vishṭhitam̃ tāvatī vāk* | 9. *Kaś chhandasām̃ yogam āveda dhīraḥ ko dhishnyām prati vācham papāda* | *kam ṛitvijām̃ ashṭamam̃ śūram āhur harī Indrasya ni chikāya kaḥ svit* |

8. "There are a thousand times fifteen *ukthas*; that extends as far as heaven and earth. A thousand times a thousand are their glorious manifestations; speech is commensurate with devotion. 9. What sage knows the [whole] series [or application] of the metres? Who has attained devotional speech? Whom do they call the eighth hero among priests? Who has perceived the two steeds of Indra?"

(The word *dhishnya* is said by Yāska, Nirukta, viii. 3, to be = to *dhishaṇya*, and that again to be = to *dhishaṇā-bhava*, "springing" from *dhishaṇā*, "speech," or "sacred speech."

I conclude the series of texts relating to the power of the mantras by quoting the whole of the 130th hymn of the 10th Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda:

1. *Yo yajño viśvatas tantubhis tataḥ ekaśataṁ deva-karmebhir āyataḥ* |

ime vayanti pitaro ye āyayuḥ pra vaya apa vaya āsate tate | 2. *Puṃān enam tanute utkṛiṇatti pumāṃ vi tatne adhi nāke asmin* | *ime mayūkhāḥ upa shedur ū sadaḥ sāmāni chakrus tasarāṇi otave* | 3. *Kā āsīt praṃā pratimā kiṁ nidānam ājyam kim āsīt paridhiḥ kaḥ āsīt* | *chhandaḥ kim āsīt prāugaṁ kim uktham yad devāḥ devaṃ ayajanta viśve* | 4. *Agner gāyatrī abhavat sayugvā ushṇihayā Savitā sambabhūva* | *anushṭubhā Somaḥ ukthair mahasvān Bṛihaspater bṛihatī vāchaṃ āvat* | 5. *Virāṇ Mitrāvaruṇayor abhiśrīr Indrasya trishṭub iha bhāgáḥ ahnaḥ* | *Viśvān devān jagatī āviveśa tena chāklṛipre ṛishayo manushyāḥ* | 6. *Chāklṛipre tena ṛishayo manushyāḥ yajne jāte pitaraḥ naḥ purāṇe* | *paśyan manye manasā chakshasā tān ye imaṁ yajnam ayajanta pūrve* | 7. *Saha-stomāḥ saha-chhandasaḥ āvṛitaḥ saha-pramāḥ ṛishayaḥ sapta daivyāḥ* | *pūrveshāṃ panthām anudṛiśya dhīrāḥ anvālebhire rathyo na raśmīn* |

"1. The [web of] sacrifice which is stretched on every side with threads,[36] which is extended with one hundred [threads], the work of the gods,—these fathers who have arrived weave it; they sit where it is extended, [saying] 'weave forwards, weave backwards.' 2. The Man stretches it out and spins it, the Man has extended it over this sky. These rays approached the place of sacrifice; they made the Sāma verses the shuttles for the woof. 3. What was the measure [of the ceremonial], what the form, what the type, what the oblation, what the enclosing fuel, what the metre, what the *prāuga*, and what the *uktha*, when all the gods sacrificed to the god? 4. The gāyatrī was associated with Āgni; Savitṛi was conjoined with the ushṇihā; and Soma, gladdening (us) through hymns (*ukthas*), with the anushṭubh; the bṛihatī attached itself to the speech of Bṛihaspati. 5. The virāj adhered to Mitra and Varuṇa; the trishṭubh, a portion of the day (?), [accompanied] Indra. The jagatī entered into the Viśvedevas. By this means human rishis were successful. 6. By this means our human fathers the rishis were successful, when this ancient sacrifice

[36] In R.V. x. 57, 2, we find the same word *tantu* occurring: *Yo yajnasya prasādhanas tantur deveshu ātatas tam āhutaṁ naśīmahi* | "May we obtain him [Agni] who is offered, who is the fulfiller of sacrifice, who is the thread stretched to the gods." (Comp. the versions given by Prof. Müller in the Journ. R. A. S. for 1866, pp. 449, and 457.) Prof. Roth quotes under the word *tantu* the following text from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 2, 6: *Ā tantum Agnir divyaṁ tatāna* | *tvaṁ nas tantur uta setur Agne tvam panthāḥ bhavasi deva-yānaḥ* | "Agni has stretched the divine thread. Thou, Agni, art our thread and bridge; thou art the path leading to the gods."

was celebrated. I believe that I behold with my mind, [as] with an eye, those ancients who performed this sacrifice. 7. The seven wise and divine rishis, with hymns, with metres, [with] ritual forms, and according to the prescribed measures, contemplating the path of the ancients, have followed it, like charioteers seizing the reins."

I shall not attempt to explain the meaning and purport of this obscure and mystical hymn, which has been translated by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays, i. 34, 35, or p. 18 of Williams and Norgate's ed.). My object in quoting the verses is to show how the various metres are associated with the different deities, in this primeval and mysterious rite, and how a certain sanctity is thus imparted to them. In verse 7, it will be observed, the rishis are spoken of as seven in number, and as divine. The Atharva-veda (x. 7, 43, 44) gives the second verse somewhat differently from the Rig-veda, as follows: *Pumān enad vayati udgṛiṇatti pumān enad vi jabhāra adhi nāke | ime mayūkhāḥ upa tastabhur divaṁ sāmāni chakrus tasarāṇi vātave |* "The Man weaves and spins this: the Man has spread this over the sky. These rays have propped up the sky; they have made the Sāma-verses shuttles for the woof."

IV. But whatever may have been the nature or the source of the supernal illumination to which the rishis laid claim, it is quite clear that some among them at least made no pretensions to anything like a perfect knowledge of all subjects, human and divine, as they occasionally confess their ignorance of matters in which they felt a deep interest and curiosity. This is shown in the following texts:

R.V. i. 164, 5. *Pākaḥ pṛichchhāmi manasā avijānan devānām enā nihitā padāni | vatse bashkaye adhi sapta tantūn vi tatnire kavayaḥ otavai ū |* 6. *Achikitvān chikitasaś chid atra kavīn pṛichchhāmi vidmane na vidvān | vi yas tastambha shaḷ imā rajāṁsi ajasya rūpe kim api svid ekam |* 37. *Na vi jānāmi yad iva idam asmi niṇyaḥ sannaddho manasā charāmi | yadā mā āgan prathamajāḥ ṛitasya ād id vāchaḥ aśnuve bhāgam asyāḥ |*

"5. Ignorant, not knowing in my mind, I enquire after these hidden abodes of the gods; the sages have stretched out seven threads for a woof over the yearling calf [or over the sun, the abode of all things]. 6. Not comprehending, I ask those sages who comprehend this matter; unknowing, [I ask] that I may know; what is the one thing, in the form of the uncreated one, who has upheld these six

worlds? 37. I do not recognize if I am like this; I go on perplexed and bound in mind. When the first-born sons of sacrifice [or truth] come to me, then I enjoy a share of that word."

I do not attempt to explain the proper sense of these dark and mystical verses. It is sufficient for my purpose that they clearly express ignorance on the part of the speaker. Prof. Wilson's translation of the passages may be compared. Prof. Müller, Anc. Ind. Lit. p. 567, renders verse 37 as follows: "I know not what this is that I am like; turned inward I walk, chained in my mind. When the first-born of time comes near me, then I obtain the portion of this speech."

x. 31, 7. *Kiṁ svid vanaṁ kaḥ u sa vṛikshaḥ āsa yato dyāvā-pṛithivī nishṭatakshuḥ | santasthāne ajare itaūtī ahāni pūrvīr ushaso jaranta |*

"What was the forest, what the tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth, which continue to exist undecaying, whilst days, and many dawns have passed away?"

Compare x. 81, 4, where the first of these lines is repeated and is followed by the words: *Manīshiṇo manasā pṛichhata id u tad yad adhyatishṭhad bhuvanāni dhārayan* | "Ask in your minds, ye intelligent, what that was on which he took his stand when upholding the worlds;" and see verse 2 of the same hymn.

i. 185, 1. *Katarā pūrvā katarā aparā ayoḥ kathā jāte kavayo ko vi veda |*

"Which of these two (Heaven and Earth) is the first? which is the last? How were they produced? Who, o sages, knows?"

x. 88, 18. *Kati agnayaḥ kati sūryāsaḥ kati ushasaḥ kati u svid āpaḥ | na upaspijaṁ vaḥ pitaro vadāmi pṛichchhāmi vaḥ kavayo vidmane kam |*

"How many fires are there? how many suns? how many dawns? how many waters? I do not, fathers, say this to you in jest; I really ask you, sages, in order that I may know."

Compare x. 114, 9, above, p. 227.

x. 129, 5. *Tiraśchīno vitato raśmir eshām adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt | retodhāḥ āsan mahimānaḥ āsan svadhā avastat prayatiḥ parastāt |* 6. *Kaḥ addha veda kaḥ iha pravochat kutaḥ ājātā kutaḥ iyaṁ visṛishtiḥ | arvāg devāḥ asya visarjanena atha kaḥ veda yataḥ ābabhūva |* 7. *Iyaṁ visṛishṭir yataḥ ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na | yaḥ asya adhyakshaḥ parame vyoman so anga veda yadi vā na veda |*

5. "Their ray [or cord], obliquely extended, was it below, or was it above? There were generative sources, and there were great powers,

svadhā (a self-supporting principle) below, and effort above. 6. Who knows, who hath here declared, whence this creation was produced, whence [it came]? The gods were subsequent to the creation of this universe; who then knows whence it sprang? 7. Whence this creation sprang, whether any one formed it or not,—he who, in the highest heavens, is the overseer of this universe,—he indeed knows, or he does not know."

See the translation of the whole hymn by Mr. Colebrooke in his Essays, i. 33, 34, or p. 17 of Williams and Norgate's ed. See also Prof. Müller's version and comment in pp. 559–564 of his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature; and my own rendering in the article on the "progress of the Vedic religion towards abstract conceptions of the Deity," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 345 f.

We have seen (above, p. 62) that a claim is set up (by some unspecified writer quoted by Sāyaṇa) on behalf of the Veda that it can impart an understanding of all things, past and future, subtile, proximate, and remote; and that according to Śankara Āchāryya (on the Brahma-sūtras, i. 1, 3) as cited above, p. 106, the knowledge which it manifests, approaches to omniscience. All such proud pretensions are, however, plainly enough disavowed by the rishis who uttered the complaints of ignorance which I have just adduced. It is indeed urged by Sāyaṇa (see above, p. 64) in answer to the objection, that passages like R.V. x. 129, 5, 6, can possess no authority as sources of knowledge, since they express doubt,—that this is not their object, but that their intention is to intimate by a figure of speech the extreme profundity of the divine essence, and the great difficulty which any persons not well versed in the sacred writings must experience in comprehending it. There can, however, be little doubt that the authors of the passages I have cited did feel their own ignorance, and intended to give utterance to this feeling. As, however, such confessions of ignorance on the part of the rishis, if admitted, would have been incompatible with the doctrine that the Veda was an infallible source of divine knowledge, it became necessary for the later theologians who held that doctrine to explain away the plain sense of those expressions.

It should, however, be noticed that these confessions of ignorance and fallibility are by no means inconsistent with the supposition that the rishis may have conceived themselves to be animated and directed in

the composition of their hymns by a divine impulse. But although the two rivals, Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra, whether in the belief of their own superhuman insight, or to enhance their own importance, and recommend themselves to their royal patrons, talk proudly about the wide range of their knowledge (see above, pp. 246 ff.), it is not necessary to imagine that, either in their idea or in that of the other ancient Indian sages, inspiration and infallibility were convertible or co-extensive terms. The rishis may have believed that the supernatural aid which they had received enabled them to perform what they must otherwise have left unattempted, but that after all it communicated only a partial illumination, and left them still liable to mistake and doubt.

I must also remark that this belief in their own inspiration which I imagine some of the rishis to have held, falls very far short of the conceptions which most of the later writers, whether Vaiśeshika, Mīmānsaka, or Vedāntist, entertain in regard to the supernatural origin and authority of the Veda. The gods from whom the rishis supposed that they derived their illumination, at least Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Soma, Pūshan, etc., would all fall under the category of productions, or divinities created in time. This is clearly shown by the comments of Śankara on the Brahma Sūtras, i. 3, 28, (above, pp. 101 ff.); and is otherwise notorious (see my "Contributions to a knowledge of the Vedic Theogony and Mythology" in the Jl. R. A. S. for 1864, p. 63). But if these gods were themselves created, and even (as we are told in the Rig-veda itself, x. 129, 6, cited in p. 280) produced subsequently to some other parts of the creation, the hymns with which they inspired the rishis, could not have been eternal. The only one of the deities referred to in the Rig-veda as sources of illumination, to whom this remark would perhaps not apply, is Vāch or Sarasvatī, who is identified with the supreme Brahma in the passage of the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad quoted above (p. 208, note 179); though this idea no doubt originated subsequently to the era of the hymns. But it is not to created gods, like Agni, Indra, and others of the same class, that the origin of the Veda is referred by the Vaiśeshikas, Mīmānsakas, or Vedantists. The Vaiśeshikas represent the eternal Īśvara as the author of the Veda (see the passages which I have quoted in pp. 118 ff. and 209). The Mīmānsakas and Vedantists, as we have seen (pp. 70 ff., 99 ff. and 208),

either affirm that it is uncreated, or derive it from the eternal Brahma. And even those writers who may attribute the composition of the Veda to the personal and created Brahmā (see pp. 69, 105 f. and 208), with the Naiyāyikas who merely describe it as the work of a competent author (see pp. 116 f. and 209), and the Sānkhyas (see pp. 135 and 208), concur with the other schools in affirming its absolute infallibility. Their view, consequently (unless we admit an exception in reference to Vāch), differs from that of the Vedic rishis themselves, who do not seem to have had any idea, either of their hymns being uncreated, or derived from the eternal Brahma, or of their being infallible.

As regards the relation of the rishis to deities like Indra, it is also deserving of notice that later mythologists represent the former, not only as quite independent of the latter, and as gifted with an inherent capacity of raising themselves by their own austerities to the enjoyment of various superhuman faculties, but even as possessing the power of rivalling the gods themselves, and taking possession of their thrones. See the stories of Nahusha and Viśvāmitra in the First Volume of this work, particularly pp. 310 ff. and 404. Compare also the passages from the Rig-veda, x. 154, 2, and x. 167, 1, quoted above, p. 250, where the rishis are said to have attained to heaven, and Indra to have conquered it, by austere-fervour (*tapas*).

SECT. V.—*Texts from the Upanishads, showing the opinions of the authors regarding their own inspiration, or that of their predecessors.*

I shall now adduce some passages from different Upanishads, to show what opinions their authors entertained either in regard to their own inspiration, or that of the earlier sages, from whom they assert that their doctrine was derived by tradition.

I. Śvetāśvatara Up., v. 2 (already quoted above, p. 184). *Yo yoniṁ yonim adhitishṭhaty eko viśvāni rūpāṇi yonīś cha sarvāḥ | ṛishiṁ pra sūtaṁ Kapilaṁ yas tam agre jnānair bibharttí jāyamānaṁ cha paśyet |*

"He who alone presides over every place of production, over all forms, and all sources of birth, who formerly nourished with various knowledge that rishi Kapila, who had been born, and beheld him at his birth."

II. Śvetāśvatara Up. vi. 21. *Tapaḥ-prabhāvād veda-prasādāch cha Brahma ha Śvetāśvataro 'tha vidvān | atyāśramibhyaḥ paramam pavitram provācha samyag ṛishi-sangha-jushṭam |*

"By the power of austere-fervour, and by the grace of the Veda, the wise Śvetāśvatara declared perfectly to the men in the highest of the four orders, the supreme and holy Brahma, who is sought after by the company of rishis." (Dr. Röer's translation, p. 68, follows the commentator in rendering the first words of the verse thus: "By the power of his austerity, and the grace of God." This, however, is not the proper meaning of the words *veda-prasādāch cha*, if the correctess of that reading, which is given both in the text and commentary (Bibl. Ind. p. 372), be maintained. Śankara interprets the words thus: "*Veda-prasādāch cha*" | *kaivalyam uddiśya tad-adhikāra-siddhaye bahu-janmasu samyag ārādhita-parameśvarasya prasādāch cha* | "'By the grace of the Veda:' by the grace of the supreme God who had been perfectly adored by him during many births in order to acquire the prerogative of (studying) it (the Veda) in reference to *kaivalya* (isolation from mundane existence);" and thus appears to recognize this reading.

In the 18th verse of the same section of this Upanishad the Vedas are said to have been given by the supreme God to Brahmā:

Yo Brahmāṇaṁ vidadhāti pūrvaṁ yo vai vedāṁś cha prahiṇoti tasmai | taṁ ha devam ātma-buddhi-prakāśam mumukshur vai śaraṇam aham prapadye |

"Seeking after final liberation, I take refuge with that God, the manifester of the knowledge of himself, who at first created Brahmā and gave him the Vedas."

III. Muṇḍaka Up. i. 1 ff. (quoted above, p. 30, more at length). *Brahmā devānām prathamaḥ sambabhūva viśvasya karttā bhuvanasya goptā | Sa brahma-vidyāṁ sarva-vidyā-pratishṭhām Atharvāya jyeshṭha-putrāya prāha |*

"Brahmā was born the first of the gods, he who is the maker of the universe and the supporter of the world. He declared the science of Brahma, the foundation of all the sciences, to Atharva, his eldest son."

IV. The Chhāndogya Up. viii. 15, 1, p. 625 ff. concludes as follows: *Tad ha etad Brahmā Prajāpataye uvācha Prajāpatir Manave Manuḥ prajābhyaḥ | ācharyya-kulād vedam adhītya yathā vidhānaṁ guroḥ karmātiśeshena 'bhisamāvṛitya kuṭumbe śuchau deśe svādhyāyam adhīyāno*

dhārmikān vidadhad ātmani sarvendriyāṇi sampratishṭhāpya ahiṁsan sarva-bhūtāni anyatra tīrthebhyaḥ sa khalv evaṁ varttayan yavad-āyusham Brahma-lokam abhisampadyate na cha punar āvarttate na cha punar āvarttate |

"This [doctrine] Brahmā declared to Prajāpati, Prajāpati declared it to Manu, and Manu to his descendants. Having received instruction in the Veda from the family of his religious teacher in the prescribed manner, and in the time which remains after performing his duty to his preceptor; and when he has ceased from this, continuing his Vedic studies at home, in his family, in a pure spot, communicating a knowledge of duty [to his pupils], withdrawing all his senses into himself, doing injury to no living creature, away from holy places,—thus passing all his days, a man attains to the world of Brahma, and does not return again, and does not return again [*i.e.* is not subjected to any future births]."

I quote the commencement of Śankara's comment on this passage:

Tad ha etad ātma-jnānaṁ sopakaraṇam om ity etad aksharam ity-ādyaiḥ saha upāsanais tad-vāchakena granthena ashṭādhyāya-lakshaṇena saha Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ Parameśvaro vā tad-dvāreṇa Prajāpataye Kaśyapāya uvācha | asāv api Manave sva-putrāya | Manuḥ prajābhyaḥ | ity evam śruty-artha-sampradāya-paramparayā āgatam upanishad-vijnānam adyāpi vidvatsv avagamyate |

"This knowledge of soul, with its instruments, with the sacred monosyllable *Om* and other formulæ of devotion, and with the book distinguished as containing eight chapters, which sets forth all these topics, [viz. the Chhāndogya Upanishad itself] was declared by Brahmā Hiraṇyagarbha, or by Parameśvara (the supreme God), through his agency, to the Prajāpati Kaśyapa. The latter in his turn declared it to his son Manu, and Manu to his descendants. In this manner the sacred knowledge contained in the Upanishads, having been received through successive transmission of the sense of the Veda from generation to generation, is to this day understood among learned men."

In an earlier passage of the same Upanishad iii. 11, 3 f. (partly quoted in the First Volume of this work, p. 195), we find a similar statement in reference to a particular branch of sacred knowledge (the *madhu-jnāna*):

3. *Na ha vai asmai udeti na nimlochati sakṛid divā ha êva asmai bha-*

vati yaḥ etām evam brahmopanishadaṁ veda | 4. *Tad ha etad Brahmā Prajāpataye uvācha Prajāpatir Manave Manuḥ prajābhyaḥ* | *tad etad Uddālakāya Āruṇaye jyeshṭhāya puttrāya pitā brahma uvācha* | 5. *Idaṁ vāva taj-jyeshṭhāya puttrāya pitā brahma prabrūyāt pṛṇāyyāya vā antavāsine* (6) *na anyasmai kasmaichaṇa* | *yadyapy asmai imām adbhiḥ parigṛihītāṁ dhanasya pūrṇāṁ dadyāt etad eva tato bhūyaḥ ity etad eva tato bhūyaḥ iti* |

"3. For him who thus knows this sacred mystery, the sun neither rises nor sets, but one day perpetually lasts. 4. This (*Madhu-jñāna*) was declared by Brahmā to Prajāpati, by Prajāpati to Manu, and by Manu to his descendants. This sacred knowledge was further declared to Uddālaka Āruṇi by his father. 5. Let a father expound it to his eldest son, or to a capable pupil, but to no one else. 6. If any one were to give him this entire earth, which is surrounded by water, full of wealth, this sacred knowledge would be more than that, yes, would be more than that."

Compare Manu, xi. 243, where that Code is said to have been created by Prajāpati (First Volume of this work, p. 394); and Bhagavad Gītā iv. 1, where the doctrine of that treatise is said to have been declared by Kṛishṇa to Vivasvat (the Sun), by Vivasvat to Manu, by him to Ikshvāku, and then handed down by tradition from one royal rishi to another (Vol. I. p. 508).

APPENDIX.

Page 4, *line* 5.

I have omitted here the verse from the Atharva-veda, xi. 7, 24 (quoted by Professor Goldstücker in his Paṇini, p. 70): *Ṛichaḥ sāmāni chhandāṁsi purāṇaṁ yajushā saha | uchchhishṭāj jajnire sarve divi devāḥ diviśritāḥ* | "From the leavings of the sacrifice sprang the Rich- and Sāman-verses, the metres, the Purāṇa with the Yajush, and all the gods who dwell in the sky."

Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with the following amendments in my translations in pp. 7 and 8:

Page 7, *line* 13.

For "the text called *sāvitrī* [or *gāyatrī*]" he would substitute "the verse dedicated to Savitṛi."

Page 7, *line* 16.

For "the mouth of Brahma" he proposes "the beginning of the Veda." (Sir W. Jones translates "the mouth, or *principal part* of the *Veda*.")

Page 8, *line* 8.

For "from Vāch (speech) as their world" he proposes "out of the sphere (or compass) of speech."

Page 8, *line* 8.

For "Vāch was his: she was created" he proposes "For in creating the Vedas, he had also created Vāch."

Page 8, *line* 13.

For "He gave it an impulse" he proposes "He touched it."

Page 8, *line* 16.

For "Moreover it was sacred knowledge, which was created from that Male in front" he proposes "For even from that Male (not only from the waters) Brahma was created first."

Page 8, *line* 16.

This passage of the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad corresponds to Satapatha Brahmaṇa x. 6, 5, 5.

Page 10, *line* 2.

"May the brilliant deity," etc., Professor Aufrecht would prefer to translate the second line of the verse, beginning *sudevaḥ* (p. 9, l. 6 from the foot), "Goodness (the good god) only knows where they put the earth which was thrown up (*nirvapaṇa*)."

Page 20, *line* 17.

See Āśvalāyanas Gṛihya Sūtras, pp. 155, and 157 ff.

Page 22, *line* 13, *note* 25.

I quote two verses from Manu, of which the second confirms the correctness of the rendering I have given of the words *ā ha eva sa nakhāgrebhyas tapyate*, and the first illustrates the text of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka cited in the note: Manu ii. 166. *Vedam eva sadā 'bhyasyet tapas tapsyan dvijottamaḥ | vedābhyāso hi viprasya tapaḥ param ihochyate |* 167. *"Ā haiva sa nakhāgrebhyaḥ" paranañ "tapyate" tapaḥ | yaḥ sragvy api dvijo 'dhīte svādhyāyañ śaktito 'nvaham |* "Let a good Brāhman who desires to perform tapas constantly study the Veda; for such study is a Brāhman's highest tapas. 167. That twice-born man who daily studies the Veda to the utmost of his power, even though (luxuriously) wearing a garland of flowers (really) performs the highest tapas to the very extremities of his nails." This verse, it will be observed, quotes verbatim one of the phrases of the Brāhmaṇa, and gives definiteness to its sense by adding the words *paramañ tapaḥ*. Verses 165 ff. of the same book of Manu prescribe the abstemious mode of life which the student (*brahmachārin*) is to follow whilst living in his teacher's house. The Mahābhārata, Udyoga-parvan, 1537, thus states the conditions of successful study in general; *Sukhārthinaḥ kuto vidyā nāsti vidyārthinaḥ sukham |*

sukhārthī vā tyajed vidyām vidyārthī vā tyajet sukham | "How can one who seeks ease acquire science? Ease does not belong to him who pursues science. Either let the seeker of ease abandon science, or the seeker of science abandon ease."

Page 30, *line* 17.

Compare the lines quoted by the Commentator on Sāṇḍilya's Bhakti-sūtra, 83, p. 60, from the Mahābhārata, Sāntiparvan, Moksha-dharma, verses 13,551 ff.: *Sahopanishado vedān ye viprāḥ samyag āsthitāḥ* | *paṭhanti vidhim āsthāya ye chāpi yatidharmiṇaḥ* | *tato viśishṭām jānāmi gatim ekāntināṁ nṛiṇām* | "I regard the destination of Ekāntins (persons devoted to the One as their end) as superior to that of Brāhmans who perfectly study the Vedas, including the Upanishads, according to rule, as well as to that of those who follow the practices of ascetics (*yatis*)."

Page 34, *line* 1.

Perhaps this was scarcely a suitable passage to be quoted as depreciatory of the Veda, as in such a stage of transcendental absorption as is here described all the ordinary standards of estimation have ceased to be recognized.

Page 43, *line* 10.

With the expression *hṛid-akāśa*, "the æther of the heart," compare the passage quoted from the Veda in Śankara's commentary on Brahma Sūtra iii. 2, 35 (p. 873): "*Yo 'yaṁ vahirdhā purushād ākāśo yo 'yam antaḥ-purushe ākāśo yo 'yam antar-hṛidaye ākāśaḥ* | "This æther which is external to a man, this æther which is within a man, and this æther which is within the heart." See also the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad ii. 5, 10 and iii. 7, 12.

Page 44, *line* 1.

See the Yoga aphorisms i. 2 ff. as cited and explained by Dr. Ballantyne.[1] The second aphorism defines *yoga* to be "a stoppage of the functions of the mind" (*Yogaś chitta-vṛitti-nirodhaḥ*). "The mind then abides in the state of the spectator, *i.e.* the Soul" (*tadā drashṭuḥ svarūpe 'vasthānam*—Aph. 3). "At other times it takes the form of the

[1] Two fasciculi only, containing two Pādas and 106 Sūtras, were published at Allahabad in 1852 and 1853; but a continuation of Dr. B.'s work has been commenced in the "Pandit" for Sept. 1868.

functions" (*vṛitti-sārūpyam itaratra*—Aph. 4). These functions, or modifications (as Dr. Ballantyne translates) are fivefold, and either painful, or devoid of pain, viz. proof, or right notion (*pramāṇa*), mistake (*viparyyaya*), groundless imagination (*vikalpa*), sleep (*nidrā*), recollection (*smṛiti*) — Aphorisms 5–11. See also Dr. Ballantyne's Sānkhya Aphorisms, iii. 31 ff.

Page 57, *note* 61.

With the subject of this note compare the remarks in p. 108, and the quotations from Dr. Roer and Professor Müller in pp. 173, 175, and 193.

Page 62, *note* 66.

Professor Cowell does not think that the text is corrupt. He would translate it, "the other *pramāṇas*, beside *śabda*, (scil. perception and inference), cannot be even supposed in a case like this" (which refers to such a transcendental object as the existence of an eternal Veda). Sāyaṇa, in his reply to the objector, recapitulates the applicable proofs as *śruti*, *smṛiti*, and *loka-prasiddhi*,—all three only different kinds of testimony, *śabda*.

Page 63, *lines* 11 f., *and note* 68.

Compare pp. 322 f., 329 f., 334 f., and 337 of my article "On the Interpretation of the Veda," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866.

Page 84, *note* 89, *and page* 180, *line* 7.

I have been favoured by Professor Cowell with the following note on *kālātyayāpadishṭa*:

"My Calcutta Pandit considered this fallacy to be the same as that more usually called *bādha* (cf. too Bhāshāparichchheda, śl. 70, 77, and the Bengali translation, p. 65). Its definition is *pakshe sādhyābhāvaḥ*. The Tarka-sangraha defines a *hetu* as *bādhita*, 'when the absence of what it seeks to prove is established for certain by another proof,' as in the argument *vahnir anushṇo dravyatvāt*. The essence of this fallacy is that you deny the *major*, and therefore it does not matter whether you accept the middle term in itself or not. It is involved in the overthrow of the major term. I should translate it the 'precluded argument,' — it might have been plausible if it had not been put out of court by something which settles

the point,—it is advanced too late (the *pre* in '*pre*cluded' expresses the *kālātīta* of the old name). This corresponds to the account in the Nyāya-sūtra-vṛitti: *Kālasya sādhana-kālasyātyaye 'bhāve 'padishṭaḥ prayukto hetur | etena sādhyābhāvapramālakshaṇārtha iti sūchitam | sādhyābhāvanirṇaye sādhanāsambhavāt | Ayam eva bādhitasādhyaka iti gīyate.* The Vṛitti goes on to say that you need not prove *vyabhichāra* (*i.e.* that your opponent's *hetu* or middle term goes too far, as in *parvato dhumavān vahneḥ* where *vahni* is a *savyabhichāro hetuḥ*) in order to establish the *bādha*. I should therefore prefer to translate the passage from the Vedārtha-prakāśa, p. 84, 'your alleged middle-term *vākyatva*, the possessing the properties of a common sentence, is liable to two objections,—(1) it is opposed by the fact that no author was ever perceived, and (2) it also is precluded by weighty evidence (which proves that your proposed major term is irrelevant).' Sāyaṇa then adds his reasons for each objection,—for the *first*, in the words from *yathā Vyāsa* down to *upalabdhaḥ*; for the *second*, in the fact that *smṛiti* and *śruti* agree in the eternity of the Veda (the *pūrvam* I suppose refers to p. 3 of the Calcutta printed text), and that even if the Supreme Spirit be the author he is not *purushaḥ* in the sense in which the objector uses the term. Either way, the major term of the objector's syllogism *paurusheya* is precluded, *bādhita;* or, in the technical language of the Nyāya, Sāyaṇa establishes an absence from the minor term (*paksha*) of the alleged major term (*sādhya*); and hence no conclusion can be drawn from the proposed syllogism. I may add that I have also looked into Vātsyāyaṇa, but his explanation seems to me an instance of what my Pandit used so often to impress on me, that the modern logic (which such a late mediæval writer as Sāyaṇa follows) is not always that of the Nyāyabhāshya. He makes the error lie in the example, *i.e.* in the induction; and it is therefore, as Professor Goldstücker says, a 'vicious generalization.'"

Page 88, *note* 95.

Professor Cowell disagrees with the explanation I have hazarded of the object of the sentence in the text to which this note refers. He thinks that its purport, as shewn by the word *vyabhichārāt*, is to intimate that the former of the two alternative suppositions would prove too much, as it would also apply to such detached stanzas as the one

referred to, of which the author, although unknown to some persons, was not necessarily unknown to all, as his contemporaries no doubt knew who wrote it, and his descendants, as well as others, might perhaps still be aware of the fact. In this case, therefore, we have an instance of a composition of which some persons did not know the origin, but which nevertheless was not superhuman (*apaurusheya*). This is no doubt the correct explanation.

Page 99, *line* 1.

The argument in proof of the incompetence of the Śūdras for the acquisition of the highest divine knowledge is contained in Brahma Sūtras i. 3, 34–38. As the subject may possess an interest for any educated persons of this class into whose hands this book may fall in India, I extract the entire discussion of the question:

34. "*Śug asya tad-anādara-śravaṇāt tad-ādravaṇāt sūchyate hi*" | *yathā manushyādhikāra-niyamam apodya devādīnām api vīdyāsv adhikāraḥ uktas tathaiva dvijāty-adhikāra-niyamāpavādena śūdrasya apy adhikāraḥ syād ity etām āśankāṁ nivarttayitum idam adhikaraṇam ārabhyate | tattra śūdrasya apy adhikāraḥ syād iti tāvat prāptam arthitva-sāmarthyayoḥ sambhavāt | tasmāch "chhūdro yajne 'navaklṛiptaḥ" iti-vach chhūdro vidyāyām anavaklṛiptaḥ iti nishedhāśravaṇāt | yach cha karmasv anadhikāra-kāraṇaṁ śūdrasya anagnitvaṁ na tad vidyāsv adhikārasya apavādakam | na hy āhavanīyādi-rahitena vidyā vedituṁ na śakyate | bhavati cha lingaṁ śūdrādhikārasya upodbalakam | saṁvarga-vidyāyāṁ hi Jānaśrutim Pautrāyaṇaṁ śuśrūshuṁ śūdra-śabdena parāmṛiśati "aha hāre tvā śūdra tava eva saha gobhir astv" iti | Vidura-prabhritayaś cha śūdra-yoni-prabhavāḥ api viśishṭa-vijnāna-sampannāḥ smaryyante | tasmād adhikriyate śūdro vidyāsu | ity evam prāpte brūmaḥ | na śūdrasya adhikāro vedādhyayanābhāvāt | adhīta-vedo hi vidita-vedārtho vedārtheshv adhikriyate | na cha śūdrasya vedādhyayanam asty upanayana-pūrvakatvād vedādhyayanasya upanayanasya cha-varṇa-traya-vishayatvāt | yat tv arthitvaṁ na tad asati sāmarthye 'dhikāra-kāraṇam bhavati | sāmarthyam api na laukikaṁ kevalam adhikāra-kāraṇam bhavati śāstrīye 'rthe śāstrīyasya sāmarthyasya apekshitatvāt śāstrīyasya cha sāmarthyasya adhyayana-nirākaraṇena nirākṛitatvāt | yach cha idaṁ śūdro yajne 'navaklṛiptaḥ iti tad nyāya-pūrvakatvād vidyāyām apy anavaklṛiptatvaṁ dyotayati nyāyasya sādhāraṇatvāt | yat punaḥ saṁvarga-vidyāyāṁ śūdra-

śabda-śravaṇaṁ lingam manyase na tal lingaṁ nyāyābhāvāt | nyāyokter hi linga-darśanaṁ dyotakam bhavati na cha attra nyāyo 'sti | kāmaṁ cha ayaṁ śūdra-śabdaḥ saṁvarga-vidyāyām eva ekasyāṁ śūdram adhikuryyāt tad-vishayatvād na sarvāsu vidyāsu | arthavāda-sthatvāt na tu kvachid apy ayaṁ śūdram adhikarttum utsahate | śakyate cha ayaṁ śudra-śabdo 'dhikṛita-vishaye yojayitum | katham iti | uchyate | "'kam u are enam etat santaṁ sayugvānam iva Rainkam āttha'" (Chāndogya Upanishad, iv. 1, 3.) ity asmād haṁsa-vākyād ātmano 'nādaraṁ śrutavato Jānaśruteḥ Pautrāyaṇasya śug utpede tām ṛishī Rainkaḥ śūdra-śabdena anena sūchayāmbabhūva ātmanaḥ paroksha-jnānasya klyāpanāya itī gamyate jāti-śūdrasya anadhikārāt | katham punaḥ śūdra-śabdena śug utpannā sūchyate iti | uchyate | tad-ādravaṇāt śuciṁ abhidudrāva śuchā vā 'bhidudruve śuchā vā Rainkam abhidudrāva iti śūdrāvayavārtha-sambhavād rūḍhārthasya cha asambhavāt | dṛiśyate cha ayam artho 'syām ākhyāyikāyām |

35. *"Kshattriyatva-gateś cha uttarattra Chaitrarathena lingāt"* | *Itaś cha na jāti-śūdro Jānaśrutir yat-kāraṇam prakaraṇa-nirūpaṇena kshattriyatvam asya uttarattra Chaitrarathena Abhipratāriṇā kshattriyeṇa samabhivyāhārāl lingād gamyate | uttarattra hi saṁvarga-vidyā-vākya-śeshe Chaitrarathir Abhipratārī kshattriyaḥ sankīrttyate | "atha ha Śaunakaṁ cha Kāpeyam Abhipratāriṇaṁ cha Kākshaseniṁ sūdena pariviśyamānau brahmachārī bibhikshe"* (Chh. Up. iv. 3, 5) *iti | Chaitrarathitvaṁ cha Abhipratāriṇaḥ Kāpeya-yogād avagantavyam | Kāpeya-yogo hi Chaitrarathasya avagataḥ | "etena vai Chaitrarathaṁ Kāpeyāḥ ayājayann" iti samānānvaya-yājināṁ cha prāyeṇa samānānvayāḥ yājakāḥ bhavanti | tasmāch "Chaitrarathir nāma ekaḥ kshattra-patir ajāyata" iti cha kshattra-jātitvāvagamāt kshattriyatvam asya avagantavyam | tena kshattriyeṇa Abhipratāriṇā saha samānāyaṁ vidyāyāṁ sankīrttanaṁ Jānaśruter api kshattriyatvaṁ sūchayati | samānānām eva hi prāyeṇa samabhivyāhārāḥ bhavanti | kshattṛi-preshaṇādy-aiśvaryya-yogāch cha Jānaśruteḥ kshattriyatvāvagatiḥ | ato na śūdrasya adhikāraḥ |*

36. *"Saṁskāra-parāmarśāt tad-abhāvābhilāpāch cha"* | *itaś cha na śūdrasyā adhikāro yad vidyā-pradeśeshu upanayanādayaḥ saṁskārāḥ parāmṛiśyante "taṁ ha upaninye"* | *"'adhīhi bhagavaḥ' iti ha upasasāda"* | *"brahma-parāḥ brahma-nishṭhāḥ paraṁ Brahma anveshamāṇāḥ 'esha ha vai tat sarvaṁ vakshyati' iti te ha samit-pāṇayo bhagavantam Pippalādam upasannāḥ" iti cha "tān ha anupanīya eva" ity api pradarśitā eva upanayana-prāptir bhavati | śūdrasya cha saṁskārābhāvo*

'bhilapyate "śūdraś chaturtho varnaḥ ekajātir" ity ekajātitva-smaraṇena "na śūdre pātakaṁ kinchid ra cha saṁskāram arhati" ity-ādibhiś cha |

37. *"Tad-abhāva-nirdhāraṇe cha pravṛitteḥ" | Itaś cha na sūdrasya adhikāro yat satya-vachanena śūdratvābhāve nirdhārite Jābālaṁ Gautamaḥ upanetum anuśāsituṁ cha pravavṛite "na etad abrāhmaṇo vivaktum arhati | samidham somya āhara upa tvā neshye na satyād agāḥ"* (Chh. Up. iv. 4, 5) *iti śruti-lingāt |*

38. *"Śravaṇādhyayanārtha-pratishedhāt smṛiteś cha" | Itaś cha na śūdrasya adhikāro yad asya smṛiteḥ śravaṇādhyayanārtha-pratishedho bhavati | veda-śravaṇa-pratishedho veda-dhyayana-pratishedhas tad-artha-jñānānushṭhānayoś cha pratishedhaḥ śūdrasya smaryyate | śravaṇa-pratishedhas tāvad atha asya "vedam upaśṛiṇvatas trapu-jatubhyāṁ śrotra-pratipūraṇam" iti "padyu ha vai etat śmaśānaṁ yat śūdras tasmāt śūdrasamīpe na adhyetavyam" iti cha | ataḥ eva adhyayana-pratishedhaḥ | yasya hi samīpe 'pi na adhyetavyam bhavati sa kathaṁ śrutim adhīyīyata | bhavati cha uchchāraṇe jihvā-chhedo dhāraṇe śarīra-bhedaḥ iti | ataḥ eva cha arthād artha-jñānānushṭhānayoḥ pratishedho bhavati | "na śūdrāya matiṁ dadyād" iti "dvijātīnām adhyayanaṁ ijyā dānam" iti cha | yeshām punaḥ pūrva-kṛita-saṁskāra-vaśād Vidura-dharma-vyādha-prabhṛitīnām jñānotpattis teshāṁ na śakyate phala-prāptiḥ pratibaddhuṁ jñānasya ekāntika-phalatvāt | "śrāvayech chaturo varṇān" iti cha itihāsa-purānādhigame chāturvarṇyādhikāra-smaraṇāt | veda-pūrvakas tu nāsty adhikāraḥ śūdrāṇām iti sthitam |*

34. "In the word 'Śūdra' reference is made to his vexation on hearing that disrespectful expression, and to his running up."

"This section is commenced to silence the doubt whether in the same way as it had been denied (above) that the prerogative of acquiring divine knowledge is restricted to men, and affirmed that it extends to the gods, etc., also, the limitation of the same prerogative to twice-born men may not also be questioned, and its extension to Śūdras maintained. The grounds alleged in favour of the Śūdra having this prerogative are that he may reasonably be supposed to have both (*a*) the desire and (*b*) the power of acquiring knowledge, and that accordingly (*c*) the Veda contains no text affirming his incapacity for knowledge, as it confessedly has texts directing his exclusion from sacrifice: and further (*d*) that the fact of the Śūdra's not keeping up any sacred fire, which is the cause of his incapacity for sacrifice, affords no reason

for denying to him the prerogative of gaining knowledge; since it cannot be maintained that it is impossible for a man who is destitute of the āhavanīya and other fires to acquire knowledge. There is also (*e*) in a Vedic text a sign which confirms the Śūdra's prerogative. For in the passage which treats of the knowledge of the Saṁvarga (Chhāndogya Upanishad, chapter iv. section 1–3) a speaker designates Jānaśruti, descendant of Janaśruta in the third generation, who was desirous of performing service, by the term Śūdra: 'Keep to thyself, o Śūdra, thy necklace and chariot[2] with thy cattle.' (Chh. Up. iv. 2, 2.) And further (*f*) Vidura and others are spoken of in the Smṛiti as possessed of distinguished knowledge, although they were of Śūdra descent. Consequently the Śūdra enjoys the prerogative of acquiring various sorts of divine knowlege. To this we reply: The Śūdra has no such prerogative, because he cannot study the Veda. For it is the man that studies the Veda, and obtains a knowledge of its contents, who enjoys the prerogative of [access to] those contents. But a Śūdra does not study the Veda, for such study must be preceded by initiation, which again is confined to the three upper castes. As regards (*a*) the desire of knowledge,—that, in the absence of power, confers no prerogative. And (*b*) mere secular power does not suffice for the purpose; since scriptural power is necessary in a matter connected with Scripture; and such scriptural power is debarred by the debarring of study. And (*c*) the passage which declares that a 'Śūdra is incapacitated for sacrifice,' demonstrates his incapacity for knowledge also; since that follows

[2] Such is the sense given to *hāretvā* by the Commentators, who make it out to be a compound of the words *hāra*, "necklace," and *itvā*, "a chariot;" but although *itvā* might be the nominative of *itvan*, "going," no such word appears in the lexicons with the sense of "chariot." Besides, the compound seems a very awkward one. Perhaps the word should be separated into *ha are tvā;* but then there would be no nominative to *astu*, and it would be difficult to construe *tvā*, "thee."—Since the above was written, I have been favoured with a note on the passage by Professor Goldstücker. He conjectures that the words should be divided as follows: *ahaha are tvā Śūdra tava eva saha gobhir astu*; that *tvā* may be the nominative singular feminine of the Vedic pronoun *tva*, meaning "some one," and then the sense might be as follows: "O, friend, some woman belongs to thee, Śūdra! Let her be (*i.e.* come) along with the cows." And Jānaśruti would appear to have understood the word *tvā* in this sense here supposed, for we find that on hearing the reply of Raikva, he took his *daughter* to the latter, along with four hundred additional cows and the other gifts; and that on seeing the damsel, Raikva expressed his satisfaction and acceded to the request of her father.—The author of these puzzling words, it seems, intended a pun; and Śaṅkara perhaps gave only one solution of it.

from the rule, which is of general application. As regards the circumstance that in the Vedic text regarding the knowledge of the Saṁvarga, the word Śūdra occurs, which you regard as a sign in favour of your view; it is (*d*) no sign; because in that passage no rule is laid down. For the discovery of a sign indicates that a rule has been laid down; but in the passage in question there is no such rule. And although it were conceded that [if it were found in a precept regarding the Saṁvarga] the word Śūdra would confer on a man of that caste a prerogative in regard to that particular knowledge alone, (from its being intended for him), although not to all sorts of knowledge, yet as the word occurs [not in precept, but] in an illustrative narrative (*arthavāda*) it cannot confer on him a prerogative in regard to any knowledge whatever. And in fact this word Śūdra can be applied to a person [of a higher caste] who possessed the prerogative. How? I explain: Vexation (*śuk*) arose in the mind of Jānaśruti when he heard himself disrespectfully spoken of in these words of the swan: 'Who is this that thou speakest of as if he were Rainka yoked to the chariot?'[3] (Chh. Up. iv. 1, 3). And since a Śūdra does not possess the prerogative of acquiring knowledge, we conclude that it is to this vexation (*śuk*) that the rishi Rainka referred, for the purpose of shewing his own knowledge of things imperceptible by sense, when he made use of this word Śūdra (Chh. Up. iv. 2, 2, see above). But again, how is it indicated by the word Śūdra that vexation (*śuk*) arose in his mind? We reply: by 'the running to it [or him]" (*tad-ādravaṇāt*); *i.e.* either 'he ran to vexation,' or 'he was assailed by vexation,' or 'in his vexation he resorted to Rainka.' We conclude thus because the sense afforded by the component parts of the word Śūdra is the probable one,[4] whilst the conventional sense of the word Śūdra is here inapplicable. And this is seen to be the meaning in this story.

[3] This appears to allude to the person referred to being found sitting under a chariot (Chh. Up. iv. 1, 8). See p. 67 of Babu Rājendralāl Mittra's translation. This story is alluded to by Professor Weber in his Ind. Stud. ix. 45, note, where he treats Sayugvan as a proper name, and remarks "The Vedānta Sūtras (i. 3, 34, 35), indeed, try to explain away this" (the circumstance of Jānaśruti being called a Śūdra) and of course Śankara in his commentary on them does the same, as well in his explanation of the Chhāndogya Upanishad." I am not, however, by any means certain that the epithet "Śūdra," applied to Jānaśruti by Rainka, is not merely meant as a term of abuse.

[4] The meaning of this is that the word Śūdra is derived from *śuch*, "vexation,"

Sūtra 35. "And that Jānaśruti was a Kshattriya is afterwards indicated by what is said of Abhipratārin of the race of Chaitraratha."

"That Jānaśruti was not a S'ūdra appears also from this, that by examining the context he is afterwards found to be a Kshattriya by the sign that he is mentioned along with Abhipratārin of the family of Chaitraratha. For in the sequel of the passage regarding the knowledge of the Saṁvarga mention is made in these words of Abhipratārin Chaitraratha, a Kshattriya: 'Now a Brahmachārin asked alms of Śaunaka of the race of Kapi, and Abhipratārin the son of Kakshasena who were being served at a meal' (Chh. Up. iv. 3, 5). And that Abhipratārin belonged to the family of Chaitraratha is to be gathered from his connection with the Kāpeyas; for the connection of Chaitraratha with the latter has been ascertained by the text: 'The Kāpeyas performed sacrifice for Chaitraratha." Priests of the same family in general officiate for worshippers belonging to the same family. From this, as well as from the text: 'From him a lord of Kshat-

and *dru*, "to run." (See the First Volume of this work, p. 97, note 192.) Even the great S'ankara, it seems, was unable to perceive the absurdity of such etymologies. In his commentary on the Chhāndogya Upanishad the same writer tells us that various explanations had been given of the employment of the word S'ūdra in this passage: *Nanu rājā 'sau kshattṛi-sambandhāt | "Sa ha kshattāram uvācha"* (iv. 1, 5) *ity uktam | vidyā-grahaṇāya cha brāhmaṇa-samīpopagamāt | śūdrasya cha anadhikārāt | katham idam ananurūpaṁ Raikveṇa uchyate "śūdra" iti | tattra āhur āchāryyāḥ | haṁsa-vachana-śravaṇāt śug enam āviveśa | tena asau śuchā śrutvā Raikvasya mahimānaṁ vā dravati iti | ṛishir ātmanaḥ parokshajñatāṁ darśayan "śūdra" ity āha | śūdra-vad bādhanena eva enam vidyā-grahaṇāya upajagāma na śuśrūshayā | na tu jātyā eva śūdraḥ iti | apare punar āhur alpaṁ dhanam āhṛitam iti rushā eva enam uktavān "śūdra" iti |* "But is not Jānaśruti shewn to have been a king, (*a*) from his name being connected with a charioteer in the passage 'He said to his charioteer,' (*b*) from his resorting to a Brāhman to obtain knowledge, and (*c*) from a S'ūdra possessing no such prerogative? How then did Raikva address to him an appellation inconsistent with this in the words 'o S'ūdra?' Learned teachers reply: 'Vexation (*śuk*) took possession of him on hearing the words of the swan: in consequence of which, or of hearing (*śrutvā*) of the greatness of Raikva, he ran up [S'ūdra is here derived either from *śuchā* + *dravati*, or from *śrutvā* + *dravati*]; and the rishi, to shew his knowledge of things beyond the reach of the senses, called him S'ūdra. He had approached to obtain knowledge from the rishi by annoying him like a S'ūdra, and not by rendering him service; while yet he was not by birth a S'ūdra. Others again say that the rishi angrily called him a S'ūdra because he had brought him so little property." This passage is also translated by Bābu Rājendralāl (Chh. Up. p. 68, note), who renders *bādhanena* (which I have taken to mean "annoying") by "paying" for instruction; but I cannot find any authority for this sense of the word.

triyas named Chaitrarathi was descended,' which proves that his family were Kshattriyas, we may gather that Abhipratārin belonged to this class. And the circumstance that Jānaśruti is mentioned in connection with the same branch of knowledge as Abhipratārin, the Kshattriya, shews that the former also was a Kshattriya. For it is in general men of the same class who are mentioned together. And from the fact of Jānaśruti sending a charioteer (Chh. Up. iv. 1, 5–7), and his other acts of sovereignty also, we learn that he was a Kshattriya. Hence (we conclude that) a Śūdra does not possess the prerogative of divine knowledge.

Sūtra 36. "From reference being made to initiation, and from a Śūdra being declared to be excluded from it."

"And that a Śūdra does not possess the prerogative of acquiring divine knowledge, may be further inferred from the fact that investiture with the sacred cord and other rites are referred to in passages where science is the subject in question. For the fact that the seekers after such knowledge obtained initiation, is shewn by such passages as the following: 'He invested him;' 'He came to him, saying, teach me, Sir' (Chh. Up. vii. 1, 1?); 'Devoted to Brahma, resting in Brahma, seeking after the highest Brahma, they approached the venerable Pippalāda with firewood in their hands, (saying) 'he will declare all this' (Praśna Up. i. 1); and 'having invested them,' etc. And that a Śūdra receives no initiation is shewn by the text of the Smṛiti which pronounces him to be but once-born, viz. 'the Śūdra is the fourth class, and once-born;' and by such other passages as this: 'There is no sin in a Śūdra, and he is not entitled to initiation.'"[5]

Sūtra 37. "And because he acted after ascertaining that it was not a Śūdra [who had come to him]."

"That a Śūdra does not possess the prerogative of acquiring knowledge appears also from this that [according to the Chhāndogya Upanishad] Gautama proceeded to invest and instruct Jābāla after ascertaining by his truth-speaking that he was not a Śūdra: 'None but a Brāhman could distinctly declare this: bring, o fair youth, a piece of fuel; I will invest thee; thou hast not departed from the truth' (Chh. Up. iv. 4, 5).[6]

This last verse has been already quoted in Vol. I. p. 138, note 244.

[6] I shall quote in full the earlier part of the passage from which these words are

Sūtra 38. "And because, according to the Smṛiti, a S'ūdra is forbidden to hear, or read, or learn the sense."

"And that a S'ūdra does not possess the prerogative of acquiring divine knowledge, appears from this that, according to the Smṛiti, he is forbidden to hear it, or read it, or learn its sense: *i.e.* it is declared in the Smṛiti that he is forbidden either to hear the Veda, or read the Veda, or to learn it contents, or to practise its injunctions. Hearing is forbidden to him in these texts: 'If he listens to the reading of the Veda, his ears are to be filled with [melted] lead and lac;' and 'The S'ūdra is a walking cemetery; therefore no one must read in his vicinity.' And consequently the reading of it is prohibited to him: for

taken, both for the sake of explaining the allusion, and for the illustration which it affords of ancient Indian manners: Chh. Up. iv. 4, 1. *Satyakāmo ha Jābālo Jabālām mātaram āmantrayānchakre "brahmacharyyam bhavati vivatsyāmi kiṁ-gotro nv aham asmi" iti* | 2. *Sā ha enam uvācha "na aham etad veda tāta yad-gotras tvam asi* | *bahv ahaṁ charantī parichāriṇī yauvane tvām alabhe* | *sā 'ham etad na veda yad-gottras tvam asi* | *Jabālā tu nāma aham asmi Satyakāmo nāma tvam asi* | *sa Satyakāmaḥ eva Jābālo 'bravīthāḥ" iti* | "Satyakāma, the son of Jabālā, addressed his mother Jabālā, saying, 'I wish, mother, to enter on the life of a religious student. To what family (*gottra*: see Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 378 ff.) do I belong?' 2. She answered, 'I do not know, my son, to what family thou belongest. Much consorting [with lovers] and roving (or serving), in my youth, I got thee. I know not of what family thou art. But my name is Jabālā, and thine Satyakāma. Say, 'I am Satyakāma son of Jabālā.'" He accordingly goes to Hāridrumata of the race of Gotama, and asks to be received as a student. The teacher enquires to what family he belongs and the youth repeats verbatim the answer he had received from his mother, and says he is Satyakāma the son of Jabālā. The teacher replies in the words quoted by S'ankara "No one other than a Brāhman could distinctly declare this," etc. The interpretation of paragraph 2, above given, seems to convey its correct sense. Jabālā apparently means to confess that her son was *nullius filius*: and that he must be content to call himself her son, as she did not know who his father was. The explanation of the words *bahv ahaṁ charantī parichāriṇī yauvane tvām alabhe* given by the Commentators and followed by Bābu Rājendralāl Mittra, that she was so much occupied with attending to guests in her husband's house, and so modest that she never thought of enquiring about her son's *gottra*, and that her husband died early, is founded mainly on the word *parichāriṇī*, and would not account for Jabālā's ignorance of her husband's name (which she does not mention) or even of her husband's lineage. In regard to the sense of *charantī* see the passage from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 5, 2, 20, quoted in the First Volume of this work, p. 136, note 242. S'ankara was either ignorant of the laxity of ancient morals, or wished to throw a veil over the spurious origin of a sage like Satyakāma who had attained divine knowledge and become a teacher of it (see Chh. Up. iv. 10, 1). In his preface, however, p. 30, as I observe, Bābu Rājendralāl speaks of Satyakāma as a natural son in these words: "Although a natural born son whose father was unknown, and recognized by the contemptuous soubriquet of Jābāla from the designation of his mother Jabālā," etc.

how can he, in whose neighbourhood even the Veda is forbidden to be read, read it himself? And if he utters it, his tongue is to be cut; and if he retains it in his memory, his body is to be slit. And it results from the meaning of the terms that he is prohibited from learning its contents, or practising its injunctions, according to the texts, 'Let no one impart intelligence to a Śūdra;' and 'reading, sacrifice, and liberality are the duties of twice-born men.' As regards (*f*) Vidura, Dharma, Vyādha, and others in whom knowledge was produced in consequence of their recollection of acts performed in a former birth, their enjoyment of its results cannot be prevented, from the transcendent character of the effects of knowledge; and because in the text 'Let the four castes be made to hear them,' the Smṛiti declares that the four castes possess the prerogative of learning the Itihāsas and Purāṇas [by means of which Śūdras may attain perfection]. But it has been established that Śūdras do not possess the prerogative of acquiring divine knowledge derived [directly] from [the study of] the Veda."

The Bhagavad Gītā affirms a different doctrine in the following verses, x. 32 f., where Kṛishṇa says:

Mām hi Pārtha vyapāśritya ye 'pi syuḥ pāpa-yonayaḥ | striyo vaiśyās tathā śūdras te 'pi yānti parām gatim | 33. *Kim punar brāhmaṇāḥ puṇyāḥ bhaktāḥ rājarshayas tathā* |

"Those who have faith in me, even though they be of base origin, women, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, attain to the most transcendent state. How much more pure Brāhmans and devout royal rishis."

Śankara could scarcely have been ignorant that his principle was not in harmony with this text; but he has thought proper to ignore this discrepance of views, as he probably shrank from directly contradicting a work held in such high estimation.

See also the account of the views entertained on the same subject by Śāṇḍilya which I have stated above, p. 178.

Page 105, *line* 24.

The following quotation continues the discussion of this subject; and will also serve to illustrate pp. 6 and 16, above, as well as p. 60 of the First Volume:

Brahma Sūtra i. 3, 30. "*Samāna-nāma-rūpatvāch cha āvṛittāv apy*

avirodho darśanāt smṛiteś cha" | athāpi syāt | yadi paśv-ādi-vad deva-vyaktayo 'pi santatyā eva utpadyeran nirudhyeraṁś cha tato 'bhidhānābhidheyābhidhātṛi-vyavahārāvichchedāt sambandha-nityatvena virodhaḥ śabde parihriyeta | yadā tu khalu sakalaṁ trailokyam parityakta-nāmarūpaṁ nirlepam pralīyate prabhavati cha abhinavam iti śruti-smṛiti-vādāḥ vadanti tadā katham avirodhaḥ iti | tattra idam abhidhīyate "samānanāma-rūpatvād" iti | tadā 'pi saṁsārasya anāditvaṁ tāvad abhyupagantavyam | pratipādayishyati cha āchāryyaḥ saṁsārasya anāditvam "upapadyate cha apy upalabhyate cha" iti (Brahma Sūtra ii. 1, 36) | *anādau cha saṁsāre yathā svāpa-prabodhayoḥ pralaya-prabhava-śravaṇe 'pi pūrva-prabodha-vad uttara-prabodhe 'pi vyavahārād na kaśchid virodhaḥ | evaṁ kalpāntara-prabhava-pralayayor api iti drashṭavyam | svāpa-prabodhayoś cha pralaya-prabhavau śrūyete | "yadā suptaḥ svapnaṁ na kanchana paśyaty atha asmin prāṇaḥ eva ekadhā bhavati tadā enaṁ vāk sarvair nāmabhiḥ saha apyeti chakshuḥ sarvaiḥ rūpaiḥ saha apyeti śrotraṁ sarvaiḥ śabdaiḥ saha apyeti manaḥ sarvair dhyānaiḥ saha apyeti | sa yadā pratibudhyate yathā 'gner jvalataḥ sarvāḥ diśo visphulingāḥ vipratishṭherann evam eva etasmād ātmanaḥ sarve prāṇāḥ yathāyatanaṁ vipratishṭhante prāṇebhyo devāḥ devebhyo lokāḥ* (Kaush. Br. Utt. A. 3, 3) *iti | syād etat | svāpe purushāntara-vyavahārāvichchedāt svayaṁ cha sushupta-prabuddhasya pūrva-prabodha-vyavahārānusandhāna-sambhavād aviruddham | mahāpralaye tu sarva-vyavahārochchedāj janmāntara-vyavahāra-vach cha kalpāntara-vyavahārasya anusandhātum aśakyatvād vaishamyam iti | na esha doshaḥ | saty api sarva-vyavahārochchedini mahāpralaye Parameśvarānugrahād īśvarāṇāṁ Hiraṇyagarbhādīnāṁ kalpāntara-vyavahārānusandhānopapatteḥ | yadyapi prākṛitāḥ prāṇino na janmāntara-vyavahāram anusandhānāḥ dṛiśyante iti na tat prākṛita-vad īśvarāṇām bhavitavyam | yathā hi prāṇitvāviśeshe 'pi manushyādi-stamba-paryyanteshu jñānaiśvaryyādi-pratibandhaḥ pareṇa pareṇa bhūyān bhavan dṛiśyate tathā manushyādishv eva Hiraṇyagarbha-paryanteshu jñānaiśvaryyādy-abhivyaktir api pareṇa pareṇa bhūyasī bhavati ity etat śruti-smṛiti-vādeshv aśakṛid eva anukalpādau prādurbhavatām pāramaiśvaryyaṁ śrūyamāṇaṁ na śakyaṁ nāsti iti vaditum | tataś cha atīta-kalpānushṭhita-prakṛishṭa-jñāna-karmaṇām īśvarāṇāṁ Hiraṇyagarbhādīnāṁ varttamāna-kalpādau prādurbhavatām Parameśvarānugṛihītānāṁ supta-pratibuddhavat kalpāntara-vyavahārānusandhānopapattiḥ | tathā cha śrutir "yo Brahmāṇaṁ vidadhāti pūrvaṁ yo vai vedāṁś cha prahiṇoti tasmai | taṁ*

ha devam ātma-buddhi-prakāśam mumukshur vai śaraṇam aham prapadye" (Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, vi. 18) *iti* | *smaranti cha Śaunakādayo Madhuchhandaḥ-prabhṛitibhir dāśatathyo dṛishṭāḥ iti* | *prativedaṁ cha evam eva kāṇḍarshy-ādayaḥ smaryyante* | *śrutir apy ṛishi-jñāna-pūrvakam eva mantreṇa anushṭhānaṁ darśayati* "*yo ha vai aviditārsheya-chhando-daivata-brāhmaṇena mantreṇa yājayati vā adhyāpayati vā sthāṇuṁ cha richhati garttaṁ vā prapadyate*" *ity upakramya* "*tasmād etāni mantre vidyād*" *iti* | *prāṇināṁ cha sukha-prāptaye dharmo vidhīyate duḥkha-parihārāya adharmaḥ pratishidhyate* | *dṛishṭānuśravika-duḥkha-sukha-vishayau cha rāga-dveshau bhavato nau vilakshaṇa-vishayāv ity ato dharmādharma-phala-bhūtottarottarā sṛishṭir nishpadyamānā pūrva-sṛishṭi-sadṛiśy eva nishpadyate* | *smṛitiś cha bhavati* "*teshāṁ ye yāni karmāṇi prāk-sṛishṭyām pratipedire* | *tāny eva te prapadyante sṛijyamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ* | *hiṁsrāhiṁsre mṛidu-krūre dharmādharmāv ṛitānṛite* | *tad-bhāvitāḥ prapadyante tasmāt tat tasya rochate*" | *iti* | *pralīyamānam api cha idaṁ jagat śakty-avaśesham eva pralīyate śakti-mūlam eva cha prabhavati itarathā ākasmikatva-prasangāt* | *na cha anekākārāḥ śaktayaḥ śakyāḥ kalpayitum* | *tataś cha vichhidya vichhidya apy udbhavatām bhūr-ādi-loka-pravāhāṇāṁ deva-tiryañ-manushya-lakshanānāṁ cha prāṇi-nikāya-pravāhāṇāṁ varṇāśrama-dharma-phala-vyavasthānāṁ cha anādau saṁsāre niyatatvam indraya-vishaya-sambandha-niyatatva-vat pratyetavyam* | *na hi indriya-vishaya-sambandhāder vyavahārasya prati sargam anyathātvaṁ shashṭhendriya-vishaya-kalpaṁ śakyam utprekshitum* | *ataś cha sarva-kalpānāṁ tulya-vyavahāratvāt kalpāntara-vyavahārānusandhāna-kshamatvāch cha īśvarāṇāṁ samāna-nāma-rupāḥ eva pratisargaṁ viśeshāḥ prādurbhavanti samāna-nāma-rūpatvāch cha āvrittāv api mahāsarga-mahāpralaya-lakshaṇāyāṁ jagato 'bhyupagamyamānāyāṁ na kaśchich chhabda-prāmāṇyādi-virodhaḥ* | *samāna-nāma-rūpatāṁ cha-śruti-smṛitī darśayataḥ* "*sūryā-chandramasau dhātā yathā-pūrvam akalpayat* | *divaṁ cha pṛithivīṁ chāntarīksham atho svaḥ*" | *iti* | *yathā pūrvasmin kalpe sūryā-chandramaḥ-prabhṛiti jagat klṛiptaṁ tathā 'sminn api kalpe Parameśvaro 'kalpayad ity arthaḥ* | *tathā* "*Agnir vai akāmayata 'annādo devānāṁ syām' iti sa evam agnaye kṛittikābhyaḥ puroḍāśam ashṭakapālaṁ niravapad*" *iti nakshatreshṭi-vidhau yo 'gnir niravapad yasmai vā 'gnaye niravapat tayoḥ samāna-nāma-rūpatāṁ darśayati ity-evaṁ-jātīyakā śrutir udāharttavyā* | *smṛitir api* "*ṛishīṇāṁ nāmadheyāni yāś cha vedeshu dṛishṭayaḥ* | *sarvaryy-ante prasūtānāṁ tāny evaibhyo dadāty*

ajaḥ | yathartāv ṛitu-lingāni nānā-rūpāṇi paryyaye | dṛiśyante tāni tāny eva tathā bhāvāḥ yugādishu | yathā 'bhimānino 'tītās tulyās te sāmpratair iha | devāḥ devair atītair hi rūpair nāmabhir eva cha" ity evaṁ-jatīyakā drashṭavyā |

"Brahma Sūtra, i. 3, 30. 'And though there be a recurrence of creation, yet as (the new creation) has the same name and form[7] (as the old) there will be no contradiction in regard to the words of the Veda; since this is proved both by the intuition of rishis and by the Smṛiti.' And further, let it be so that if a series of individual gods, as of animals, etc., is born and disappears in unbroken continuity, the alleged contradiction in regard to the words of the Veda (viz. that as they are connected with objects which are not eternal, they cannot themselves be eternal) will be removed by the perpetuity of connection arising from the continuity of practice regarding the designation of things, the things to be designated, and the designator. But when, as texts of the S'ruti and Smṛiti inform us, the entire three worlds, losing name and form,[8] are utterly annihilated and afterwards produced anew, how can the contradiction be avoided? [The meaning of this is: How can there be an eternal connection between the words of the Veda and objects which how long soever they may have existed, must yet have come into being at the new creation following after the total (not merely the partial) destruction of the universe? and if such a connection does not exist, how can the words of the Veda be eternal, when before this new creation they represented nothing existent? see above, p. 102.] A reply to this is given in the words, 'Yet as (the new creation) has the same name and form as the old,' etc. Even then the world must be admitted to have been without a beginning. This eternity of the world will be declared by our teacher in the words (of

[7] Professor Goldstücker is of opinion that here, as elsewhere, these words (*nāma-rūpa*) should be rendered "substance and form." See the note on the subject furnished by him in M. Burnouf's Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien, p. 502.

[8] Govinda Ānanda remarks on the Sūtra before us, and S'ankara's comment: *Nanu mahā-pralaye jāter apy asattvāt śabdārtha-sambandhānityatvam ity āśankya āha "samāna" iti | sūtraṁ nirasya āśankām āha "athāpi" iti | vyakti-santatyā jātīnām avāntara-pralaye sattvāt sambandhas tishṭhati vyavahārāvichhedāj jnāyeta cha iti vedasya anapekshatvena pramānye na kaśchid virodhaḥ syāt | nirlepa-pralaye tu sambandhanāśāt punaḥ sṛishṭau kenachit puṁsā sanketaḥ karttavyaḥ iti puruṣha-buddhi-sāpekshatvena vedasya aprāmānyam adhyāpakasya āśrayasya nāśād āśrayasya anityatvaṁ cha prāptam ity arthaḥ | mahāpralaye 'pi nirlepa-layo 'siddhaḥ sat-kāryya-vādāt |*

Brahma Sūtra, ii. 1, 36), 'It is agreeable to reason, and it is ascertained.' And the world being eternal, although the Veda declares that its dissolution and reproduction take place during the sleep, and at the waking (of the creator), still as the practice continues the same in the later, as in the previous, waking condition, there is no contradiction (of the sort pretended). And it is to be considered that the same must be the case in regard to the dissolutions and creations of another Kalpa (see Vol. I. p. 43 f.). Now dissolutions and creations are said in the Veda to take place during (the creator's) sleep, and at his waking. 'When the sleeper does not see any vision, and when his breath is concentrated in him, then the voice with all names enters into him, the eye with all forms enters into him, the ear with all sounds enters into him, the mind with all thoughts enters into him. When he wakes, just as sparks shoot out in all directions from blazing fire, so do all breaths according to their several seats issue from this Soul; from the breaths spring deities; and from the deities worlds' (Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, latter part, 3, 3). But be it so, that [in the circumstances referred to] there is no contradiction of the kind alleged, because during the

tathā cha saṁskārātmanā śabdārtha-tat-sambandhānāṁ satām eva punaḥ sṛishṭāv abhivyakter na anityatvam | abhivyaktānāṁ pūrva-kalpīya-nāma-rūpa-samānatvād na sanketaḥ kenachit kāryyaḥ | vishama-sṛishṭau hi sanketāpekshā na tulya-sṛishṭāv iti pariharati "tatra idam" ity-ādinā | "But since in a great dissolution even species cease to exist, will it not result that the connection of words with the objects they denote is not eternal? In reference to this doubt the aphorist says, 'as the name and form are the same,' etc. Waving the authority of the Sūtra, the Commentator expresses a doubt in the words 'And further,' etc. It is true that the connection subsists in consequence of the continuity of individuals owing to the existence of species during the intermediate dissolutions, and this connection will be known because the previous practice continues uninterrupted. And so from the independence of the Veda, there will be no contradiction in regard to its authority. But since in a total dissolution all such connection is lost, and some intimation (of what had existed before) must be given by some person at the new creation, the Veda will be dependent on the understanding of such person, and consequently its unauthoritativeness, as well as the non-eternity of the dependent object, owing to the extinction of the instructor on whom it depended, will result. But even in a great dissolution an absolute annihilation is unproved, according to the doctrine that effects exist in their causes. And so, as words, the objects which they denote, and the connection between both, (all of which things previously existed), are manifested at the new creation as reminiscences of a previous existence, they are not non-eternal. As the objects thus manifested have the same names and forms as in the previous Kalpa, there is no necessity for any intimation (of what had existed before) being given by any person. For such an intimation would, indeed, be required in a dissimilar creation, but not in one which is similar. It is thus that the commentator removes the objection in the words 'a reply to this is given,' etc."

sleep (of one person) the practice of others continues uninterruptedly, and even the person who has been in a deep sleep can ascertain the action which took place in his former waking state. But this is inapplicable to a great dissolution, because then there is an absolute annihilation of all practice, and because the practice which prevailed in another Kalpa, like that of another birth, cannot be ascertained. This objection, however, does not hold; for although all practice is annihilated by a great dissolution, still it is proved that through the favour of the supreme Lord, the lords Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahmā), etc., can ascertain the practice of the preceding Kalpa. Although ordinary creatures are not observed to evince the power of discovering the practice of a former birth, the limitation which is true of them will not attach to the great lords in question. For just as in the series of beings commencing with men, and ending with posts, although all the creatures included in it without distinction possess the attribute of life, yet, as we descend the scale, the obstructions to knowledge and to power are perceived to go on gradually increasing; so too, in the series beginning with men and culminating in Hiraṇyagarbha, there is an ever greater and greater manifestation of knowledge and of power, etc.; and thus the transcendent faculties which are declared in texts of the Śruti and Smṛiti to belong to the beings who again and again come into existence at the beginning of the successive Kalpas cannot be denied to be real. And consequently it is established that the lords Hiraṇyagarbha and others who during the past Kalpa had manifested distinguished knowledge and powers of action, and who again came into existence at the beginning of the present Kalpa, and enjoyed the favour of the supreme Lord, were able, like a person who has been asleep and awakes again, to ascertain the practice of the previous Kalpa. And accordingly the Śruti says: 'Seeking final liberation, I take refuge with that God, shining by the light of his own intellect, who in the beginning creates Brahmā and reveals to him the Vedas' (Śvetāśv. Upan. vi. 18). And Śaunaka and others record in their Smṛitis that the hymns in the ten Maṇḍalas of the Rig-veda were seen by Madhûchhandas and other rishis. In the same way the Kāṇḍarshis, etc., of each of the Vedas are specified in the Smṛitis. The Śruti, too, in the passage commencing 'Any priest who in sacrificing for another person, or in teaching a pupil, employs a text of which he does not know the rishi, metre, deity,

and proper application, is turned into a post, or falls into a pit,' and ending, 'Wherefore let him ascertain all these points regarding every text;' —declares that a knowledge of the rishi by whom it was seen should precede the ceremonial use of every text.[9] Further, righteousness is prescribed and unrighteousness is forbidden, with a view to promote the happiness and obviate the misery of living beings: and love and dislike have for their objects nothing but the happiness and misery which are perceptible by sense or are scripturally revealed. 'Consequently each succeeding creation which is effected, forming, as it does, the recompense of righteousness and unrighteousness, is constituted perfectly similar to each of those which preceded it. And the Smṛiti, too, declares: 'These creatures, as they are reproduced time after time, perform, respectively, the very same actions as they had performed in the previous creation.[10] They so act under the influence of (their previous tendencies) whether noxious or innoxious, mild or cruel, righteous or unrighteous, to truth or to falsehood; and it is from this cause that they are disposed to one or another course of conduct.' Besides, even when this world is destroyed, a residuum of its force (*śakti*) continues, and it is reproduced only because it has this force for its basis: for any other supposition would involve the difficulty of the world having no cause. And as we cannot conceive that there are many forms of force (*śakti*), we must believe that, as the relations between the senses and their objects are invariable, so too, in a world which had no commencement, the successions of earths and other worlds, and of different classes of living beings distinguished as gods, animals, and men, (although separated from each other in the period of their production,) as well as the ordinations of castes, orders, duties, and recompences are invariable. For we cannot imagine that such conditions as the re-

[9] The object of these remarks of S'ankara regarding the rishis is thus explained by Govinda Ānanda: *Kiṅcha mantrāṇām ṛishy-ādi-jñānāvaśyakatva-jñāpikā śrutir mantra-dṛig-ṛishīṇāṁ jñānātiśayaṁ darśayati ity āha | . . . . tathā cha jñānādhikaiḥ kalpāntaritaṁ vedaṁ smṛitvā vyavahārasya pravarttitatvād vedasya anāditvam anapekshatvaṁ cha aviruddham iti bhāvaḥ |* "In these words S'ankara intimates that the S'ruti which declares the necessity of knowing the rishis, etc., thereby manifests the transcendent knowledge of the rishis who saw the mantras. . . . . And so from the fact that these rishis, distinguished by eminent knowledge, recollected the Veda which had existed in a different Kalpa, and [again] gave currency to the [ancient] practice [of its precepts], it is shewn that the eternity and independence of the Veda is not in contradiction [to any fact]—such is the purport."

[10] See the First Volume of this work, p. 60.

lations between the senses and their objects, etc., should vary in every creation, in such a way, for example, as that there should exist objects for a sixth sense. Hence, as all Kalpas exist under the same conditions, and as the lords (Hiraṇyagarbha, etc.) are able to ascertain the conditions which existed in another Kalpa, varieties (of beings) having the same name and form are produced in every creation; and in consequence of this sameness of name and form, even though a revolution of the world in the form of a great creation and a great dissolution is admitted, no contradiction arises affecting the authority of the words of the Veda, etc. Both Śruti and Smṛiti shew us this sameness of name and form. Here such texts of the Śruti as these may be adduced: 'The creator formed as before the sun and moon, the sky and the earth, the air and the heaven.' This means that in this Kalpa the supreme Lord fashioned the sun, the moon, and the rest of the world in the same way as they had been fashioned in the former Kalpa.' Again: Agni desired, 'May I be the food-eater of the gods.'' He offered to Agni [as the deity presiding over] the Kṛittikās[11] (the Pleiades) a cake in eight platters.' In this passage the Śruti shews that the two Agnis, he who in the ceremony of sacrifice to the constellation offered the oblation, and he to whom it was offered, had the same name and form. And such Smṛitis, too, as the following should be examined: 'The Unborn Being gives to those born at the end of the night (*i.e.* of the dissolution[12]) the names of the rishis and their intuitions into the Vedas.[13] Just as on the recurrence of each of the seasons of the year its various characteristics are perceived to be the very same (as they had been before), so too are the things produced at the beginning of the yugas;[14] and the past gods presiding over different objects resemble those who exist at present, and the present (resemble the) past in their names and forms.' ''

I shall quote a part of Śankara's remarks on the Brahma Sūtra, ii. 1, 36, referred to in the earlier part of the preceding quotation, in which the eternity of the world is affirmed:

[11] *Kṛittikā-nakshattrābhimāni-devāya Agnaye* — Govinda Ānanda.

[12] *Śarvaryy-ante pralayānte*—Govinda Ānanda.

[13] The sense of the last words, which I translate literally, is not very clear. Govinda Ānanda says that in the word *vedeshu* the locative case denotes the object (*vedeshv iti vishaya-saptamī*). Compare the passages quoted above in p. 16 from the Vishṇu P. and M. Bh. which partially correspond with this verse.

[14] Already quoted from the Vishṇu P. in the First Volume of this work, p. 60.

ii. 1, 36. "*Upapadyate cha upalabhyate cha*" | "*upapadyate cha*" *saṁsarasya anādityam* | *ādimattve hi saṁsārasya akasmād udbhūter muktānām api punaḥ saṁsārodbhūti-prasangaḥ* | *akṛitābhyāgama-prasangaś cha sukha-duḥkhādi-vaishamyasya nirnimittatvāt* | *na cha īśvaro vaishamya-hetur ity uktam* | *na cha avidyā kevalā vaishamyasya kāraṇam eka-rūpatvāt* | *rāgādi-kleśa-vāsanākshipta-karmāpekshā tv avidyā vaishamya-karī syāt* | *na cha karma antareṇa sarīraṁ sambhavati na cha śarīram antareṇa karma sambhavati iti itaretarāśraya-dosha-prasangaḥ* | *anāditve tu vījānkura-nyāyena upapatter na kaschid dosho bhavati* |

"'It is agreeable to reason, and it is ascertained.' The eternity of the world is agreeable to reason. For on the supposition that it had a beginning, as it came into existence without a cause, the difficulty would arise (1) that those who had obtained liberation from mundane existence might become again involved in it;[15] and (2) that men would enjoy or suffer the recompense of what they had never done, as the inequalities occasioned by happiness and misery, etc., would be causeless. But God is not the cause of this inequality, as we have said (see the comment on Sūtra ii. 1, 34). Nor can ignorance alone be its cause, since ignorance is uniform (whilst conditions are varied). But ignorance, when connected with works induced by the surviving memory of desire and other sources of disquiet, may be the cause of inequality. Further, corporeal existence does not originate without works, nor works without bodily existence: so that (this hypothesis of the world having had a beginning) involves the fallacy of making each of two things depend upon the other. But on the supposition that the world had no beginning, there is no difficulty, as the two things in question may be conceived to have succeeded each other like seed and sprout from all eternity." (See Ballantyne's Aphorisms of the Sānkhya, Book i. pp. 60 and 126.)

Page 111, *line* 2 *from the foot; and Page* 113, *line* 11.

In the first edition, p. 78, I had translated the word *samayādhyushite* "in the morning twilight." When revising the translation for the new edition I became uncertain about the sense, and did not advert

[15] *i.e.* as Professor Cowell suggests, if there is no cause for the production of the world, it comes into existence at hap-hazard, and by some chance the liberated may be born again as well as the unliberated.

to the fact that the term is explained in Professor Wilson's Dictionary as denoting "a time at which neither stars nor sun are visible." Professor Cowell has since pointed out that the word occurs in the second of the following verses of Manu, where a rule is given for the interpretation of the Veda in cases such as that referred to by the commentator on the Nyāya Sūtras: ii. 14: *S'ruti-dvaidhaṁ tu yattra syāt tattra dharmāv ubhau smṛitau | ubhāv api hi tau dharmau samyag uktau manīshibhiḥ* | 15. *Udite 'nudite chaiva samayādhyushite tathā | sarvathā varttate yajnaḥ itīyaṁ vaidikī śrutiḥ* | "14. In cases where there is a twofold Vedic prescription, both the rites are declared in the Smṛiti to be binding; since they have been distinctly pronounced by sages to be of equal authority. 15. The Vedic rule is that sacrifice may be performed in all the three ways [indicated in a particular text], viz. when the sun has risen, when it has not risen, and when neither stars nor sun appear, *i.e.* in the morning twilight." Kullūka says: *Sūrya-nakshatra-varjitaḥ kālaḥ samayādhyushita-śabdena uchyate* | "a time devoid of sun and stars is denoted by the word *samayādhyushita*.

Page 142, *lines* 14 *and* 16.

The first of these quotations is from the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, i. 4, 10; and the second from the Chhandogya Upanishad, viii. 7, 2.

Page 149, *line* 6.

For *śabdādīkshiter* read *śabdād īkshiter*.

Page 154, *note* 140.

Professor Cowell observes on the close of this note that the Sānkhya opponent maintains that the metaphor is in every case a real one.

Page 157, *line* 18.

Professor Cowell remarks that the meaning of the phrase *śabda-pramāṇake 'rthe* is not correctly rendered by the translation here given, viz. "where the (proper sense) is established by the words." The author is laying down the general rule that in cases where there is nothing in the purport of any passage in which a particular word occurs to lead the reader to suppose that it is figuratively used, and where consequently the word itself is the only index to the sense, it must be understood in its primary signification. The proper rendering, therefore, is: "Where the sense can only be determined by the word itself."

Page 160, *line* 18.

For *punar-utpattir* read *punar-anutpattir.*

Page 181, *lines* 7 *and* 11 *from the foot.*

I learn from Professors Cowell and Goldstücker that *vimatā smṛitiḥ* should be rendered not "the variously understood Smṛiti" but "the Smṛiti which is here the subject of dispute."

Page 183, *note* 160, *line* 1.

With R.V. i. 179, 2, compare R.V. vii. 76, 4, quoted in p. 245.

Page 201, *line* 21.

The commentator thus explains this verse of the Vishṇu Purāṇa (I am indebted to Dr. Hall for a collation of the best MSS. in the India Office Library): *Ete cha dveshopaśama-prakārāḥ madhyamādhikāriṇām eva uktāḥ na tu uttamādhikāriṇām ity āha "ete"* | *"bhinnadṛiśā" bheda-dṛishṭyā* | *"bhinna-dṛiśām" iti vā pāṭhaḥ* | *tattra bhinnadarśane "abhyupagamam" angīkāraṁ kṛitvā dveshopaśamopāya-bhedāḥ kathitāḥ* | *uktānām upāyānām paramārtha-sankshepo mama mattaḥ śrūyatām* | "In the words 'these notions,' etc.' he tells us that the methods of repressing hatred which have been hitherto declared are those which are followed by the persons who have attained only to the secondary, not to the highest, stage of knowledge. *Bhinna-dṛiśā* is the same as *bheda-dṛishṭyā*, 'with a view which distinguishes [the Deity from themselves],' or the reading is *bhinna-dṛiśām*, 'of persons who look [on Him] as distinct.' 'Accepting' (*abhyupagamaṁ kṛitvā*), *i.e.* admitting, this opinion regarding a distinctness, 'I (the speaker in the V.P.) have declared these methods of repressing hatred. Now hear from me a summary' of the highest truth in regard to these methods."

Page 225, *line* 21.

There is a verse in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, xiii. 45, in which also Agni is connected with the creation: *Yo Agnir Agner adhi ajāyata śokāt pṛithivyāḥ uta vā divas pari* | *yena prajāḥ Viśvakarmā jajāna tam Agne heḍaḥ pari te vṛiṇaktu* | "Agni, may thy wrath avoid that Agni who sprang from Agni, from the flame of the earth or from that of the sky, by whom Viśvakarman generated living creatures." This verse is quoted and after its fashion explained in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 21: *Atha dakshiṇato 'jam* | *"Yo Agnir Agner adhi ajāyata" ity*

Agnir vai esha | Agner adhyajāyata | "śokāt prithivyāḥ uta vā divas pari" iti yad vai Prajāpateḥ śokād ajāyaṭa tad divaś cha prithivyai cha śokād ajāyata | "Yena prajāḥ Viśvakarmā jajāna" iti vāg vai ajo vāco vai prajāḥ Viśvakarmā jajñna ityādi | "Then [he places] a goat (*aja*) on the southern side, (saying): 'That Agni who sprang from Agni:' this goat is Agni and sprang from Agni. 'From the flame of the earth or from that of the sky:' that which sprang from the flame of Prajāpati sprang from the flame of the earth and of the sky. 'By whom Viśvakarman generated living creatures:' The goat, [or the Unborn], is Vāch (Speech): Viśvakarman generated living creatures from Vāch," etc. Compare R.V. i. 67, 5, quoted above in p. 275.

Page 235, *line* 9.

Add after this the following texts, in which the verbs *taksh* and *jan* are applied to the composition of the hymns:

R.V. i. 67, 4. *Vindantīm attra naro dhiyaṁ-dhāḥ hṛidā yat tashṭān mantrān aśaṁsan* | "Meditative men find him (Agni) here, when they have uttered hymns of praise fashioned by the heart."

i. 109, 1. *Vi hy akhyam manasā vasyaḥ ichhann Indrāgnī jnāsaḥ uta vā sajātān | nānyā yuvat pramatir asti mahyaṁ sa vām dhiyaṁ vājayantīm ataksham | 2. Aśravaṁ he bhūri-dāvattarā vāṁ vijāmātur uta vā syālāt | atha somasya prayatī yuvabhyām Indrāgnī stomaṁ janayāmi navyam* | "1. Seeking that which is desirable, I beheld [in you], o Indra and Agni, relations or kinsmen. I have no other counsellor than you,—I who have *fabricated* for you a hymn supplicating food. 2. For I have heard that you are more bountiful than an ineligible son-in-law (who has to purchase his bride), or than a bride's brother; so now, while presenting a libation of Soma, I *generate* for you a *new* hymn."

Page 253, *line* 15.

Insert after this the following verse: R.V. x. 66, 5. *Sarasvān dhībhir Varuṇo dhṛita-vrataḥ Pūshā Vishṇur mahimā Vāyur Aśvinā | brahmakṛito amṛitāḥ viśva-vedasaḥ śarma no yaṁsan trivarūtham aṁhasaḥ* | "May Sarasvat with thoughts, may Varuṇa whose laws are fixed, may Pūshan, Vishṇu the mighty, Vāyu, the Aświns,—may these makers of prayers, immortal, possessing all resources, afford us a triple-cased protection from calamity."

Supplementary Note on Kālātyayāpadishṭa.—See page 84, note 89, and page 290.

I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker for the following additional remarks on this expression:

The Tarkasangraha, quoted by Professor Cowell in his interesting note which you kindly communicated to me, differs materially from the Bhāshāparichchheda in its interpretation of the fallacy called by them *bādha;* and I might add that the Tarkasangraha-dīpikāprakāśa offers even a third explanation of the same Vaiśeshika term. But I do not think that the *bādha* of the Vaiśeshikas is the same as the *kālātīta* of the Naiyāyikas. For when we find that the Bhāshāparichchheda in its enumeration at v. 70 applies to the fifth *hetvābhāsa* the epithet *kālātyayopadishṭa* (probably the same as the *kālātyayāpadishṭa* of the Nyāya-sūtra i. 50) yet in its explanation of v. 77 does not call it *kālātīta*, as the Nyāya does, but *bādha*, such a variation in terms seems pointed; and when we find moreover that its interpretation of *bādha* differs from Vātsyāyana's interpretation of *kālātīta*, there seems to be a still greater probability that the Nyāya and Vaiśeshika disagree on the question of the fifth *hetvābhāsa*.

For that there is *no* real difference between the Nyāyabhāshya and the Nyāyavṛitti is still my opinion. Both commentaries, I hold, agree in stating that the fallacy *kālātīta* arises when a reason assigned exceeds its proper sphere (*sādhanakāla*), and neither, I think, can have taken *kāla* in its literal sense of "time." This might have been the case if, as Professor Cowell seems to suggest, "plausibility" of an argument were the subject of the Sūtra; but as, in my opinion, the *hetu* is always intended to be a valid and good *hetu*, I do not see how such a *hetu* can become a bad one simply by being advanced too late. It would, however, become bad by being applied to a time, *i.e.* to a case to which it properly does not belong.

The circumstance that the Vṛitti and Bhāshāparichchheda are probably works of the same author, does not invalidate my opinion; it would seem on the contrary to confirm it, since the object of both these works is a different one: the former being intended as an exposition of the Nyāya, and the latter as one of the Vaiśeshika.

INDEX TO PRINCIPAL NAMES AND MATTERS.

A

Abhipratārin, 297
Abhyupagama-vāda, 201
Accentuation, 31
Achāryya, 92
Achyuta, 14, 45
Aditi, 225, 252, 258
Ādityas, 102, 234
Adharāraṇi, 47
Adhokshaja, 43, 47
Adhvaryu, 5, 53, 54 f.
Ādhvaryava (Yajur) Veda, 212
Adṛishṭa, 132, 135
Æther, whether eternal or not, 70, 106, 164
Agastya, 247
Agni, 5 f., 46 f., 219 and passim
Agni a source of inspiration, 258 f.
Agni Sāvitra, 17
Agnishṭoma, 11
Ahaṅkāra, 195
Aila (Purūravas), 47
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 5, 225
Aitareya Upanishad, i. 1, —65
Ajā, 166
Akshapāda (Gotama), 199
Akshara, 164
Alcinous, 269
Ānanda Giri, 157
Anga, 53
Angis, 31
Angiras, 31, 34, 219 f.
Angirases, 246
Anukramaṇī, 85, 275
Anushṭubh, 11, 278
Anuvyākhyānas, 205
Āpaḥ (waters), 8
Apāntaratamas, 40
Āpastamba, 62, 179
Apollo, 267, 270
Apsaras, 247
Āpta, 114 ff., 124, 128
Āptopyāman, 11
Āraṇyakas, 1, 26
——— superior to rest of Veda, 31
Argives, 270
Arka, 224
Arthavādas, 64
Aryaman, 266
Aśmaka, 53
Asridh, 225
Astronomy, 31
Asura, the, 258
Asuras, 49
Āsuri, 192
Āśvalāyana, 179
Āśvalāyana's Gṛihya Sūtras, 288
Aśvattha, 46
Aśvins, 228, 236
Atirātra, 11
Atharvan, priest, 55
Atharvan, sage, 31, 220, 259, 284
Atharvan (the Veda), 11
Atharvāngirases, 3, 9, 21, 42, 205
Atharva Parisishṭa, 54 f.
Ātharvaṇas, 54
Atharva-veda, quoted—
ii. 1, 2,—260
iv. 35, 6,—4
vii. 54,—1
x. 7, 14, 20,—3
Atharva-veda *continued*—
x. 7, 43, 44,—279
xi. 7, 24,—287
xiii. 4, 38,—4
xix. 54, 3,—4
— 59, 1, 2,—260
Athene, 272
Atri, 34, 220, 276
Atris, 243
Auddālaki, 77
Aufrecht, Prof., Cat. of Bodl. Sansk. MSS., 27 f., 30, 39
——— aid from him acknowledged, 9, 15, 20, 54, 219, 221, 287 f.
Aupamanyava, 213
Avyakta, 161, 173
Ayāsya, 240
Ayātayāma, 51
Āyu, 222, 225
Āyur-veda, 114 f., 116 f., 132, 135

B

Babara Pravāhiṇi, 77 ff.
Bacchus, 264
Bādarāyaṇa, 64, 69, 141, and passim
——— controverts opinions of Jaimini, 141 ff.
——— of the Sānkhyas, 150 ff.
Bādari, 145
Bahvṛichas, 54
Ballantyne's Aphorisms of the Mīmānsa, 70 ff.
——— Aphorisms of the Nyāya, 210 ff., 201

Ballantyne's Aphorisms of the Sānkhya, 133, 168
——— Aphorisms of the Vedānta, 107
——— Aphorisms of the Yoga, 201, 289
——— Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy, 104, 214
——— Mahābhāshya, 104
——— Siddhānta-muktāvali, 133
——— Synopsis of Science, 203
Banerjea, Rev. Prof. K.M., 12
——— his Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy, 31, 93 f., 115, 118, 133
Bauddhas, 181
Baudhāyana, 179
Benfey, Prof., his Sāmaveda, 103, 221, 231, 238, 266
Bhadrasena, 156, 170
Bhaga, 225
Bhagavad-gītā, quoted—
ii. 42 ff.,—37
x. 32,—300
xv. 15,—97
——— referred to, 193
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, equal to the Veda, 30
——— why composed, 42
——— quoted—
i. 3, 10,—192
— 4, 14 ff.,—41
— 7, 6 ff.—42
ii. 8, 28,—30
iii. 12, 34, and 37 ff.—11
— — 39,—207
iv. 29, 42 ff.,—34
ix. 8, 12 f.,—192
ix. 14, 43 ff.,—46
xii. 6, 37 ff.,—43
Bhāgavatas, doctrine of the, 177
Bhākta, or figurative sense of words, 108
Bhakti Sūtras, 177
Bharadvāja, 17, 31
Bharadvājas, 221
Bharatas, 276
Bhāratī, 255, 257
Bhārgava, 55
Bhāshā-parichchheda, 133, 150, 290
Bhoja-rāja, 201
Bhūḥ, 5, 7, 14, 104
Bhuvaḥ, 5, 7, 14, 104
Bhṛigu, 34, 219
Bhṛigus, 233, 237
Bird, the, 258
Blackie, on the Theology of Homer, 272
Boehtlingk and Roth, Sanskrit Dictionary, 20, 151, 201, 236, 240 f., 263
Brahmā, 8, 21, 24, 33, 43, and passim
Brahmā, 3, 10, 12 f., 28, 31, 34, 45, and passim
Brahmā composed of the Rig-veda, 27
Brahma-kāṇḍa, 65
Brahma-mīmānsā, its object, 139 (see Vedānta)
Brahman (prayer) 224
Brahmaṇaspati, 234, 249, 260 f.
Brahmarāta, 50, 52
Brahma Sūtras, 69, 93, and passim
Brahma-vādis, 195
Brahma-veda, 55
Brahma-vaivartta-purāṇa, i. 48, quoted, 30
——— corrector of Veda, 30
Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, quoted—
i. 2, 4,—104
— 2, 5,— 9
— 4, 10,—142
— 5, 5,— 9
ii. 2, 3,—166
— 4, 10,—8, 204
iii. 8, 11,—164
iv. 1, 2,—208
— 3, 22,—33
v. 8,—254
Bṛihaspati, 221, 256, 260
Bṛihatī, 15, 278
Buddha, 202
Butler (Bp.), his sermons on the love of God, 107

C

Calchas, 271
Caste, originally but one, 47 f.
Chaitra, 92
Chaitraratha and Chaitrarathi, 297
Chāndāla, 34, 178
Chhandoga Brāhmaṇa, 103
Charaṇa, 53
Charaṇavyūhá, 56
Charakas, 52 ff.
Charakāchāryya, 53
Charakādhvaryus, 51
Chārvākas, 202
Chhandas, 206
Chhandogas, 54
Chhāndogya Brāhmaṇa, 181
Chhāndogya Upanishad, quoted—
iv. 1, 3,—294
— 2, 2,—293
— 3, 5,—296
— 17, 1,— 5
vi. 2, 1, 3 f.,—151, 154
— 3, 2,—155
— 4, 1,—167
— 8, 6 f.,—155, 176
— 14, 6,—156
— 16, 2,—157
vii. 1, 1–5,—32, 143, 207, 298
— 25, 2,—178
viii. 7, 2,—142
— 15, 1,—284
Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, 6, 57, 74, and passim
Commentary, 31
Commentators on the Veda, their proofs of its authority, 57 ff.
Cowell, Prof. E. B., his translation of the Kusumānjali, 128
——— his aid acknowledged, 201, 290 f., 308

D

Dadhyanch, 220
Daityas, 201
Daksha, 34, 225
Danti, 264
Dasagva, 246
Demodocus, 269 f.
Dharma, 300
Dhī, 224
Dhishaṇa, 202
Dhishaṇā, 255

Dhīti, 224
Dhruvā, 20
Dionysus, 264
Dissolution of the Universe, 96, 303
Dushkṛita, 53
Dvaipāyana, see Kṛishṇa
Dvāpara age, 37, 41, 45, 48 f.
Dyaus, 246, 266

E

Egyptians, 183 f.
Ekāntins, 289
Ekaviṁśa, 11.
Empedocles, 273
Epimenides, 273
Euripides, 264 f.

F

Freedom of Speculation in India in early times, 57

G

Gāthā, 23
Gaṇāmbikā, 264
Gandharva, 258, 260 f.
Gandharvas, 46 ff.
Gaṇeśa, 264
Gārgī, 164
Gauḍapāda, 265
Gauṇa, or figurative sense of words, 108
Gaurī, 264
Gaya, 244
Gāyatra, 11, 276
Gāyatrī, 7, 11, 13 f., 263
——— varieties of, 263
——— mother of the Vedas, 12
Giriśa, 34
Gir, 224
Gods, capable of acquiring divine knowledge, 99, 141
Goldstücker, Prof., his Dictionary referred to, 201
——— Mānava-kalpa-sūtra quoted, 95 ff.
——— his aid acknowledged, 84, 93, 97, 295, 303, etc.
Gotama, author of Nyāya Sūtras, 111, 113
Gotama, rishi, 235
Gotamas, 232, 238, 241
Grammar, 31
Gṛitsamadas, 233, 235
Grote's History of Greece, 268, 270 ff.
Guṇas, 12, 32, 44, 150, 165, 195
Guru, 91, 180
Govinda Ānanda quoted, 103, 155, 157, 164, 190, and passim

H

Hall, Dr., aid from him acknowledged, 12, 52
——— Sānkhya Sāra, 185, 193
Hanta, 254
Haridāsa Bhaṭṭāchāryya, 128
Hāridrumata, 299
Harivāṁśa quoted—
47,—12
11,516,—12
11,665 ff.,—13
12,425 ff.,—14
Haug, Prof., on the signification of the word *brahma*, 233 f.
Hellenic race, its difference from the Indian, 273
Herodotus quoted, 183, 210
Hesiod quoted, 183, 268
Hiraṇyagarbha, 13, 136, 163, 285, 305
Homer, 269 ff.
Hotrā, 255
Hymns, distinguished as new and old, 224 ff., see Mantras

I

Ignorance, 164
Ikshvāku, 286
Inferior science, 31, 206
Iḍā, 255
Indra, 4, 99, 103, 142, 220, and passim
——— sceptical doubts, regarding Indra, 254
——— source of inspiration, 261 f.
Inspiration, its nature, 125
Intuition of rishis, 125 ff., 183
Īśa, 45
Isaiah referred to, 224
Itihāsas, 2, 9, and passim, see Smṛiti

J

Jabālā, 299
Jābāla, 298 f.
Jagatī metre, 11, 276, 278
Jaimini, 39, 40, 42, 45, 93, 98, 141
——— controverts opinions of Bādarāyaṇa, 141 ff.
Jalada, 55
Jan (to generate), 232, 237
Janaka, 56
Janamejaya, 53
Janaśruta, 295
Jānaśruti, 295 ff.
Jaradgava, 80
Jātavedas, 237, 241
Jayanārāyaṇa Tarkapanchānana, 120, 175
John (St.), his First Epistle, 239
——— his Gospel, 239
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society referred to, 2, 57, 118, 264, 290
Juhū, 20

K

Kaiyyata, 95 ff.
Kakshasena, 297
Kalanja, 68
Kalāpa, 91, 132
Kalāpas, 96
Kālāpa, 91
Kālāpaka, 79, 132
Kālātyayāpadishṭa, 84, 290, 312
Kalchas, 270 f.
Kali-yuga, 49
Kālidāsa, 69 f., 83 f., 89
Kalpa sūtras, 180, 206
Kaṇāda, 106 and passim
Kāṇḍarshis, 304
Kaṇva, 220
Kaṇvas, 229
Kāpeya, 297

Kapi, 297
Kapila, 37, and passim
——— how treated by S'ankara, 184 ff.
Kâpinjala, 241
Karmakânda, 64
Karma-mîmânsâ, see Pûrva-mîmânsâ
Karmasiddhi, 264
Kârttikeya, 264
Kas'yapa, 285
Katha (sage), 77, 83, 91, 132
Kathas, 96
Katha Upanishad quoted, i. 3, 3, and 10—162
— 3, 11,—161
ii. 23,—36
iii. 3, 10 f.,—158 ff.
Kâthaka, 76 f., 79, 83, 91, 132
Kâtyayana, 179
Kâtyayana's S'rauta Sûtras, 47
Kaurma-purâna, 200
Kaus'ika, 249
Kaushîtakî Br., 5, 304
Kaushîtakins, 56
Kauthuma, 76 f., 83
Kavi, 218
Kes'ava, 28
Kîkatas, 79, 215
Köhler, Prophetismus der Hebræer, 173 f.
Kratu, 34
Kri, (to make), 232
Krishna, 29, 42, 286
Krishna Dvaipâyana, 38 f.
Krita-yuga, 37, 40, 47 ff.
Krittikâs, 307
Kullûka on Manu, 6, 14, 23, 26, 180
Kumârila, 95
Kumvyâ, 23
Kus'ikas, 233, 247
Kusumânjali quoted, 128 ff.
Kusurubinda, 77
Kuthumi, 77, 83
Kutsa, 213

L

Lassen, In. Ant., 38
Laukâyatikas, 199
Linga-purâna, 263
Lokâyata, 95
Lomaharshana, &c.

M

Mâdhava, author of Nyâya-mâlâ-vistara, 82
——— author of the Sarva-dars'ana-sangraha, 86
——— author of the Vedârtha-prakâsa, on T.S., quoted, 66 ff.
Madhuchhandas, 305
Madhuvidyâ, 141, 286
Madhusûdana Sarasvatî, 194
Madras, 81
Mahâbhârata, origin of the name, 29
——— is a Veda relating to Krishna, 29
——— equal to the Veda, 29
——— composed by Nârâyana, 39
——— why composed, 42
——— quoted—
Âdi-parvan—
258,—31
261, 264 f.,—29
645,—29
2298,—29
2314,—29
2417,—38
4236,—38
Vana-parvan—
13432,—12
Udyoga-parvan—
1537,—288
Bhîshma-parvan—
3019,—14
S'ânti-parvan—
7660,—85, 101
8505,—49
8533 ff.,—16, 69
12920,—14
13088 ff.,—48
13432,—12
13475,—49
12551,—289
13678,—40
Svargârohanika-parvan
200 ff.,—29
Mahâbhâshya, 95
Mahâs'âla S'aunaka, 31
Mahâsena (Kârttikeya), 264
Mahat, 154, 172 f.
Mahes'vara, 16
Mahîdhara on the Vâj. San. quoted, 39
Maitreya, 37
Maitrî Upanishad—
vi. 22,—176
Mâlatî Mâdhava, 90
Mâna (Agastya), 247
Mânas, 233
Mânava dharma - s'âstra quoted—
i. 21 ff.,— 6
— 85 f., —48
ii. 10 ff.,—24
— 76 ff.,— 7
— 97,—25
— 166 f.,—288
iv. 123 f.,— 25
vi. 82 ff.,—24
xi. 243,—85
xii. 91,—190
— 94 ff.,—23
— 106,—24, 181
Mândhâtri, 229
Mânava-kalpa-sûtra, 95
Manîshâ, 224
Manman, 224
Mantras, 1, 33, 62 ff., 115, 224
——— magical power ascribed to, 275 ff.
Manu, 181 f., 190, 220, 285
Manvantaras, 38
Marîchi, 34
Mârkandeya Purâna, 102, 1 ff., quoted, 11
Maruts, 102, 226, 263
Mati, 224
Matsya Purâna, iii. 2 ff. quoted, 28
Mauda, 55
Mâyâ, 164, 195, 202
Medhâtithi, 6
Medhâvi, 218
Meru, 50, 52
Mitra, 225, 227
Mîmânsâ, see Pûrva-mîmânsâ, 28
Mîmânsakas, their alleged atheism, 94 f.
Mîmânsa-vârttika, 95
Minerva, 273
Moksha-dharma quoted, 199 f.
Mudakas, 96
Mukhya, or proper senes of words, 107

Müller, M., Profr. aid received from 237
——— Ancient Sanskrit Lit., 1, 2, 36, 53, 56 f., 175, 280 f.
——— Chips, etc., 48
——— Jour. R. A. S., 230, 236, 255
——— Jour. of Ger. Or. Soc., 20, 104, 127, 183
Muṇḍaka Upanishad—
i. 1, 1–5,—30, 204, 284
ii. 1, 4, and 6,—30
iii. 1, 1,—176
Muni, 219
Muses, 267 ff.

N

Nābhāka, 230
Nābhāka, 229
Nābhan, 246
Nägelsbach's Nachhomerische Theologie, 273
Nāgojibhaṭṭa, 95 ff.
Nahusha, 283
Naichaśākha, 79
Nāka Maudgalya, 22
Name and Form, 152, 155, 163, 167, 302, etc.
Nāsatyas (Aśvins), 240
Nārada, 32, 34
Nārāyaṇa, 47.
Nārāyaṇa-tīrtha, 128
Nārāśansīs, 215
Navagva, 221, 246
Nestor, 273
Nigada, 45
Nigama, 180
Nirukta, quoted—
i. 20,—118, 213
iii. 11,—213
iv. 6,—212
vii. 1, 3,—211
— 16,—219
viii. 3,—277
x. 32,—213
— 42,—212
——— referred to, 180, 206, 247
Nītha, 224
Nivid, 224
Nodhas, 235
Nṛimedha, a rishi, 213
Nyāya, whether theistic or not, 133
Nyāya Sūtras quoted, 108 ff.
Nyāya-māla-vistara, quoted, 82, 179, 181
Nyāya-sūtra-vṛitti, 108

O

Odana oblation, 4
Odyssey, 269 f., 272 f.
Oṁkāra, 44
Oracles, 273

P

Padma-purāṇa quoted, 27
Paila, 39, 41 f., 45
Paingins, 56
Paippalāda, 55
Panchadaśa-stoma, 11
Panchajanāḥ, 168
Pāṇini, 56, 91
Pānkta, 15
Paraśara, 38, 40 f., 45, 199 f.
Parāśara Upapurāṇa, 199
Parjanya, 252
Paruchhepa, a rishi, 212
Pāśupata system, 202
Pāśupatas, 195
Pātanjalas, 195
Patanjali, Mahābhāshya, 56, 95 f.
——— Yoga, 198
Paulkasa, 34
Paurusheya, 9, 90, 134
Paurusheyatva, 90
Pavana, 5
Pertsch, alphabetical list of initial words of *rich*-verses, 103
Phemius, 270
Phœacians, 269
Philosophical systems, their mutual relations, 194 ff.
Pippalāda, 298
Pippalādakas, 96
Pitāmaha, 28
Plati, 244
Plato quoted, 133
——— his ideas on inspiration, 273
Polyphemus, 265
Prabhākara, 91, 180
Pradhāna, 150, etc.
Prakṛiti, 164, 166
Pramaganda, 79
Praskaṇva, 220
Praśna Upanishad, Comm. on, 191
——— i. 1,—297
Prasthāna-bheda, 194 ff.
Praudhi-vada, 201
Praüga, 278
Pṛithivī, 266
Priyamedha, 220
Prosody, 31
Psalms, 224
Pulastya, 34
Pulaha, 34
Puṇḍarīkāksha, 89
Purāṇas, 2, 27, and passim, see Smṛiti
——— created before the Vedas, 27 f.
——— eternal, 28
——— form with the Itihāsas a fifth Veda, 33, 42
Purūravas, 45 ff., 205
Purusha, 3, 4, and passim
Purusha-medha, 35
Purusha-sūkta (R. V. x. 90, 1, 9), 3, 61, 69, 89
Pūrva-mīmānsa Sūtras quoted, 70 ff.
Pūrva-mīmānsā, its object, 139
Pūshan, 226, 263
Pythagoras, 273

R

Raghunandana, 68
Raghuvaṁśa, 77
Rahūgaṇas, 241
Raikva and Rainka, 296 f.
Rājās, 12, 32, 48, 150
Rājasūya sacrifice, 184
Rajendra lal Mittra, his translation of the Upanishad, 167, 296 f., 299
Rakshases, 55
Rāmānujas, 195
Rāmāyaṇa, i. 1, 94 quoted 29
——— equal to the Veda, 30
Rathantara, 276
Rationalistic treatises, 24
Ṛi (to move, send forth), 240

Ribhus, 237, 261
Rich, 224
Rich-verses, 11, 12, 15
Rig-veda, quotations from,
First Mandala—
1, 2,—219
3, 11, 12,—254
12, 11,—224
18, 6, 7,—258
20, 1,—232
22, 10,—255
27, 4,—225
31, 1, 2,—251
— 11,—255
— 18,—232
32, 1,—212
37, 4,—252
40, 5, 6,—260
45, 3, 4,—220
47, 2,—232
48, 14,—220
60, 3,—225
— 5,—242
61, 2,—241
— 4,—241
— 16,—232
62, 13,—235
66, 2,—251
67, 3,—275
— 4,—311
77, 5,—242
78, 5,—242
80, 16,—220
89, 3,—225
91, 11,—242
94, 1,—241
96, 2,—225
102, 1,—242
109, 1, 2, 4,—311
116, 1,—240
117, 25,—233
118, 3,—220
130, 6,—235
— 10,—225
131, 6,—220
139, 9,—220
143, 1,—225
152, 5,—253
164, 5, 6,—279
— 20,—176
— 25,—276
— 37,—279
169, 3,— 59
171, 2,—235
175, 6,—220
179, 2,—182, 245
183, 6,—153

Rig-veda *continued*—
First Mandala—
184, 5,—232
185, 1,—280
Second Mandala—
3, 8,—255
17, 1,—225
18, 3,—225
19, 8,—235
23, 2,—260
24, 1,—226
35, 2,—235
39, 8,—233
Third Mandala—
1, 20,—226
2, 1,—237
18, 3,—255
21, 3,—251
29, 15,—248
30, 20,—233
32, 13,—226
39, 1, 2,—226
43, 5,—248
53, 9,—248
— 12,—276
— 14,—215
54, 17,—261
58, 3,—220
62, 7,—226
— 10,—263
Fourth Mandala—
3, 16,—242
5, 3,—259
— 6,—259
6, 1,—259
— 11,—233
11, 3,—259
16, 20, 21,—233
20, 5,—220
32, 12,—242
43, 1, 2,—255
50, 1,—221
Fifth Mandala—
2, 11,—235
11, 5,—242
22, 4,—243
29, 1,—251
29, 15,—235
31, 4,—276
40, 6,—276
42, 6,—220
— 13,—226
44, 8,— 59
45, 4,—243
55, 3,—227
73, 10,—236

Rig-veda *continued*—
Sixth Mandala—
14, 2,—251
16, 47,—236
17, 13,—227
18, 15,—261
19, 4,—221
21, 5,—221
— 8,—221
22, 2,—221
— 7,—227
26, 3,—261
32, 1,—236
34, 1,—227, 261
38, 3,—243
44, 13,—227
47, 3,—264
— 10,—261
48, 11,—227
49, 1,—227
50, 6,—227
— 15,—221
52, 2,—233
62, 4,—228
69, 2,—262
75, 19,—277
Seventh Mandala—
7, 6,—236
15, 4,—237
18, 1,—222
19, 11,—277
22, 9,—237
26, 1,—238
29, 4,—222
31, 11,—238
33, 3,—277
— 7–13,—246
34, 1,—255
— 9,—255
35, 14,—234
37, 4,—234
53, 1,—222
— 2,—228
56, 23,—228
59, 4,—228
61, 2,—240
— 6,—228
64, 4,—236
66, 11,—266
67, 5,—243
76, 4,—222
85, 1,—243
87, 4,—248
88, 4,—248
91, 1,—222
93, 1,—228
94, 1, 2,—238

Rig-veda *continued*—
Seventh Mandala—
97, 3, 5,—261
— 9,—234
104, 15,—212
Eighth Mandala—
3, 3,—249
5, 18,—243
5, 24,—228
6, 10,—250
— 11,—228
— 33,—236
— 41,—251
— 43,—229
8, 8,—243
12, 10,—229
— 14,—258
— 31,—240
13, 7,—262
— 26,—240
16, 7,—251
19, 5, 6,—3
20, 19,—229
23, 14,—229
25, 24,—229
27, 11,—243
— 13,—256
36, 7,—222
39, 6,—229
40, 4, 5,—230
— 12,—229
41, 2,—229
— 5, 6,—266
43, 2,—238
44, 12,—230
48, 3,—265
49, 9,—277
51, 4,—234
52, 4,—262
55, 11,—230
63, 7, 8,—230
64, 6,—69, 267
65, 5, 6, 12,—230
77, 4,—238
78, 3,—263
— 6, 7,—262
79, 3,—234
84, 4, 5,—238
88, 4,—253
89, 3, 4,—254
— 10, 11,—253
90, 16,—256
Ninth Mandala—
9, 8,—231
12, 7,—267
25, 5,—265
33, 5,—256

Rig-veda *continued*—
Ninth Mandala—
42, 2,—231
62, 1,—103
73, 2,—239
76, 4,—265
87, 3,—249
91, 5,—231
92, 3,—267
95, 1,—239
— 2,—265
96, 5-7,—266
— 11,—222
— 18,—251
99, 4,—231
107, 7,—251
110, 7,—223
114, 2,—234
Tenth Mandala—
4, 5,—259
4, 6,—231
7, 2,—239
14, 15,—223
20, 10,—253
21, 5,—259
23, 5-7,—239
26, 4,—263
27, 22,—252
31, 7,—280
34, 13,—212
36, 5,—260
39, 14,—236, 267
42, 1,—244
54, 3,—221
— 6,—234
57, 2,—278
— 3,—229
61, 7,—253
62, 1, 3,—246
— 4, 5,—246
63, 17,—244
66, 5,—311
66, 14,—223
67, 1,—239
71, 1-6,—256
71, 3,—105
72, 1, 2,—249
80, 7,—237
81, 4,—280
88, 8,—253
— 18,—280
89, 3,—231
— 5,—59
90, 1,—61
— 9,—3, 61, 89
91, 8,—259
— 13,—231

Rig-veda *continued*—
Tenth Mandala—
— 14,—240
95, 14,—212
96, 5,—223
— 11,—231
98, 9,—223
101, 2,—234
106, 6,—59
107, 6,—244
109, 4,—250
110, 8,—257
111, 1,—244
112, 9,—252, 262
114, 8, 9,—277
115, 5,—252
116, 9,—240
117, 6,—212
125, 3-5,—257
129, 2,—212
— 5,—59
— 5-7,—280
— 6,—60
130, 1-7,—277 f.
139, 5,—260
154, 2, 5,—250
160, 5,—231
167, 1,—250
176, 2,—258
177, 1,—258
190, 1,—250
Rishis, nature of their inspiration, 125, 183
——— "seers" of the hymns, 211
——— distinguished as new and old, 218 ff.
——— speak of themselves as authors of hymns, 232 ff.
——— supernatural character ascribed to, 245 ff.
——— conscious of divine inspiration, 252 ff.
——— their opposite views how reconcilable, 274 f.
——— their confession of ignorance, 279 ff.
——— their idea of inspiration different from that of later writers, 281 f.
———rival the gods, 283
Ritual, 31

Röer, Dr. E., his translations and introductions to the Upanishads, 36, 185, 193, 254, 284
——— his Bhāshā-parichheda, 133
——— his German translation of the Vaiśeshika aphorisms, 118, 120
——— his remarks on the doctrine of the Upanishads, 173
——— his remarks on the Sānkhya, 193
Romaharshaṇa, 39
Roth, Illustrations of Nirukta, 47, 230, 246 f.
Rudra, 64, 234
——— composed of the Sāma-veda, 27
Rudras, 102, 234

S

S'abara, Svāmin, 70, 80
Sacrifices, the five great, 20
Sacrifice eternal, 6
Sadasaspati, 258
Sādhyas, 6, 12
Sagara, sons of, 190, 192
S'ākhās of the Veda, 37, 42, 56
S'akti, 164, 173, 306
Sāma-rathantara, 11
Sāma-veda, impurity of its sound, 26 f.
——— i. 299 quoted, 252
Sāman, 224
Sāman-verses, 11
S'amī wood, 46
Sāmidhenīs, 213
S'aṁsa, 224
Saṁvarga-vidyā, 295 ff.
Sanaka, 34
Sanatkumāra, 32 f.
S'āṇḍilya, an ancient sage, 178
——— author of the Bhakti Sūtras quoted, 177 f.
S'aṅkāra Āchārya's commentary on the Brahma Sūtras quoted, 62, 98 ff., 106, 108, 140 ff., 177, 182, 185 ff., 203, 289, 291 ff.
S'ankara Achārya's commentary on the Br. Ār. Up. quoted, 34, 204
——— his comm. on the Chhāndogya Up., 296
——— his comm. on the Praśna Up. quoted, 191
——— on the Taitt. Up. quoted, 191
S'ankara Miśrā comm. on Vaiśeshika, 120, 125
Sānkhya aphorisms, 133, 168
Sānkhya-kārikā, 138, 166
Sānkhya-pravachana-bhāshya, 196 ff.
S'antanu, 45
Saptadasa-stoma, 11
Sarasvatī, goddess, 14, 254 f., 257, 282
——— mother of the Vedas, 14
——— the river, 41
S'ārīraka-mīmānsā-bhāshya, 98 See S'ankara Āchārya
S'ārīraka sūtras, 98
Sarva-darśana-sangraha-86 ff.
S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, quoted—
iii. 4, 1, 22,—47
iv. 1, 2, 19,—53
vi. 1, 1, 8,—7
— 1, 2, 19,—5
vii. 5, 2, 52,—9
ix. 4, 4, 4,—223
x. 3, 5, 12,—31
— 4, 2, 21,—14
— 6, 5, 4,—104
xi. 5, 1, 1,—48
— 5, 6, 1–7, 10,—18
—5, 8, 1,—4
xiv. 4, 3, 12,—9
— 5, 4, 10,—8
— 7, 1, 22,—33
Sattva guna, 12, 32, 150
Sātvata-saṁhitā (the Bhāgavata Pur.) 42
Satyakāma, 293
Satyavāha, 31
Satyavatī, 45
S'aunaka, 297, 305
S'aunakas, 55
Savitṛi, 263
Sāvitrī, 7, 14
Sāyaṇa, his Vedārtha-prakāśa, or commentary on R. V. quoted, 58 ff., 76, 78, 80, 105, 206, 215, 219
Sayugvan, 296
Siddhānta-muktāvali, 133
S'ikshā, 206
Skambha, 3
Skanda, 264
S'lokas, 9, 205
Smṛiti, 24, 181, and passim
Smṛitis, extent and conditions of their authority, 181 ff.
Sobhari, 229
Soma, god, 8, 223
——— source of inspiration, 264 ff.
Somaśarman, 92
Soul, unity of, 190, 203
Souls, diversity of, 169, 175
Sound, eternity of, affirmed, 71 ff., 90 ff.
——— denied, 89, 109, 137
Species or Genera eternal, 102
Sphoṭa, 44, 104 f., 136 f.
S'ramaṇa, 34
S'ruti, 24
Sruva, 20
Stoma, 224
Stuti, 224
Sudās, 277
S'ūdras, unfit for study of Veda, 42, 68, 99, 292 ff.
——— may attain the highest bliss, 178
S'uka, 43
Sumati, 224
Sumantu, 39, 40, 42, 45
Superior science, 31, 206
Sushṭuti, 224
Sūrya, 5 f., 266
Sūta, 39, 43
Svadhā, 20, 254
Svāhā, 254
Svar, 5, 7, 14
Svarbhānu, 276
Svāyambbuva manvantara, 39 f.
S'vetaketu, 155
S'vetāśvatara, sage, 284

S'vetāsvatara Upanishad quoted—
iv. 5,—165
— 10,—164
v. 2,—184, 188 ff., 283
vi. 6,—176
— 11,—171
— 18,—304
— 21,—284
S'yāvās'va, 222

T

Taittirīyas, 51
Taittirīya Āranyaka, vii. 8,—22
Taittirīya Brāhmana [?], 275
——— quoted—
ii. 3, 10, 1,—8
— 4, 2, 6,—278
— 8, 8, 5,—10, 234
iii. 3, 9, 1,—10
— 10, 11, 3,—16
— 12, 9, 1,—15
Taittirīya Samhitā quoted, i. 2, 1, 1,—59 f.
ii. 5, 8, 3,—212
vii. 3, 1, 4,—17
Taittirīya Upanishad, 65
——— comm. on, 191
Tamas, 12, 32, 150, 202
Tāmasa works, 202
Tapas, 250
Tarka-sangraha, 127, 133, 150
Taksh (to fabricate), 232, 235
Telemachus, 273
Thamyris, 269
Thirlwall, Bp., his history of Greece, 274
Tīkshnasringa, 264
Time, 4
Tiras'chī, 238
Tittiri, 77, 83
Tretā-yuga, 37, 45, 47
Triple science, 8
Trisarvī, 53
Trishtubh, 278
Trita, 212
Tritsus, 277
Trivrit, 11
Tvashtri, 252

U

Udayana Āchāryya, 128
Uddālaka Āruni, 286
Uktha, 224, 278
Ukthya, 11
Ulysses, 270
Unborn Female, 165, 171
Unborn Male, 165
Upabarit, 20
Upanishads, 1, 2, 138, and passim
——— superior to other parts of the Veda, 31
——— their doctrines uniform according to S'ankara, but really various, 108, 175
Upapurānas, 30
Urvās'ī, 45 ff., 205, 247
Us'anas, 249
Ushas, 243
Usmas, 44
Ushnih metre, 11, 278
Uttarārani, 47

V

Vāch, 8, 10, 104 f., 253 f., 256 f., 282
Vachas, 224
Vājasaneyins, 53
Vājasaneyi ritual, 53
——— Samhita quoted—
iii. 53,—229
v. 2,—46
xiii. 53,—9
xvi. 53,—60
xviii. 52,—223
xxx. 18,—53
Vājins, 51 f.
Vairūpa, 11
Vais'ampāyana, 39, 40, 42, 45, 50 ff.
Vais'eshika, 106, 175
Vaishnavas, 195
Vaisvānara (Agni), 237
Vaivasvata Manvantara, 31 f., 45
Vaktratunda (Ganes'a), 264
Vālakhilya xi. 6,—262
Vālmīki, 77
Varuna, 227, 243, 247 f., 262
——— source of inspiration, 262, 266
Varūtrī, 255
Vāsavyā, 41
Vashat, 254
Vashatkāra, 14, 21
Vasishtha, 34, 246 ff.
Vasishthas, 223, 246
Vāstoshpati, 253
Vasus, 102, 226, 234
Vatsa, 243
Vātsyāyana quoted, 115
Vāyu, 5 f., 222
Vāyu Purāna, 27 f., 39, 51
Vedāntas, 1, see Upanishads
Vedānta Sūtras, 98 ff.
Vedārtha-prakās'a on R.V. quoted, 58 ff., 80
——— on T.S., 83 ff.
Vedas, general account of, 1 f.
——— division into Mantra and Brāhmana, 1, 62
——— sprang from sacrifice of Purusha, 3
——— from Skambha, 3
——— from Indra, 4
——— from Time, 4
——— from the Odana-oblation, 4
——— objects of worship and supplication, 4
——— sprang from Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, 4 f., 61
——— their eternity affirmed, 6, 18, 71, 76, 78, 105, 303
——— their eternity denied, 109, 117, 119, 130 134
——— their superhuman character (*apaurusheyatva*), 6
——— sources of the names, forms, and functions of creatures, 6, 16, 104
——— created by Prajāpati and from the waters, 8, 14
——— the breathing of the great Being, 8, 135, 205
——— created by means of speech and soul, 9
——— one with speech, mind, and breath, 9

Vedas dug from the mind-ocean, 10
——— are the hair of Prajāpati's beard, 10
——— the offspring of Vāch, 10
——— created separately from Brahmā's mouths, 10 f.
——— characterized severally by the different guṇas, 12
——— created by Brahmā, 12
——— the Gāyatrī their mother, 12 f.
——— created from different parts of Brahma's body, 13
——— created by Achyuta, 14
——— Sarasvatī their mother, 14
——— all things comprehended in them, 15
——— sources respectively of form, motion, and heat, 15
——— breathings of Maheśvara, 16
——— infinite in extent, 17
——— Vishṇu composed of them, 18, 27
——— study of, a sacrifice, 20
——— study of, its benefits, 21
——— encomiums on study of, 21 ff.
——— useless to the depraved, 25
——— recollecting and repeating them removes sin, 25
——— the energy and body of Vishṇu, and severally the substance of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra, 27
——— created after the Purāṇas, 27
——— insufficient without the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas, 29
——— corrected by Brahma-vaivartta Purāṇa, 30
Vedas voice of Brahma, 30
——— their hymns form the inferior science, 31
——— classed with other śāstras, 31, 33
——— their ceremonial part decried in the Bhagavad Gīta, Chhāndogya Upanishad, and Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 32 ff.
——— in the state of profound sleep are no Vedas, 34
——— Soul not known through them, 36
——— originally one, 37 ff., 47
——— division of 37 ff.
——— their original extent, 38, 40
——— necessity for their division, 40 f.
——— cannot be heard by women, Śūdras, etc., 42, 299
——— discrepant account of their division, 47
——— carried off by two Asuras but recovered by Brahmā, 49
——— form the eye of Brahmā, 49
——— their periodical disappearance, 49
——— mutual hostility of adherents of different Vedas, 49 ff.
——— schism among adherents of Yajur-veda, and its separation into white and black, 50 ff.
——— vindication of them against objections, and defence of their authority, by their commentators, 57 ff.
——— arguments of the Mīmānsakas in favour of their eternity and authority, 70 ff.
——— "seen" by the rishis, 85, 212
——— reasonings of the Vedantists on their eternity and authority, 98 ff.
——— sprang from Brahma, 106
Vedas, how interpreted by theologians, 107
——— arguments of the adherents of the Nyāya, Vaiśeshika, and Sānkhya in support of their authority, but against their eternity, 108 ff.
——— texts of, interpreted variously by different philosophers, 138 ff.
——— distinguished from all other Śāstras by being independent and infallible, 179 ff.
——— recapitulation of arguments in support of their authority, with remarks, 207 ff.
——— ideas of the rishis regarding the origin of their hymns, 217 ff.
——— hymns of, distinguished as old and new, 224 ff.
——— hymns of, made, fabricated, or generated, by the rishis, 232 ff.
——— hymns of, ascribed to the inspiration of the gods, 252 ff.
——— hymns of, a magical power attributed to, 275 ff.
——— sprang from the leavings of the sacrifice, 287
Vedhas, 219
Verbal brahma, 35
Videha, 56
Vidhi, 64
Vidura, 295, 300
Vidvan-moda-taraṅgiṇī, 208
Vijnāna Bhikshu, 133, 172, 196, and passim
Vidyā, 205
Vimada, 239 f., 253
Vimadas, 239
Vipaschit, 219
Vipra, 218
Virāj metre, 11, 278
Virochana, 142
Virūpa, 69, 75, 220, 246, 267
Vishṇu, 37, 40, 53, 244, 262, 266

Vishnu, composed of the Veda, 18, 127
Vishnu Purāna quoted—
i. 2, 13,—4
— 5, 48 ff.,—10
— 5, 58,—16
— 17, 54,—201
ii. 11, 5 ff.,—26
iii. 2, 12,—49
— 2, 18 ff.,—37
— 3, 4 ff.,—37
— 3, 19 ff.,—18
— 4, 1 ff.,—38
— 5, 2 ff.,—49
— 6, 22 f.,—18
— 18, 22,—128
iv. 6,—47
Vis'vāmitra, 247 f., 276, 283
Vis'vanātha Bhaṭṭāchārya, 108, 217
Vis'vāvasu, 260
Visvedevas, 102
Vivasvat, 286
Viyukta, 126
Vrihaduktha, 234
Vrihat-sāma, 11
Vrihaspati, heretical teacher, 202
Vrihaspati, author of a smriti, 181
Vrisha, 264
Vrittra, 228
Vyāhritis, 44
Vyādha, 300
Vyākhyānas, 205
Vyāsa, 37, 77, 89

W

Weber, Prof., Ind. Lit., 53
——— Ind. Stud., 22, 47, 53 ff., 193 f., 296, and passim
——— Vāj. San. Spec., 275
Whitney, Prof., his opinion referred to, 258
Wilson, Prof. H. H., 2
——— translation of Vishnu Purāna, 11, 52, 193, and passim
——— translation of Rig-veda, 2
——— Sānkhya kārikā, 44
Women unfit for the study of the Veda, 42, 68

Y

Yajnadatta, 102
Yājna-paribhāshā, 62
Yājnavalkya, 50 ff.
Yajush, 224
Yajush-verses, 11
Yama (Agni ?), 247
Yama, 245, 250
Yāska, see Nirukta
Yoga aphorisms, 184, 201
Yogas, 137
Yogins, 126
Yukta, 126

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Arabic.
Arabic Ligatures.
Aramaic.
Archaic Characters.
Armenian.
Assyrian Cuneiform.
Bengali.
Bohemian (Czechian).
Bugis.
Burmese.
Canarese (or Carnâtaca).
Chinese.
Coptic.
Croato-Glagolitic.
Cufic.
Cyrillic (or Old Slavonic).
Czechian (or Bohemian).
Danish.
Demotic.
Estrangelo.
Ethiopic.
Etruscan.
Georgian.
German.
Glagolitic.
Gothic.
Greek.
Greek Ligatures.
Greek (Archaic).
Gujerati (or Gnzerattee)
Hieratic.
Hieroglyphics.
Hebrew.
Hebrew (Archaic).
Hebrew (Rabbinical).
Hebrew (Judæo-German).
Hebrew (current hand).
Hungarian.
Illyrian.
Irish.
Italian (Old).
Japanese.
Javanese.
Lettish.
Mantshu.
Median Cuneiform.
Modern Greek (or Romaic).
Mongolian.
Numidian.
Old Slavonic (or Cyrillic).
Palmyrenian.
Persian.
Persian Cuneiform.
Phœnician.
Polish
Pushto (or Afghan).
Romaic (or Modern Greek).
Russian.
Pânes.
Samaritan.
Sanscrit.
Servian.
Slavonic (Old).
Sorbian (or Wendish).
Swedish.
Syriac.
Tamil.
Telugu.
Tibetan.
Turkish.
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THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS,

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,

BY

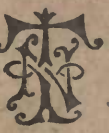
J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AND OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, CORRESPONDENT OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES, HONORARY MEMBER OF THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, AND FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE LEYDEN LITERARY SOCIETY.

VOLUME FOURTH.

COMPARISON OF THE VEDIC WITH THE LATER REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL INDIAN DEITIES.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED.



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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.*

THE object which I have had in view in the present Volume is to compare the representations which are given of the Indian deities Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra, and of the goddess Ambikā, in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas, with the accounts which we find in the legendary poems called Itihāsas and Purāṇas, and to show, so far as the materials at our command will allow, to what extent, and by what steps in each case, the earlier conceptions were gradually modified in the later works.

The First Chapter (pp. 3–62) treats of the deity who is described in the later hymns of the Rig-veda, and in the Atharva-veda, under the different titles of Viśva-karman, Hiraṇyagarbha, and Prajāpati, and appears to correspond with the Brahmā of the more modern legendary books.

Though this god was originally unconnected with Vishṇu and Rudra, while at a subsequent period he came to be regarded in systematic mythology as the first person in the triad of which they formed the second and third members, yet the general idea entertained of his character, if at all altered, has been less modified in the course of his history than is the case in regard to the other two deities.

* [With the exception of the notes in pages xi., viii., and x., and the alterations in the figures showing the pages in which the several chapters and sections begin and end, rendered necessary by the additions made in this second edition, this preface is reprinted nearly as it originally stood.]

Brahmā was from the beginning conceived as the Creator, and he continued to be regarded as fulfilling the same function even after he had sunk into a subordinate position, and had come to be represented by the votaries of Vishṇu and Mahādeva respectively as the mere creature and agent of one or other of those two gods (see pp. 188, 194, 230, 267, 273). In later times Brahmā has had few special worshippers; the only spot where he is periodically adored being at Pushkara in Rajputana.* Three of the acts which the earlier legends ascribe to

* See Professor H. H. Wilson's Essay on the Padma Purāṇa, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V., p. 309, reprinted in vol. iii. of his collected works, pp. 74 f.; and the same author's Oxford Lectures, p. 21. In the preface to his edition of the Nārada Pancharātra, published in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1865, p. 4, the Rev. K. M. Banerjea refers to this subject: "Of the three select divinities," (Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva) "the first, however, had never become an object of special adoration, having been guilty of an incestuous attempt on his own daughter." (See pp. 45 ff. of this volume.) "The incident is thus accounted for in the work now presented to the public." The words referred to will be quoted below. They occur in the tenth section, vv. 30 f. It had been previously related that Brahmā had exhorted his son Nārada to take a wife and so people the world (*śrishṭiṁ kuru mahābhāga kṛitvā dāra-parigraham*, v. 5). Hereupon Nārada, who was a votary of Krishṇa, becomes angry, affirms that devotion to that god is the sole way to attain felicity, and denounces his father as an erring instructor (vv. 7–22). Brahmā in reply curses Nārada, and dooms him to a life of sensuality and subjection to women, etc. (vv. 23–29). Nārada pays back the imprecation in the lines translated by Mr. Banerjea, which I give in the original, with some of those that follow: *Tātasya vachanaṁ śrutvā chukopa Nārado muniḥ | śaśāpa pitaraṁ śīghraṁ dāruṇaṁ cha yathochitam | 31. Apūjyo bhava dushṭa tvaṁ tvan-mantropāsakaḥ kutaḥ | agamyāgamanechchhā te bhavishyati na saṁśayaḥ | 32. Nāradasya tu śāpena so 'pūjyo jagatāṁ vidhiḥ | dṛishṭvā sva-kanyā-rūpaṁ cha paśchād dhāvitavān purā | 33. Pumaḥ svadehaṁ tatyāja bharsitaḥ Sanakādibhiḥ | lajjitaḥ kāma-yuktaś cha punar Brahmā babhūva saḥ | 34. Nāradas tu namaskṛitya pitaraṁ kamalodbhavam | vipra-deham parityajya gandharvaś cha babhūva saḥ |* 30. "Hearing the words of his father, the muni Nārada became incensed, and straightway cursed him dreadfully, as was befitting. 31. 'Wretch, become no object of adoration: how shall any one be devoted to the forms of thy worship? Thou shalt without doubt lust after her who is no fit object of thy desires.' 32. Through this curse of Nārada, the creator of the world ceased to be an object of worship. Beholding the beauty of his daughter, he formerly ran after her. 33. Afterwards, being reproached by Sanaka and others, he abandoned his corporeal form. Brahmā afterwards became ashamed, being a slave to lust. 34. And Nārada, having made obeisance to his lotus-born father, forsook his Brahmanical body, and became a Gandharva." His loves are then related.

him, or to Ṛ ūsha, the assumption of the forms of a tortoise, a boar,* and a fish, are in later works transferred to Vishṉu (see pp. 27, 33 f., 36 and 38).

The Second Chapter (pp. 63–298) first of all describes the original conception of Vishṉu as he is celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-veda (pp. 63–97). The particular attribute by which he is there distinguished from every other deity is that of striding across the heavens by three paces. This phrase is interpreted by one of the ancient commentators as denoting the threefold manifestations of light, as fire on earth, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as the sun in the sky; and by another as designating the three stages of the sun's daily movement, his rising, culmination, and setting. The latter explanation seems to satisfy best the idea of movement expressed in the description; but the conception is not distinctly developed in any of the texts. Some of the highest divine functions and attributes are also assigned to Vishṉu; and we might thus be led to suppose that the authors of these hymns regarded him as the Supreme Deity. But this supposition is invalidated by the fact that Indra is sometimes associated with Vishṉu in the performance of these functions, and that several other deities are magnified in terms of similar import (pp. 97–114). The Third Section (pp. 114–121) treats of Vishṉu as one of the sons of Aditi. The origin here assigned to this god would lead us to conclude that he was originally considered as of no higher rank than the other beings who bear the same name of Ādityas. The Fourth

* Compare the passage from the Tattiriya Sanhitā, vii. 1, 5, 1, quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 52.

Section (pp. 121–156) contains the legends relating to the same god in the Brāhmaṇas, in which he is identified with sacrifice; while in one of them he is spoken of as a dwarf. The later accounts of the dwarf incarnation are next adduced as recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas. In the Fifth Section a passage is quoted from the Nirukta (pp. 156 ff.), in which the gods are classified, and the most prominent places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu or Indra, and Sūrya, who seem to have been regarded by the author as the triad of deities in whom the Supreme Spirit was especially revealed, while Vishṇu and Rudra are merely mentioned as gods who were worshipped conjointly with Indra and Soma, respectively. The later triad of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra, seems therefore to have been then unknown. The remainder of this Section (pp. 163–298), and pp. 441–491 of the Appendix, are chiefly occupied by quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, containing a great variety of details relating to Rāma and Kṛishṇa, the two heroes who came ultimately to be regarded as the principal incarnations of Vishṇu; and an attempt is made by an examination of these texts to elucidate the question whether or not a divine nature was ascribed to these two personages by the authors of the two poems as they originally stood. The passages adduced from the Mahābhārata relating to Kṛishṇa make frequent mention of Mahādeva also, and illustrate the conceptions entertained of him at that epoch of Indian history when they were composed. This Section contains also many texts which indicate the existence of a strong rivalry between the adherents of these

two gods. In different passages here cited, Vishṇu and Rudra (Mahādeva) are both described by their respective votaries as one with the Supreme Spirit; while in some places they are identified with one another.

The Third Chapter (pp. 299–437) traces the mythological history of Rudra as he is represented in the Rig-veda (pp. 299–320), in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (321–331), in the Atharva-veda (332–339), in the Brāhmaṇas and Mahābhārata (339–355), in the Upanishads (355–363), and in various further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas which describe some of this god's proceedings, and indicate the struggles of his votaries to introduce his worship, as illustrated in the story of Daksha's sacrifice (363–393). A summary of the conclusions deducible from these Sections is given in pp. 393–405. Pages 405–420 contain an inquiry into the origin of the Linga worship,—though unfortunately nothing better than a negative result is obtained;—and into the question whether or not Mahādeva's worship was most prevalent in the South of India in the epic era. This Chapter concludes with an account of the different representations of the goddess called variously Ambikā, Umā, Kālī, Karālī, Pārvatī, Durgā, etc., which we find in the Kena and Muṇḍaka Upanishads, in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Harivaṁśa, and Mahābhārata, and in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (pp. 420–437).

A further indication of the various matters illustrated in this Volume will be obtained by consulting the Index under the names Brahmā, Vishṇu, Rāma, Kṛishṇa, Umā, etc.

It will be apparent to all Sanskrit scholars that the

main results at which I have arrived in regard to Vishṇu, Rudra, and Ambikā, are not new. Rosen (in the notes to his translation of the R.V. p. li.), Burnouf (Pref. to Bhāg. Pur. vol. iii. p. xxii.), whose remarks are subjoined in a note,* and Wilson (Pref. to transl. of R.V. i. p. xxxiv.), had already drawn attention to the text of Yāska and to the Commentary of Durga, by which it is shown that the three steps of Vishṇu were interpreted by the ancient commentators in the manner which I have indicated in pp. 64 ff.

In the same way Wilson, Weber, and Whitney (see pp. 394 ff. of this Volume), had pointed out that the Rudra of the Rig-veda is very different from the Rudra or Mahādeva of the Purāṇas. And in pp. 421 ff. I have quoted the dissertations of Professor Weber on the mythological history of Ambikā or Umā. The whole, therefore, that I can claim to have effected is to have brought together, and to have illustrated to the best of my power, all the most important texts which I could

* "We can at this day go further still, and affirm that the Vishṇu of the Vedas is in no way the Vishṇu of the mythologists. A commentator of a certain authority, Durgāchārya, explaining the Nirukta of Yāska, when he arrives at the text of Medhātithi published by Rosen," (*i.e.* R.V. i. 22, 17 ff.) "says positively that Vishṇu is the sun, either because he enters into the heaven, or because he entirely occupies it. This interpretation, which he derives from Yāska himself, leaves no doubt on the question what we are to understand by the Vishṇu of the Vedas, who takes three steps. It is manifestly the luminary of day regarded in the three principal moments of his course, his rising, meridional position, and setting; and there is none of the expressions of the Vedic texts in which this god appears, making himself in three steps master of the celestial vault, to which this explanation given by Yāska several centuries before our era does not apply. We learn by this example what prudence it is indispensable to bring to the studies by the aid of which criticism must restore the chain which connects the mythical development of the Indian religion with the conceptions of the primitive naturalism of the Vedas. Neither the identity of the names, nor even that of the sense is a sufficiently sure guide; and the ideas, though originally simple, are clothed in forms either so different, or so easy to be confounded, that we cannot judge of the details without having understood and embraced the whole."

discover to have any bearing on the subjects which I have handled.

My best thanks are due to the different scholars who are mentioned in the course of the Work as having given me assistance; and in particular to Professor Aufrecht, whose name recurs perpetually in the following pages, and who has favoured me with the most valuable suggestions and information in respect particularly to the sense of the Vedic texts, which long and careful study has rendered him so competent to interpret.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

With the exception of a variety of additions, interspersed through the work, which in all fill about 60 pp., but little alteration has been made in this Edition. The most important additions, chiefly in notes, will be found in pp. 39 f., 78 f., 126–131, 138 f., 143 f., 151–156, 165, 167, 200–203, 255 f., 261 f., 267, 278, 289 f., 298, 301–303, 304, 310, 314 f., 317, 321, 327 ff., 337, 341, 347 f., 381, 393, 403, 406, 415 f., 420, 425, 441 f., 456, 464 f., 472, 474, 476, 491–493, 494, 496, and in the "Additional Notes." The addition in pp. 151–156, from the Matsya Purāṇa, contains a statement (unusual, if not altogether unknown in other Indian works) in reference to Vishṇu's incarnations, which represents seven of them as being the result of a curse uttered against the god by Śukra, the priest of the Asuras, whose mother he (Vishṇu) had slain. At the same time it is affirmed, strangely enough, that these incarnations, though occasioned by a curse, were intended for the repression of unrighteousness when it should become dominant on the earth.

CONTENTS.

PAGES.

v.—xii. PREFACES.

1, 2. PLAN OF THE WORK.

3—62. CHAPTER I. TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRĀHMAṆAS, AND PURĀṆAS, ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND TO THE DEITIES VIŚVAKARMAN, DAKSHA, ADITI, HIRAṆYAGARBHA, SKAMBHA, PRAJĀPATI, PURUSHA, NĀRĀYAṆA, AND PRAHMĀ.

3—20. SECT. I. Texts from the Rig and Atharva-vedas regarding the creation and some of the deities just named.

20—62. SECT. II. Creation; primeval waters; mundane egg; Brahmā or Prajāpati; morality of the Indian gods; creation of the gods, etc.; according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and the Harivaṁśa.

63—298. CHAPTER II. VISHṆU, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, THE BRĀHMAṆAS, THE ITIHĀSAS, AND THE PURĀṆAS.

63—97. SECT. I. Passages in the Hymns of the Rig-veda relating to Vishṇu.

97—114. SECT. II. Subordinate position occupied by Vishṇu in the Hymns of the Rig-veda, as compared with other deities, Indra, Varuṇa, etc.

114—121. SECT. III. Vishṇu as one of the twelve Ādityas, according to the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas.

121—156. SECT. IV. Stories regarding Vishṇu from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Panchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.

PAGES.

156—298. SECT. V. Vishṇu, as represented in the Nirukta, and his character and incarnations as described in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas; with Notices of Mahādeva.

299—437. CHAPTER III. RUDRA OR MAHĀDEVA, AND AMBIKĀ OR UMĀ, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRĀHMAṆAS AND UPANISHADS, AND IN THE ITIHĀSAS AND PURAṆAS.

299—320. SECT. I. Rudra, as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.

321—331. SECT. II. Passages relating to Rudra, and to Ambikā, from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā of the white Yajur-veda.

332—339. SECT. III. Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.

339—355. SECT. IV. Passages relating to Rudra from the Śatapatha and Śānkhāyana Brāhmaṇas; and from the Mahābhārata.

355—363. SECT. V. Passages relating to Rudra from the Upanishads.

363—393. SECT. VI. Some further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.

393—420. SECT. VII. Conclusions deducible from the preceding sections in regard to the mythological history of Rudra: inquiry in regard to the origin of the Linga worship, and the question whether in the epic era Rudra was especially worshipped in the South of India.

420—437. SECT. VIII. Earlier and later representations of Ambikā, Umā, Kālī, Karālī, Pārvatī, or Durgā, according to the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the Kena and Muṇḍaka Upanishads, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.

439—501. APPENDIX, CONTAINING CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONAL TEXTS.

439. NOTE A. Passage from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa regarding the creation by Prajāpati.

439—441. NOTE B. Passage from the Rāmāyaṇa regarding Vishṇu's three steps.

441. NOTE C. Reference to some variations in the text of Schlegel's and the Bombay Rāmāyaṇa.

PAGES.

441—491. NOTE D. Passages from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata relating to the legendary history of Rāma, and the question whether in the oldest text of the former poem he was represented as an incarnation of Vishṇu.

491—493. NOTE E. Quotations from the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa regarding the Yatis.

494. NOTE F. Opinions of Professors Roth and Aufrecht regarding the meanings of the root *śru*.

494. NOTE G. Quotation from the Rāmāyaṇa regarding Rāvaṇa.

494—497. NOTE H. Story of Indra and Indrajit.

497—500. NOTE I. Hymn x. 127 of the Rigveda; and Durgā-stava, or Rātrisūkta.

500—501. NOTE J. Quotation from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa regarding the tongues of Agni.

502—508. ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS, including further remarks and quotations regarding the word Śipivishṭa.

509—524. INDEX.

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

VOLUME FOURTH.

PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

Reference has already been made in the second volume of this work (pp. 212–216, 1st ed.)[1] to the great difference which is discoverable between the mythology of the Vedas and that of the Indian epic poems and Purāṇas; and this difference was there illustrated by comparing the representations of Vishṇu and Rudra which are given in the hymns of the Rig-veda with those which we find in the productions of a later age. On the same occasion I intimated my intention of treating the same subject in greater detail in a subsequent portion of my work. In pursuance of this design, I propose to collect in the present volume the most important texts regarding the origin of the universe, and the characters of the three principal Indian gods, which occur in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas, and to compare these passages with the later narratives and popular speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas.

This gradual modification of Indian mythological conceptions will indeed be found to have already commenced in the Rig-veda itself, if we compare its later with its earlier portions; it becomes more clearly discernible when we descend from the hymns to the Brāhmaṇas; and continues to exhibit itself still more prominently in the Puranic writers, who, through a long course of ages, gave free scope to their fancy in the embellishment of old, and the invention of new, stories in honour of their favourite gods, till at last the representations given of the most popular divinities became not only at

[1] The passage occurs at pp. 201–204 of the 2nd ed.

variance with the characteristics ascribed to their prototypes in the Vedas, but even in some respects different from the descriptions which occur in the older Purāṇas themselves.

These successive mutations in Indian mythology need not occasion us any surprise, as they merely afford another exemplification of a process which may be remarked in the history of all nations which have given free scope to thought, to feeling, and to imagination, in matters of religion.

In carrying out the plan just sketched, I shall, first of all, quote the texts in the Vedic hymns which refer to the creation of the world, and to the deities Viśvakarman, Hiraṇyagarbha, Prajāpati, etc.; these shall be succeeded (2) by passages from the Brāhmaṇas, and (3) by quotations from Manu, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas having reference to the same subjects.

I shall then proceed in a similar order with the various texts which relate to the gods Vishṇu and Rudra, and the goddess Ambikā, with occasional notices of other Indian deities.

CHAPTER I.

TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRÂHMAṆAS, AND PURÂṆAS, ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND TO THE DEITIES VIS'VAKARMAN, BRAHMAṆASPATI, DAKSHA, ADITI, HIRAṆYAGARBHA, SKAMBHA, PRAJÂPATI, PURUSHA NÂRÂYAṆA, BRAHMÂ, ETC.

SECT. I.—*Texts from the Rig- and Atharva-vedas regarding the creation and some of the deities just named.*

SPECULATIONS ABOUT CREATION,—RIG-VEDA, X. 129 (= TAITTIRÎYA BRÂHMAṆA, ii. 8, 9, 3).

R. V. x. 129, 1 ff.[1]—*Na asad âsîd no sad âsît tadânîm na âsîd rajo no vyoma paro yat | kim âvarîvaḥ kuha kasya śarmann ambhaḥ kim âsîd gahanaṁ gabhîram | 2. Na mṛityur âsîd amṛitaṁ na tarhi na râtryâḥ ahnaḥ[1] âsît praketaḥ | ânîd avâtaṁ svadhayâ tad ekaṁ tasmâd ha anyad na paraḥ kinchanâsa | 3. Tamaḥ âsît tamasâ gûḷham agre[2] apraketaṁ salilaṁ sarvam âḥ idam | tuchhyena âbhv apihitaṁ yad âsît tapasas tad*

[1] The Vishṇu Purâṇa, i. 2, 21 f., quotes (from some source which is not indicated) a verse which seems to be in some degree founded on the text before us, and employs it in support of the Sânkhya doctrine of *Pradhâna: Veda-vâda-vido viprâḥ niyatâḥ Brahma-vâdinaḥ | paṭhanti vai tam evârtham Pradhâna-pratipâdakam* | 22. *Nâho na râtrir na nabho na bhûmir nâsît tamo jyotir abhûd na vâ 'nyat | śrotrâdi-buddhyânupalabhyam ekam prâdhânikam Brahma pumâṁs tadâsît* | "Brahmans learned in the tenets of the Veda, firm assertors of its principles, repeat the following statement establishing the doctrine of Pradhâna: 22. 'There was neither day nor night, neither sky nor earth; there was neither darkness nor light, nor anything else. There was then the One, Brahma possessing the character of Pradhâna, the Male, incomprehensible by the ear, or other senses, or by the intellect.'" See Dr. Hall's ed. of Wilson's V. P, vol. i., pp. 23 ff., with the Editor's notes.

[2] These words are quoted by Kullûka or Manu, i. 5, of which passage this may be the germ. In the S'atapatha Brâhmaṇa, x. 6, 5, 1 (= Bṛihad Âraṇyaka Upan-

mahinā 'jāyataikam | 4. *Kāmas*[3] *tad agre samavarttatādhi manaso retaḥ prathamaṁ yad āsīt* | *sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛidi pratīshya kavayo manīshā* | 5. (Vāj. S. xxxiii. 74) *Tiraśchīno vitato raśmir eshām adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt* | *retodhāḥ āsan mahimānaḥ āsan svadhā avastāt prayatiḥ parastāt* | 6. *Ko anga veda kaḥ iha pravochat kutaḥ ājātā kutaḥ iyaṁ visṛishtiḥ* | *arvāg devāḥ asya visarjjanena atha ko veda yataḥ ābabhūva* | 7. *Iyaṁ visṛishtir yataḥ ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na* | *yo asyādhyakshaḥ parame vyoman so anga veda yadi vā na veda* |

"There was then neither non-entity, nor entity; there was no atmosphere, nor the sky which is above. What enveloped [all]? where, in the receptacle of what [was it hid]? was it water,[4] the deep abyss? 2. Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night: That, being One, breathed calmly, in self-dependence: there was nothing different from It [that One] or above It. 3. Darkness existed; originally enveloped in darkness, this universe was undistinguishable water; that One which lay void,[5] and wrapped in a husk [or in nothingness], was developed by the power of fervour. 4. Desire first arose in It, which was the primal germ of mind; [and which] the wise, seeking by their intellect, have discovered in their heart to be the bond between non-entity and entity. 5. The ray [or cord] which stretched across these [worlds],—was it above, or was it below? There were impregnating energies, and mighty powers; a self-supporting principle beneath, and energy above. 6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to the development of this [universe]; who then knows from what it arose? 7. From what

ishad, pp. 26 ff., in Bibl. Ind.), it is said, *Na eva iha kinchana agre āsīt* | *mṛityunā eva idam āvṛitam āsīt* | "Originally there was nothing here. This was enveloped by Death," etc. See also the Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff., quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 27.

[3] In the passages which I shall quote from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc., further on, we shall see that the creative acts of Prajāpati are constantly said to have been preceded by desire: *so 'kāmayata*, "he desired," etc. In a hymn of the Atharva V. (ix. 2) Kāma is personified as a deity. See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 402 ff.

[4] In regard to water, as the origin of all things, see verse 3, and the quotations which are given further on, from Ṛ. V. x. 82, 5 f., x. 72, 6; the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc.

[5] See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the words *ābhu* and *tuchhya*.

source this creation arose and whether [any one] made it or not,[6]—He who in the highest heaven is its ruler, He knows, or [even] He does not know."

See Professor Müller's translation of this remarkable hymn, his enthusiastic appreciation of its merits, and his remarks in regard to its age, in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 559–566; and Professor Goldstücker's observations on the same subject in his "Pāṇini," pp. 144 f. The hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 356 ff., to which I refer.

VIŚVAKARMAN,—RIG-VEDA, x. 81 AND 82 (=VĀJ. SANH. xvii. 17–23; 25–31; AND TAITT. SANH. iv. 6, 2, 1 ff.).

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—*Yaḥ imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvad ṛishir hotā nyashīdat pitā naḥ | sa āśishā draviṇam ichhamānaḥ prathama-chhad avarān*[7] *āviveśa* | 2. *Kiṁ svid āsīd adhishṭhānam ārambhaṇaṁ kathamat svit kathā 'sīt | yato bhūmiṁ janayan Viśvakarmā vi dyām aurṇod mahinā viśvachakshāḥ* | 3. (A. V. 13, 2, 26) *Viśvataśchakshur uta viśvatomukho viśvatobāhur uta viśvataspāt | sam bāhubhyāṁ dhamati* [*namati:* T. S.] *sam patatrair dyāvā-bhūmī janayan devaḥ ekaḥ*[8] | 4. *Kiṁ svid vanaṁ* [R. V. x. 31, 7] *kaḥ u sa vṛikshaḥ āsa yato dyāvā-pṛithivī nishṭatakshuḥ | manīshiṇo manasā pṛichhatedu tad yad adhyatishṭhad bhuvanāni dhārayan* | 5. *Yā te dhāmāni paramāṇi yā 'vamā yā madhyamā Viśvakarmann utemā | śiksha sakhibhyo havishi svadhāvaḥ svayaṁ yajasva tanvaṁ vṛidhānaḥ* | 6. (=S. V. 2, 939.) *Viśvakarman havishā vāvṛidhānaḥ svayaṁ yajasva pṛithivīm uta dyām*[9] | *muhyantu anye abhito janāsaḥ*[10] *ihāsmākam maghavā sūrir astu* | 7. (=Vāj. S. 8, 45.) *Vāchaspatiṁ Viśvakarmāṇam ūtaye manojuvaṁ vāje adya huvema | sa no viśvāni havanāni joshad viśvaśambhūr avase sādhukarmā* |

R. V. x. 82, 1 ff.—*Chakshushas pitā manasā hi dhīro ghṛitam*[11] *ene*

[6] *Ob Einer sie schuf oder nicht.* Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the root *dhā* (p. 903).

[7] *Paramachhado vare* | T.S.

[8] The A.V. reads *yo viśvacharshaṇir uta viśvatomukho yo viśvataspāṇir uta viśvatasspṛithaḥ | sam bāhubhyām bharati*, etc.

[9] Instead of *pṛithivīm uta dyām* the S.V. reads *tanvāṁ svā hi te.*

[10] Instead of *janāsaḥ* the Vāj. S. reads *sapatnāḥ.*

[11] Compare R.V. v. 83, 3. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 140 f.

ajanad namnamāne | yadā id antāḥ adadṛihanta pūrve ād id dyāvāpṛithivī aprathetām | 2. Viśvakarmā vimanāḥ ād[12] *vihāyāḥ dhātā vidhātā paramā uta saṁdṛik*[13] *| teshām ishṭāni sam ishā madanti yatra sapta ṛishīn paraḥ ekam āhuḥ | 3. (=A. V. 2, 1, 3.) Yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā*[14] *dhāmāni veda bhuvanāni viśvā*[15] *| yo devānāṁ nāmadhāḥ ekaḥ eva taṁ sampraśnam bhuvanā yanti anyā | 4. Te āyajanta draviṇaṁ sam asmai ṛishayaḥ pūrve jaritāro na bhūnā | [=Nir. vi. 15] asūrtte sūrtte rajasi nishatte*[16] *ye bhūtāni samakṛiṇvann imāni | 5. Paro divā paraḥ enā pṛithivyā paro devebhir asurair yad asti*[17] *| kaṁ svid garbham prathamaṁ dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ samapaśyanta viśve | 6. Tam id garbham prathamaṁ dadhre āpo yatra devāḥ samagachhanta viśve | ajasya nābhāv adhy ekam arpitaṁ yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthuḥ*[18] *| 7. Na taṁ vidātha yaḥ imā jajāna anyad yushmākam antaram babhūva*[19] *| nīhāreṇa prāvṛitāḥ jalpyā cha asutṛipaḥ ukthaśāsaś charanti |*

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—"Our father, who, a rishi and a priest, celebrated a sacrifice, offering up all these creatures,—he, earnestly desiring substance, he, the archetype, entered into later [men]. 2. What was the position, which and whence was the principle, from which the all-seeing Viśvakarman produced the earth, and disclosed the sky by his might? 3. The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the sky and earth, shapes them[20] with his arms and with his wings. 4. What was the wood, what was the tree, out of which they fashioned the heaven and

[12] *Manasā yad* | T.S.

[13] See R.V. iv. 1, 6, and iv. 6, 6, and Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 26, p. 141.

[14] Instead of *yo vidhātā* the A.V. has *sa uta bandhuḥ*.

[15] *Yo naḥ sato abhi ā saj jajāna* | T. S.

[16] *Asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* | T. S.

[17] *Guhā yat* | T. S.

[18] After this verse the Taitt. Sanh. has the following [=Vāj. S. xvii. 32]: *Viśvakarmā hy ajanishṭa devaḥ ād id gandharvo abhavad dvitīyaḥ | tṛitīyaḥ pitā janitā oshadhīnām apām garbham vyadadhāt purutrā* | "The god Viśvakarman was born: then the Gandharva was produced the second; the third was the father, the generator of plants; he divided into many parts the source of the waters."

[19] *Bhavāti* | T.S.

[20] Compare R.V. x. 72, 2, below, p. 61; and R. V. iv. 2-17 (=A. V. xviii. 3, 22): *Ayo na devāḥ janimā dhamaptaḥ* | "The gods blowing on [or shaping] productions, like iron."

the earth?[21] Inquire mentally, ye sages, what that was on which he took his stand, when establishing the worlds. 5. Do thou, Viśvakarman, grant to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest, and the lowest, and the middle, and these. Thou who art strong in the oblation, exhilarated, thyself offer up thyself.[22] 6. Do thou, Viśvakarman, delighted by the sacrifice, thyself offer up heaven and earth. Let other men who are round about me become confounded. May a generous son remain here to us.[23] 7. Let us to-day invoke in our conflict the lord of speech, who is swift as thought, Viśvakarman, for succour. May he who is the source of all prosperity, the beneficent, with a view to our protection, receive graciously all our invocations."

R. V. x. 82, 1.—"The father of insight, wise in mind, impregnated with sap these two [worlds] as they bowed down [before him]. When their remotest ends were fixed, then the heaven and earth extended. 2. Viśvakarman is wise, energetic, the creator, the disposer, and the highest object of intuition. The objects of their desire inspire them with gladness in the place where men say that the One dwells beyond [the abode of] the seven rishis. 3. He who is our father, our creator, disposer, who knows all spheres and creatures, who alone assigns to the gods their names,[24] to him the other creatures resort for instruction. 4. The former rishis, who fashioned these creatures in the remote, the near, and the lower atmosphere, offered to him, like worshippers, substance in abundance. 5. That which is beyond the sky, beyond this earth, beyond gods and spirits,—what earliest embryo did the waters[25] contain, in which all the gods were beheld? 6. The waters contained that earliest embryo in which all the gods were collected.

[21] This half verse also occurs in R. V. x. 31, 7. The second half verse, as also the answer given to the question in Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6, "Brahma was the wood, Brahma was that tree," etc., are quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 32.

[22] See, however, Roth, s.v. *tanū*, and R. V. x. 7, 6; vi. 11, 2.

[23] Prof. Aufrecht proposes to translate this verse as follows: "May all other people around us vanish into nothing, but our own offspring remain blessed in this world." In proof of the sense of "offspring," or "son," here assigned to *sūri* (though it has not always this meaning), he refers to R. V. v. 42, 4; vi. 26, 7; vi. 63, 11; vi. 68, 7; vii. 66, 9; viii. 26, 12. This sense is perhaps also recommended by the parallel in R.V. i. 181, 4, between *sūnakhasya sūrīḥ* and *divaḥ putraḥ*.

[24] *Nāma cha pitā eva karoti* | Mahīdhara.

[25] Compare verses 1 and 3 of R. V. x. 129, above, p. 3.

One [receptacle] rested upon the navel of the unborn, wherein all beings stood. 7. Ye cannot know him who produced these things; something else is within you. The chanters of hymns go about enveloped in mist, and unsatisfied with idle talk."

I have placed these two hymns together, as they are so similar in character. The sense in some parts of them is clear, in others very obscure. The verses of which they are made up are all to be found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (xvii. 17–23, and 25–31), in the same order in which they occur in the Rig-veda, and without any various readings of importance. They are also repeated in the Taittirīya Sanhitā, with variations, of which the chief have been noted above. Some of them also occur in the Nirukta; viz., R. V. x. 81, 6 in Nir. x. 27; R. V. x. 82, 2 in Nir. x. 26; the second half of R. V. x. 82, 4 in Nir. vii. 15; and R. V. x. 82, 7 in Nir. Pariśishṭa, ii. 10. Professor Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (pp. 141, f.), offers some remarks on the 2nd verse of the second, and the 6th verse of the first, of the hymns before us, which I shall translate. He renders the former verse thus: "Viśvakarman, wise and mighty in act, is the creator, the orderer, and the highest image [for the spiritual faculty]. That which men desire is the attainment of good in the world where the One Being dwells beyond the seven rishis." He then proceeds to observe: "Viśvakarman, who is no mythological personage, but the 'creator of all things,' and who in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 12, 61,[26] is so far rightly identified with Prajāpati, is here celebrated as equally wise in design, and powerful in execution (the highest conception which can be attained by man): and from him the fulfilment of every desire is obtained beyond the starry heaven, where he resides alone, without the numerous deities of the popular creed. . . . . The legend, which relates that Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, after he had offered up all beings in sacrifice, concluded by offering up himself, belongs, in my opinion, to the numerous class of stories which have arisen out of a misunderstanding of Vedic passages, viz., in the present instance, verses 1 and 5 of R. V. x. 81."

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, viii. 2, 1, 10, and viii. 2, 3, 13, identifies Viśvakarman with Prajāpati (*Prajāpatir vai Viśvakarmā*). See also

[26] *Prajāpatir Viśvakarmā vimunchatu.*

the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iv. 22, and Professor Haug's translation, p. 299.

The legend here referred to by Professor Roth is given by Yāska, Nirukta, x. 26:

Tatretihāsam āchakshate | Viśvakarmā Bhauvanaḥ 'sarvamedhe sarvāṇi bhūtāni juhavānchakāra sa ātmānam apy antato juhavānchakara | tadabhivādiny eshā ṛig bhavati 'yaḥ imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvad' iti | "Here they tell a story: Viśvakarman son of Bhuvana offered up all creatures at a universal sacrifice (*sarvamedha*). He finally offered up himself also. The following verse (R. V. x. 81, 1) is descriptive of this, viz., 'he who offering up all beings,' etc."

Some further passages relating to Viśvakarman will be found below, in the sixth section of the third chapter, to which, as well as to the first volume of this work, pp. 52, 76, and 456 f., and to the fifth volume, p. 372, I may refer.

On the 6th verse of the first of the hymns before us (R. V. x. 81), Professor Roth remarks thus: "For the correct understanding of the second pāda (the latter half of the first line), and similar passages, the reader should compare R. V. x. 7, 6, *yathā 'yajaḥ ṛitubhir deva devān evā yajasva tanvaṁ sujāta* | 'As thou (O Agni) at the measured times, O god, didst sacrifice to the gods, so sacrifice also to thyself.' Agni is to accept the offering for himself also. In the same way are the words of the 5th verse of the hymn before us to be understood; *svayaṁ yajasva tanvaṁ vṛidhānaḥ* | 'sacrifice to thyself for thine own glorification': the idea of self-immolation has arisen from a misunderstanding of the word *tanū*[27] and of the construction of the root *yaj*. The 1st verse of the same hymn (R. V. x. 81, 1) is, as it appears to me, to be understood in a similar manner: 'He who received all these creatures as offerings.' In the passage before us (the

[27] In his remarks on the word *Tanūnapāt* in p. 117 of his Illustrations, Professor Roth observes: "The signification has been overlooked, which *tanū* obtains in the older Sanskṛit, as well as in Zend and modern Persian, as it there designates our own person, our self, in contrast to things belonging to us. Hence I might explain the word *Tanūnapāt* as meaning 'his own son.' Agni is his own son, because he springs into life either as lightning, or from the friction of wood, without being the product of similar phenomena, or powers." See also Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under the word *Tanūnapāt*.

6th verse of R. V. x. 81) the words would therefore be rendered as follows: 'Viśvakarman, glorify thyself by the sacrifice, offer up to thyself heaven and earth.' The idea of sacrifice is introduced, because every portion of the created universe which is given as a possession to the gods, comes to them in the shape of a sacrifice. The god who takes anything into his possession is said to offer it to himself. The various reading which we find in the Sāma-veda, ii. 939, as compared with the verse before us (viz., *tanvāṁ svā hi te*, 'offer thy body, for it is thine,' instead of *pṛithivīm uta dyām*, 'offer earth and heaven') may be an amendment in support of the legend."

I do not know whether this view is consistent with the 6th and 7th verses of the Purusha Sūkta. See the first volume of this work, pp. 8, 9, and the fifth volume, pp. 367, ff. Possibly both conceptions (that of the gods sacrificing themselves, and that of their sacrificing to themselves) may have been entertained by the Vedic writers.

[I may here remark that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 6, 15 ff., gives a sort of paraphrase on the Purusha Sūkta. The author there puts into the mouth of Brahmā the following lines (verses 21 ff.), which are intended to illustrate the 7th and following stanzas of that allegorical hymn:

21. *Yadā 'sya nābhyād nalinād aham āsam mahātmanaḥ | nāvindaṁ yajna-sambhārān Purushāvayavān ṛite | 22. Teshu yajnasya paśavaḥ sa-vanaspatayaḥ kuśāḥ | idancha deva-yajanaṁ kālaś choru-guṇānvitaḥ | 23. Vastūny oshadayaḥ snehāḥ rasa-loha-mṛido jalam | ṛicho yajūṁshi sāmāni chāturhotrancha sattama | 24. Nāmadheyāni mantrāś cha dakshiṇāś cha vratāni cha | devatānukramaḥ kalpaḥ sankalpas tantram eva cha | 25. Gatayo matayaś chaiva prāyaśchittaṁ samarpaṇam | Purushāvayavair ete sambhārāḥ sambhṛitāḥ mayā | 26. Iti sambhṛita-sambhāraḥ Purushāvayavair aham | tam eva Purushaṁ yajnaṁ tenaivāyajam īśvaram |*

"21. When I was produced," says Brahmā, "from the lotus sprung out of the navel of that great Being, I found no materials for sacrifice excepting the members of Purusha. 22. Among them were the victims, the sacrificial posts, the Kuśa grass; they formed the sacrificial ground, and the seasons with their various qualities. The utensils, the grains, the unctuous substances, the flavours, the metals, the earths, the water, the verses of the Ṛich, the Yajush, and the Sāman, the functions of the four priests, the names [of the rites], the texts, the

gifts, the vows, the list of deities, the ritual rules, the designs, the forms, the arrangements, the meditations, the expiation, the dedication,—all these essentials of sacrifice were derived by me from the members of Purusha. Having thus drawn from the members of Purusha all these appliances, I by this means offered up Purusha, the lord [himself], as a sacrifice."]

In his note on the Nirukta, vi. 15, Professor Roth translates the 4th verse of the second hymn before us (R. V. 82) as follows: "They who in still, in moving, and falling vapour (*rajas*) created those beings . . . . . furnished to him the material." In his Lexicon, however, he renders the word *asūrtta*, not by "still," but by "distant;" and quotes A. V. x. 3, 9, as another passage in which it occurs.

The later conception of Viśvakarman, as the artificer of the gods, is found in the following passage of the Mahābhārata, i. 2592: *Viśvakarmā mahābhāgo jajne śilpa-prajāpatiḥ | kartā śilpa-sahasrāṇāṁ tridaśānāṁ cha vardhakiḥ | bhūshaṇānāṁcha sarveshāṁ kartā śilpavatāṁ varaḥ | yo divyāni vimānāni tridaśānāṁ chakāra ha | manushyāś chopajīvanti tasya śilpam mahātmanaḥ | pūjayanti cha yaṁ nityaṁ Viśvakarmāṇam avyayam* | "Then was born the illustrious Viśvakarman, the lord of the arts, executor of a thousand handicrafts, the carpenter of the gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, the most eminent of artisans, who formed the celestial chariots of the deities; on whose craft men subsist, and whom, a great and immortal god, they continually worship."

Brahmaṇaspati, Daksha, and Aditi,—Rig-veda, x. 72.[28]

R. V. x. 72, 1 ff.—*Devānāṁ nu vayaṁ jānā pravochāma vipanyayā | uktheshu śaśyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge*[29] | 2. *Brahmaṇaspatir etā saṁ karmāraḥ*[30] *ivādhamat | devānam pūrvye yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata*[31] |

[28] This hymn is also translated and illustrated in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 48 ff.

[29] See Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma-veda, under the word *yuga;* and the first volume of this work, p. 45 f.

[30] *Karmāraḥ | sa yathā bhastrayā 'gnim upadhamaty evam udapādayat* | (Sāyaṇa) "As a blacksmith blows up a fire with a bellows, so he created them." Compare R. V. x. 81, 3, above p. 6, and note 20, there.

[31] Compare Atharva-veda x. 7, 25.—*Bṛihanto nāma te devāḥ ye 'sataḥ pari jajnire | ekaṁ tad angaṁ Skambhasya asad āhuḥ paro janāḥ* | "Great are those gods who

3. *Devānāṁ yuge prathame asataḥ sad ajāyata* | *tad āśāḥ anv ajāyanta tad Uttānapadas pari* | 4. *Bhūr jajñe Uttānapado bhuvaḥ āśāḥ ajāyanta* | *Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari* | (comp. R. V. x. 90, 5.) 5. *Aditir hi ajanishṭa Daksha yā duhitā tava* | *Tāṁ devāḥ anv ajāyanta bhadrāḥ amṛita-bandhavaḥ* | 6. *Yad devāḥ adaḥ salile*[32] *susaṁrabdhāḥ atishṭhata* | *atra vo nṛityatām iva tīvrō reṇur apāyata* | 7. *Yad devāḥ*[33] *yatayo yathā bhuvanāni apinvata* | *atra samudre āgūlham ā sūryam ajabharttana* | 8. *Ashṭau putrāso Aditer ye jātās tanvas pari* | *devān upa prait saptabhiḥ parā Mārttāṇḍam āsyat*[34] | 2. *Saptabhiḥ putrair Aditer upa prait pūrvyaṁ yugam* | *prajāyai mṛityave tvat punar Mārttāṇḍam ābharat*[35] |

"1. Let us celebrate with exultation the births of the gods, in chanted hymns, [every one of us], who may behold them in [this] later age. 2. Brahmaṇaspati shaped all these [beings] like a blacksmith. In the earliest age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent. 3. In the first age of the gods the existent sprang from the non-existent. Thereafter the different regions sprang forth from Uttānapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānapad; from the earth sprang the regions. Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi [came] forth from Daksha. 5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter, O Daksha. After her the gods came into being, blessed, sharers in immortality. 6. When, O gods, ye moved, strongly agitated, on that water, there a violent dust issued forth from you, as from dancers. 7. When ye, O gods, like devotees [or strenuous men], replenished the worlds, then ye disclosed the sun which had been

sprang from non-entity. Men say that that remote non-entity is one member of Skambha." This production of the gods out of nothing seems, on one interpretation, to be contrary to the doctrine of the Chhāndogya Upanishad. *Tad ha eke āhur "asad evedam agre āsīd ekam evādvitīyaṁ tasmād asataḥ saj jāyeta"* | *Kutas tu khalu saumya evaṁ syād iti hovācha katham asataḥ saj jāyeta iti?* | (Biblioth. Ind. vol. iii. pp. 389, 392.) "Some say 'this was originally non-existent, one without a second; therefore the existent must spring from the non-existent.' 'But how, gentle friend,' he said, 'can it be so? how can the existent spring from the non-existent?'" See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 358 ff.

[32] Compare R. V. x. 129, 1, 3, above, p. 3.

[33] Here Sāyaṇa makes *yatayaḥ meghāḥ*, "clouds." See the fifth volume of this work, p. 49, note 92.

[34] *Parāsyat = upari prākshipat*, "tossed aloft" (Sāyaṇa).

[35] *Abharat = āharat = dyuloke adhārayat*, "placed in the sky" (Sāyaṇa).

hidden in the ocean. 8. Of the eight sons who were born from the body of Aditi, she approached the gods with seven, but cast away [the eighth] Mārttāṇḍa [the sun]. 9. With seven sons [only] Aditi approached the former generation of gods. Again, for birth as well as for death she disclosed Mārttāṇḍa." [36]

In R. V. vi. 50, 2, mention is made of certain luminous gods (*sujyotishaḥ*) as being the sons or descendants of Daksha (*Daksha-pitṛīn*).[37] These notices of Daksha which occur in the Rig-veda have been greatly developed in the later mythology, as may be seen by a reference to the passages given in the first volume of this work, pp. 65, 72, 116, 122 ff., etc. Uttānapāda is said in the Vishṇu and other Purāṇas to have been a son of Mānu Svāyambhuva by Satarūpā (*ibid.* pp. 65, 72, 106, 114).

On the fourth verse of this hymn Yāska remarks as follows in the Nirukta, xi. 23: *Ādityo Dakshaḥ ity āhur Āditya-madhye cha stutaḥ | Aditir Dākshāyaṇī | "Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ parī" iti cha | tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau syātām ity api vā deva-dharmeṇa itaretara-janmānau syātām itaretara-prakṛitī |* "Daksha is, they say, a son of Aditi, and is praised among the sons of Aditi. And Aditi is the daughter of Daksha, [according to the text] *Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi came forth from Daksha.* How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or, according to the nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other,—have derived their substance from one another." See also Nirukta vii. 4, as quoted below in chapter ii. sect. 5.

Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (p. 151), translates the 4th and 5th verses of the hymn before us: "Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb (Uttānapad) sprang the Spaces: from Aditi was born Daksha (spiritual force), and from Daksha again Aditi. Yes,

[36] The word *Mārttāṇḍa* is compounded of two words *mārtta*, apparently derived from *mṛityu*, death, and *aṇḍa*, an egg, or place of production. The last line seems to contain an allusion to this derivation of the word. The Harivaṁsa v. 549, thus interprets the word: *Na khalv ayam mṛito 'ṇḍa-sthaḥ iti snehād abhāshata | ajnānāt Kaśyapas tasmād Mārttāṇḍaḥ iti chochyate |* "Kaśyapa, from affection, but in ignorance, said, 'he is not dead, abiding in the egg;' hence he is called Mārttāṇḍa." See the fifth volume of this work, p. 49, note 94. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, assign to the word in this passage the sense of "bird." See R. V. ii. 38, 8–25.

[37] See, however, the fifth volume of this work, p. 51 f.

Aditi was born, O Daksha, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were produced, the blessed possessors of immortality." He then proceeds to remark: "Daksha, spiritual force, is the male power, which generates the gods in eternity. As Bhū (the World or Being) and Space are the principles of the Finite, so to both of these is due the beginning of divine life."

Sāyana annotates thus on the 8th verse of the hymn:

"Ashṭau putrāsaḥ" putrāḥ Mitrādayo 'diter bhavanti | "Ye Adites tanvas pari" śarīrāj "jātāḥ" utpannāḥ | Aditer ashṭa-putrāḥ Ādhvaryava-brāhmaṇe parigaṇitāḥ | tathā hi | "tān anukramishyāmo Mitraś cha Varuṇaś cha Dhātā cha Aryamā cha Aṁśaś cha Bhagaś cha Vivasvān Ādityaś cheti" | tathā tatraiva pradeśāntare Aditim prastutya āmnātam "tasyāḥ uchchheshaṇam adadhus tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta tasyai chatvāraḥ Ādityāḥ ajāyanta sā dvitīyam apibad" ityādinā ashṭānām Ādityānām utpattir varṇitā |

"Eight sons, Mitra and the rest, were born to Aditi, who sprang from her body. Eight sons of Aditi are enumerated in the Brāhmaṇa of the Adhvaryus, thus: 'We shall state them in order, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Aṁśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, and Āditya.' In another part of the same work, after reference has been made to Aditi, it is recorded: "They placed before her the remnant of the sacrifice. She ate it. She conceived seed. Four Ādityas were born to her. She drank the second [portion],' etc. Thus is narrated the birth of the eight Ādityas." See the first volume of this work, pp. 26 f.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (3, 1, 3, 3 ff.) gives the following explanation of the same (the 8th) verse of this hymn:

Ashṭau ha vai putrāḥ Aditeḥ | Yāṁs tv etad "devāḥ Ādityāḥ" ity āchakshate sapta ha eva te | avikṛitaṁ[38] ha ashṭamaṁ janayāṁchakāra Mārttāṇḍam | sandegho[39] ha evāsa | yāvān evordhvas tāvāṁs tiryaṅ purusha-sammitaḥ ity u ha eke āhuḥ | 4. Te u ha ete ūchur devāḥ Ādityāḥ "yad asmān anv ajanimā tad amuyeva bhūd | hanta imaṁ vikaravāma" iti | taṁ vichakrur yathā 'yaṁ purusho vikṛitas tasya yāni māṁsāni saṅkṛitya sannyāsus tato hastī samabhavat | tasmād āhur "na hastinam

[38] *Avikṛitam kara-charaṇādi-vikāraḥ iti tad-rahitam* | Comm.
[39] *Samyag upachitaḥ samaḥ evāsīt* | Comm.

pariyṛihṇīyāt purushājāno[40] *hi hastī" iti | yam u ha tad vichakruḥ sa Vivasvān Ādityas tasya imāḥ prajāḥ |*

After quoting the text of the Rig-veda, the author of the Brāhmaṇa proceeds:

"Aditi had eight sons. But there are only seven [gods] whom men call the Āditya deities. For she produced the eighth, Mārttāṇḍa, destitute of any modifications of shape (without hands and feet, etc.). He was a smooth lump; of the dimensions of a man, as broad as long, say some. The Āditya deities said, 'If in his nature he be not conformable to ours, then it will be unfortunate; come let us alter his shape.' Thus saying, they altered his shape, as this man is modified (by possessing different members). An elephant sprang out of those [pieces of] his flesh which they cut off, and threw away. Wherefore men say, 'let no one catch an elephant, for an elephant partakes of the nature of man.' He whom they then altered was Vivasvat (the Sun) the son of Aditi, from whom these creatures are descended."

Hiraṇyagarbha,—Rig-veda, x. 121.

R. V. x. 121, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 13, 4: A. V. 4, 2, 7)—*Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ*[41] *samavarttatāgre bhūtasya jātaḥ*[42] *patir ekaḥ āsīt | sa dādhāra pṛithivīṁ dyām utemāṁ kasmai devāya*[43] *havishā vidhema* | 2. (Vāj. S. 25, 13: A. V. 4, 2, 1.) *Ya ātmadāḥ baladāḥ yasya viśve upāsate praśishaṁ yasya devāḥ | yasya chhāyā amṛitaṁ yasya mṛityuḥ kasmai devāya ityādi* | 3.

[40] *Purushājānaḥ purusha-prakṛitikaḥ* | Comm.

[41] *Hiraṇye hiraṇya-purusha-rūpe brahmāṇḍe garbha-rūpeṇa avasthitaḥ Prajāpatir Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ bhūtasya prāṇijātasya agre samavarttata praṇijātotpatteḥ purā svayaṁ śarīra-dhārī babhūva* | Prajāpati Hiraṇyagarbha, existing as an embryo, in the egg of Brahmā, which was golden,—consisting of the golden male (*purusha*),—sprang into being before all living creatures; himself took a body before the production of all living creatures." Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 13, 4. (Compare the words *hiraṇmayaḥ śakunir Brahma nāma* | "The golden bird, namely Brahma," in Taitt. Br. 3, 12, 9, 7.)

[42] *Jātaḥ.* Compare R. V. ii. 12, 1; R. V. x. 133, 2, *aśatrur Indra jajñishe*—"Indra, thou hast been born without a rival;" and R.V. viii. 21, 13. . . . . *tvam anāpir Indra janushā sanād asi* | "Indra of old art thou by nature without a fellow."

[43] *Kasmai devāya* | *Kasmai Kāya Prajāpataye devāya* | "*Kasmai*, 'to whom,' is for *Kāya*, the dative of *Ka*, the god Prajāpati." Comm. on Vāj. S. 13, 4. *Prajāpatir vai Kas tasmai havishā vidhema* | "Ka is Prajāpati: to him let us offer our oblations." S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 7, 4, 2, 19.

(Vāj. S. 23, 3: A. V. 4, 2, 2.) *Yaḥ prāṇato ṉimishato mahitvā ekaḥ id rājā jagato babhūva | ya īśe asya dvipadaś chatushpadaḥ kasmai ityādi |* 4. (Vāj. S. 25, 12: A. V. 4, 2, 5.) *Yasyeme himavanto mahitvā yasya samudraṁ rasayā*[44] *sahāhuḥ | yasyemāḥ pradiśo yasya bāhū kasmai ityādi |* 5. (Vāj. S. 32, 6, 7: A. V. 4, 2, 3, 4.) *Yena dyaur ugrā pṛithivī cha dṛiḷhā yena svaḥ stabhitaṁ yena nākaḥ | yo antarikshe rajaso vimānaḥ kasmai ityādi |* 6. *Yaṁ krandasī*[45] *avasā tastabhāne abhy aikshetām manasā rejamāne | yatrādhi sūraḥ udito vibhāti kasmai ityādi |* 7. (Vāj. S. 27, 25: A. V. 4, 2, 6, 8.) *Āpo ha yad bṛihatīr viśvam āyan garbhaṁ*[46] *dadhānāḥ janayantīr agnim | tato devānāṁ samavarttatāsur ekaḥ kasmai ityādi |* 8. (=Vāj. S. 27, 26.) *Yaś chid āpo mahinā paryapaśyad dakshaṁ dadhānāḥ janayantīr yajnam | yo deveshv adhi devaḥ ekaḥ āsīt kasmai ityādi |* 9. (=Vāj. S. 12, 102.) *Mā no himsīj janitā yaḥ pṛithivyāḥ yo vā divaṁ satyadharmā jajāna | yaś chāpaś chandrāḥ bṛihatīr jajāna kasmai*[47] *ityādi |* 10. (=Vāj. S. 10, 20: A. V. 7, 79, 4; 7, 80, 3; Nir. x. 43.) *Prajāpate na tvad etāny anyo viśvā jātāni pari tā babhūva | yatkāmās te juhumas tan no astu vayaṁ syāma patayo rayīṇām |*

"1. Hiraṇyagarbha arose in the beginning; born, he was the one lord of things existing. He established the earth and this sky: to what god shall we offer our oblation? 2. He who gives breath, who gives strength, whose command all, [even] the gods, reverence, whose

[44] On the word *rasā*, see the second volume of this work, p. 343, note 119.

[45] *Krandasī* | "This word is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon as meaning (not heaven and earth, as Mahīdhara *in loco* understands it, and Sayaṇa on R. V. ii. 12, 8, alternatively interprets,—the other sense assigned being, armies,—but) two armies engaged in battle. See the references there given.

[46] Compare with verses 7 and 8, the preceding hymns, x. 129, 1, 3; x. 82, 5, 6; and x. 72, 6.

[47] I have observed another hymn in the R. V., the 168th of the tenth Maṇḍala, of which the fourth verse ends with words similar to those which conclude the first nine verses of the 121st, except that instead of *kasmai* the 168th hymn has *tasmai*. I quote this verse with the last words of the 3rd. . . . . *kva svij jātaḥ kutaḥ ābabhūva | 4. ātmā devānām bhuvanasya garbho yathāvaśaṁ charati devaḥ eshaḥ | ghoshāḥ id asya śṛiṇvire na rūpaṁ tasmai Vātāya haviṣhā vidhema |* "Where was he produced? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, and source of the world, this deity marches at his will. His sounds are heard but [we see] not his form: to this Vāta (wind) let us offer our oblations." Compare St. John iii. 8. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth."

shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death—to what god shall we offer our oblation? 3. Who by his might became the sole king of the breathing and winking world, who is the lord of this two-footed and four-footed [creation],—to what god, etc.? 4. Whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the Rasā [river], declare,—of whom these regions, of whom they are the arms,—to what god, etc. 5. By whom the sky is fiery, and the earth fixed, by whom the firmament and the heaven were established, who in the atmosphere is the measurer of the aerial space;—to what god, etc.? 6. To whom two contending armies, sustained by his succour, looked up, trembling in mind; over whom the risen sun shines,—to what god, etc.? 7. When the great waters pervaded the universe, containing an embryo, and generating fire, thence arose the one spirit (*asu*) of the gods,—to what god, etc.? 8. He who through his greatness beheld the waters which contained power, and generated sacrifice, who was the one god above the gods,—to what god, etc.? 9. May he not injure us, he who is the generator of the earth, who, ruling by fixed ordinances, produced the heavens, who produced the great and brilliant waters!—to what god, etc.? 10. Prajāpati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things: may we obtain that, through desire of which we have invoked thee; may we become masters of riches."

On Prajāpati, see the fifth volume of this work, pp. 352 f.; 390 ff.

The whole of this hymn is to be found repeated in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, the first eight verses in the Taittirīya Sanhitā iv. 1, 8, 3 ff., and most of the verses recur in the Atharva-veda. In making my translation, I have had the assistance of Mahīdhara's Commentary on the first-named Veda, as well as of the version given by Professor Müller in his Ancient Sanskṛit Literature, p. 569 f. In his annotation on Vāj. S. 27, 5,=verse 7, the commentator Mahīdhara refers to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1: *Āpo ha vai idam agre salilam evāsa* | "This [universe] was in the beginning waters, only water;"[48] and explains the words *garbhaṁ dadhānāḥ*, "containing a germ," thus: *tathā garbhaṁ Hiraṇyagarbhalakshaṇaṁ dadhānāḥ dhārayantyaḥ ataḥ eva agnim janayantīḥ agni-rūpaṁ Hiraṇyagarbhaṁ janayantyaḥ utpādayishyantyaḥ* | "And also containing an embryo (*garbha*) distinguished as the golden

[48] Compare R. V. vi. 50, 7, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 345; and the quotations from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and other works in the next section.

embryo *Hiraṇyagarbha*); and consequently generating, being about to produce, fire,—Hiraṇyagarbha in the form of fire." The Atharva-veda reads this seventh verse somewhat differently, thus (A. V. 4, 2, 6): *Āpo agre viśvam āvaṅ garbhaṁ dadhānāḥ amṛitāḥ ṛitajnāḥ | yāsu devīshv adhi devaḥ asīt kasmai ityādi* | "In the beginning, the waters, immortal, and versed in the sacred ceremonies, protected (covered?) the universe, containing an embryo; over these divine [waters] was the god," etc. The verse which comes next, the seventh in the A. V., is the first in the R. V. The eighth in the A. V., which has none answering to it in the R. V., is as follows: *Āpo vatsaṁ janayantīr garbham agre samairayan | tasyota jāyamānasya ulbaḥ āsīd hiraṇyayaḥ | kasmai devāya ityādi*—"In the beginning the waters, producing a child, brought forth an embryo, which, as it was coming into life, was enveloped in a golden covering."

The idea of the production of the divine principle by which the gods were animated (*asu*) from the embryo generated in the waters, contained in the seventh verse of the hymn before us (R. V. x. 121, 7) is replaced, as we shall find, in the Brāhmaṇas and the later mythology by that of the generation of Prajāpati, or Brahmā, from the egg formed in the waters. In the verse attached to the hymn as the 10th, the deity celebrated in the hymn is addressed by the appellation of Prajāpati, which became a title of Brahmā. The last verse which I have quoted from the A. V. (iv. 2, 8) assigns a "golden covering" to the embryo produced by the waters.

In another part of the same Veda (A. V. x. 7, 28) the following verse occurs: *Hiraṇyagarbham paramam anatyudyam janāḥ viduḥ | Skambhas tadagre prāsinchad hiraṇyaṁ loke antarā* | "Men know Hiraṇyagarbha, the supreme, the ineffable: before him Skambha [the Supporter] shed forth gold in the midst of the world."

I shall make some additional quotations from the hymn of the A. V. in which the last cited verse occurs, and the next following. [The whole of the hymn A. V. x. 7, and a portion of A. V. x. 8, are quoted in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 378 ff., which can be referred to.]

Extracts from the Atharva-veda, x. 7, and x. 8.

A. V. x. 7, 7.—*Yasmin staḷdhvā Prajāpatir lokān saṛvān adhārayat | Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ* | 8. *Yat paramam avamaṁ*

yachcha madhyamam Prajāpatiḥ sasṛije viśva-rūpam | kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra yan na prāviśat kiyat tad babhūva | 9. Kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa bhūtaṁ kiyad bhavishyad anvāśaye 'sya | ekaṁ yad angam akṛinot sahasradhā kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra | . . . . 17. Ye purushe brahma vidus te viduḥ parameshṭhinam | yo veda parameshṭhinaṁ yaś cha veda Prajāpatiṁ | jyeshṭhaṁ ye brāhmaṇam viduś te Skambham anusaṁviduḥ | . . . . 24. Yatra devāḥ brahmavido brahma jyeshṭham upāsate | yo vai tān vidyāt pratyakshaṁ sa brahmā veditā syāt | . . . . 32. Yasya bhūmiḥ pramā antarikshaṁ udaram | divaṁ yaś chakre mūrdhānaṁ tasmai jyeshṭhāya Brahmaṇe namaḥ | . . . . 35. Skambho dādhāra dyāvāpṛithivī ubhe ime Skambho dādhārorv antarikṣam | Skambho dādhāra pradiśaḥ shaḍ urvī(ḥ?) Skambhaḥ idaṁ viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa | 36. Yaḥ śramāt tapaso jāto lokān sarvāṁ samānaśe | somaṁ yaś chakre kevalaṁ tasmai jyeshṭhāya brahmaṇe namaḥ | . . . . 41. Yo vetasaṁ[49] hiraṇyayaṁ tishṭhantam salile veda | sa vai guhyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ |

A. V. x. 8, 2.—*Skambhenemē vishṭabhite dyauś cha bhūmiś cha tishṭhatah | Skambhaḥ idaṁ sarvam ātmanvad yat prāṇad nimishachcha yat | . . . . 11. Yad ejati patati yachcha tishṭhati prāṇad aprāṇan nimishach cha yad bhuvat | tad dādhāra pṛithivīm viśvarūpaṁ tat sambhūya bhavaty ekam eva | . . . . . 44. Akāmo dhīro amṛitaḥ svayambhūḥ rasena tṛipto na kutaśchanonaḥ | tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛityor ātmānaṁ dhīram ajaraṁ yuvānam |*

A. V. x. 7, 7.—"Tell who that Skambha (supporter) is, on whom Prajāpati has supported, and established all the worlds. 8. How far did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest and middle universe, comprehending all forms, which Prajāpati created? and how much of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha penetrate into the past? and how much of the future is contained in his receptacle? how far did Skambha penetrate into that one member which he separated into a thousand parts? . . . . . 17. Those men who know Brahma (the divine essence) in the Male (*Purusha*), know him who occupies the highest place (*Parameshṭhin*): he who knows Parameshṭhin, and who knows Prajāpati,—they who know the highest

[49] I know not whether this word has here its ordinary meaning, or the same sense which is assigned to the word *vaitasa* in R. V. x. 95, 4, *5*; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. *5*, 1, 1; and Nir. iii. 21. See also R. V. iv. 58, *5*; and S'atap. Br. vii. *5*, 2, 11; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 384, note.

Brāhmaṇa (divine mystery), they know Skambha. . . . . 24. In the place where the gods, the knowers of sacred science (brahma) reverence the highest Brahma,—that priest (*brahmā*) who knows them clearly, will be a knower. . . . . 32. Reverence to that highest Brahma, of whom the earth is the measure, the atmosphere the belly, who made the sky his head. . . . . 35. Skamba established both these [worlds] the earth and sky, Skambha established the wide atmosphere, Skambha established the six wide regions, Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 36. Reverence to that highest Brahma, who, sprung from toil and from austere fervour, has pervaded all the worlds, who made soma for himself alone. . . . . 41. He who knows the golden reed standing in the water, is the mysterious Prajāpati."

A. V. x. 8, 2.—"These two [worlds] the earth and sky, stand, supported by Skambha. Skambha is all this which has soul, which breathes, which winks. . . . . 11. Whatever moves, flies, or stands, whatever exists breathing, or not breathing, or winking,—that omniform [entity] sustains the earth; that, combined, is one only. . . . . 44. Knowing that Soul, calm, undecaying, young, who is passionless, tranquil, self-existent, immortal, satisfied with the essence, wanting in nothing,—a man is not afraid of death."

I quote these passages partly because they contain frequent references to Prajāpati, a name which occurs but sparingly in the Rig-veda; and partly because they celebrate a new god called Skambha, the "Supporter," or "Propper," whose personification may have been suggested by the function of "supporting" the earth and heavens, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, is frequently ascribed to Indra, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, and Savitṛi.

The verse last quoted (x. 8, 44) seems to contain the idea of the supreme Soul as the object of knowledge.

On the subject of this and the next sections compare the twenty-first section of the fifth volume of this work, pp. 350 ff.

SECT. II.—*Original non-entity; Prajāpati; primeval waters; mundane egg, etc., according to the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, Vishṇu Purāṇa, etc.*

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the following legends about the creation.

I. S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 1 ff. (pp. 499 of Weber's ed.)—

Asad vai idam agre āsīt | tad āhuḥ 'kiṁ tad asad āsīd' iti | ṛishayo vāva te 'agre asad āsīt' tad āhuḥ | 'ke te ṛishayaḥ' iti | prāṇāḥ vai ṛishayas te yat purā 'smāt sarvasmād idam ichhantaḥ śrameṇa tapasā 'rishaṁs tasmād ṛishayaḥ | 2. Sa yo 'yam madhye prāṇaḥ esha evendraḥ | tān esha prāṇān madhyataḥ indriyeṇaindha | yad aindha tasmād Indhaḥ | Indho ha vai tam Indraḥ ity ācakshate paroksham | parokṣa-kāmāḥ hi devās te iddhāḥ sapta nānā purushān asṛijanta | 3. Te 'bravan "na vai itthaṁ santaḥ śakshyāmaḥ prajanayitum imān sapta purushān ekam purushaṁ karavāma" iti te etān sapta purushān ekam purusham akurvan | yad ūrddhvaṁ nābhes tau dvau samaubjan | yad avāṇ nābhes tau dvau | pakshaḥ purushaḥ | pakshaḥ purushaḥ | pratishṭhā ekaḥ āsīt | . . . . . 5. Sa eva purushaḥ Prajāpatir abhavat sa yaḥ sa purushaḥ Prajāpatir abhavad ayam eva sa yo 'yam Agniś[50] *chīyate | 6. Sa vai sapta-purusho bhavati | saptā-purusho hy ayam purusho yach chatvāraḥ ātmā trayaḥ paksha-puchhāni | chatvāro hi tasya purushasya ātmā trayaḥ paksha-puchhāni*[51] *| atha yad ekena purusheṇa ātmānaṁ vardhayati tena vīryeṇa ayam ātmā paksha-puchhāni udyachhati | . . . . . 8. So 'yam purushaḥ Prajāpatir akāmayata 'bhūyān syām prajāyeya' iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa śrāntas tepāno brahma eva prathamam asṛijata trayīm eva vidyām | sa eva asmai pratishṭhā 'bhavat tasmād āhur 'brahma asya sarvasya pratishṭhā' iti | tasmād anūchya pratitishṭhati pratishṭhā hy eshā yad brahma | tasyām pratishṭhāyām pratishṭhito 'tapyata | 9. So 'po 'sṛijata vāchaḥ eva lokād vāg evāsya sā 'sṛijyata sā idaṁ sarvam āpnod yad idaṁ kincha | yad āpnot tasmād āpaḥ*[52] *| yad avṛiṇot tasmād vāḥ | 10. So 'kāmayata 'ābhyo 'bhyo 'dhi prajāyeya' iti so 'nayā trayyā vidyayā saha apaḥ prāviśat tataḥ āṇḍaṁ samavarttata tad abhyamṛiśad 'astv' ity 'astu bhūyo 'stv' ity eva tad abravīt | tato brahma eva prathamam asṛijyata trayy eva vidyā | tasmād āhur 'brahma asya sarvasya prathamajam' ity | api hi tasmāt purushād brahma eva pūrvam asṛijyata tad asya tad mukham eva asṛijyata | tasmād anūchānam āhur 'Agni-kalpaḥ' iti | mukhaṁ hy etad Agner yad brahma |*[53]

[50] Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 13, and 21 (pp. 502–3); ix. 2, 2, 2 (p. 713). According to vi. 2, 1, 1; and xi. 1, 6, 14, Agni is the son of Prajāpati.

[51] Comp. vi. 2, 2, 4, and 9.

[52] Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 1, 3; and vi. 1, 3, 1 ff.

[53] Compare Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa ii. 2, 9, 1 ff. quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 27 ff.

"In the beginning this [universe] was indeed non-existent. But men say, 'what was that non-existent?' The rishis say that in the beginning there was non-existence. Who are these rishis? The rishis are breaths. Inasmuch as before all this [universe], they, desiring this [universe], were worn out (*arishan*), with toil and austerity, therefore they are called *Rishis*. 2. This breath which is in the midst is Indra. He by his might kindled these breaths in the midst: inasmuch as he kindled them, he is the kindler (*Indha*). They call Indha Indra esoterically: for the gods love that which is esoteric. They [the gods] being kindled, created seven separate males (*purusha*). 3. They said, 'being thus, we shall not be able to generate; so let us make these seven males one male.' So speaking, they made these seven males one male (*purusha*). Into the part above the navel, they compressed two of them, and two others into the part below the navel; [one] male [formed one] side; [another] male [another] side: and one formed the base. . . . . 5. This [one] male became Prajāpati. The male who became Prajāpati is the same as this Agni who is kindled on the altar. 6. He verily is composed of seven males (*purusha*): for this male is composed of seven males, since [four] make the soul, and three the sides and extremity (*lit.*, tail). For the soul of this male [makes] four, and the sides and extremity three. Now inasmuch as he makes the soul [which is equal to four] superior by one male, the soul, in consequence of this [excess of] force, controls the sides and extremity [which are only equal to three]. . . . . 8. This male (*purusha*) Prajāpati desired, 'may I be multiplied, may I be developed.' He toiled, he performed austerity. Having toiled and performed austerity, he first created the Veda (*brahma*), the triple science. It became to him a foundation; hence men say, 'the Veda (*brahma*) is the foundation of all this.' Wherefore having studied [the Veda] a man has a foundation, for this is his foundation, namely the Veda. Resting on this foundation, he performed austerity. 9. He created the waters from the world [in the form of] speech.[54] Speech belonged to him. It was

[54] This is illustrated by a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 21 (p. 617), which says: *vāg vai ajo vācho vai prajāḥ Viśvakarmā jajāna* | "Speech is the mover [or, the unborn]. It was from speech that Viśvakarman produced creatures." And in the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka (p. 290 of Bibl. Ind.) it is said | *trayo lokāḥ ete eva* | *vāg evāyaṁ loko mano 'ntarikṣha-lokaḥ prāṇo 'sau lokaḥ* | "It is they which are the three

created. It pervaded all this. Because it pervadad (*āpnot*) all this which exists, it (speech) was called waters (*āpaḥ*); and because it covered (*avṛiṇot*), it was called *vāḥ* (another name of water). 10. He desired, 'May I be reproduced from these waters.' So saying, with this triple science he entered[55] the waters. Thence an egg arose. He handled it. He said to it, 'let it become,' 'let it become,' 'let it be developed.' From it the Veda was first created,[56] the triple science. Hence men say, 'the Veda is the first-born of this whole [creation]. Further, [as] the Veda was first created from that Male, therefore it was created his mouth. Hence they say of a learned man that he is like Agni; for the Veda is Agni's mouth."

The same idea about Prajāpati being composed of seven males, occurs again in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 1, and seems to be connected with the notion of Agni having the size of seven males. (See the commentary on Śatap. Br. x. 2, 2, 1).—*Yān vai tān sapta purushān ekam purusham akurvan sa Prajāpatir abhavat | sa prajāḥ asṛijata | sa prajāḥ sṛishṭvā ūrddhvaḥ udakrāmat | sa etaṁ lokam agachhad yatra esha etat tapati | no ha tarhy anyaḥ etasmād atra yajniyaḥ āsa tam devāḥ yajnenaiva yashṭum adhriyanta | tasmād etad ṛishiṇā 'bhyanūktaṁ 'yajnena yajnam ayajanta devāḥ ityādi |* "These seven males whom they made one male (*purusha*) became Prajāpati. He created offspring. Having created offspring, he mounted upwards; he went to this world where this scorches this. There was then no other being fit for sacrifice: the gods began to offer him with sacrifice. Hence it has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 90, 16), 'the gods offered the sacrifice with sacrifice.'" Part of the passage, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 6 is repeated in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 5.[57]

II. In the preceding story, the gods are represented as the creators

worlds. Speech is this world, mind is the atmospheric world, and breath is that world (the sky)." Regarding the action of Vāch in the creation, compare Weber's Ind. Stud. ix. 477 f., and the passages quoted from him in the fifth volume of this work, p. 391 f.

[55] Compare A.V. x. 2, 7 | *sa ā varīvarti bhuvaneshv antar apo vasānaḥ kaḥ u tach chiketa* | "He (Purusha) moves actively in the worlds, clothed with the waters: who has known this?"

[56] It had, however, been created before. See a few lines above.

[57] Compare Śatap. Br. x. 2, 3, 18.—*Saptavidho vai agre Prajāpatir asṛijyata.* These words are repeated in x. 2, 4, 8.

of Prajāpati, who in his turn is stated to have generated the waters, which he entered, and from which sprang the mundane egg. In the following story, the order of production is different. The waters generate the egg, and the egg brings forth Prajāpati, who creates the worlds and the gods.

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff.—*Āpo ha vai idam agre salilam evāsa*[58] | *tāḥ akāmayanta 'kathaṁ nu prajāyemahi' iti tāḥ aśrāmyaṁs tās tapo 'tapyanta | tāsu tapas tapyamānāsu hiraṇmayam āṇḍaṁ sambabhūva | ājāto ha tarhi saṁvatsaraḥ āsa | tad idaṁ hiraṇmayam āṇḍaṁ yāvat saṁvatsarasya velā tāvat paryaplavata | 2. Tataḥ saṁvatsare purushaḥ samabhavat sa Prajāpatiḥ | tasmād u samvatsare eva strī vā gaur vā vaḍabā vā vijāyate saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir ajāyata | sa idaṁ hiraṇmayan āṇḍaṁ vyarujat | na aha tarhi kāchana pratishṭhā āsa | tad enam idam eva hiranmayam āṇḍaṁ yāvat saṁvatsarasya velā āsīt tāvad bibhrat paryaplavata*[59] | *3. Sa saṁvatsare vyājihīrshat | sa 'bhūr' iti vyāharat sā iyam pṛithivy abhavad*[60] *'bhuvaḥ' iti tad idam antarikṣham abhavat 'svar' iti sā asau dyaur abhavat tasmāḍ u saṁvatsare eva kumāro vyājihīrshati saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir vyāharat | . . . 6. Sa sahasrāyur jajne | sa yathā nadyai pāram parāpaśyed evam svasyāyushaḥ pāram parāchakhyau | 7. So 'rchan śrāmyaṁs chachāra prajākāmaḥ |*

[58] S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 7, 1, 17.—*Tasya āpaḥ eva pratishṭhā | apsu hi ime lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ* | "Waters are its support: for these worlds are based upon the waters." S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 6, 1 (= Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, p. 974). —*Āpaḥ evedam agre āsuḥ | tāḥ āpaḥ satyam asṛijanta satyam Brahma Brahma Prajāpatim Prajāpatir devān* | "In the beginning waters alone formed this universe. These waters created Truth, Truth created Brahma, Brahma created Prajāpati, and Prajāpati the gods." Compare Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 5, 1 ff.; Taitt. Br. i. 1, 3, 5 ff.; and Taitt. Āraṇy. i. 23, 1 ff. quoted in pp. 31 and 52 f. of vol. i. this work. To the same effect is Taitt. Sanh. v. 7, 5, 3, *Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt.* The A. V. xii. 1, 8, also says: *yā 'ṇave 'dhi salilam agre asīd yām māyābhir anvacharan manīshiṇaḥ* | "That earth which formerly was water on the ocean, which the sages followed after by their divine powers," etc. R. V. x. 109, 1, speaks of the "divine first-born waters" (*āpo devīḥ prathamajāḥ*). The S'atap. Br. xiv. 2, 2, 2, represents the wind as the ocean, which was the source from which the gods and all creatures issued (*ayaṁ vai samudro yo 'yam pavate | etasmād vai samudrāt sarve devāḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni samuddravanti* |

[59] *Tasya Prajāpater āspadaṁ kimapi na babhūva sa cha nirādhāratvāt sthātum aśaknuvann idam eva bhinnam hiraṇmayāṇḍam punaḥ saṁvatsara-paryantam bibhrad dhārayan tasv evāpsu paryasravat* | "There was no resting place for Prajāpati; and he, being unable to stand, from the want of any support, occupying this divided golden egg for a year, floated about on these waters." Commentary.

[60] Compare vol. iii. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 101, 104, and S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 4, 11, p. 141.

sa ātmany eva prajātim adhatta sa āsyenaiva devān asṛijata | te devāḥ divam abhipadya asṛijyanta tad devānāṁ devatvaṁ yad divam abhipadya asṛijyanta | tasmai sasṛijānāya divā iva āsa[61] *| tad veva devānāṁ devatvaṁ yad asmai sasṛijānāya divā iva āsa | 8. Atha yo 'yam avāṅ prāṇas tena asurān asṛijata | te imām eva pṛithivīm abhipadya asṛijyanta | tasmai sasṛijānāya tamaḥ iva āsa | 9. So 'vet "pāpmānaṁ vai asṛikshi yasmai me sasṛijānāya tamaḥ iva abhūd" iti | tāṁs tataḥ eva pāpmanā 'vidhyat | te tataḥ eva parābhavan | . . . . 14. Tāḥ vai etāḥ Prajāpater adhi devatāḥ asṛijyanta Agnir Indraḥ*[62] *Somaḥ Parameshṭhī prājāpatyaḥ | . . . . 18. Sa Prajāpatir Indram putram abravīd ityādi |*

"In the beginning this universe was waters, nothing but water. The waters desired, 'how can we be reproduced?' So saying, they toiled, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity, a golden egg came into existence. Being produced, it then became a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a year. 2. From it in a year a male (*purusha*) came into existence, who was Prajāpati. Hence it is that a woman, or a cow, or a mare, brings forth in the space of a year, for in a year Prajāpati was born. He divided this golden egg. There was then no resting-place for him. He therefore floated about for the space of a year, occupying this golden egg. 3. In a year he desired to speak. He uttered 'bhūr,' which became this earth; 'bhuvaḥ,' which became this firmament; and 'svar,' which became that sky. Hence a child desires to speak in a year, because Prajāpati spoke in a year. . . . . 6. He was born with a life of a thousand years. He perceived the further end of his life, as [one] may perceive the opposite bank of a river. 7. Desiring offspring, he went on worshipping and toiling. He conceived progeny in himself: with his mouth he created the gods. These gods were created on reaching heaven. This is the godhead of the gods (*devāḥ*) that they were created on reaching heaven (*divam*). To him while he was continuing to create, it became, as it were, daylight (*divā*). This is the godhead of the gods, that to him as he was continuing to

[61] *Divā iva āsa | ākāśaḥ iva babhūva |* Comm. Comp. Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 9, translated in the first volume of this work, p. 30.

[62] In R. V. x. 134, 1 ff. Indra is said to be the son of a mother whose name is not mentioned. See, however, the fifth volume of this work, where this subject is referred to.

create, it became, as it were, daylight. 8. Then from this lower breath he created the Asuras. They were created when they reached this world. To him, when creating, darkness, as it were, appeared. 9. He knew: 'I have created evil, since as I was creating, darkness, as it were, appeared.' He then pierced them with evil; and they in consequence were overcome .... 14. These [following] gods were created from Prajāpati,—Agni, Indra, Soma, and Parameshṭhin, son of Prajāpati. .... 18. Prajāpati said to his son Indra," etc.

The mundane egg is also mentioned in the Chhāndogya Upanishad (p. 228 ff.): *Ādityo Brahma ity ādeśaḥ | tasyopavyākhyānam | asad eva idam agre āsīt | tat sad āsīt | tat samabhavat | tad āṇḍaṁ niravarttata | tat saṁvatsarasya mātrām aśayata | tad nirabhidyata | te āṇḍa-kapāle rajataṁ cha suvarṇaṁ cha abhavatām | tad yad rajataṁ sā iyam pṛithivī yat suvarṇaṁ sā dyaur yaj jarāyu*[63] *te parvatāḥ yad ulvaṁ*[64] *sa megho nīhāro*[65] *yāḥ dhamanayas*[66] *tāḥ nadyo yad vāsteyam*[67] *udakaṁ sa samudraḥ | atha yat tad ajāyata so 'sāv Ādityas taṁ jāyamānaṁ ghoshāḥ ulūlavo*[68] *'nudatishṭhan ['nūdatishṭhan?] sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve cha kāmās tasmāt tasyodayam prati pratyāyanam*[69] *prati ghoshāḥ ulūlavo 'nutishṭhanti sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve chaiva kāmāḥ* | which is thus translated by Babu Rājendralal Mittra: "The sun is described as Brahma;—its description. Verily at first this was non-existent; that non-existence became existent; it developed,—it became an egg: it remained [quiet] for a period of one year; it burst into two; thence were formed two halves of gold and silver. Thereof the argentine half is the earth, and the golden half the heaven. The inner thick membrane [of the egg] became mountains, and the thin one cloudy fog; the blood-vessels became rivers, and the fluid became the ocean; and lastly, what was born therefrom is the sun, Āditya. On its birth arose loud shouts [or shouts of 'ulu-ulu'], as well as all living beings, and their desires. Hence on the rising, and re-rising [day after day]

[63] *Garbha-veshṭanaṁ sthūlam* | Comm.
[64] *Sūkshmaṁ garbha-pariveshṭaṁam* | Comm.
[65] *Avaśyāyaḥ* (*frost*) | Comm.
[66] *Śirāḥ* | Comm.
[67] *Vastau bhavam vāsteyam*[?] Comm. "Abdominal," Wilson.
[68] *Ururavo vistīrṇa-ravāḥ udatishṭhann utthitavantaḥ* |
[69] *Pratyasta-gamanam . . . athavā punaḥ punaḥ pratyāgamanam* |

of the sun, arise shouts of 'ulu-ulu,' as well as all living beings and their desires." (Bibl. Ind. No. 78, p. 65.)

In the next passage, Prajāpati is said to have taken the form of a tortoise:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5.—*Sa yat kūrmo nāma etad vai rūpaṁ kṛitvā Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | yad asṛijata akarot tad yad akarot tasmāt kūrmaḥ | Kaśyapo vai kūrmas tasmād āhuḥ 'sarvaḥ prajāḥ Kāśyapyaḥ iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo 'sau sa Ādityaḥ |* "Having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajāpati created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akarot*); hence the word *kūrma*. Kaśyapa means tortoise; hence men say, 'all creatures are descendants of Kaśyapa.'[70] This tortoise is the same as Āditya."

In the later mythology it is Vishṇu who assumes the form of a tortoise:

Thus in the chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa descriptive of Vishṇu's incarnations it is said (i. 3, 16): *Surāsurāṇām udadhim mathnatām mathanāchalam | dadhre kamaṭha-rūpeṇa pṛishṭhe ekādaśe vibhuḥ |* "In his eleventh incarnation, the Lord in the form of a tortoise supported on his back the churning-mountain, when the gods and Asuras were churning the ocean."

In its application of the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 37, 5, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, makes the following allusion to the elevation of the earth by a boar: "*Iyaty agre āsīd*" (Vāj. S. 37, 5) *iti | iyatī ha vai iyam agre pṛithivy āsa prādeśa-mātrī | tām Emūshaḥ iti varāhaḥ*[71] *ujjaghāna | so 'syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatis tenaiva enam etanmithunena priyeṇa dhāmnā*[72] *samardhayati kṛitsnaṁ karoti ityādi |*

"'She (the earth) was formerly so large,' etc.; for formerly this

[70] Kaśyapa is mentioned in the A. V. xix. 53, 10 (see the fifth volume of this work, p. 408); as well as in two rather obscure verses of the Sāma-veda, which do not occur in the Rigveda. The first is i. 90: *Jātaḥ pareṇa dharmaṇā yat savṛidbhiḥ sahābhuvaḥ | pitā yat Kaśyapasyāgnir Śraddhā mātā Manuḥ kaviḥ |* "Since with thy companions, thou hast been produced through an excellent rite; since Agni is the father, Faith (Śraddhā) the mother, and Manu the bard, of Kaśyapa." The second is i. 361: *Kaśyapasya svarvido yāv āhuḥ sayujāv iti | yayor viśvam api vrataṁ yajñaṁ dhīrāḥ nichāyya |* "Whom twain the wise, revering, declare to be the companions of the heavenly Kaśyapa; to whom twain [they declare] the entire power (or ceremonial) and sacrifice to belong."

[71] See R. V. viii. 66, 10.

[72] In regard to these words compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 9, 4, 20.

earth was only so large, of the size of a span. Emūsha, a boar, raised her up. Her lord, Prajāpati, in consequence, prospers him with this pair, the object of his desire, and makes him complete," etc. Compare the passages from the Taittirīya Sanhitā and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, etc., quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 52 ff., and 181 ff.; and also the fifth volume of this work, pp. 390 ff.

From Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 78, I find that in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka also, the earth is said to have been "raised by a black boar with a hundred arms" (*varāheṇa kṛishṇena śata-bāhunā uddhṛitā*).

I quote some further texts from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa relative to Prajāpati.

In the following he is said to have in the beginning constituted the universe, and to have created Agni (see above, p. 26).

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 1.—*Prajāpatir ha vai idam agre ekaḥ evāsa | sa aikshata 'kathaṁ nu prajāyeya' iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata so 'gnim eva mukhāj janayāṅchakre ityādi* | "Prajāpati alone was all this [universe] in the beginning. He considered, 'how can I be reproduced?' He toiled, and performed austerity. He generated Agni from his mouth." Compare the passages quoted in the first vol. of this work, pp. 24, 69 ff.; in volume third, p. 4; and in volume fifth, pp. 390, ff.

In the next passage he is identified with Daksha:[73]

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 1.—*Prajāpatir ha vai etenāgre yajneneje prajākāmo 'bahuḥ prajayā paśubhiḥ syāṁ śriyaṁ gachheyaṁ yaśaḥ syām annādaḥ syām' iti | sa vai Daksho nāma ityādi* | "Prajāpati formerly sacrificed with this sacrifice, being desirous of progeny, [and saying] 'may I abound in offspring and cattle, attain prosperity, become famous, and obtain food.' He was Daksha."

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 8, 1, 14, Prajāpati is said to be the supporter of the universe (a function afterwards assigned to Vishṇu): *Prajāpatir vai bharataḥ sa hi idaṁ sarvam bibhartti* | "Prajāpati is Bharata (the supporter), for he supports all this universe."[74]

[73] See R. V. x. 72, 4, 5 (above p. 12).

[74] In R. V. i. 96, 3, the epithet *Bharata* is applied to Agni. The commentator there quotes another text, no doubt from a Brāhmaṇa, *esha prāṇo bhūtvā prajāḥ bibhartti tasmād esha bharataḥ* | "He becoming breath, sustains all creatures; hence he is the sustainer."

Compare the first verse of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, where Brahmā is called the preserver of the world (*bhuvanasya goptā*).

In the next passage Prajāpati is represented as desirous, not to create, but to conquer, the worlds:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 2, 4, 1.—*Prajāpatir akāmayata 'ubhau lokāv abhijayeyaṁ deva-lokancha manushya-lokancha' ityādi* | "Prajāpati desired, 'may I conquer both worlds,' that of the gods, and that of men," etc. Comp. Śatap. Br., x. 2, 1, 1.

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 6, 1, 1, Purusha Nārāyaṇa is introduced: *Purusho ha Nārāyaṇo 'kāmayata 'atitishṭheyaṁ sarvāṇi bhūtāny aham eva idaṁ sarvaṁ syām' iti | sa etam purusha-medham pancha-rātraṁ yajnakratum apaśyat tam āharat tena ayajata tena ishṭvā 'tyatishṭhat sarvāni bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam abhavat | atitishṭhati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam bhavati yaḥ evaṁ vidvān purusha-medhena yajate yo vai etad evaṁ veda* |

"Purusha Nārāyaṇa desired, 'may I surpass all created things; may I alone become all this?' He beheld this form of sacrifice called 'purusha-medha' (human sacrifice) lasting five nights. He took it; he sacrificed with it. Having sacrificed with it, he surpassed all created things, and became all this. That man surpasses all created things, and becomes all this, who thus knowing, sacrifices with the 'purusha-medha,'—he who so knows this." The Purusha-sūkta is shortly afterwards quoted. Comp. Śatap. Br. xii. 3, 41, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 377.

In Śatap. Br., xi. 2, 3, 1, Brahma (in the neuter) is introduced as being the original source of all things: *Brahma vai idam agre āsīt | tad devān asṛijata | tad devān sṛishṭvā eshu lokeshu vyārohayad asminn eva loke 'gniṁ Vāyum antarikshe divy eva Sūryam* | "In the beginning Brahma was all this. He created the gods. Having created the gods, he placed them in these worlds, in this world Agni, Vāyu in the atmosphere, and Sūrya in the sky." This passage is quoted at greater length in vol. v. of this work, p. 387 ff. Comp. the other passages quoted in pp. 378–390, and Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, cited in p. 361, note, of the same volume; and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa xiv., 4, 2, 21, and 23 (=Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad in Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 198 ff., and 335).

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 1, Brahma is described as sacrificing himself: *Brahma vai svayambhu tapo 'tapyata | tad aikshata*

'na vai tapasy ānantyam asti hanta aham bhūteshv ātmānaṁ juhavāni bhutāni cha ātmani' iti | tat sarveshu bhūteshv ātmānaṁ hutvā bhūtāni cha ātmani sarveshām bhūtānāṁ śraishṭhyaṁ svārājyam ādhipatyam paryait | tathaiva etad yajamānaḥ sarvamedhe sarvān medhān hutvā sarvāṇi bhūtāni śraishṭhyaṁ svārājyam ādhipatyam paryeti | "The self-existent Brahma performed austerity. He considered, 'in austerity there is not infinity. Come let me sacrifice myself in created things, and created things in myself.' Then having sacrificed himself in all created things, and all created things in himself, he acquired superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion (compare Manu, xii. 91). Therefore a man offering all oblations, all creatures, in the 'sarvamedha' (universal sacrifice), obtains superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion."[75] See also Śatap. Br. xi. 1, 8, 2 f., quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 372, note 554.

The following is the account of the creation, given at a later period by Manu, i. 5 ff., founded, no doubt, on R. V. x. 129, and the passages of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, given above (pp. 20 ff.), or some other ancient sources of the same character, with an intermixture of more modern doctrines:

Āsīd idaṁ tamobhūtam aprajñātam alakshaṇam | apratarkyam avijñeyam prasuptam iva sarvataḥ | 6. Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān avyakto vyanjayann idam | mahābhūtādi vṛittaujāḥ prādurāsīt tamonudaḥ | 7. Yo 'sāv atīndriya-grāhyaḥ sūkshmo 'vyaktaḥ sanātanaḥ | sarva-bhūtamayo 'chintyaḥ sa eva svayam udbabhau | 8. So 'bhidhyāya śarīrāt svāt sisṛikshur vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apaḥ eva sasarjjādau tāsu vījam avāsṛijat | 9. Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimaṁ sahasrāṁśu-samaprabham | tasmiṁ jajñe svayam Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | 10. Āpo nārāḥ iti proktāḥ āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ | tāḥ yad asyāyanam pūrvaṁ tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ | 11. Yat tat kāraṇam avyaktaṁ nityaṁ sadasadātmakam | tad-visṛishṭaḥ sa purusho loke Brahmeti kīrtyate | 12. Tasminn aṇḍe sa bhagavān ushitvā parivatsaram | svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad aṇḍam akarod dvidhā | 13. tābhyāṁ sa śakalābhyāncha divam bhūmincha nirmame | madhye vyomā diśaś chashṭāv apāṁ sthānaṁ cha śāśvatam |

5. "This universe was enveloped in darkness, unperceived, undis-

[75] See the discussion on the sense of R. V. x. 81, 1, 5, 6 (above, pp. 9 f.).

tinguishable, undiscoverable, unknowable, as it were entirely sunk in sleep. 6. Then the irresistible self-existent Lord, undiscerned, causing this universe with the five elements and all other things, to become discernible, was manifested, dispelling the gloom. 7. He who is beyond the cognizance of the senses, subtile, undiscernible, eternal, who is the essence of all beings, and inconceivable, himself shone forth. 8. He, desiring, seeking to produce various creatures from his own body, first created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. 9. This [seed] became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmā, the progenitor of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called 'nārāḥ,' because they are the offspring of Nara; and since they were formerly the place of his movement (*ayana*), he is therefore called Nārāyaṇa. 11. Being formed by that First Cause, undiscernible, eternal, which is both existent and non-existent, that Male (*purusha*) is known in the world as Brahmā. 12. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought. 13. With these two shells he formed the heavens and the earth; and in the middle he placed the sky, the eight regions, and the eternal abode of the waters."

It will be observed from verses 9–11, that the appellation *Nārāyaṇa* is applied to *Brahmā*, and that no mention is made of Vishṇu.

On verse 8 Kullūka annotates thus: '*Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimam' iti | tad vījam Parameśvarechhayā haiman aṇḍam abhavad haimam iva haimaṁ śuddhi-guṇa-yogād na tu haimam eva | tadīyaika-śakalena bhūmi-nirmāṇasya vakshyamāṇatvād bhūmeśchāhaimatvasya pratyakshatvād upachārāśrayaṇam . . . . . tasminn aṇḍe Hiraṇyagarbho jātavān | yena pūrva-janmani 'Hiraṇyagarbho 'ham asmi' iti bhedābheda-bhāvanayā Parameśvaropāsanā kṛitā tadīyaṁ linga-śarīrāvachhinna-jīvam anupraviśya svayam Paramātmā eva Hiraṇyagarbha-rūpatayā prādurbhūtaḥ |* "'That [seed] became a golden egg,' etc. That seed by the will of the deity became a golden egg. Golden, *i.e.* as it were golden, from the quality of purity attaching to it, and not really golden; for since the author proceeds to describe the formation of the earth from one of the halves of its shell, and since we know by ocular proof that the earth is not golden, we see that a mere figure of speech is here intended. . . . In that egg Hiraṇyagarbha was produced: *i.e.* entering into the living soul,—invested with a subtile body,—of that person

by whom in a former birth the deity was worshipped, with the contemplation of distinctness and identity expressed in the words, 'I am Hiraṇyagarbha,' the supreme Spirit himself became manifested in the form of Hiraṇyagarbha."

The creation is narrated in a similar manner, but without the introduction of any metaphysical elements, in the Harivaṁśa, vv. 35 ff.: *Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān sisṛikshur vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apaḥ eva sasarjjādau tāsu vījam avāsṛijat | āpo nārāḥ iti proktāḥ āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ | ayanaṁ tasya tāḥ pūrvaṁ tena nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ | hiraṇyavarṇam abhavat tad aṇḍam udakeśayam | tatra jajñe svayam Brahmā svayambhūr iti naḥ śrutam | Hiraṇyagarbho bhagavān ushitvā parivatsaram | tad aṇḍam akarod dvaidhaṁ divam bhuvam athāpi cha | tayoḥ śakalayor madhye ākāśam asṛijat prabhuḥ | apsu pāriplavām pṛithvīṁ diśaścha daśadhā dadhe |*

"Then the self-existent lord, desiring to produce various creatures, first of all formed the waters, and deposited in them a seed. The waters are called 'nārāḥ,' for they are the offspring of Nara. They were formerly the place of his movement; hence he is called 'Nārāyaṇa.' That seed became a golden-coloured egg, reposing on the water: in it the self-existent Brahmā himself was born, [or, in it he himself was born as the self-existent Brahmā], as we have heard. The divine Hiraṇyagarbha having dwelt [in the egg] a year, divided it into two parts, heaven and earth. In the midst between these two shells, the Lord created the æther, and the earth floating about on the waters, and placed the regions in ten directions."

In a later part of the same work we find another account of the production of Hiraṇyagarbha:

Harivaṁśa, vv. 12, 425 ff.—*Jagat-srashṭu-manāḥ devaś chintayāmāsa pūrvataḥ | tasya chintayato vaktrād niḥsṛitaḥ purushaḥ kila | tataḥ sa purusho devaṁ kiṁ karomīty upashthitaḥ | pratyuvācha smitaṁ kṛitvā deva-devo jagat-patiḥ | 'vibhajātmānam' ity uktvā gato 'ntardhānam īśvaraḥ | antarhitasya devasya śaśarīrasya bhāsvataḥ | pradīpasyeva śāntasya gatis tasya na vidyate | tatas teneritāṁ vāṇīṁ so 'nvachintayata prabhuḥ | "Hiraṇyagarbho bhagavān yaḥ esha chhandasā śrutaḥ | ekaḥ prajāpatiḥ pūrvam abhavad bhuvanādhipaḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti tasyādyo yajna-bhāgo vidhīyate | 'vibhajātmānam' ity uktas tenāsmi sumahātmanā | katham ātmā vibhajyaḥ syāt saṁśayo hy atra me mahān" |*

"Being desirous to create the world, the deity formerly meditated. As he meditated, a man (*purusha*) issued from his mouth. This man then approached the deity, [saying] 'what am I to do?' The god of gods, the lord of the world, answered smiling, 'divide thyself.' Having thus spoken, the lord vanished. The path of the radiant embodied deity, when he has vanished, is not known, like that [of the flame] of an extinguished taper. The lord then meditated [thus] upon the word which the deity had uttered: 'This divine Hiraṇya-garbha, who is celebrated in the Vedic hymn, was formerly the one sole Prajāpati, the ruler of the world. Thenceforward the first half of the sacrifice is allotted to him. "Divide thyself,"—thus have I been commanded by that mighty being. But how is the self to be divided? Here I have great doubt.'" Then follow the verses which have been quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 13 f., to which I refer.

The Rāmāyaṇa, which I quote first according to the recension of Schlegel (which here coincides with the Serampore, and essentially with the Bombay, editions), thus describes the origin of the world:

Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's ed.), ii. 110, 2 ff.—*Imāṁ loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me* | 3. *Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt pṛithivī yatra nirmitā* |[76] *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha* | 4. *Sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām* | *asṛijachcha jagat sarvaṁ saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ* | 5. *Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nityam avyayaḥ* | *tasmād Marīchiḥ sanjajne Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ* | 6. *Vivasvān Kaśyapāj jajne Manur Vivasvataḥ smṛitaḥ* | *sa tu Prajāpatiḥ pūrvam ityādi* |

Vaśishṭha says: "Lord of the people, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, in which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*. 4. He then, becoming a boar,[77] raised up the earth, and created the whole world *with the saints, his sons*. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the ether; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kaśyapa. 6. From Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat, and Manu is declared to have been Vivasvat's son. He (Manu) was formerly the Prajāpati," etc.

[76] See Appendix A.

[77] Compare S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, quoted above, p. 27.

It will be observed that here it is Brahmā who assumes the form of a boar to raise up the earth from under the ocean. In the Gauḍa recension of Gorresio, however, this function is transferred to Vishṇu; and this I regard as one proof that this recension of the text is more modern than that followed by Schlegel. I have indicated by italics in my translations the important points in which the two recensions differ from one another.

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's ed.), ii. 119, 2 ff.—*Imām loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me* | 3. *Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt vasudhā yena nirmitā* | *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur avyayaḥ* | 4. *Sa varāho 'tha bhūtvemām ujjahāra vasundharām* | *asṛijachcha jagat sarvam sacharācharam avyayam* | 5. *Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nityam avyayaḥ* | *tasmād Marīchiḥ sanjajne Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ* | 6. *Tataḥ paryāya-sargeṇa Vivasvān asṛijad Manum ityādi* |

"Lord of the people, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, through which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, *the imperishable Vishṇu*. 4. He then, becoming a boar, raised up this earth, and created the whole world, *movable and immovable, imperishable*. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the ether; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kaśyapa. 6. By successive creation, Vivasvat created Manu," etc.

It will be noticed that at the end of the third śloka, the reading of the first recension, viz. *Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*," is, in the second, changed into *Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur avyayaḥ*, "Brahmā, the self-existent, *the imperishable Vishṇu*," whereby Brahmā becomes a mere manifestation of Vishṇu,—a character of which we have no hint in the earlier recension. Similarly the words which are given in Schlegel's recension, at the close of the fourth śloka, viz. *saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ*, "with the saints, his sons," are in the other recension altered into *sacharācharam avyayam*, "movable and immovable, and imperishable" —epithets descriptive of the world. This second alteration was rendered necessary by the first: for as soon as the god who is the subject of the passage had been changed from Brahmā to Vishṇu, the mention of sons became inapplicable; as Vishṇu is not described in the accounts of the creation as having any sons, whereas Brahmā is.

Compare with the fifth verse of the passage before us (in Schlegel's text), the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 1 ff.; quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 64 f. The accounts of Brahmā's descendants are not, however, always consistent. See Manu, i. 32 ff., and Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 12 ff., quoted in pp. 35 ff., and 64 f., of vol. i.

The origin of the world is similarly described in the Mahābhārata xii. 6805 f.

Bhṛigur uvācha | Prajā-visargaṁ vividham Mānaso manasā 'sṛijat | saṁrakshaṇārtham bhūtānāṁ sṛishṭam prathamato jalam | yaḥ prāṇaḥ sarva-bhūtānaṁ vardhante yena cha prajāḥ | parityaktāś cha naśyanti tenedaṁ sarvam āvṛitam | pṛithivī parvatāḥ meghāḥ mūrtimantaś cha ye 'pare | sarvaṁ tad vāruṇaṁ jñeyam āpaś tastambhire yataḥ | . . . . Brahmakalpe purā brahman brahmarshīṇāṁ samāgame | loka-sambhava-sandehaḥ samutpanno mahātmanām | Te 'tishṭhan dhyānam ālambya maunam āsthāya niśchalāḥ | tyaktāhārāḥ pavana-pāḥ divyaṁ varsha-śatam dvijāḥ | teshām Brahmamayī vāṇī sarveshāṁ śrotram āgamat | divyā Sarasvatī tatra sambabhūva nabhastalāt | purā stimitam ākāśam anantam achalopamam | nashṭa-chandrārka-pavanam prasuptam iva sambabhau | tataḥ salilam utpannaṁ tamasīvāparaṁ tamaḥ | tasmāch cha salilotpīḍād udatishṭhata mārutaḥ |

"Bhṛigu says: Mānasa[78] (the Intellectual) formed by a mental effort the varied creation of living beings. For the preservation of creatures water was first produced,—water which is the breath of all creatures, by which they grow, and forsaken by which they die:—by it all things were covered. The earth, the mountains, the clouds, and other material objects;—all these things must be understood as aqueous, because the waters supported them." Bharadvāja asks how water, fire, air [or wind], and earth were created, and Bhṛigu replies: "Formerly, in an assemblage of Brāhman rishis, in the Brahmakalpa, a doubt arose in their minds as to the production of the worlds. These Brāhmans continued fixed in meditation and in silence, eating no food, drinking in only air, for a hundred years of the gods. A voice, of the essence of Brahmā, reached the ears of them all: the divine Sarasvatī

[78] This word is defined in v. 6775: *Mānaso nāma yaḥ pūrvo śiśruto vai maharṣhibhiḥ | anādi-nidhano devas tathā 'bhedyo 'jarāmaraḥ |* "The primeval god, without beginning or dissolution, indivisible, undecaying and immortal, who is known and called by great rishis Mānasa," etc.

sprang forth from the heavens. Formerly the infinite ether, motionless, like a mountain,—moon, sun and air having been destroyed in it,—appeared as it were asleep. Then water was produced like another darkness (*tamas*) in darkness, and from the foam of that water arose air."

Before proceeding to quote the other texts which I have to adduce regarding the egg of Brahmā, I shall here introduce two quotations, to show how the assumption of the form of a boar, ascribed in the older recension of this passage of the Rāmāyaṇa to Brahmā, is in works of a later date represented as the act of Vishṇu. The first passage forms a part of the rapid enumeration of the twenty-two incarnations of Vishṇu, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, i. 3, 7: *Dvitīyaṁ tu bhavāyāsya rasā-tala-gatām mahīm | uddharishyann upādatta yajneśaḥ saukaraṁ vapuḥ |* "Secondly, with a view to the creation of this universe, the lord of sacrifice, being desirous to raise up the earth, which had sunk into the lower regions, assumed the form of a boar."

The second passage to be adduced is from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 4, 1 ff. (p. 57 ff. of Wilson's English trans., Dr. Hall's ed., vol. i.), and has been already partly quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 50 f.: *Maitreya uvācha | Brahmā Nārāyaṇākhyo 'sau kalpādau bhagavān yathā | sasarjja sarva-bhūtāni tad āchakshva mahāmune*[79] *| Parāśaraḥ uvācha | prajāḥ sasarjja bhagavān Brahmā Nārāyaṇātmakaḥ | prajāpatipatir devo yathā tan me niśāmaya | atīta-kalpāvasāne niśā-suptotthitaḥ prabhuḥ | sattvodriktas tato Brahmā śūnyaṁ lokam avaikshata | Nārāyaṇaḥ paro 'chintyaḥ pareshām api sa prabhuḥ | Brahma-svarūpī bhaga-*

[79] I take the opportunity of quoting here an answer given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 3, 1 ff. (p. 44 of Wilson's trans. in Dr. Hall's ed. vol. i.), to the question how it is conceivable that Brahmā should create;—an answer which, if admitted as the only solution of the problem, would have rendered many speculations of the Indian philosophers unnecessary. *Maitreyaḥ uvācha | nirguṇasyāprameyasya śuddhasyāpy amalātmanaḥ | kathaṁ sargādikarttṛitvam Brāhmaṇo 'bhyupapadyate | Parāśaraḥ uvācha | śaktayaḥ sarva-bhāvānām, achintya-jnāna-gocharāḥ | yato 'to Brahmaṇas tās tu sargādyāḥ bhāva-śaktayaḥ | bhavanti tapasāṁ śreshṭha pāvakasya yathoshṇutā |* "Maitreya asks: How can the agencies of creation, etc., be possible to Brahma, who is devoid of the [three] qualities, immeasurable, pure, and free from stain? Parāśara answers: Since powers which could not be imagined [?] are actually known to belong to all natures, therefore, O chief of ascetics, these powers of creative agency, etc., belong to the essence of Brahma, as heat is an attribute of fire." Dr. Hall translates differently. See his note. Can the proper reading be *dachintyāḥ* in place of *achintya?*

vān anādiḥ sarva-sambhavaḥ | toyānṭaḥ sa mahīṁ jnātvā jagaty ekārṇave prabhuḥ | anumānād tad-uddhāraṁ karttu-kāmaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | akarot sa tanūm anyām kalpādishu yathā purā | matsya-kūrmādikāṁ tadvad vārāhaṁ vapur āshthitaḥ | veda-yajnamayaṁ rūpam aśesha-jagataḥ sthitau | sthitaḥ sthirātmā sarvātmā paramātmā Prajāpatiḥ | janaloka-gataiḥ siddhaiḥ Sanakādyair abhishṭutaḥ | praviveśa tada toyam ātmā-dhāro dharādharaḥ | nirīkshya taṁ tadā devī pātāla-talam āgatam | tushṭāva praṇatā bhūtvā bhakti-namrā vasundharā | Prithvy uvācha | Namas te sarva-bhūtāya tubhyaṁ śankha-gadā-dhara | mām uddhar-āsmād adya tvaṁ tvatto 'ham pūrvam utthitā | . . . . sambhakshayitvā sakalaṁ jagaty ekārṇavīkṛite | śeshe tvam eva Govinda chintyamāno manīshibhiḥ | bhavato yat paraṁ rūpaṁ tan na jānāti kaśchana | avatār-eshu yad rūpaṁ tad archanti divaukasaḥ | tvām ārādhya paraṁ Brahma yātāḥ muktim mumukṣhavaḥ | Vāsudevam anārādhya ko mokshaṁ sama-vāpsyati | . . . . tvaṁ yajnas tvaṁ vashaṭkāras tvam oṁkāras tvam agnayaḥ | . . . . Evaṁ samstūyamānas tu Prithivyā prithivī-dharaḥ | sāma-svara-dhvaniḥ śrīmān jagarjja parighvrgharam | tataḥ samutkshipya dharāṁ sa daṁshṭrayā mahāvarāhaḥ sphuṭa-padma-lochanaḥ | rasātalād utpala-patra-sannibhaḥ samutthito nīlaḥ ivāchalo mahān | . . . . evaṁ samstūyamānas tu Paramātmā mahīdharaḥ | ujjahāra mahīṁ kshipraṁ nyastavāṁś cha mahāmbhasi | tasyopari jalaughasya mahatī naur iva sthitā | vitatatvāt tu dehasya na mahī yāti samplavam |

"Maitreya said: Tell me, great Muni, how, at the beginning of the Kalpa, that divine Brahmā called Nārāyaṇa created all beings. Parāśara replied: Hear from me how the divine Brahmā, lord of the Prajāpatis, who had the nature of Nārāyaṇa, created living beings. At the close of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, awoke from his night-slumber, and beheld the universe void. He [was] the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by others, existing in the form of Brahmā, the deity without beginning, the source of all things. [The verse given in Manu i. 10, and the Harivanśa, v. 36, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa, is here quoted.] This lord Prajāpati, discovering by inference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, assumed another form. As he had formerly, at the commencement of the [previous] Kalpas, taken the shape of a fish, a tortoise, etc. (so now), entering

the body of a boar,—a form composed of the Vedas and of sacrifice, —the lord of creatures, who throughout the entire continuance of the world remains fixed, the universal soul, the supreme soul, the self-sustained, the supporter of the earth, hymned by Sanaka and other saints residing in the Janaloka, entered the water. Beholding him then descended to Pātāla, the goddess Earth, bowing down, prostrated in devotion, sang his praise: 'Reverence, bearer of the shell and club, to thee who art all things: raise me to-day from this place: by thee have I been formerly lifted. . . . . Having swallowed up the universe, when the world has become one ocean, thou, Govinda, sleepest, meditated upon by the wise. No one knows that which is thy highest form: the gods adore that form which [thou assumest] in thy incarnations. Worshipping thee, the supreme Brahma, men desirous of final liberation have attained their object. Who shall obtain liberation without adoring Vāsudeva? . . . . . Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra (a sacrificial formula), thou art the oṁkāra, thou art the fires.' . . . . Being thus celebrated by the Earth, the glorious upholder of the earth, with a voice like the chanting of the Sāmaveda, uttered a deep thundering sound. Then the great boar, with eyes like the expanded lotus, tossing up the earth with his tusk, rose up, resembling the leaf of the blue lotus, from the lower regions, like the great blue mountain. . . . . [The boar is then again lauded by Sanandana and other saints, in a hymn, in the course of which his different members are compared in detail to some of the materials and implements of sacrifice, etc.—See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, 2nd ed., i., pp. 63 ff.] . . . . . Being thus hymned, the supreme Soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted the earth up quickly, and placed it upon the great waters. Resting upon this mass of waters, like a mighty ship, the earth does not sink, owing to the expansion of its bulk."[80] See also the Mahābhārata iii. 10932 ff.

[80] Another instance in which an act ascribed to Brahmā by earlier writers is transferred to Vishṇu in the later Purāṇas, may be found in the story of the deluge in the Mbh., Vanaparva, 12, 797 ff. (see the first volume of this work, pp. 196 ff.); towards the conclusion of which, vv. 12, 797 f., the Fish declares himself to be Brahmā: *Athābravīd animishas tān ṛishīn sa hitas tada* | *aham Prajāpatir Brahmā yat-paraṁ nādhigamyate* | *matsya-rūpeṇa yūyancha mayā 'smād mokshitāḥ bhayāt* | "Then the god (*lit.* the unwinking), kindly-disposed, said to those rishis, 'I am the Prajāpati Brahmā, above whom no Being is discoverable: by me in the form of a fish

The Linga Purāṇa, however, which is of the Śaiva class, and has not, as such, any interest in glorifying Vishṇu, describes Brahmā as the deity who took the form of a boar: Part i. 4, 59 ff.: *Rātrau chaikārṇave Brahmā nashṭe sthāvara-jaṅgame | sushvāpāmbhasi yas tasmād Nārāyaṇaḥ iti smṛitaḥ | śarvary-ante prabuddho vai dṛishṭvā śūnyaṁ charācharam | srashṭuṁ tadā matiṁ chakre Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | udakair āplutām kshmāṁ tāṁ samādāya sanātanaḥ | pūrva-vat sthāpayāmāsa vārāhaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ |* "In the night, when all things movable and immovable had been destroyed in the universal ocean, Brahmā slept upon the waters, and is hence called Nārāyaṇa. At the close of the night, awaking, and beholding the universe void, Brahmā, chief of the knowers of Brahma, then resolved to create. Having assumed the form of a boar, this eternal [god] taking the earth, which was overflowed by the waters, placed it as it had been before."

[In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s. v. varāha*, reference is made to a further passage from the Taitt. S. vi. 2, 42, in which the boar is mentioned (see above, pp. 27 f.). I quote this with another story which follows it: *Yajno devebhyo nilāyata Vishṇurūpam kṛitvā | sa pṛithivīm prāvishat | taṁ devāḥ hastān saṁrabhya aichhan | tam Indraḥ upary upary aty akrāmat | so 'bravīt "ko mā 'yam upary upary aty akramīd" iti | "aham durge hantā" iti | atha "kas tvam" iti | "ahaṁ durgād āhartā" iti | so 'bravīd "durge vai hantā avochathāḥ | varāho 'yam vāmamoshaḥ saptānāṁ girīṇām parastād vittaṁ vedyam*

you have been delivered from this danger.'" Compare the story as told in the Bhāg. Pur. (and see Burnouf, Pref. to Bhāg. Pur., iii. p. xxiii.). Bhāg. Pur. viii. 24, 4: *Ity ukto Vishṇurāteṇa bhagavān Vādarāyaṇiḥ | uvācha charitaṁ Vishṇor matsya-rūpeṇa yat kṛitam | Śukaḥ uvācha | . . . . . 7. āsīd atīta-kalpānte Brāhmo naimittiko layaḥ | samudropaplutās tatra lokāḥ bhūrādayo nṛipa | 8. Kālenāgata-nidrasya dhātuḥ śiśayishor balī | mukhato niḥsṛitān vedān Hayagrīvo 'ntike 'harat | 9. Jñātvā tad dānavendrasya Hayagrīvasya cheshṭitam | dadhāra sapharīrūpam bhagavān Harir īśvaraḥ ityādi |* "Being thus addressed by Vishnurāta, the divine Vādarāyaṇi related the deed of Vishṇu done by him under the form of a fish. Śuka said . . . . 7. At the end of the past Kalpa there was a Brāhma, or partial, dissolution of the universe (see Wilson's Vish. Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 113; vol. v., p. 186); in which the earth and other worlds were submerged under the ocean. The powerful Hayagrīva [coming] near, snatched away the Vedas which had issued from the mouth of the creator, who from drowsiness, which had supervened through time, was disposed to sleep. Having discovered this deed of Hayagrīva, chief of the Dānavas, the divine lord, Hari, took the form of a sapharī fish," etc.

Asurāṇām bibharti tañ jahi yadi durge hantā 'si" iti | sa darbha-punjīlam udvṛihya sapta girīn bhittvā tam ahan | so 'bravīd "durgād vai āhartā avochathāḥ | etam āhara" iti | tam ebhyo yajnaḥ eva yajnam āharat | yat tad vittañ vedyam asurāṇām avindanta tad ekañ vedyai veditvam | Asurāṇāñ vai iyam agre āsīt | yāvad āsīnaḥ parāpaśyati tāvad devānām | te devāḥ abruvann "astv eva no 'syām api" iti | "Kiyad vo dāsyāmaḥ" iti | yāvad iyañ salāvṛikī triḥ parikrāmati tāvan no datta" iti | sa Indraḥ salāvṛikī-rūpañ kṛitvā imāñ triḥ sarvataḥ paryakrāmat | tad imām avindanta | yad imām avindanta tad vedyai veditvam | sā vai iyañ sarvā eva vediḥ |

"The sacrifice, assuming the form of Vishṇu, disappeared from among the gods, and entered into the earth. The gods joined hands, and searched for him. Indra passed over above him. He (Vishṇu) said, 'Who is this who has passed over above me?' (Indra replied:) 'I am he who slays in a castle; but now who art thou?' (Vishṇu said:) 'I am he who carries off from a castle.' He (Vishṇu) said: 'Thou hast said *a slayer in a castle*. This boar, the plunderer of wealth, keeps the goods of the Asuras on the other side of seven hills. Kill him, if thou art a slayer in a castle.' He (Indra), plucking up a bunch of Kuśa grass, pierced through the seven hills, and slew him. He (Indra) then said: 'Thou hast said *I am he who carries off from a castle;* so carry him off.' He (Vishṇu), the sacrifice, carried off the sacrifice for them. Inasmuch as they obtained (*avindanta*) these goods of the Asuras, this is one reason why the altar is called *vedi*.

"This earth formerly belonged to the Asuras, whilst the gods had only as much as a man can see when sitting. They (the gods) said, 'Let us have a share in this earth also?' 'How much shall we give you?' (asked the Asuras). 'As much as this she-jackal can go round in three (steps).' Indra, assuming the form of a she-jackal, stepped all round the earth in three (strides). Thus the gods obtained (*avindanta*) it. And from this circumstance the altar derives its name of vedi."

Compare the various stories about the original position of the gods in reference to the Asuras, given above, and in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 15, note].

To return to the mundane egg. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 2, 45 ff. we have the following account of its production, in which the simplicity of the older mythical conceptions is destroyed by the intermixture of metaphysical ideas borrowed from the Sānkhya philosophy. In fact, though it forms here the subject of a magniloquent description, the egg was an element in the cosmogonic traditions with which any writers less ingenious and fanciful than the authors of the Purāṇas would, perhaps, have found it somewhat inconvenient to deal in such a way as to harmonize with the current philosophical speculations: *Ākāśavāyu-tejāṁsi salilam pṛithivī tathā | śabdādibhir guṇair brahman saṁyuktāny uttarottaraiḥ | śāntāḥ ghorāś cha mūḍhāś cha viśeshās tena te smṛitāḥ | nānāvīryyāḥ pṛithag-bhūtās tatas te saṁhatiṁ vinā | nāśaknuvan prajāḥ srashṭum asamāgamya kṛitsnaśaḥ | sametyānyonya-saṁyogam paraspara-samāśrayāḥ | eka-sanghāta-lakshyāś cha samprāpyaikyam aśeshataḥ | Purushādhishṭhitatvāch cha Pradhānānugraheṇa cha | mahadādayo viśeshāntāḥ aṇḍam utpādayanti te | tat krameṇa vivṛidhhaṁ tu jala-budbuda-vat samam | bhūtebhyo 'ṇḍam mahābuddhe vṛihat tad udake śayam | prākṛitam Brahma-rūpasya Vishṇoḥ saṁsthānam uttamam | tatrāvyakta-svarūpo 'sau vyakta-rūpī jagat-patiḥ | Vishṇur Brahma-svarūpeṇa svayam eva vyavasthitaḥ | Meru-tulyam abhūt tasya jarāyuś cha mahīdharāḥ | garbhodakaṁ samudrāś cha tasyāsan sumahātmanaḥ | sādri-dvīpa-samudraś cha sajyotir loka-saṅgrahaḥ | tasminn aṇḍe 'bhavad vipra sa-devāsura-mānushaḥ | vāri-vahny-anilākāśais tato bhūtādinā vahiḥ | vṛitaṁ daśaguṇair aṇḍam bhūtādir mahatā tathā | avyaktenāvṛito brahmaṁs taiḥ sarvaiḥ sahito mahān | ebhir āvaraṇair aṇḍaṁ saptabhiḥ prākṛitair vṛitam | nārikela-phalasyāntar vījaṁ vāhya-dalair iva | jushan rajo-guṇaṁ tatra svayaṁ viśveśvaro Hariḥ | Brahmā bhūtvā 'sya jagato visṛishṭau sampravarṭtate |*

"Ether, air, fire, water and earth, when joined in order, with sound and the other qualities in succession, are then called specific, being soothing, terrific, or stupefying,[81] but being of different powers, and separated from one another, they could not, without contact, and without being combined together, produce living creatures. [At length] having attained to mutual conjunction, being dependent upon each other, having a tendency to amalgamation, and having so attained an

[81] See Wilson's Sānkhya Karikā, pp. 119 ff., and Vishṇu Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 38 ff.

entire unity,—being presided over by Purusha (spirit) and favoured by Pradhāna (matter), these principles, commencing with Mahat (intellect), and down to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg. Gradually augmented from the elements, smooth like a bubble of water, that vast egg, resting on the water, was the material and appropriate receptacle of Vishṇu in the form of Brahmā. There, undiscernible in his essence, Vishṇu, the lord of the world, himself abode in a discernible shape, in the form of Brahmā. It was like mount Meru; the mountains were the womb, and the seas were the uterine fluids of that vast [production]. In that egg, O Brahmān, were collected the worlds, with their hills, continents, and oceans, the luminaries, the gods, Asuras, and men. This egg was enveloped externally by water, fire, air, ether, and the source of the elements (*bhūtādi*, i.e. *ahankāra*) increasing in tenfold progression; and in the same way 'Ahankāra' was invested by 'Mahat'; and Mahat with all these [aforesaid principles] was surrounded by the indiscreet principle (*Pradhāna*). The egg is enveloped in these seven material coverings, as the seed within the cocoa-nut is surrounded by the outward husks. Assuming there the quality of passion (*rajas*) Hari, the universal lord, himself becoming Brahmā, engages in the creation of this world."

The Vishṇu Purāṇa does not connect the egg any further with the creation, or tell us how it became divided, etc., etc.

The Linga Purāṇa, Part i., 3, 28 ff., gives a similar description of the egg: *Mahadādi-viśeshāntāḥ hy aṇḍam utpādayanti cha | jala-budbuda-vat tasmāt avatīrṇaḥ Pitāmahaḥ | sa eva bhagavān Rudro Vishṇur viśvagataḥ prabhuḥ | tasminn aṇḍe tv ime lokāḥ antar viśvam idaṁ jagat | aṇḍaṁ daśa-guṇenaiva nabhasā vāhyato vṛitam | ākāśaś chāvṛitas tadvad ahankāreṇa śabdajaḥ | mahatā śabda-hetur vai pradhānenāvṛitaḥ svayam | saptāṇḍāvaraṇāny āhus tasyātmā Kamalāsanaḥ | koṭi-koṭy-ayutāny atra chāṇḍāni kathitāni tu | tatra tatra chaturvaktrāḥ Brahmāṇo Harayo Bhavāḥ | śṛishṭāḥ pradhānena tadā labdhvā Śambhostu sannidhim ityādi |*

"And these principles, from Mahat to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg, like a bubble of water, from which issued the Parent [of the universe], who was the same as divine Rudra, and Vishṇu, the omnipresent lord. Within that egg were these worlds,—this entire universe. The egg was externally invested with a tenfold ether; in like manner, the ether, sprung from sound, was surrounded by 'ahankāra';

the cause of sound (*ahankāra*) by Mahat, and the latter itself by Pradhāna. These men call the seven coverings of the egg; its soul is Kamalāsana (Brahmā). Here ten thousand crores of crores of eggs are declared (to exist), in which four-faced Brahmās, Haris, and Bhavas (Śivas) were created by Pradhāna, which had attained to proximity with Śambhu (Śiva)."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa has the following passage on the same subject in the third Book, in answer to an inquiry how the Prajāpatis created the world:

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 20, 12 ff.—*Maitreyaḥ uvācha | Daivena durvitarkyeṇa pareṇānimisheṇa cha | jātakshobhād bhagavato mahān asīd guṇa-trayāt |* 13. *Rajaḥ-pradhānād mahatas trilingo daiva-choditāt | jātaḥ sasarjja bhūtādir viyadādīni panchaśaḥ |* 14. *Tāni chaikaikaśaḥ srashṭum asamarthāni bhautikam | saṃhatya daiva-yogena haimam aṇḍam avāsṛijan |* 15. *So 'śayishṭābdhi-salile aṇḍa-kosho nirātmakaḥ | sāgraṁ vai varshasāhasram anvavātsīt tam īśvaraḥ |* 16. *Tasya nābher abhūt padmaṁ sahasrārkorudīdhiti | sarva-jīva-nikāyauko yatra svayam abhūt Svarāṭ |* 17. *So 'nuvishṭo bhagavatā yaḥ śete salilāśaye | loka-saṁsthāṁ yathāpūrvaṁ nirmame saṁsthayā svayā |*

"Maitreya said:

12. "The Great principle (Intelligence) arose from the three qualities agitated by the Divine Being in consequence of an inscrutable destiny, supreme and ever wakeful. 13. Springing from the Great principle (in which the quality of passion prevailed, and which was impelled by destiny), the source of the elements (*bhūtādi* or *ahankāra*), characterized by the three qualities (*guṇas*), created the ether and other principles, in groups of five. 14. These principles being severally unable to create, deposited, when united by the action of destiny, a golden egg formed of the elements. 15. This egg-shell lay lifeless on the waters of the ocean: the Lord dwelt in it for a complete [period of a] thousand years. 16. From his navel sprang a lotus splendid as a thousand suns, the abode of all living things, where Svarāṭ (Brahmā) himself was born. 17. He penetrated by the Divine Being who reposes on the receptacle of waters, constructed as before, the substance (*saṁsthā*) of the worlds with his own substance."

The same ideas are repeated in a later chapter of the same book:

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 26, 50 ff.: *Etāny asaṁhatya yadā mahad-ādīni sapta*

vai | kāla-karma-guṇopeto jagadādir upāviśat | 51. *Tatas tenānuviddhebhyo* [*kshubhitebhyaḥ*, Comm.] *yuktebhyo 'ṇḍam achetanam | utthitam Purusho yasmād udatishṭhad asau Virāṭ* | 52. *Etad aṇḍam viśeshākhyaṁ krama-vṛiddhair daśottaraiḥ | toyādibhiḥ parivṛitam pradhānenāvṛitair vahiḥ | yatra loka-vitāno 'yaṁ rūpam bhagavato Hareḥ* | 53. *Hiraṇmayād aṇḍa-koshād uṭthāya salile-śayāt | tam āviśya mahādevo bahudhā nirbibheda kham* [*chhidram*, Comm.] 54. *Nirabhidyatāsya prathamam mukhaṁ vāṇī tato 'bhavad ityādi* |

50. "When these seven principles, Mahat and the rest, remained uncombined, the [god who is the] source of the universe entered into them, united with time, action, and the qualities. 51. Then out of these principles penetrated by him; and combined, there arose a lifeless egg, from which sprang Purusha, viz. that Virāṭ. 52. This egg, named Viśesha (the specific) was surrounded by water, and other elements gradually increasing in extent by a tenfold progression, which in their turn were externally invested by Pradhāna. In this egg [was formed] this expanse of worlds, which is the form of the divine Hari. 53. Having arisen out of the envelopment of this golden egg reposing upon the water, the great god, pervading it, opened up many apertures. 54. First his mouth was divided, from which speech issued," etc.

The same process is also described in the second book of the same Purāṇa, sect. 5, 32 ff.; but it is unnecessary to adduce more than a verse or two of the passage.

34. *Varsha-pūga-sahasrānte tad aṇḍam udakeśayam | kāla-karmasvabhāva-stho jīvo 'jīvam ajīvayat* | 35. *Sa eva purushas tasmād aṇḍaṁ nirbhidya nirgataḥ | sahasrorv-anghri-bāhv-akshaḥ sahasrānana-śīrshavān*|

34. "At the end of many thousand years, the Life (Jīva) residing in time, action, and nature, gave life to that lifeless egg reposing on the water. 35. Splitting the egg, Purusha issued forth with a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads."

The same subject is yet again referred to in another text of the same work.

Bhāg. Pur. ii. 10, 10 f.: *Purusho 'ṇḍaṁ vinirbhidya yadā "dau sa vinirgataḥ | ātmano 'yanam anvichhann apo 'sṛākshīch chhuchiḥ śuchīḥ | tāsv avātsīt svasṛishṭāsu sahasra-parivatsarān | tena Nārāyaṇo nāma yad āpaḥ purushodbhavāḥ* |

10. "When, splitting the egg, Purusha first issued from it, seeking

a receptacle for himself, he created the pure waters, himself pure. 11. In these waters created by himself he dwelt a thousand years. Hence he is named Nárāyaṇa, because the waters were produced from Purusha."

The story about Brahmā's incestuous passion for his own daughter, which is sometimes alluded to in the Purāṇas, is thus noticed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7, 4,1 ff.[82]—*Prajāpatir ha vai svāṁ duhitaram abhidadhyau divaṁ vā ushasaṁ vā 'mithuny enayā syām' iti taṁ sambabhūva| 2. Tad vai devānām āgaḥ āsa 'yaḥ itthaṁ svāṁ duhitaram asmākaṁ svasāraṁ karoti' iti | 3. Te ha devāḥ ūchur 'yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśūnām īshṭe 'tisandhaṁ vai ayaṁ charati yaḥ itthaṁ svāṁ duhitaram asmākaṁ svasāraṁ karoti vidhya imam' iti | taṁ Rudro 'bhyāyatya vivyādha tasya sāmi retaḥ prachaskanda tathā id nūnaṁ tad āsa | 4. Tasmād etad ṛishiṇā 'bhyanūktam 'pitā yat svāṁ duhitaram adhishkan kshmayā retaḥ sanjagmāno nishinchad' iti tad āgni-mārutam ity ukthaṁ tasmiṁs tad vyākhyāyate yathā tad devāḥ retaḥ prājanayan | teshāṁ yadā devānāṁ krodho vyaid atha Prajāpatim abhishajyaṁs tasya taṁ śalyaṁ nirakṛintan | sa vai yajnaḥ eva Prajāpatiḥ |*

"Prajāpati cast his eyes upon his own daughter, either the Sky, or the Dawn, [desiring] 'May I pair with her.' So [saying] he had intercourse with her. 2. This was a crime in the eyes of the gods, who said: '[He is guilty] who acts thus to his own daughter, our sister.' 3. The gods said: 'This god who rules over the beasts, commits a transgression in that he acts thus to his own daughter, our sister: pierce him through.' Rudra aimed at, and pierced, him. Half of his seed fell to the ground. So it happened. 4. Accordingly this has been said by the ṛishi (R. V. x. 61, 7), 'when the father embracing his daughter, uniting with her, discharged his seed on the earth,' etc. This is a hymn addressed to Agni and the Maruts; and it is there related in what manner the gods generated this seed. When the anger of the gods had passed away, they applied remedies to Prajāpati, and cut out of him the arrow. Prajāpati is sacrifice."

The following is the context of the passage of the Rig-veda referred

[82] See the passages from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa on the same subject, with the remarks subjoined, in the first vol. of this work, pp. 107 ff.

to in the preceding legend, which refers apparently to some atmospheric phenomenon. It is hard to say what gods or powers of nature are denoted by the father and the daughter respectively,[83] and the passage is obscure and difficult to translate, even with the aid of Sāyaṇa's comment, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller. The 4th verse is addressed to the Aśvins. The commentator regards verses 5–7 as intended to show how "Rudra Prajāpati created Rudra Vāstoshpati with a portion of himself:" (*Yathā svāṁśena bhagavān Rudraḥ prajāpatir Vāstoshpatiṁ Rudram asṛijat tad etad-ādibhir tisṛibhir vadati.*)

R. V. x. 61, 4: *Krishṇā yad goshu aruṇīshu sīdad divo napātā Aśvinā huve vām | vītam me yajñam āgatam me annaṁ vavanvāṁsā na isham asmṛita-dhrū | 5. Prathishṭa yasya vīrakarmam ishṇad anushṭhitaṁ nu naryyo apauhat | punas tad ā́vṛihati yat kanāyāḥ duhitur āḥ anubhṛitam anarvā | 6. Madhyā yat kartvam abhavad abhīke kāmaṁ kṛiṇvāne pitari yuvatyām | manānag reto jahatur viyantā sānau nishiktaṁ sukṛitasya yonau*[84] *| 7. Pitā yat svāṁ duhitaram adhishkan kshmayā retaḥ sanjagmāno nishinchat | svādhyo ajanayan brahma devāḥ vāstoshpatiṁ vratapāṁ niratakshan |*

"When the dark female (night) stands among the tawny cows (rays of the dawn?), I invoke you twain, Aśvins, sons of the Sky.[85] Come eagerly to my sacrifice, come to my oblation, as desiring sustenance, ye who do not disappoint my longings.[86] 5. That male, whose prolific virile (organ) was extended, now withdrew it, after it had been sent forth. Again the irresistible [god] draws forth that which had been

[83] In S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 1 ff., it is related that Prajāpati, being desirous of creating, connected himself with various spouses, or associates, for this purpose, first,—in the form of, or by means of, Agni,—with the Earth (*So 'gninā pṛithivīm mithunaṁ samabhavat*): from which union sprang an egg, and thence Vāyu; next, through Vāyu he united himself with the Air (*antarikṣha*, neuter), and again an egg was produced, and thence Āditya (the Sun); thirdly, through Āditya he connected himself with Dyaus (the Sky); fourthly, fifthly, sixthly, and seventhly, through his mind (*manas*) with Vāch; the result of which, in each of the last four cases, was his own pregnancy (*garbhī abhavat*).

[84] The same phrase occurs in R. V. iii. 29, 8.

[85] See the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 234 and 239.

[86] Such is the meaning given by Professor Roth to *asmṛita-dhrū* from *a*+*smṛita*+ +*dhru*, "not suffering what I have desired to fall." See *s.v.* 2, *dhru*. Sāyaṇa renders it, *asmṛita-drohau mayi droham asmārantau* | "forgetting injury—forgetting injury to me."

introduced [into the womb of] his youthful daughter. 6. [They then did] in the midst that which was to be done at their contact, when the father loved the youthful damsel,—separating from each other, they discharged a little seed which was shed on the surface, on the place of holy ceremonies. 7. When the father, bent on impregnating his own daughter, united with her, discharged his seed on the earth, the benevolent gods generated prayer, they fashioned Vāstoshpati, the protector of sacred rites."

The same story is repeated in the later literature, as in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 28 ff., only that Vāch is the daughter of Brahmā who is there spoken of: *Vāchaṁ duhitaraṁ tanvīṁ Svayambhūr haratīm manaḥ | akāmāṁ chakame kshattaḥ sakāmaḥ iti naḥ śrutam* | 29. *Tam adharme kṛita-matim vilokya pitaraṁ sutāḥ | Marīchi-mukhyāḥ munayo viśrambhāt pratyabodhayan* | 30. *Naitat pūrvdiḥ kṛitaṁ tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare | yas tvaṁ duhitaraṁ gachher anigṛihyāṅgajam prabhuḥ* | 31. *Tejīyasām api hy etad na suślokyaṁ jagadguro | yad vṛittam anutishṭhan vai lokaḥ kshemāya kalpate* | 32. *Tasmai namo bhagavate ya idaṁ svena rochishā ātmasthaṁ vyanjayāmāsa sa dharmam pātum arhati* | 33. *Sa itthaṁ gṛiṇataḥ putrān puro dṛishṭvā prajāpatīn | prajāpati-patis tanvaṁ tatyāja vrīḍitas tadā | tāṁ diśo jagṛihur ghorāṁ nīhāraṁ yad vidus tamaḥ |*

"We have heard, O Kshatriya, that Svayambhū (Brahmā) had a passion for Vāch, his slender and enchanting daughter, who had no passion for him. The Munis, his sons, headed by Marīchi, seeing their father bent upon wickedness, admonished him with affection: 'This is such a thing as has never been done by those before you, nor will those after you do it,—that you, being the lord, should sexually approach your daughter, not restraining your passion. This, O preceptor of the world, is not a laudable deed even in glorious personages, through imitation of whose actions men attain felicity. Glory to that divine being (Vishṇu) who by his own lustre revealed this [universe] which abides in himself,—he must maintain righteousness.' Seeing his sons, the Prajāpatis, thus speaking before him, the lord of the Prajāpatis (Brahmā) was ashamed, and abandoned his body. This dreadful body the regions received, and it is known as foggy darkness."

This legend of Brahmā and his daughter, though, as appears from the passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, it has occasioned scandal among

the Indian writers from an early period, is not to be regarded in the same light as many other stories regarding the licentious actions of some of the other gods. The production of a female and her conjunction with the male out of whom she was formed, is regarded in Manu i. 32, as one of the necessary stages in the cosmogonic process (and finds its near parallel in the book of Genesis): *dvidhā kṛitvā ''tmano deham arddhena purusho 'bhavat | arddhena nārī tasyām sa Virājam asṛijat prabhuḥ |* "Dividing his own body into two, [Brahmā] became with the half a man, and with the half a woman; and in her he created (i.e. according to the commentator, begot)[87] Virāj." Compare also the passage from the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 7, 12 ff. quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 65, and the passage from the Śatap. Brāhmaṇa cited in the same vol., p. 25 f.[88] On the injustice of ascribing an immoral character to the Hindu writings, or to the deities whom they describe, on the ground of such legends as the one before us, or of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī in the 10th hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda, see some instructive remarks by Prof. Roth in the third vol. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, pp. 332–337.

The case is different, however, with another class of stories, which are frequently to be met with in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, in which various adulterous amours, of the Aśvins, Indra, Varuṇa, and Kṛishṇa, are described.—See the passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff.; the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, v. 10, 316 ff., quoted or abstracted in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 250 ff., and in Indische Studien, i. 198; the Rāmāyaṇa i. 48, 16 ff. (Schlegel's and Bombay ed., Gorresio's ed. i. 49); and the passages quoted from the Mbh. in the first volume of this work, pp. 310, 466 (with note), and 467. In all these cases a licentious character is evidently attributed to the gods.[89]

[87] *Maithuna-dharmeṇa Virāṭ-sanjnam purushaṁ nirmitavān |*

[88] "The Matsya P. has a little allegory of its own on the subject of Brahmā's intercourse with S'atarūpā; for it explains the former to mean the Vedas, and the latter the Sāvitrī, or holy prayer, which is their chief text; and in their cohabitation there is therefore no evil: *Veda-rūpiṇi smṛito Brahmā Sāvitrī tad-adhishṭhitā | tasmān na kaśchid doshaḥ syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoḥ |* "—Wilson's Vishṇu Pur., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 108, note. See the first vol. of this work, p. 112.

[89] Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, however, attempts to explain allegorically not only the dalliance of Brahmā with his own daughter, but also the adultery of Indra with Ahalyā.—See the passage quoted from him and translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk.

In the case of Kṛishna the following is the reasoning by which the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa attempts to quiet the scruples of some of the purer-minded among the devotees of the pastoral deity, and to vindicate his morality, by seeking to impart a mystic character to those loose adventures which had been the occasion of scandal to them, though, no doubt, well suited to the taste of his coarser worshippers.

Bhāg. Pur., x. 33, 27 ff.—*Rājā uvācha | saṁsthāpanāya dharmasya praśamāyetarasya cha | avatīrṇo hi bhavagān aṁśena jagadīśvaraḥ | 28. Sa kathaṁ dharma-setūnāṁ vaktā kartā 'bhirakshitā | pratīpam ācharad brahman paradārābhimarśanam | 29. Āptakamo Yadu-patiḥ kṛitavān vai jugupsitam | kim-abhiprāyaḥ etaṁ naḥ saṁśayaṁ chhindhi suvrata | Śrī-Śukaḥ uvācha | 30. Dharma-vyatikramo dṛishṭaḥ īśvarāṇāncha sāhasam | tejīyasāṁ na doshāya vahneḥ sarvabhujo yathā | 31. Naitat samācharej jātu manasā 'pi hy anīśvaraḥ | vinaśyaty ācharan mauḍhyād yathā 'rudro 'bdhijaṁ visham | 32. Īśvarāṇāṁ vachaḥ satyaṁ tathaivācharitaṁ kvachit | teshāṁ yat sva-vacho yuktam buddhimāṁs tat samācharet | 33. Kuśalācharitenaishām iha svārtho na vidyate | viparyayeṇa vā 'nartho nirahaṅkāriṇām prabho | 34. Kimutākhila-sattvānāṁ tiryaṅ-martya-divaukasām | īśituś cheśitāvyānāṁ kuśalākuśalānvayaḥ | 35. Yat pāda-pankaja-parāga-nisheva-tṛiptāḥ yoga-prabhāva-vidhutākhila-karma-bandhāḥ | svairaṁ charanti munayo 'pi na nahyamānās tasyechhayā "tta-vapushaḥ kutaḥ eva bandhaḥ | 36. Gopīnāṁ tat-patīnāncha sarveshām eva dehinām | yo 'ntaś charati so 'dhyakshaḥ krīḍaneneha deha-bhāk | 37. Anugrahāya bhūtānām mānushaṁ deham āśritaḥ | bhajate tādṛiśīḥ krīḍāḥ yāḥ śrutvā tat-paro bhavet | 38. Nāsūyan khalu Kṛishṇāya mohitās tasya māyayā | manyamānāḥ sva-pārśvasthān svān svān dārān Vrajaukasaḥ | 39. Brahma-rātre upāvṛitte Vāsudevānumoditāḥ | anichchhantyo yayur gopyaḥ sva-gṛihān bhagavat-priyāḥ*[90] |

Lit., pp. 529 f. In the Rāmāyaṇa i. 49 Indra tells the gods that his adulterous act had tended to their benefit, by exciting the wrath of Gautama and so neutralizing the fruit of those austerities of the saint which threatened danger to the celestials. On this the commentator in the Bombay ed. remarks: *Dharma-dhurandharasyāpi Śakrasya adharme pravṛittau vījaṁ darśayitum āha* | "What follows is said to show what was the ground of Indra's practising unrighteousness, though he is the supporter of righteousness."

[90] This passage is partly quoted in my Mata-parīkshā, published in Calcutta in 1852, p. 87; and in Prof. Banerjea's Dialogues, p. 383 f.

"The king said: 27. The divine lord of the world became partially[91] incarnate for the establishment of virtue, and the repression of its opposite. 28. How did he, the expounder, author, and guardian of the bulwarks of righteousness, practise its contrary, the corruption of other men's wives? 29. With what object did the lord of the Yadus (Kṛishṇa) perpetrate what was blameable? Resolve, devout saint, this our doubt. Śuka said: 30. The transgression of virtue, and the daring acts which are witnessed in superior beings, must not be charged as faults to those glorious persons, as no blame is imputed to fire, which consumes fuel of every description. 31. Let no one other than a superior being ever even in thought practise the same: any one who, through folly, does so, perishes, like any one not a Rudra [drinking] the poison produced from the ocean.[92] 32. The word of superior beings is true, and so also their conduct is sometimes [correct]: let a wise man observe their command, which is right. 33. These beings, O king, who are beyond the reach of personal feelings, have no interest in good deeds done in this world, nor do they incur any detriment from the contrary. 34. How much less can there be any relation of good or evil between the lord of all beings, brute, mortal, and divine, and the creatures over whom he rules? (i.e. since he is entirely beyond the sphere of virtue and vice, how can any of his actions partake of the nature of either?) 35. Since Munis, who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen from the lotus of his feet, and by the force of abstraction have shaken off all the fetters of works,—since even they are uncontrolled, and act as they please, how can there be any restraint upon him (the Supreme Deity) when he has voluntarily assumed a body? 36. He who moves within the gopīs (milkmen's wives) and their husbands, and all embodied beings, is their ruler, who only in sport assumed a body upon earth. 37. Taking a human form out of benevolence to creatures, he engages in sports such as that those who hear of them may become devoted to himself. 38. The [male] inhabitants of Vraja harboured no ill-will to Kṛishṇa, since, deluded

[91] Comp. Mbh. i. 2785. *Yas tu Nārāyaṇo nāma deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | tasyāṁśo mānusheshv āsīd Vāsudevaḥ pratāpavān |* See further passages to be quoted in chapter ii., sect. v., below.

[92] This refers to the poison drunk by Śiva at the churning of the ocean. See Rāmāyaṇa i. 45, 26, ed. Schlegel, and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, note p. 78 (1st ed.). The passage of the Rāmāyaṇa will be quoted further in chap. iii., sec. vi.

by his illusion, they each imagined that his own wife was by his side. 39. When Brahmā's night had arrived, the gopīs, beloved and gladdened by Kṛishṇa, departed unwillingly to their own homes."

This passage is followed (v. 40) by an assurance on the part of the author of the Purāṇa, that the person who listens with faith to the narrative of Kṛishṇa's sports with the cowherds' wives, and who repeats it to others, shall attain to strong devotion to that deity, and shall speedily be freed from love, that disease of the heart (*vikrīḍitaṁ Vrajavadhūbhir idaṁ cha Vishṇoḥ śraddhānvito 'nuśṛiṇuyād atha varṇayed yaḥ | bhaktim parām bhagavati pratilabhya kāmaṁ hṛid-rogam āśv apahinoty achireṇa dhīraḥ*). A remarkable instance of homœopathic cure, certainly!

I quote the remarks of the commentator, Śrīdhara Svāmin, on verses 30 ff. of this passage: 30. *Parameśvare kaimutika-nyāyena parihartuṁ sāmānyato mahatāṁ vṛittam āha 'dharmavyatikramaḥ' iti | 'sāhasancha dṛishṭam' Prajāpatīndra-Soma-Viśvāmitrādīnāṁ | tachcha teshāṁ tejasvināṁ doshāya na bhavatīti |* 31. *Tarhi 'yad yad ācharati śreshthaḥ' iti nyāyena anyo 'pi kuryād ity āśankya āha 'naitad' iti | 'anīśvaro' dehādi-para-tantro yathā Rudra-vyatirikto visham ācharan bhakshayan |* 32. *Kathaṁ tarhi sadāchārasya prāmāṇyam ataḥ āha 'īśvarāṇām' iti | teshāṁ vachaḥ satyam atas tad-uktam āchared eva | ācharitaṁ kvachit satyam ataḥ 'sva-vacho yuktaṁ' teshāṁ vachasā yad uktam aviruddhaṁ tat tad eva ācharet |* 33. *Nanu tarhi te 'pi kim evaṁ sāhasam ācharanti tatra āha 'kusale' ti | prārabdha-karma-kshapaṇa-mātram eva teshāṁ kṛityaṁ na anyad ity arthaḥ |* 34. *Prastutam āha 'kimuta' iti | 'kuśalākuśalānvayo' na vidyate iti kim punar vaktavyam ity arthaḥ |* 35. *Etad eva sphuṭīkaroti | yasya pāda-pankaja-parāgasya nishevaṇena tṛiptāḥ yadvā yasya pāda-pankaja-parāge nishevā yeshāṁ te tathā te cha te tṛipūścha iti bhaktāḥ ity arthaḥ | tathā jñāninaś cha na nahyamānāḥ bandhanam aprāpnuvantaḥ | para-dāratvaṁ gopīnām angīkṛitya parihṛitam |* 36. *Idānīm bhagavataḥ sarvāntaryāmiṇaḥ para-dāra-sevā nāma na kāchid ity āha 'gopīnām' iti | 'yo 'ntaś charaty adhyaksho' buddhy-ādi-sākshī sa eva krīḍanena dehabhāk na tv asmad-ādi-tulyo yena doshaḥ syād iti |* 37. *Nanv evaṁ ched āptakāmasya ninditē kutaḥ pravṛittir ity āha 'anugrahāya' iti | śṛingāra-rasākṛishṭa-chetaso 'ti-bahir-mukhān api sva-parān kartum iti bhāvaḥ |* 38. *Nanv anye 'pi bhinnāchārāḥ svacheshṭitam evam eva iti vadanti tatrāha 'nāsūyann' iti | evambhūtaiśvaryābhāve tathā kurvantaḥ pāpāḥ jneyāḥ iti bhāvaḥ |*

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"In order to refute [the charge of immorality] in regard to the Supreme Deity, by the *à fortiori* argument, the author states generally the conduct of great persons in the words 'the transgression,' etc. The 'daring acts witnessed' are those of Prajāpati, Indra, Soma, Viśvāmitra, and others; and these are not to be charged to them as faults. 31. Having intimated the doubt that according to the reasoning 'whatever an eminent person does,'[93] etc., etc., there is a danger that another person may do the like,—he says, 'Let no one do the same,' etc.; 'no one other than a superior being,' i.e. no one who is in subjection to a body, etc.; 'as any one separate from Rudra using,' swallowing, 'poison.' 32. Whence, then, is the authority for pure conduct? He tells us in the words, 'of superior beings,' etc. Their word is true; therefore let their declarations be followed. Their conduct is [only] sometimes true [correct]: therefore, let 'their correct words,' viz., that, not being contrary [to right], which is declared by their word, be followed. 33. In answer to the question why these superior beings also thus practise 'daring acts,' he states, in the words 'good deeds,' etc., that they have no other concern whatever than merely to nullify [the consequences of] their commenced works [so as to prevent these works from interfering with their final liberation]. 34. He arrives at his main subject in the words 'how much less,' etc.: i.e. [in the case of the supreme Vishṇu] there is no such relation of good or evil: What more is to be said? 35. He makes this clear. [The first words here mean either] 'they who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen of the lotus of his feet'; or 'they who are worshippers of the pollen of the lotus of his feet, and are also satisfied, i.e. devotees'; further, who are wise men, not bound,—finding no restraint. The objection that the gopīs were other men's wives is [here] admitted, and obviated. 36. Now he [further] asserts, in the words 'the gopīs,' that in the case of the divine, all-pervading, Being there is no such thing as an attachment to other men's wives [since he pervades, and is one with, everything]. It is 'he who moves within, the ruler,' the witness of the understanding, etc., who in sport takes a body; but he does not resemble such persons as ourselves, so that he should be in fault. 37. The author now, in the words 'out of benevolence,' answers

[93] This text, from the Bhagavad Gītā, will be quoted below.

the question why, if the case be so, the Being who has no want unsatisfied should engage in acts which have been censured: the purport is, that he seeks to incline to himself even such persons as are attracted by sensual love, and greatly devoted to external things.[94] 38. But do not others of a very different mode of life represent their own conduct as of this very description? In reference to this he says 'they harboured no ill-will,' etc. The drift is, that those who without such divine character act in the same way are to be considered sinners."

The following is the passage referred to by the commentator in his annotation on verse 31. It will be seen that it inculcates a doctrine diametrically opposed to that urged in the earlier part, at least, of the argument by which the author of the Bhāgavata endeavours to justify the adulteries of Kṛishṇa, and perfectly coincident with the tenor of the condemnation which the same author (who is inconsistent with himself) had, in an earlier part of his work, pronounced on Brahmā by the mouth of his sons (above, p. 47):

Bhagavad Gītā, iii. 20 ff.—*Karmaṇaiva hi saṁsiddham āsthitāḥ Janakādayaḥ | loka-sangraham evāpi sampaśyan kartum arhasi |* 21. *Yad yad ācharati śreshṭhas tat tad evetaro janaḥ | sa yat pramāṇaṁ kurute lokas tad anuvartate |* 22. *Na me Pārthāsti kartavyaṁ trishu lokeshu kinchana | nānavāptam avāptavyaṁ varte eva cha karmaṇi |* 23. *Yadi hy ahaṁ na varteyaṁ jātu karmany atandritaḥ | mama vartmānuvartante manushyāḥ Pārtha sarvaśaḥ |* 24. *Utsīdeyur ime lokāḥ na kuryāṁ karma ched aham | sankarasya cha kartā syām upahanyām imāḥ prajāḥ |* 25. *Saktāḥ karmany avidvāṁso yathā kurvanti Bhārata || kuryād vidvāṁs tathā 'saktaś chikīrshur loka-sangraham |* 26. *Na buddhi-bhedaṁ janayed ajnānāṁ karma-sanginām | joshayet sarva-karmāṇi vidvān yuktaḥ samācharan |*

"20. For it was by works that Janaka and other sages attained perfection. You also ought to act, seeking the edification of mankind.[95] 21. Whatever a person of eminence practises, that the rest of men also [do]. Whatever authoritative example he sets, the people follow. 22. There is nothing in the three worlds, son of Pṛithā, which I have

[94] I find this sense of the word *bahirmukha* in Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary.

[95] Compare Raghuvaṁśa iii. 46. . . . . *pathaḥ śucher darśayitāraḥ īśvarāḥ malīmasān ādadate na paddhatim* | "Our lords, who point out to us the pure way, do not [themselves] pursue an unclean path."

to do, nor anything unattained which I have to attain; and yet I continue in action. 23. If I were not to continue diligently engaged in works, O son of Pṛithā, men would follow my course in every respect. 24. These people would be ruined if I did not practise works; and I should occasion a confusion of castes: I should destroy these creatures. 25. In the same way as the ignorant, who are attached to works, perform them, so let the wise man perform them, without attachment, seeking the edification of mankind. 26. Let not the wise man create a distraction of mind among ignorant persons who are attached to works: let him fulfil all ceremonies with alacrity, while he practises them with abstracted mind."

I quote here some other interesting stories which I have observed in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa regarding Prajāpati, the creation of the gods, and the manner in which they acquired immortality, and became superior to the Asuras, or to other deities. (Compare the fifth volume of this work, pp. 12–16.) The first extracts tell how Prajāpati himself became immortal, and what difficulties he encountered in the work of creation.

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 1, 3, 1 (p. 761 ff.)—*Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | sa ūrddhvebhyaḥ eva prāṇebhyo devān*[96] *asṛijata ye 'vānchaḥ prāṇās tebhyo martyāḥ prajāḥ | atha ūrdhvam eva mṛityum prajābhyo 'ttāram asṛijata | 2. Tasya ha Prajāpater ardham eva martyam āsīd ardham amṛitam | tad yad asya martyam āsīt tena mṛityor abibhet | sa vibhyad imām prāviśad dvayam bhūtvā mṛichcha āpaścha | 3. Sa mṛityur devān abravīt 'kva nu so 'bhūd yo no 'sṛishṭa' iti | 'tvad bibhyad imām prāvikshad' iti | so 'bravīd 'tam vai anvichhāma tam sambharāma na vai aham tam himsishyāmi' iti | tam devāḥ asyāḥ adhi samabharan | yad asya apsv āsīt tāḥ apaḥ samabharann atha yad asyām tīm mṛidam | tad ubhayam sambhṛitya mṛidancha apaścha ishṭakām akurvams tasmād etad ubhayam*

[96] The gods are sometimes mentioned in the Rig-veda (see i. 34, 11; i. 45, 2) as being thirty-three in number. Here is an enumeration of them in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 7, 2: *Ashṭau Vasavaḥ ekādaśa Rudrāḥ dvādaśa Ādityāḥ ime eva dyāvā-pṛithivī trayastriṁśyau | trayastrimśad vai devāḥ Prajāpatiś chatustriṁśaḥ |* "There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, and these two, heaven and earth are the [thirty-second and] thirty-third. There are thirty-three gods, and Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth."

ishṭakā bhavati mṛichcha āpaścha | 4. Tad etāḥ vai asya tāḥ pancha martyās tanvaḥ āsan loma tvaṇ māṁsam asthi majjā atha etāḥ amṛitāḥ mano vāk prāṇāś chakshuḥ śrotram | . . . . . 6. Te devāḥ abruvann 'amṛitam imaṁ karavāma' iti | tasya etābhyām amṛitābhyaṁ tanūbhyām etam martyām tanūm parigṛihya amṛitām akurvann ityādi . . . . | 7. . . . . tato vai Prajāpatir amṛito 'bhavat . . . | . . .

x. 1, 4, 1.—*Ubhayaṁ ha etad agre Prajāpatir āsa martyaṁ chaiva amṛitancha | tasya prāṇāḥ eva amṛitāḥ āsuḥ śarīraṁ martyam | sa etena karmaṇā etayā āvṛitā ekadhā 'jaram amṛitam ātmānam akuruta |*

"Prajâpati produced creatures. From his upper breaths he formed the gods, and from his lower breaths mortal creatures. After the creatures he created Death the devourer. 2, Of this Prajâpati, half was mortal, and half immortal. With that part of him which was mortal, he was afraid of Death.[97] Fearing, he entered this [earth], having become two things, earth and water. 3. Death said to the gods, 'what has become of him who created us?' [They answered], 'fearing you, he has entered this earth.' Death said, 'let us search for, and collect him. I will not kill him.' The gods then collected him on this [earth]. The part of him which was in the waters, they collected those waters, and the part which was in this [earth], they [collected] that earth. Having collected both of these, the earth and the waters, they made a brick. Hence these two things make a brick, viz. earth and water. 4. Then these five parts of him were mortal, hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow; and these immortal, mind, voice, breath, eye, ear. . . . . 6. The gods said, 'let us make him immortal.' So [saying], having surrounded this mortal part with these immortal parts, they made it immortal . . . . . thence Prajâpati became immortal . . . ."

x. 1, 4, 1.—"Prajâpati was formerly both of these two things, mortal and immortal. His breaths were immortal, and his body mortal. By this rite, by this ceremonial, he made himself uniformly undecaying and immortal."

Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa x. 4, 4, 1: *Prajāpatiṁ vai prajāḥ sṛijamānam pāpmā mṛityur abhipaṛijaghāna | sa tapo 'tapyata sahasraṁ saṁvatsarān pāpmānaṁ vijihāsann ityādi* | "Misery, death, smote Prajâpati when

[97] Comp. Taitt. Sanh. ii. 3, 2, 1. *Devāḥ vai mṛityor abibhayuḥ, te Prajāpatim upādhāvan* | "The gods were afraid of Death: they hastened to Prajâpati," etc. See also Śatap. Br. x. 4, 2, 2, quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 69.

he was creating living beings. He performed austerity for a thousand years, to get free from misery." See the passages to a similar effect, quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 68 ff., and Śatap. Br. xi. 4, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume, p. 349; and further the same Brâhmaṇa, iv. 6, 3, 1: *Prajâpater ha vai prajâḥ sasṛijânasya parvâṇi visasraṁsuḥ:* "As Prajâpati was creating living beings, his joints became relaxed," etc.

The next extracts tell how the gods acquired immortality; and the first of them also informs us of a means whereby men may become immortal, after the decay of their bodies.[98]

Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, x. 4, 3, 1 ff. (p. 787): *Esha vai mṛityur yat sâmvatsaraḥ | Esha hi martyânâm aho-râtrâbhyâm âyuḥ kshiṇoty atha mriyante tasmâd esha eva mṛityuḥ | sa yo ha etam mṛityuṁ saṁvatsaraṁ veda na ha asya esha purâ jaraso 'ho-râtrâbhyâm âyuḥ kshiṇoti sarvaṁ ha eva âyur eti | 2. Esha eva antakaḥ | esha hi martyânâm aho-râtrâbhyâm âyusho 'ntaṁ gachhaty*[99] *atha mriyante | tasmâd esha eva antakaḥ | sa yo ha etam antakaṁ mṛityuṁ saṁvatsaraṁ veda na ha asya esha purâ jaraso 'ho-râtrâbhyâm âyusho 'ntaṁ gachhati sarvaṁ ha eva âyur eti | 3. Te devâḥ etasmâd antakâd mṛityoḥ saṁvatsarât Prajâpater bibhayânchakrur 'yad vai no 'yam aho-râtrâbhyâm âyusho 'ntaṁ na gachhed' iti | 4. Te etân yajnakratûṁs tenire 'gnihotraṁ darśa-pûrṇamâsau châturmâsyâni paśubandhaṁ saumyam adhvaram | te etair yajna-kratubhir yajamânâḥ na amṛitatvam ânaśire | 5. Te ha apy Agniṁ chikyire | te 'parimitâḥ eva pariśritaḥ upadadhur aparimitâḥ yajushmatîr aparimitâḥ lokampṛiṇâḥ yathâ idam apy etarhy eke upadadhati iti devâḥ akurvann iti te ha na eva amṛitatvam ânaśire | 6. Te 'rchantaḥ śrâmyantaś cherur amṛitatvam avarurutsamânâḥ | tân ha Prajâpatir uvâcha 'na vai me sarvâṇi rûpâṇy upadhattha ati vâ eva rechayatha na vâ 'bhyâpayatha tasmâd na amṛitâḥ bhavatha' iti | 7. Te ha ûchuḥ | 'tebhyo vai nas tvam eva tad brûhi yathâ te sarvâṇi rûpâṇy upadadhâma' iti | 8. Sa ha uvâcha shashṭiṁ cha trîṇi cha śatâni pariśritaḥ upadhatta shashṭiṁ cha trîṇi cha śatâni yajushmatîr adhi shaṭ-triṁśatam atha lokampṛiṇâḥ daśa*

[98] Comp. S'atap. Br. ix. 5, 1, 1 ff., quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 14, note; and the same Brâhmaṇa ix. 3, 3, 2. In S'atap. Br. x. 3, 5, 13, happiness, or gladness, is said to be the soul or essence of all the gods (*ânandâtmâno ha eva sarve devâḥ*).

[99] *Gachhati=gamayati* | Comm.

cha sahasrāṇy ashṭau cha śatāny upadhatta atha me sarvāṇi rūpāṇy upadhāsyatha atha amṛitāḥ bhavishyatha' iti | te ha tathā devāḥ upadadhus tato devāḥ amṛitāḥ āsuḥ | 9. Sa mṛityur devān abravīd 'ittham eva sarve manushyāḥ amṛitāḥ bhavishyanty atha ko mahyam bhāgo bhavishyati' iti | te ha ūchur 'na ato 'paraḥ kaśchana saha śarīreṇa amṛito 'sad. yadā eva tvam etam bhāgam harāsai | atha vyāvṛitya śarīreṇa [śarīram vihāya, Comm.] amṛito 'sad yo 'mṛito 'sad vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā' iti | yad vai tad abruvan 'vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā' ity eshā ha eva sā vidyā yad Agnir etad u ha eva tat karma yad Agniḥ | 10. Te ye evam etad vidur ye vā etat karma kurvate mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti | te sambhavantaḥ eva amṛitatvam abhi sambhavanti | atha ye evaṁ na vidur ye vā etat karma na kurvate mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti te etasya eva annam punaḥ punar bhavanti |

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 787.—"It is this year which is death; for it wears away the life of mortals by days and nights, and then they die; wherefore it is it which is death. Whoso knows this death [which is] the year,—it does not wear away his life by days and nights before [the time of] his decay: he lives through his whole life. 2. This [the year] is the ender; for it by days and nights brings on the end of the life of mortals, and then they die: hence it is the ender. Whosoever knows this ender, death, the year, it does not by days and nights bring on the end of his life, before his decay: he lives through his whole life. 3. The gods were afraid of this ender, death, the year [which is] Prajāpati, 'lest he should by days and nights bring on the end of our life.' 4. They performed these rites of sacrifice, viz. the agnihotra, the darśa and pūrṇamāsa, the chāturmāsyas (oblations offered at intervals of four months), the paśubandha, and the saumya adhvara: but sacrificing with these rites they did not attain immortality. 5. They moreover kindled sacrificial fires; they celebrated pariśrits, yajushmatīs, lokampṛiṇās, without definite measure, as some even now[100] celebrate them. So did the gods, but they did not attain immortality. 6. They went on worshipping and toiling, seeking to acquire immortality. Prajāpati said to them, 'Ye do not celebrate all my forms; ye either carry them to excess, or ye do not fully carry them out; hence ye do not become

[100] This seems to be a polemical hit aimed by the author of the Brāhmaṇa at some contemporaries who followed a different ritual from himself.

immortal.' 7. They said, 'Tell us how we may celebrate all thy forms.' 8. He said, 'Perform 63 hundred pariśrits, 63 hundred and 36 yajushmatīs, and 10 thousand 8 hundred lokampriṇās: ye shall then celebrate all my forms, and shall become immortal.' The gods celebrated accordingly, and then they became immortal. 9. Death said to the gods, 'In the same way all men will become immortal, and then what portion shall remain to me?' They said, 'No other person shall henceforward become immortal with his body, when thou shalt seize this portion [the body]: then every one who is to become immortal through knowledge or work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said, 'through knowledge or work,' this is that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni. 10. Those who so know this, or those who perform this work, are born again after death; and from the fact of being born, they are born for immortality. And those who do not so know, or those who do not perform this work, and are born again after death, become again and again his (death's) food."

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. i. 2, 12.—*Martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ asuḥ | sa yadā eva te saṁvatsaram āpur atha amṛitāḥ āsuḥ | sarvaṁ vai saṁvatsaraḥ | sarvaṁ vai akshayyam | etena u ha asya akshayyaṁ sukṛitam bhavaty akshayyo lokaḥ |* "The gods were originally mortal.[101] When they obtained the year, they became immortal. The year is all: all is undecaying: by it a man obtains undecaying welfare, an undecaying world."

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 6.—*Martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ āsuḥ | sa yadā eva te Brahmaṇā "pur* (*vyāptāḥ*, Comm.) *atha amṛitāḥ āsuḥ |* "The gods were originally mortal. When they were pervaded by Brahma, they became immortal" (see the context of this passage in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 388). Comp. Taitt. Br., iii. 10, 9, 1, quoted in the first vol. of this work, p. 71.

The following story describes how the gods became distinguished from, and superior to, the Asuras. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 5, 1, 12 ff. (p. 741).—*Devāścha Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ Prajāpateḥ pitur*

[101] See Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 2, 2, 8, quoted in the second volume of this work, p. 388, note 36, for another legend on this same subject, in which the gods are said to have become immortal by another means.

dāyam[102] *upeyur vācham eva satyānṛite satyanchaiva anṛitancha | te ubhaye eva satyam avadann ubhaye 'nṛitam | te ha sadṛiśaṁ vadantaḥ sadṛiśāḥ eva āsuḥ | 13. Te devāḥ utsṛijya anṛitaṁ satyam anvālebhire | asurāḥ u ha utsṛijya satyam anṛitam anvālebhire | 14. Tad ha idaṁ satyam īkshānchakre yad asureshv āsa 'devāḥ vai utsṛijya anṛitaṁ satyam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti tad devān ājagāma | 15. Anṛitam u ha ikshānchakre yad deveshv āsa 'asurāḥ vai utsṛijya satyam anṛitam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti tad asurān ājagāma | 16. Te devāḥ sarvaṁ satyam avadan sarvam asurāḥ anṛitam | te devā āsakti*[103] *satyaṁ vadantaḥ aishāvīratarāḥ iva āsur anādhyatarāḥ iva | tasmād u ha etad yaḥ āsakti satyaṁ vadaty aishāvīrataraḥ iva eva bhavaty anādhyataraḥ iva | sa ha tv eva antato bhavati*[104] *devaḥ hy evāntato 'bhavan | 17. Atha ha asurāḥ āsakty anṛitaṁ vadantaḥ ūshaḥ iva pipisur*[105] *ādhyāḥ iva āsuḥ | tasmād u ha etad yaḥ āsakty anṛitaṁ vadaty ūshaḥ iva eva pisyaty ādhyaḥ iva bhavati parā ha tv eva antato bhavati parā hy asurāḥ abhavan | tad yat tat satyaṁ trayī sā vidyā | te devāḥ abruvan 'yajnam kṛitvā idaṁ satyaṁ tanavāmahai' | . . . . . 27. Teshu preteshu tṛitīya-savanam atanvata | tat samasthāpayan | yat samasthāpayaṁs tat sarvaṁ satyam āpnuvaṁs tato 'surāḥ apapupruvire | tato devāḥ abhavan parā 'surāḥ | bhavaty ātmanā parā 'sya dvishan bhrātṛivyo bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda |*

"The gods and Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpati,[106] obtained their father Prajāpati's inheritance, speech, true and false, both truth

[102] Compare S'atap. Br., i. 7, 2, 22.

[103] *Āsakti satyam | kevalaṁ satyam* | Comm.

[104] Some such preposition as *abhi* might appear to be wanted here; but Dr. Aufrecht suggests to me that *bhavati* may be taken in a pregnant sense as meaning, "he really exists, continues, or prevails." Compare the words at the close of the 27th paragraph of this passage.

[105] I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me another passage of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa where the word *pisyati* occurs, and which throws light on the one before us. The passage in question occurs in pp. 71, 72, of the Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 18: *Pesukaṁ vai vāstu pisyati ha prajayā paśubhir yasya evaṁ vidusho 'nushṭubhau bhavataḥ* | "His house becomes flourishing, he increases in progeny and cattle,—that man who, when he knows this, has the two *anushtubhs*." The commentator explains the word *pesukam* as equal to *abhivardhana-śīlam*, "whose nature is to increase," and *pisyati* as meaning *ativriddho bhavati*, "he becomes exceedingly augmented."

[106] Comp. Taitt. Br. i. 4, 1, 1. *Ubhaye vai ete Prajāpater adhy asṛijyanta devās cha asurās cha | tān na vyajānād "ime anye ime anye" iti* | "Gods and Asuras were both created from Prajāpati. He could not distinguish the one as different from the other."

and falsehood. They both spoke truth, and both [spoke] falsehood. Speaking alike, they were alike. 13. Then the gods, abandoning falsehood, adopted truth; while the Asuras, abandoning truth, adopted falsehood. 14. The truth which had been in the Asuras perceived this, 'the gods, abandoning falsehood, have adopted truth; let me go to it.' So [saying, truth] came to the gods. 15. Then the falsehood which had been in the gods perceived, 'the Asuras, abandoning truth, have adopted falsehood; let me go to it.' So [saying, falsehood] came to the Asuras. 16. The gods [then] spoke entirely truth, and the Asuras entirely falsehood. Speaking truth exclusively (or devotedly), the gods became, as it were, weaker, and, as it were, poorer. Hence it happens that the man who speaks exclusively truth becomes, as it were, weaker and poorer; but in the end he becomes [prosperous], for the gods became so in the end. 17. Then the Asuras, speaking exclusively falsehood, increased like saline earth, and became, as it were, rich. Hence it happens that he who speaks exclusively falsehood increases like saline earth, and becomes, as it were, rich; but succumbs in the end, for the Asuras succumbed. That which is truth is the triple science' (the three Vedas). Then the gods said, 'Let us, after performing sacrifice, celebrate this truth.'" The gods then performed a variety of sacrifices, which were always interrupted by the arrival of the Asuras. At length, 27. "When these had gone, they celebrated the third Savana, and accomplished it. Inasmuch as they accomplished it, they found it entirely true. Then the Asuras went away, and the gods became [superior, while] the Asuras were worsted. The man who knows this becomes in his own person superior, and his hater, his enemy, is defeated."

Another story relates to the same subject, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, v. i. 1, 1 (=xi. 1, 8, 1 f.): *Devāś cha vai Asurāś cha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛidhire | tato 'surāḥ atimānena eva "asmin nu vayaṁ juhuyāma" iti sveshv eva āsyeshu juhvataś cheruḥ | te 'timānena eva parābabhūvuḥ | tasmād na atimanyeta | parābhavasya hy etad mukhaṁ yad abhimānaḥ | 2. Atha devāḥ anyo 'nyasmin juhvataś cheruḥ | tebhyaḥ Prajāpatir ātmānam pradadau | yajño 'ha eshām, āsa yajño hi devānām annam |* "The gods and Asuras, both of them the offspring of Prajāpati, strove together. Then the Asuras, asking themselves to whom they should offer their oblations, through presumption went on placing them in

their own mouths;[107] and in consequence of this their presumption they were overcome. Wherefore let no one be presumptuous; for presumption leads to defeat. 2. The gods went on offering their oblations to one another. Prajāpati gave himself to them; sacrifice became theirs; for sacrifice supplies the food of the gods."[108]

The following is from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2, 9, 6 f.: *Asurāṇāṁ vai iyam agre āsīt | yāvad āsīnaḥ parāpaśyati tāvad devānām | te devāḥ abruvan "astv eva no 'yam api" iti "kyaṁ no dāsyatha" iti | "yāvat svayam parigṛihṇītha" iti |* "This [earth] formerly belonged to the Asuras. The gods had only as much as any one can see while sitting. The gods said to them, 'Let us also have a share in it. What will you give us?' 'As much as you yourselves can encompass.'" The different classes of gods then encompassed it on four sides.[109]

The next legend explains how inequality was introduced among the gods. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 4, 1 (p. 397 f.).—*Sarve ha vai devāḥ agre sadṛiśāḥ āsuḥ sarve puṇyāḥ | teshāṁ sarveshāṁ sadṛiśānāṁ sarveshām puṇyānāṁ trayo 'kāmayanta 'atishṭhāvānaḥ syāma' ity Agnir Indraḥ Sūryaḥ | 2. Te 'rchantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ | te etān atigrāhyān dadṛiśus tān atyagṛihṇata | tad yad enān atyagṛihṇata tasmād atigrāhyāḥ nāma | te 'tishṭhāvāno 'bhavan | yathā te etad atishṭhā iva atishṭhā iva ha vai bhavati yasya evaṁ vidushaḥ etān grahān gṛihṇanti | 3. No ha vai idam agre 'gnau varchaḥ āsa yad idam asmin varchaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi varchaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agṛihṇīta tato 'sminn etad varchaḥ āsa | 4. No ha vai idam agre Indre ojaḥ āsa yad idam asminn ojaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayy ojaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agṛihṇīta tato 'sminn etad ojaḥ āsa | 5. No ha vai idam agre sūrye bhrājaḥ āsa yad idam asmin bhrājaḥ | so 'kāmayata 'idam mayi bhrājaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agṛihṇīta tato 'sminn etad bhrājaḥ āsa | etāni ha vai tejāṁsy etāni vīryāṇy ātman dhatte yasya evaṁ vidushaḥ etān grahān gṛihṇanti |*

"Originally the gods were all alike, all pure. Of them, being all alike, all pure, three desired: 'May we become superior,' viz. Agni, Indra, and Sūrya (the sun). 2. They went on worshipping and toiling.

[107] Comp. the words *ye adhi śuptāv ajuhvata*, R. V. i. 51, 5; and Sāyaṇa's comment thereon.

[108] Comp. S'atap. Br. xi. 3, 2, 1: *Sarveshāṁ vai eshaḥ bhūtānāṁ sarveshāṁ devānām ātmā yad yajnaḥ |* "Sacrifice is the soul of all beings, of all the gods."

[109] Comp. S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 6, 2, 11; vi. 6, 3, 2; xi. 2, 7, 26.

They saw these atigrāhyas;[110] they offered them over and above. Because they did so, these draughts (or cups) were called atigrāhyas. They became superior. As they [became] thus, as it were, superior, so superiority is, as it were, acquired by the man, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these grahas (draughts, or cups). 3. Originally there was not in Agni the same flame, as this flame which is [now] in him. He desired: 'May this flame be in me.' He saw this graha, he took it; and hence there became this flame in him. 4. Originally there was not in Indra the same vigour, etc., etc. [as in para. 3]. 5. Originally there was not in Sūrya the same lustre, etc., etc. [the same as in para. 3]. That man has in himself these forces, these energies, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these grahas."

[110] By this name are called "three particular grahas, or sacrificial vessels, with which libations were made in the Jyotishṭoma sacrifice to Agni, Indra, and Sūrya." Prof. Goldstücker's Dict. The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth, as meaning "*haustus insuper hauriendus*," a draught to be drunk over and above; the designation of three fillings of the cup, which are drawn at the Soma offering.

CHAPTER II.

VISHṆU, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, THE BRĀHMAṆAS, THE IṬIHĀSAS, AND THE PURĀṆAS.

SECT. I.—*Passages in the Hymns of the Ṛig-veda relating to Vishṇu.*

R. V. i. 22, 16 ff.: 16 (=S. V. 2, 1024). *Ato devāḥ avantu no yato Vishṇur vichakrame | pṛithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ* | 17 (=S. V. i. 222; Vāj. S. 5, 15; A. V. 7, 26, 4). *Idaṁ Vishṇur vichakrame tredhā nidadhe padam | samūḷham asya pāṁsure* [*pāṁsule* | S. V.] 18 (=S. V. 2, 1020; Vāj. S. 34, 43; A. V. 7, 26, 5). *Trīṇi padā vichakrame Vishṇur gopāḥ adābhyaḥ | ato dharmāṇi dhārayan* | 19 (=S. V. 2, 1021; Vāj. S. 6, 4; A. V. 7, 26, 6). *Vishṇoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāni paspaśe | Indrasya yujyaḥ*[1] *sakhā* | 20 (=S. V. 2, 1022; Vāj. S. 6, 5; A. V. 7, 26, 7). *Tad Vishṇoḥ paramam padaṁ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ | divīva chakshur ātatam* | 21 (=S. V. 2, 1023; Vāj. S. 34, 44). *Tad viprāso vipanyavo jāgṛivāṁsaḥ samindhate | Vishṇor yat paramam padam* |

16. "May the gods preserve us from the place from which Vishṇu strode[2] over the seven regions of the earth.[3] 17. Vishṇu strode over this [universe]; in three places he planted his step: [the world, or

[1] *Yujyo vā sakhā vā*, R. V. ii. 28, 10; *yuj*, i. 10, 9; *yujyāya*, ix. 66, 18.

[2] Mbh. S'ānti-Parva, v. 13171: *Kramaṇāch chāpy aham Pārtha Vishṇur ity abhisaṁjñitaḥ* | "And from striding, O son of Pṛithā, I am called Vishṇu." The A. V. ix. 6, 29, speaks of the steps of Prajāpati being imitated by his worshipper (*Prajāpater vai esha vikramān anuvikramate yaḥ upaharati*).

[3] Instead of the words *pṛithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ*, the Sāma-veda reads, *pṛithivyāḥ adhi sānavi*: "over the surface of the earth." This verse, as well as the following ones, is rendered by Professor Benfey, in his translation of the Sāma-veda, as well as in his "Orient und Occident," i. 30. He understands the place from which Vishṇu strides to be the sun, referring to verse 20. For the sense given by Sāyaṇa to this and the following verses, see Wilson's translation of the Ṛig-veda and notes *in loco*. Compare also Rosen's Latin version.

his step, was] enveloped in his dust.[4] 18. Vishṇu, the unconquerable[5] preserver, strode three steps, thereby maintaining fixed ordinances. 19. Behold the acts of Vishṇu, through which this intimate friend of Indra perceived[6] established laws. 20. Sages constantly behold that highest position of Vishṇu, like an eye fixed in the sky. 21. Wise men, singing praises, and ever wakeful, light up[7] [by the power of their hymns?] that which is the highest station of Vishṇu."

The 17th verse of this hymn is quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 19;[8] where we have the following explanations of its purport, derived by Yāska from two older writers:—

Yad idaṁ kincha tad vikramate Vishṇuḥ | tridhā nidhatte padam | 'tredhā-bhāvāya pṛithivyāṁ 'ntarikshe divi' iti Śākapūṇiḥ | 'samārohāne vishṇupade gayaśirasi' ity Aurṇavābhaḥ | 'samūḍham asya pāṁsure' | pyāyane 'ntarikshe padaṁ na dṛiśyate | apivā upamārthe syāt | saṁūḍham asya pāṁsule iva padaṁ na dṛiśyate ityādi |

"Vishṇu strides over this, whatever exists. He plants his step in a three-fold manner,—i.e. 'for a three-fold existence, on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' according to Śākapūṇi; or, 'on the hill where he rises, on the meridian, and on the hill where he sets,' according to Aurṇavābha. '*Samūḍham asya pāṁsure*,' i.e. his step is

[4] According to Benfey, translation of S. V., p. 223, note, this phrase, the world is veiled in Vishṇu's dust, means, it is subjected to him. In his "Orient und Occident," he explains it thus: "he is so mighty that the dust which his tread raises, fills the whole earth." Can this dust be understood of the dazzling brightness of the sun's rays, surrounding his progress, and obscuring his disc from the view of the observer? The prophet Nahum says, i. 3, "The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet."

[5] *Adābhya* may also mean "who cannot be deceived." The idea of Vishṇu being pre-eminently the preserver of the universe, which became current in later times, may possibly have been derived from this verse.

[6] Sāyaṇa gives to the root *spaś* the sense of "hindering," or "touching." Benfey, in his S. V., renders *paspaśe* by "received," and, in the "Orient und Occident," by "firmly fixed." The sense, he says, is this: "Look to the sun, where the terminus lies from which Vishṇu started (verses 16, 21), and in which all the powers which work in nature have their source." Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 138 f., thinks that the sense of "beholding" is suitable in all the texts where forms of the root *spaś* occur in the R. V.

[7] Benfey renders *samindhate* "glorify." The commentator on the Vāj. S. 34, 44, makes it *dīpayante = upāsate*. Roth, under the word, explains "they kindle [Agni?] when Vishṇu is in his highest position."

[8] Formerly cited in part in the second volume of this work.

not seen in that prolific region, the atmosphere (*pyāyane antarikshe*): or the phrase may be metaphorical, 'enveloped in his dust, as it were, his step is not seen," etc.

The following is the comment of Durgāchārya[9] on this passage of the Nirukta:

Vishṇur Ādityaḥ | Katham iti yataḥ āha 'tredhā nidadhe padam' nidhatte padaṁ nidhānam padaiḥ | kva tat tāvat | 'pṛithivyām antarikshe divi' iti Śākapūṇiḥ | pārthivo 'gnir bhūtvā pṛithivyāṁ yat kinchid asti tad vikramate tad adhitishṭhati | antarikshe vaidyutātmanā | divi suryātmanā | yad uktam 'taṁ ū akṛiṇvan tredhā bhuve kam' (R. V. x. 88, 10) *iti | 'samārohaṇe' udaya-girāv udyan padam ekaṁ nidhatte | 'vishṇupade' madhyandine 'ntarikshe | 'gayasirasy' astaṁgirāv ity Aurṇavābhaḥ āchāryo manyate |*

"Vishṇu is the sun [Āditya].[10] How so? Because [the hymn] says, 'in three places he planted his step'; i.e. plants his step, [makes] a planting with his steps. Where, then, is this done? 'On the earth, in the firmament, and in the sky,' according to Śākapūṇi. Becoming terrestrial fire, he strides over,—abides in, whatever there is, on earth; in the shape of lightning, in the firmament; and in the form of the sun, in the sky. As it is said (in the R. V. x. 88, 10), 'They made him to become threefold." Aurṇavābha Āchārya thinks [the meaning is] this, 'He plants one foot on the 'samārohaṇa' (place of rising), when mounting over the hill of ascension; [another] on the 'vishṇupada,' the meridian sky; [a third] on the 'gayaśiras,' the hill of setting." [11]

It thus appears from the statement of Yāska that the two old writers whom he quotes had proposed two different interpretations of Vishṇu's steps.

First: Śākapūṇi thought that the triple manifestation of the god, in the form of fire on earth, of lightning in the atmosphere, and of the solar light in the sky, was intended in the hymn. This threefold distribution of divine agency is thus referred to in another interesting passage of the Nirukta, vii. 5:

[9] Already quoted in the second volume of this work.

[10] The Atharvaveda, v. 26, 7 has the following reference to Vishṇu: *Vishṇur yunaktu bahudhā tapāṁsi asmin yajne suyujaḥ sṛūhā |*

[11] See Appendix B.

Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ iti Nairuktāḥ Agniḥ pṛithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntariksha-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyāḥ api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-pṛithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvaryur brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā pṛithag eva syuḥ | pṛithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni ityādi |

"There are only three deities, according to the Nairuktas (etymologists), Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya, whose place is in the sky. These [deities] each receive many designations, in consequence of their greatness,[12] or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] hotṛi, adhvaryu, brahman, and udgātṛi are applied to one and the same person. Or [the gods in question] may all be distinct, for distinct hymns and appellations are addressed to them," etc.[13]

According to Sākapūṇi, therefore, Vishṇu would be the god who is manifested in a three-fold form on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky.

Secondly: Aurṇavābha interprets the passage differently. He understands the three steps of Vishṇu, not of fire, lightning, and solar light, but of the different positions of the sun at his rising, his culmination, and his setting.[14] According to him, therefore, Vishṇu is simply the sun.

Sāyaṇa (see Professor Wilson's translation, p. 53, note) understands this passage as referring to the three steps of Vishṇu in his "Dwarf incarnation," of which I shall supply details further on. The commentator on the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā annotates thus on 5, 15 (=verse 17 of the hymn before us):

Vishṇus trivikramāvatāraṁ kṛitvā idaṁ viśvaṁ vichakrame vibhajya kramate sma | tad eva āha | tredhā padaṁ nidadhe bhumāv ekam padam

[12] Καὶ Ταῖα πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία, Æschylus Prom. Vinct. v. 217.

[13] In a previous part of this passage, vii. 4, it is said, *Mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ ekaḥ ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmano 'nye devāḥ pratyangāni bhavanti* | "From the greatness of the Deity the one Soul is celebrated in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul," etc. Compare Mr. Colebrooke's Essays, i. 26 f.; or p. 12 f. of W. and N.'s ed. It appears from an advertisement in No. 75 of *Trübner's American and Oriental Literary Record*, that these Essays are being reprinted under the editorship of Prof. E. B. Cowell. (August, 1872.)

[14] This is the view taken by Prof. Max Müller: "This stepping of Vishṇu is emblematic of the rising, the culminating, and the setting of the sun," etc. Trans. of R. V., vol. i., p. 117.

antarikshe dvitīyaṁ divi tṛitīyam iti 'kramād Agni-Vāyu-Sūrya-rupeṇa ity arthaḥ |

"Vishṇu, becoming incarnate as Trivikrama (the god who stepped thrice), strode over,—i.e. stepped by separate strides over,—this whole [universe]. It is this that [the ṛishi] expresses [in the words], 'In three places he planted his step,' i.e. one step on the earth, a second in the atmosphere, and a third in the sky: in the successive forms of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya."

The commentator here combines the view that the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu is referred to in the hymn, with the conception that his different steps on the earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky, were taken in the successive characters of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, which is the interpretation of Sākapūṇi, as explained by Durga. There is no trace in the words either of Sākapūṇi, or of Aurṇavābha, as handed down by Yāska, of any allusion to such a Trivikrama incarnation of Vishṇu.[15]

I proceed to quote in order from the Rig-veda further texts relative to Vishṇu.

R. V. i. 61, 7: *Asyed u mātuḥ savaneshu sadyo mahaḥ pitum papivān chāru annā* | *mushāyad Vishnuḥ pachataṁ sahīyān vidhyad varāhaṁ tiro adriṁ astā*—"Having at the libations of that great measurer [of the worlds, *i.e.* Indra], drunk the potion, and [eaten] the pleasant oblations, the impetuous Vishṇu straightway stole the cooked mess, pierced the boar and shot through the mountain." See R. V. viii. 66, 10, below, and the quotation from Sāyaṇa's note on that verse.

[15] The Brāhmaṇas, as well as the hymns, contain frequent allusions to the three steps or stations of Vishṇu. See the Śatap. Br. vi. 7, 4, 7 ff.; Taitt. Sanh. i. 7, 5, 4. The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has the following additional reference to them. According to the commentator, the interlocutors in the two verses are the brahman and udgātṛi priests. Vāj. Sanh., xxiii. 49: *Pṛichhāmi tvā chitaye devasakha yadi tvam atra manasā jagantha* | *yeshu Vishṇus treshu padeshu eshṭas teshu viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa* | 50 | *Api teshu trishu padeshu asmi yeshu viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa* | *sadyaḥ paryemi pṛithivīm uṭa dyām ekenāṅgena divo asya pṛishṭham* | "I ask thee, friend of the gods, that I may know, if thou by thy mind hast reached so far,—did Vishṇu, in the three steps (or spheres) in which he is worshipped, pervade the entire universe? | 50. I am even in those three steps by which he pervaded the entire universe. Straightway I move around the earth and heaven; with one member, (I move) over the surface of this sky."

R. V. i. 85, 7: *Te avardhanta sva-tavaso mahitvanā ā nākaṁ tasthur uru chakrire sadaḥ | Vishṇur yad ha āvad vṛishaṇam mada-chyutaṁ vayo na sīdann adhi barhishi priye |*

"They (the Maruts), strong in themselves, increased in greatness. They ascended to heaven, and have made [for themselves] a spacious abode. When Vishṇu assisted the hero [Indra?] who humbles pride,[16] they sat down like birds on the sacrificial grass which they love."

R. V. i. 90, 5, 9.—*Uta no dhiyo go-agrāḥ Pūshan Vishṇo eva-yāvaḥ | karta naḥ svastimataḥ | 9. śaṁ no Mitraḥ śam Varuṇaḥ śaṁ no bhavatu Aryamā | śaṁ naḥ Indro Bṛihaspatiḥ śaṁ no Vishṇur urukramaḥ |*

5. "Pūshan, Vishṇu, swift goer, make our prayers to bring us cattle and other possessions: make us prosperous. . . . . 9. May Mitra, may Varuṇa, may Aryaman, may Indra, may Bṛihaspati, may the wide-striding Vishṇu, all grant us prosperity."

I now come to a hymn which, with the exception of the last verse (where two gods are alluded to), is devoted exclusively to the celebration of Vishṇu's praises.

R. V. 1, 154 (=Vāj. S. 5, 18; A. V. 7, 26, 1).—*Vishṇor nu kaṁ*

[16] Though the commentator *in loco* renders *mada-chyutam* by *madasya harshasya āsektāram*, "dispenser of exhilaration" he interprets it in his note on R. V. i. 51, 2—where it is an epithet of Indra—by *śatrūṇām madasya garvasya chyāvayitāram*, "who brings down the pride of his enemies." In R. V., viii. 1, 21, the word *madachyut* is again applied to Indra, and in R. V. viii. 85, 5, to his thunderbolt. [I leave my translation to stand as it was in the first edition. Benfey, however, "Orient und Occident," ii. 248, renders the clause about Vishṇu thus: "When Vishṇu protects the dropping (Soma) who distils intoxication," and refers to a paper of his own in the Gött. Gel. Anzeigen regarding the relation of Vishṇu to Soma. In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon the word *madachyut*, as it is to be understood in this passage, is translated "delightful," "gladdening," "inspiring." Prof. Müller, Translation of R. V., vol. i., renders the clause, "When Vishṇu descried the enrapturing Soma." In his note, p. 116, he remarks: "Vishṇu, whose character in the hymns of the Veda is very different from that assumed by him in later periods of Hindu religion, must here be taken as the friend and companion of Indra." After quoting various texts about the two gods, he adds, "The mention of Vishṇu in our hymn is therefore by no means exceptional, but the whole purport of this verse is nevertheless very doubtful, chiefly owing to the fact that several of the words occurring in it lend themselves to different interpretations." He says, p. 118, that "bringing down pride" is a meaning which the word madachyut clearly has not in the Veda. When applied to the thunderbolt, he says it ought to be rendered "wildly rushing down"; and when referred to Indra, his horses, or the Aśvins, or to horses in general, he would translate it by "furiously or wildly moving about."]

vīryāṇi pravocham[17] *yaḥ pārthivāni vimame rajāṁsi | yo askabhāyad uttaraṁ sadhasthaṁ vichakramāṇas tredhā urugāyaḥ* | 2. (=A. V. 7, 26, 2, 3; Nir. 1, 20): *Pra tad Vishṇuḥ stavate vīryeṇa mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ*[18] | *yasyorushu trishu vikramaṇeshu adhikshiyanti bhuvanāni viśvā* | 3. *Pra Vishṇave śūsham etu manma girikshite urugāyāya*[19] *vṛishṇe | yaḥ idaṁ dīrgham prayataṁ sadhastham eko vimame tribhir it padebhiḥ* | 4. *Yasya tri pūrṇā madhunā padāni akshīyamāṇā svadhayā madanti | yaḥ u tridhātu pṛithivīm uta dyām eko dādhāra bhuvanāni viśvā* | 5. *Tad asya priyam abhi pātho* (R. V. iii. 55, 10) *aśyāṁ naro yatra devayavo madanti | urukramasya sa hi bandhur itthā Vishṇoḥ pade parame madhvaḥ utsaḥ* | 6. (Vāj. S. 6, 3; Nir. 2, 7): *Tā vāṁ vāstūni uśmasi gamadhyai yatra gāvo bhūri-śṛingāḥ ayāsaḥ | atrāha tad urugāyasya vṛishṇaḥ paramam padam ava bhāti bhūri* |

"I declare the heroic deeds of Vishṇu, who traversed the mundane regions, who established the upper sphere, striding thrice, the wide-stepping. 2. Therefore is Vishṇu celebrated for his prowess, terrible like a wild beast, destructive, abiding in the mountains [or, clouds, if this be an epithet of the god]; he within [the range of] whose three vast paces all the worlds abide. 3. Let my inspiriting hymn proceed to Vishṇu, the dweller in the [aerial] mountains, the wide-stepping, the vigorous, who alone traversed with three steps this wide, extended firmament;—4. Whose three [steps, or] stations, replenished with

[17] The same form of expression occurs in a hymn to Indra (R. V. i. 32, 1), *Indrasya nu vīryāṇi pravocham*, etc. Compare R. V., ii. 15, 1.

[18] On this verse the Nirukta remarks: "*Kucharaḥ*" *iti charati karma kutsitam| atha ched devatābhidhānaṁ kva ayaṁ na charati iti | girishṭhāḥ giristhāyī giriḥ parvataḥ . . . . tat-prakṛiti itarat sandhi-sāmānyād megha-sthāyī megho 'pi girir etasmād eva* | "'*Kuchara*,' is one who does (*charati*) a blamable action. If the word be a designation of the god, it will mean 'where does he not go?' '*Girishṭhāḥ*' means 'abiding in the mountains;' for *giri* means 'mountain.'" . . . . The author then gives various etymologies of the word *parvata*, "mountain," one of which is that it is derived from *parvan*, "a joint"; and then proceeds: "From this sense is derived another (owing to the idea of joint being common to both), viz., that of 'abiding in the clouds,' for a cloud also is called *giri* for the same reason." See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 17. The same comparison, *mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ*, is applied to Indra in R. V., x. 180, 2 (=S. V., ii. 1223, and A. V. 7, 84, 3). Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v.*, think the word *Kuchara* may signify "slowly-moving," "slinking." The word *mṛiga* is applied to Varuṇa in R. V. vii. 87, 6.

[19] *Urugāyasya=pṛithu-gamanasya adhikastuter vā.*—Sāyaṇa on R. V. iii. 6, 4. *Urugāyasya=mahāgateḥ.*—Nir. ii. 7.

honey, imperishable, gladden us with food; who alone hath triply sustained the universe, the earth, and the sky, [yea] all the worlds. 5. May I attain to that beloved heaven of his, where men devoted to the gods rejoice; for (such a friend is he) there is a spring of honey in the highest abode of the wide-stepping Vishṇu. 6. We yearn to attain to those abodes of you twain, where the many-horned and swiftly-moving cows abide. Here that supreme abode of the wide-stepping, vigorous [god] shines intensely forth."

I shall quote a portion of the explanation Sāyaṇa gives of the words *pārthivāni rajāṁsi*, in the first verse of the preceding hymn: *Yo Vishṇuḥ pārthivāni pṛithivī-sambandhīni rajāṁsi ranjanātmakāni kshity-ādi-loka-trayābhimānīny Agni-Vāyv-Āditya-rūpāṇi rajāṁsi vimame viśeshena nirmame | atra trayo lokāḥ api pṛithivī-śabda-vāchyāḥ | tathā cha mantrāntaram* (R. V. i. 108, 9) *'yad Indrāgnī avamasyām pṛithivyām madhyamasyām paramasyām uta stha' iti | Taittirīye 'pi 'yo 'syām pṛithivyām asy āyushā' ity upakramya 'yo dvitīyasyāṁ tṛitīyasyām pṛithivyām' iti | tasmāl lokatrayasya pṛivithī-śabda-vāchyatvam | . . . . yadvā yo Vishṇuḥ pārthivāni pṛithivī-sambandhīni rajāṁsi adhastana-sapta-lokān vimame | . . . . rajaḥ-śabdo lokaḥ-vāchī 'lokāḥ rajāṁsy uchyante' iti Yāskenoktatvāt | . . . . athavā pārthivāni pṛithivī-nimittakāni rajāṁsi lokān vimame | bhūr-ādi-loka-trayam ity arthāḥ | bhūmyām upārjita-kārma-bhogārthatvād itara-lokānāṁ tat-kāraṇatvam |*

"[The meaning is], Vishṇu who formed,—especially constructed,—the terrestrial [regions]; i.e., those connected with *pṛithivī* (the earth),—the regions (*rajāṁsi*),—the things whose nature is to delight (*ranjanātmakāni*),—existing in the form of Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya, who represent the three worlds, the earth, etc. Here all the three worlds are intended to be designated by the term *pṛithivī*. Thus another text [R. V. i. 108, 9] says: 'Whether, Indra and Agni, ye are in the lowest world (*pṛithivī*), in the middle [world], or in the highest,' etc. In the Taittirīya also, [we have the words] beginning with 'thou who with thy life art in this world,' etc.; [and proceeding] 'who in the second, or third world,' etc. Hence the three worlds are intended to be signified by the word *pṛithivī*. . . . Or, [the meaning may be], the Vishṇu who formed the terrestrial [regions], the regions connected with the earth, the seven worlds beneath the earth. The term *rajas* denotes a world, since Yāska says 'worlds are called *rajāṁsi*.' . . . . Or [the

sense may be], he made the terrestrial regions, the worlds caused by the earth, i.e. the three worlds, the earth and the others. For as the other worlds are destined to be enjoyed as the rewards of merit acquired on earth, the latter is the cause of the former."

The following is the passage of the Nirukta, iv. 19, referred to by Sāyaṇa, which gives the meanings of *rajas: Rajo rajateḥ | jyotiḥ rajaḥ uchyate | udakaṁ rajaḥ uchyate | lokāḥ rajāṁsy uchyante | asṛig*[20]*-ahanī rajasī uchyete | 'rajāṁsi chitrāḥ vicharanti tanyavaḥ' ity api nigamo bhavati |*

"*Rajas* is derived from the root *raj*. Light is called *rajas*. Water is called *rajas*. The worlds are called *rajāṁsi*. [Blood and day, or] day and night, are called *rajasī*. There is also a text (R. V. v. 63, 5), 'Brilliant and resounding [the Maruts] sweep over the worlds.'"—See also Nir. x. 44, and xii. 23, and R. V. i. 90, 7.

In R. V. i. 164, 6, mention is made of six worlds (*rājāṁsi*): *vi yas tastambha shaḷ imā rajāṁsi*, "who established these six worlds."

The verb *vimame* cannot, I think, have the meaning, which the commentator assigns to it, of "constructing." It occurs not only in verse 1, of the hymn before us, but in verse 3 also, where it must have the sense of "measuring," or "traversing,"[21] as it could not fitly be said of Vishṇu that he constructed the firmament with three steps. The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ*, "measurer of the world," occurs in R. V. x. 121, 5 (above p. 16), and in R. V. x. 139, 5, quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 260. In R. V. i. 50, 7, the participle *vimimānaḥ* seems to have the same sense: *vi dyām eshi rajas pṛithv ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni sūrya* | "Sun, thou traversest the sky, measuring the broad space (*rajas*), and the days, with thy rays,[22] beholding created things."

The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ* occurs also in R. V. iii. 26, 7 (=Vāj. S. 18, 66), where Agni says of himself that he is *arkas tridhātuḥ rajaso vimānaḥ*[23] | "the threefold light, the measurer of the world," which the commentator explains thus: *tredhā ātmānam vibhajya tatra Vāyv-ātmanā rajaso 'ntarikshasya vimāno vimātā 'dhishṭhāta 'smi* | "Triply

[20] Roth conjectures that the word *asṛik* here is spurious.—Illust. of Nir., p. 46.

[21] See Böhtlingk and Roth *s. v. mā+vi.*

[22] The word *aktubhih* is rendered "nights" by Yāska in his explanation of this passage, Nir. xii. 23, and by the commentator; but the latter explains the same word by *raśmibhiḥ*, "rays," in his annotation on R. V. i. 94, 5.

[23] This verse is explained in a spiritual sense in Nirukta Pariśishṭa ii. 1.

dividing myself, I am, in the character of Vāyu, he who abides in the atmosphere."

Compare, with the phrase before us, Habakkuk iii. 6: "He stood and measured the earth," etc.

I shall adduce one other passage R. V. v. 81, 3 (=Vāj. S. 11, 6), in which the same phrase occurs, where this function of measuring the world is ascribed to Savitṛi (the sun): *Yasya prayāṇam anv anye id yayur devāḥ devasya mahimānam ojasā | yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etaśo rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahitvanā |* "He, the god whose course and whose might the other gods have followed with vigour, who measured [or traversed] the terrestrial regions by his power, this god Savitṛi is a steed."

This text is quoted and commented on in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 3, 1, 18: '*Yasya prayāṇam anv anye id yayur' iti | Prājāpatir vai etad agre karma akarot | tat tato devāḥ akurvan 'devāḥ devasya mahimānam ojasā' iti | yajno vai mahimā | devāḥ devasya yajnaṁ vīryam "ojasā" ity etad | 'yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etaśaḥ' iti | yad vai kincha asyāṁ tat pārthivam tad esha sarvaṁ vimimīte | raśmibhir hy enad abhyavatanoti | 'rajāṁsi devaḥ Savitā mahitvanā' iti | ime vai lokāḥ rajāṁsi | asāv Ādityo devaḥ Savitā | tān esha mahimnā vimimīte |* "'Whose course the other gods have followed.' Prajāpati formerly performed this rite. The gods afterwards did it, [according to the words] 'the gods [followed] his [display of] power with vigour.' Power means sacrifice. This, [then, is said, that] the gods [followed] the sacrifice, the energy, of the god with vigour. 'He who measured out the terrestrial [regions] is a steed.' Whatever is on this [earth] is terrestrial. All this he measures out: for he stretches over [all] this with his rays. 'The god Savitṛi [measured out] the regions by his power.' These worlds are the regions: that Āditya (sun) is the god Savitṛi. He measures them out by his power."

The author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa introduces the words *pārthivāni vimame rajāṁsi*, with a part of R. V. vii. 99, 2, at the close of his account of the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu, assigning to them, however (whether ignorantly, or knowingly), a different meaning from that which they have in the hymn,—Bhāg. Pur. viii. 23, 29: *Pāram mahimnaḥ uru-vikramato gṛiṇāno yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa rajāṁsi martyaḥ| kiṁ jāyamānaḥ uta jātaḥ upaiti martyaḥ ity āha mantradṛig ṛishiḥ puru-*

shasya yasya | "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of this wide-striding (Vishṇu's) greatness, computes the [particles of the] dust of the earth. Can 'the mortal who is being born, or has been born,' attain to it? Thus speaks the ṛishi who saw a hymn regarding this Purusha."

This verse is explained by the commentator thus: *Uru bahu vikramato Vishṇoḥ mahimnaḥ pārañ yo gṛiṇāno bhavati sa martyaḥ pārthivāni rajāñsy api vimame gaṇitavān | yathā pārthiva-paramāṇu-gaṇanam aśakyañ tathā Vishṇor guṇa-gaṇanam aśakyañ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha mantro 'Vishṇor nu kañ vīryāṇi' iti | etad eva mantrāntarārthañ sūchayann āha yasya purushasya pūrṇa-mahimnaḥ pāram mantra-dṛig ṛishir Vasishṭhaḥ ity evam āha | katham | kiñ jāyamāno jāto vā upaiti na ko' pi iti vadann anantatvena eva āha ity arthaḥ | tathā cha mantro 'na te Vishṇo jāyamāno na jāto 'deva mahimnaḥ param antam āpa' iti* | "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of the greatness of the wide-striding Vishṇu, has computed also the particles of the dust of the earth. The meaning is, as the computation of the atoms of the earth is impossible, so also the enumeration of Vishṇu's qualities is impossible. Thus a hymn (R. V. 1, 154) says: 'I declare the heroic deeds of Vishṇu,' etc. Alluding to the sense of another verse (R. V. vii. 99, 2), he says the same thing in these words: 'regarding the utmost limit of the full greatness of which Purusha, Vasishṭha, the seer of the hymn, thus speaks:' How? 'Can any man being born, or already born, attain it?' No one. By this expression he intimates its infinitude. Thus the hymn says: No one who is being born, or has been born, has attained, O divine Vishṇu, to the furthest limit of thy greatness."

The sixth verse of the hymn before us is thus commented on in the Nirukta, ii. 6, 7: *Sarve 'pi raśmayo gāvaḥ uchyante | . . . tāni vāñ vāstūni kāmayāmahe gamanāya yatra gāvo bhūri-śṛiṅgāḥ . . . ayāso 'yanāḥ | tatra tad urugāyasya Vishṇor mahāgateḥ paramam padam parārdhyastham avabhāti bhūri* | "All rays are called *gāvaḥ*." Then, after quoting the verse, the author proceeds to explain it: "We desire to attain to those regions of you two, where are the many-horned cows, . . . the moving. There the highest abode, situated in the loftiest sphere, of that wide-stepping, large-pacing, Vishṇu shines forth brightly."

The verse is rendered thus, by Roth (Illustrations of Nir., p. 19): "May we arrive at your abodes, where the many-horned, moving,

cattle are; for thence shines brilliantly down the highest place of the far-striding Showerer." Roth then proceeds to remark: "This verse occurs in a hymn to Vishṇu; consequently the dual *vām* ['of you two'] cannot refer to the deity of the hymn. Durga meets the difficulty, as the commentators frequently do with inconvenient duals, by saying *vām iti dampātī abhipretya*, etc. ['*vām* refers to the husband and his wife.'] But here we have rather a proof of the fact that, in the arrangement of the Veda, many verses have been inserted in wrong places. The verse is addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa; and, perhaps, belonged to one of the hymns to those two gods which immediately precede this in the Sanhitā. The verse has been introduced into the wrong place because Vishṇu is referred to in it. Compare verse 3. The inconvenient reading has been already altered in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (6, 3)," which, instead of *tā vām vāstūny uśmasi gamadhyai*, "we desire to go to these abodes of you two," etc., reads, *yā te dhāmāny uśmasi*, etc., "to which realms of thine we desire," etc., etc.

In the next hymn Indra and Vishṇu are jointly extolled:

R. V. i. 155.—*Pra vaḥ pāntam*[24] *andhaso dhiyāyate mahe śūrāya Vishṇave cha archata | yā sānuni parvatānām adābhyā mahas tasthatur arvateva sādhunā | 2. Tvesham itthā samaraṇam*[25] *śimīvator Indra-Vishṇū suta-pāḥ vām urushyati | yā martyāya partidhīyamānam it kṛiśānor astur asanām urushyathaḥ | 3. Tāḥ īm vardhanti mahi asya pauṁsyaṁ ni mātarā nayati retase bhuje | dadhāti putro avaram param pitur nāma tṛitīyam adki rochane divaḥ | 4. Tat tad id asya pauṁsyaṁ gṛiṇīmasi inasya trātur avṛikasya mīḷhushaḥ | yaḥ pārthivāni tribhir id vigāmabhir uru kramishṭorugāyāya jīvase | 5. Dve id asya kramaṇe svardṛiśo abhikhyāya martyo bhuraṇyati | tṛitīyam asya nakir ā dadharshati vayaś chana patayantaḥ patatriṇaḥ | 6. Chaturbhiḥ sākaṁ navatincha nāmabhiś chakraṁ na vṛittaṁ vyatīn avīvipat | bṛihachchharīro vimimānaḥ ṛikvabhir yuvā 'kumārah pṛati eti āhavam |*

"Sing praises to the great hero (Indra), who desires the draught of your soma, and to Vishṇu, who both swiftly rose invincible, to the summit of the [aerial] mountains, as if [carried by] an excellent steed. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, the drinker of the libation escapes the assault, so fierce, of you two who are violent,—who avert from the [pious]

[24] *Pāntam = pānīyaṁ.*—Nir. vii. 25.

[25] *Samaraṇaṁ s.* = sangrāma-nāma.—Nigh. 2, 17.

mortal that which is aimed at him,—the bolt of the archer Kṛiśānu. 3. These [libations, according to Sāyaṇa] augment his virility; he conducts the parents (heaven and earth) to receive the fertilizing seed; the son has the inferior name; the superior belongs to the father; the third is above the light of heaven. 4. We celebrate this virility of him, the strong, the deliverer, the innoxious, the bountiful, who with three steps traversed[26] far and wide the mundane regions, for the sake of [granting us] a prolonged (*lit.* wide-stepping) existence.[27] 5. A mortal is agitated when contemplating two of the steps of this heavenly [deity]; but no one dares to attempt his third step,[27*] not even the soaring, winged birds. 6. With four and ninety names, he has impelled his steeds, like a rolling wheel. Accoutred by his encomiasts, vast in body, the youthful, full-grown [deity], advances to the combat."

R. V. 1, 156.—*Bhava mitro na śevyo ghṛitāsutir vibhūta-dyumnaḥ evayāḥ u sapratháḥ | adha te Vishṇo vidushā chid ardhyaḥ stomo yajñaścha rādhyo havishmatā | 2. Yaḥ pūrvyāya vedhase navīyase sumajjānaye Vishṇave dadāśati | yo jātaṃ asya mahato mahi bravat sa id u śravobhir yujyaṃ chid abhi asat | 3. Tam u stotāraḥ pūrvyaṃ yathā vida ṛitasya garbhaṃ janushā pipartana | ā asya jānanto nāma chid vivaktana mahas te Vishṇo sumatim bhajāmahe | 4. Tam asya rājā Varuṇas tam Aśvinā kratuṃ sachanta mārutasya vedhasaḥ | dādhāra daksham uttamam aharvidaṃ vrajaṃ cha Vishṇur sakhivān apornute | 5. Ā yo vivāya sachathāya daivyaḥ Indrāya Vishṇuḥ sukṛite sukṛittaraḥ | vedhāḥ ajinvat trishadhasthaḥ āryam ṛitasya bhāge yajamānām ā bhajat |*

"Be to us beneficent like a friend, worshipped with butter, greatly renowned, swiftly-moving, broadly diffused. Truly, Vishṇu, thy praise is to be celebrated by the sage, and sacrifice is to be performed to thee by the worshipper. 2. He who worships Vishṇu, the ancient, the disposer [or the wise], the recent, the [god] with the noble spouse,[28]—he who extols the nature of this mighty Being, shall excel

[26] Compare R. V. i. 22, 17, 18 (above, p. 63, f.), and R. V. i. 154, 1, 3 (p. 69).

[27] Compare R. V. vi. 69, 5 (below).

[27*] See R. V. vii. 99, 1, below.

[28] Sāyaṇa gives two explanations of the word *sumaj-jāni*. The first makes it *svayam evotpannāya*, "born by his own power" (in proof of which sense he quotes Nir. vi. 22: *Sumat svayam ity arthaḥ | "sumat* means *svayam*, self"). The second meaning is thus stated: *Sutarām māddyati iti sumat | tadṛiśī jāyā yasya sa . . . . | tasmai sarva-jagan-mādana-śīla-Śrī-pataye* | "*su-mat* means 'greatly

his friend[29] in renown. 3. Encomiasts, satisfy [with worship], as ye know how to do, him who, by his nature, is the primeval source of sacred rites. Knowing his name declare, 'Vishṇu, we enjoy the good will of thee, the mighty one.' 4. King Varuṇa and the Aśvins have done homage to the power of this ruler [or wise god] who is attended by the Maruts. Vishṇu possesses excellent wisdom, which knows the proper day;[30] and with his friends, opens up the cloud. 5. The divine Vishṇu, who has hastened to seek companionship with the beneficent Indra, [himself] more beneficent,—this wise [god], occupying three stations, has gratified the Ārya, and renders the worshipper a sharer in the sacred ceremony."

R. V. i. 164, 36 (A. V. 9, 10, 17; Nir. Par. ii. 21).—*Sapta ardhagarbhāḥ bhuvanasya reto Vishṇos tishṭhanti pradiśā vidharmaṇi | te dhītibhir manasā te vipaścitaḥ paribhuvaḥ pari bhavanti viśvataḥ |* "Seven embryos, the prolific sources of the world, abide by the command of Vishṇu in the function of supporting [the universe]. They by thought, and by mind, they intelligent, embracing, comprehend all things."

I do not attempt any explanation of this obscure and mystical utterance.

R. V. i. 186, 10.—*Pro Aśvināv avase kṛiṇudhvam pra Pūshaṇaṁ svatavaso hi santi | advesho Vishṇur Vātaḥ Ṛibhukshāḥ achha sumnāya vavṛitīya devān |* "Dispose the Aśvins, dispose Pūshan, to succour us, for they have power in themselves. Vishṇu is free from malice, and so is Vāta (Vāyu) and Ṛibhukshan. May I incline the gods to be favourable to us."

R. V. ii. 1, 3.—*Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ satām asi tvaṁ Vishṇur*

gladdening.' *Sumaj-jāni* then signifies 'one who has such a wife.' The phrase will thus mean, 'to the lord of S'rī, whose nature it is to gladden the world.'" Dr. Aufrecht thinks that *jāni* has always the sense of wife, and supposes the wife here alluded to to be the world. Prof. Roth, Illust. of Nir., p. 90, supposes *sumat* to be derived from *su*, and to mean "easily," "gladly."

[29] Compare the words *yujyo vā sakhā vā* in R. V. ii. 28, 10, where *yujya* is explained by Sāyaṇa as = *yojana-samarthaḥ pitrādir vā*; and R. V. i. 22, 19, where the same word *yujya* is said to be equivalent to *anukūla*, "friendly." Compare also *ayuja* in R. V. viii. 51, 2.

[30] See the interpretation of the word *aharvid* given by Sāyaṇa on R. V. i. 2, 2. In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word is explained as signifying "long known."

urugāyo namasyaḥ | tvam brahmā rayivid Brahmaṇaspate tvaṁ vidhartaḥ sachase purandhyā | "Thou, Agni, art Indra, most energetic of heroes; thou art Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, the adorable; thou, Brahmaṇaspati, art a priest, possessor of wealth; thou, sustainer, art associated with sacred wisdom."

R.V. ii. 22,·1 (S.V. i. 457).—*Trikadrukeshu mahisho yavāśiraṁ tuviśushmas tṛipat somam apibad Vishṇunā sutaṁ yathā 'vaśat | sa īm mamāda mahi karma kartave mahām uruṁ sa enaṁ saśchad devo devaṁ satyam Indraṁ satyaḥ Induḥ* | "The great [Indra], of mighty force, satiating himself, has drunk the soma, mixed with barley-meal, poured forth by Vishṇu at the Trikadruka ceremony, as much as he desired. He [Soma] has stimulated the great and vast [god, Indra,] to achieve mighty acts. He, the god, the true Indu (Soma), has attended him, the god, the true Indra."

R.V. iii. 6, 4.—*Mahān sadhasthe dhruve ā nishatto antar dyāvā māhine haryamāṇaḥ | āskre sapatnī ajare amṛikte sabardughe urugāyasya*[31] *dhenū* | "The great [god, Agni,] is seated in his firm abode, beloved, between the mighty heaven and earth,—those two cows, joint-wives of the wide-stepping [god], united, undecaying, inviolable, dispensers of water." Agni himself may be the "wide-stepping god" intended here.

R. V. iii. 54, 14.—*Vishṇuṁ stomāsaḥ puru-dasmam arkāḥ bhagasyeva kāriṇo yāmani gman | urukramaḥ kakuho yasya pūrvīr na mardhanti yuvatayo janitrīḥ* | "Our hymns and praises have proceeded to Vishṇu, the worker of many wonders, like bards proceeding in the train of their lord. He is the wide-stepping, the exalted, whose [will] the numerous, youthful, mothers do not disregard."

R. V. iii. 55, 10.—*Vishṇur gopāḥ*[32] *paramam pāti pāthaḥ*[33] *priyā dhāmāni amṛitā dadhānaḥ | Agnis tā viśvā bhuvanāni veda mahad devānām asuratvam ekam* | "Vishṇu, a protector, preserves the highest heaven, sustaining the dear,[34] undecaying regions. Agni knows all these worlds: great and incomparable is the divine nature of the gods."

[31] *Pṛithugamanasya adhika-stuter vā;* Sāyaṇa, who names Agni as the god; though he makes heaven and earth to be the wives of the sun.

[32] Compare R. V., i. 22, 18. The word Vishṇu is here regarded by the commentator as an epithet of Agni, and rendered by "pervading." The hymn is, however, according to the Anukramaṇikā, one addressed to all the gods.

[33] *Pāthaḥ* occurs also in R. V. i. 154, 5. See above.

[34] Or, "vast." The commentator renders the word *priya* by *aparimita*, "unmeasured," in his note on R. V. iii. 32, 7.

R. V. iv. 2, 4.—*Aryamaṇaṁ Varuṇam Mitram eshām Indrā-Vishṇū Maruto Aśvinā uta | su-aśvo Agne su-rathaḥ su-rādhāḥ ā id u-vaha su-havishe janāya |* "Agni, [do thou, who hast] beautiful steeds, a beautiful car, and [bestowest] rich gifts, bring to the pious worshipper from among these [gods], Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Vishṇu, the Maruts, and the Aśvins" (comp. R. V. vii. 39, 5, below).

R. V. iv. 3, 7.—*Kathā mahe pushṭim-bharāya Pūshṇe kad Rudrāya sumakhāya havir-de | kad Vishṇave uru-gāyāya reto*[35] *bravaḥ kad Agne Sarave bṛihatyai |* "Why, Agni, [shouldst thou declare our sin] to the great supplier of nourishment, Pūshan? why to Rudra, the vigorous, the giver of oblations? why shouldst thou declare our sin to the wide-stepping Vishṇu? why to the great Śaru (Nirṛiti?)."

R. V. iv. 18, 11.—*Uta mātā mahisham anvavenad amī tvā jahati putra devāḥ | Atha abravīd Vṛitram Indro hanishyan sakhe Vishṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva |* "And his mother sought to draw back the mighty [Indra], saying, 'My son, those gods forsake thee.' Then Indra, being about to slay Vṛitra, said, 'Friend Vishṇu, do thou stride vastly.'"

The last words of this verse form the commencement of the 12th verse of the 89th hymn of the 8th Maṇḍala, which I shall introduce here.

R. V. viii. 89, 12.—*Sakhe Vishṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva dyaur dehi lokaṁ vajrāya vishkabhe | hanāva Vṛitraṁ riṇachāva sindhūn Indrasya yantu prasave visṛishṭāḥ |* "'Friend Vishṇu, stride vastly;' Sky, give room for the thunderbolt to descend; let us slay Vṛitra, and let loose the waters; let them, when released, flow by the impulse of Indra."[36]

[35] Dr. Aufrecht suggests that the original reading here may have been *repas* = *āgas*, "sin." But as the text stands he would connect *retas* with *śarave*, so as to give the sense, "our sin (understood), which is the *occasion for* the great arrow of destruction." Böhtlingk and Roth render *retas* by "libation."

[36] The Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 4, 12, 2, has the following story about Indra and Vishṇu: *Tasmād Indro 'bibhed api Tvashṭā | Tvashṭā tasmai vajram asinchat | tapo vai sa vajraḥ āsīt | tam udyantuṁ na aśaknot | atha vai tarhi Vishṇur anyā devatā āsīt | so 'bravīd "Vishṇav ehi idam āharishyāvo yena ayam idam" iti | sa Vishṇus tredhā ātmānam vinyadhatta pṛithivyāṁ tṛitīyam antarikshe tṛitīyaṁ divi tṛitīyam | abhiparyāvartād hy abibhet | yat pṛithivyāṁ tṛitīyam āsīt tena Indro vajram udayachhad Vishṇv-anushṭhitaḥ | so 'bravīd "mā me prahāḥ | asti vai idam mayi vīryam | tat te pradāsyāmi" iti | tad asmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagṛihṇāt | "adhāḥ mā" iti tad Vishṇaye 'tiprāyachhat | tad Vishṇuḥ pratyagṛihṇād "asmāsv Indraḥ indriyaṁ dadhātv" iti | yad antarikshe tṛitīyam āsīt tena Indro vajram udayachhad Vishṇv-anushṭhitaḥ | so 'bravīd "mā me prahāḥ | asti vai idam mayi vīryam | tat*

R. V. iv. 55, 4.—*Vi Aryamā Varuṇaś cheti panthām ishas-patiḥ suvitaṁ gātum Agniḥ | Indrā-Vishṇū nṛi-vad u shu stavānā śarma no yantam amavad varūtham* | "'Aryaman and Varuṇa know the path; so too Agni, the lord of strength [knows] a prosperous road. Indra and Vishṇu, when ye are lauded, according to human ability, bestow on us prosperity and strong protection."

R. V. v. 3, 1–3.—*Tvam Agne Varuṇo jāyase yat tvam Mitro bhavasi yat samiddaḥ | tve viśve sahasas-putra devās tvam Indro dāśushe mart-*

te pradāsyāmi" iti | tad asmai prāyachchhat | tat pratyagṛihṇāt | "dvir mā adhāḥ" iti tad Vishṇave atiprāyachhat | tad Vishṇuḥ pratyagṛihṇād "asmāsv Indraḥ indriyaṁ dadhātv" iti | yad divi tṛitīyam āsīt tena Indro vajram udayachhad Vishṇv-anushṭhitaḥ | so 'bravīd mā me prahāḥ | yena aham idam asmi "tat te pradāsyāmi" iti | "tvī" ity abravīt | "sandhāṁ te sandadhāvahai | tvām eva praviśāni" iti | "yan mām praviśeḥ kim mā bhunjyāḥ" ity abravīt | "tvām eva indhīya tava bhogāya tvām praviśeyam" ity abravīt | taṁ Vṛitraḥ prāviśat | udaraṁ vai Vṛitraḥ | kshut khalu vai manushyasya bhrātṛivyaḥ | yaḥ evaṁ veda hanti kshudham bhrātṛivyam | tad asmai prāyachhat | tat pratyagṛihṇāt | "trir mā 'dhāḥ" iti tad Vishṇave 'tiprāyachhat | tad Vishṇuḥ pratyagṛihṇād "asmāsv Indraḥ indriyaṁ dadhātv" iti | yat triḥ prāyachhat triḥ pratyagṛihṇāt tat tridhātos tridhātutvam | yad Vishṇur anvatishṭhata Vishṇave 'tiprāyachhat tasmād Aindrāvaishṇavaṁ havir bhavati| "Indra was afraid of him, as was also Tvashṭṛi. Tvashṭṛi moistened for him the thunderbolt: it was heat or austere-fervour (*tapas*). He could not lift it. Now there was another deity, Vishṇu. Indra said: 'Come, Vishṇu, we two will take that whereby he is this [which he is].' Vishṇu divided himself into three parts, [placing] one on earth, a second in the air, and a third in the sky. For he was afraid of [Vṛitra's] development (*abhiparyāvartāt: yasmād asya Vṛitrasya abhiparyāvartāt sarva-dig-vyāpi-rūpāyāḥ vriddher ayam Indro 'bibhet*, Comm.). With the third [of Vishṇu] which was on the earth, Indra lifted the thunderbolt, followed by Vishṇu. Vṛitra said, 'Do not smite me: there is in me this energy: that I will give to thee.' He gave, and Indra took it, and passed it on to Vishṇu, [saying,] 'Thou hast supported me.' Vishṇu received it, [saying], 'May Indra impart energy to us.' Indra then lifted the thunderbolt with the third [of Vishṇu] which was in the air," etc., as before. 'Indra passed it on to Vishṇu, saying, 'Thou hast twice supported me,'" etc. "Indra then, followed by Vishṇu, lifted the thunderbolt with the third [of Vishṇu] which was in the sky. Vṛitra said, 'Do not smite me; I will give thee that whereby I am that [which I am].' Indra agreed. 'Let us make an agreement; let me enter into thee' [said Vṛitra]. 'If thou enterest me, wilt thou eat me?' [replied Indra]. 'I will kindle thee; I will enter thee for thy enjoyment' [answered Vṛitra]. He accordingly entered into him. Vṛitra is the belly. Hunger is man's enemy. He who knows this slays his enemy. So Vṛitra gave Indra [that whereby he was what he was]. Indra took it, [and saying,] 'Thou hast thrice supported me,' passed it on to Vishṇu," etc., etc., as before. "From the circumstance that the one god gave, and the other took [what was given], thrice, the 'tridhātu' derives its character. And from the fact that Vishṇu followed Indra, and the latter passed on [what he had received] to the former, there is an oblation called 'Aindrāvaishṇava,' i.e. common to both the gods."

yāya | 2. Tvam Aryamā bhavasi yat kanīnām nāma svadhāvan guhyam bibharshi | anjanti mitraṁ sudhitaṁ na gobhir yad dampatī samanasā kṛiṇoshi | 3. Tava śriye Maruto marjayanta[37] *Rudra yat te jamina chāru chitram | padaṁ yad Vishṇor upamaṁ nidhāyi tena pāsi guhyaṁ nāma gonām |*

"Thou, Agni, [art] Varuṇa, when thou art born; thou art Mitra when thou art kindled: son of strength, in thee [reside] all the gods; thou art Indra to the man who sacrifices. 2. Thou art Aryaman when thou, self-sustaining, possessest the mysterious name of the maidens. Men anoint thee, like a benevolent friend, with milk, when thou makest the husband and wife to be of one mind. 3. For thy glory, Rudra, [or, terrible Agni], the Maruts have adorned themselves, such is that beautiful and wondrous birth of thine.[38] Through that which has been fixed as the highest abode of Vishṇu, thou possessest the mysterious name of the cows."

R.V. v. 46, 2–4 (=Vāj. S. 33, 48, 49).—*Agne Indra Varuṇa Mitra devāḥ śardhaḥ pra yanta Māruta uta Vishṇo | ubhā Nāsatyā Rudro adha gnāḥ Pūshā Bhagaḥ Sarasvatī jushanta | 3. Indrāgnī Mitrā-Varuṇā Aditiṁ svaḥ pṛithivīṁ dyām Marutaḥ parvatān apaḥ | huve Vishṇum Pūshaṇam Brahmaṇaspatim Bhagaṁ nu śaṁsaṁ Savitāram ūtaye | 4. Uta no Vishṇur uta Vāto asridho draviṇodāḥ uta Somo mayas karat | uta Ṛibhavaḥ uta rāye no Aśvinā uta Tvashṭā uta Vibhvā anu maṁsate |*

2. "Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, ye gods, give us strength, and thou Vishṇu with the Maruts. Both the Aśvins, Rudra, and the wives of the deities, with Pūshan, Bhaga, and Sarasvatī, are pleased. 3. I invoke Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuṇa, Aditi, Heaven, Earth, Sky, the Maruts, the Mountains, the Waters, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmaṇaspati; I praise Bhaga and Savitṛi, that they may succour us. 4. And may Vishṇu, and the Wind, uninjuring, and Soma, the bestower of riches, give us happiness. And the Ṛibhus, Aśvins, Tvashṭṛi, and Vibhvan are favourable to us, so as to [grant us] wealth."

R.V. v. 51, 9.—*Sajūr Mitrā-Varuṇābhyāṁ sajoḥ Somena Vishṇunā | ā yāhi Agne Atri-vat sute raṇa* | "Associated with Mitra and Varuṇa,

[37] Compare R. V. vii. 3, 5.

[38] This refers, Dr. Aufrecht suggests, to the production of lightning in the air at the time of a storm.

associated with Soma and Vishṇu, come Agni, and rejoice in our libation, as [in that of] Atri."

R. V. v. 87, 1 (S. V. i. 462).—*Pra vo mahe matayo yantu Vishṇave Marutvate girijāḥ evayāmarut | pra śardhāya prayajyave sukhādaye tavase bhandad-ishṭaye dhuni-vratāya śavase | . . . . 4. Sa chakrame mahato nir uru-kramaḥ samānasmāt sadasaḥ evayāmarut | yadā ayukta tmanā svād adhi shṇubhir vishpardhaso vimahaso jigāti śevṛidho nṛibhiḥ | . . . . 8. Advesho ṇo Maruto gātum ā itana śrota havaṁ jaritur evayāmarut | Vishṇor mahaḥ samanyavo yuyotana smad rathyo na daṁsanā apa dveshāṁsi sanutaḥ |*

"May your hill-born (or, voice-born) hymns proceed to the great Vishṇu, attended by the Maruts, O Evayāmarut, (swiftly-moving Marut?); and to the troop [of Maruts], impetuous, wearing beautiful rings, strong, rushing on exultingly,—to that power which delights in resounding. . . 4. The wide-striding [god] strode forth from the great common abode, O Evayāmarut; when by himself he has yoked his emulous and vigorous [steeds], he issues from his own [abode] with his swift heroes, augmenting our felicity. . . . 8. Maruts, come in a friendly spirit to our song, hear the invocation of your worshipper, Evayāmarut; of the same mind with the great Vishṇu, like men riding in chariots, drive our enemies away far from us by your might."

The hymn from which these verses are taken is quoted and translated in Prof. Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma-veda, p. 39 f.

R. V. vi. 17, 11.—*Vardhān yaṁ viśve Marutaḥ sajoshāḥ pachat śatam mahishān Indra tubhyaṁ | Pūshā Vishṇus trīṇi sarāṁsi dhāvan vṛitra-hanam madiram aṁśum asmai |* "For thee, Indra, whom all the Maruts, in concert, will magnify, Pūshan and Vishṇu cooked a hundred buffaloes. For him three lakes discharged the Vṛitra-slaying, exhilarating soma."[39]

[39] To illustrate the last line, Dr. Aufrecht has pointed out to me another passage, R. V. viii. 66, 4: *Ekayā pratidhā 'pibat sākam sāraṁsi triṁśatam | Indraḥ somasya kāṇukā |* "Indra swallowed at one draught thirty lakes of Soma. . . ." This verse is quoted in Nir. v. 11. I have not attempted to translate the difficult word *kāṇukā*, at the close. See Roth's Illust. of Nir. p. 60, f. In a review of Pictet's Origines Indo-Européennes, vol. ii, in Kuhn und Schleicher's Beiträge zur Vergl. Sprachforschung, iv. 279, f., Prof. Weber refers to this passage. "Saras, a pond," he says, "in the sense of cup (R. V. viii. 66, 4. . . .), which reminds us of the 'weltmeer' (world-ocean) of our students,' is no doubt merely a poetical metaphor." See also R. V. vii. 103, 7; viii. 7, 10." In R.V. v. 29, 7 f., Agni is said to have cooked three hundred buffaloes for Indra, who ate them, and drank three lakes of soma, when proceeding to fight with Vṛitra.

R. V. vi. 20, 2.—*Divo na tubhyaṁ anu Indra satrā asuryaṁ devebhir dhāyi viśvam | Ahiṁ yad Vṛitram apo vavṛivāṁsaṁ hann ṛijīshin Vishṇunā sachānaḥ |* "All divine power, like that of the Sky, was completely communicated to thee, Indra, by the gods,[40] when thou, O impetuous [deity], associated with Vishṇu, didst slay Vṛitra Ahi, stopping up the waters."

R.V. vi. 21, 9.—*Pra ūtaye Varuṇam Mitram Indraṁ Marutaḥ krishva avase no adya | pra Pūshaṇaṁ Vishṇum Agnim Purandhiṁ Savitāram oshudhīḥ parvatāṁścha |* "Dispose to-day to our help and succour Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, the Maruts, Pūshan, Vishṇu, Agni, Purandhi, Savitṛi, the plants and the mountains."

R. V. vi. 48, 14.—*Taṁ vaḥ Indram na sukratuṁ Varuṇam iva māyinam | Aryamaṇaṁ na mandraṁ śṛipra-*[41]*bhojasaṁ Vishṇuṁ na stushe ādiśe |* "I praise thee, of great power like Indra, wondrous in might like Varuṇa, pleasant like Aryaman, conferring large enjoyment like Vishṇu, that thou mayest bestow wealth."[42]

R.V. vi. 49, 13.—*Yo rajāṁsi vimame*[43] *pārthivāni triś chid Vishṇur Manave bādhitāya | tasya te śarmann upadadyamāne rāyā madema tanvā tanā cha |* "May we, ourselves and our offspring, be gladdened by wealth, under the protection afforded by thee, that Vishṇu who thrice traversed the mundane regions for Manu [or the Āryan man] when he was oppressed."[44]

R. V. vi. 50, 12.—*Te no Rudraḥ Sarasvatī sajoshāḥ mīḷhushmanto Vishṇur mṛiḷantu Vāyuḥ | Ribhukshāḥ Vājo daivyo vidhātā Parjanyāvātā pipyatām ishaṁ naḥ |* "May these dispensers of blessings, Rudra, Sarasvatī, Vishṇu, and Vāyu together be gracious to us. May Ṛibhukshan, Vāja, the divine Vidhātṛi (or disposer), Parjanya and Vāta replenish our store of nutriment."

[40] *Stotṛibhiḥ*, "worshippers," according to Sāyaṇa.

[41] The word *śṛipra* occurs also in R. V. i. 96, 3; i. 181, 3; iii. 18, 5; iv. 50, 2; viii. 25, 5; and viii. 32, 10 = S. V. i. 217. By Yāska, Nir. vi. 17, it is derived from the root *śṛip*, "to go" (see Roth's Illust., p. 83); and is rendered by Sāyaṇa *sarpaṇa-śīla*, "going," *prasṛita*, "extended," etc. (See also Benfey's Glossary to the S. V.) The word *viśva-bhojasam* occurs in the preceding verse vi. 48, 13.

[42] Such is the sense assigned to *ādiś* by Sāyaṇa: in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary I find the word *pradeśana* rendered "a gift or offering, anything given to the gods, superiors, or friends," etc.

[43] *Tribhir eva vikramaṇaiḥ parimitavān* | "measured with three strides."—Sāyaṇa. Compare R. V. i. 154, 1, above (p. 69, ff.), and vii. 100, 4, below (p. 87).

[44] *Asurair hiṁsitāya* | "injured by Asuras."—Sāyaṇa.

R. V. vi. 69, 1–8.—*Saṁ vāṁ karmaṇā sam ishā hinomi Indrā-Vishṇū apasas pāre asya | jushethāṁ yajnaṁ draviṇaṁ cha dhattam arishṭair naḥ pathibhiḥ pārayantā | 2. Yā viśvāsāṁ janitārā matīnām Indrā-Vishṇū kalaśā soma-dhānā | pra vāṁ giraḥ śasyamānāḥ avantu pra stomāso gīyamānāso arkaiḥ | 3. Indrā-Vishṇū mada-patī madānām ā somaṁ yātaṁ draviṇo dadhānā | saṁ vām anjantu aktubhir matīnāṁ saṁ stomāsaḥ śasyamānāsaḥ ukthaiḥ | 4. Ā vām aśvāso abhimāti-shāhaḥ Indrā-Vishṇū sadhamādo vahantu | jushethāṁ viśvā havanā matīnām upa brahmāṇi śṛiṇutaṁ giro me | 5. Indrā-Vishṇū tat panayāyyaṁ vāṁ somasya made uru chakramāthe | akṛiṇutam antarikshaṁ varīyo aprathataṁ jīvase no rajāṁsi | 6. Indrā-Vishṇū havishā vāvṛidhānā agrādvānā namasā rātahavyā | ghṛitāsutī draviṇaṁ dhattam asme samudraḥ sthaḥ kalaśaḥ somadhānaḥ | 7. Indrā-Vishṇū pibatam madhvo asya somasya dasrā jaṭharam pṛiṇethām | ā vām andhāṁsi madirāṇi agmann upa brahmāṇi śṛiṇutaṁ havam me | 8. (A. V. 7, 44, 1) Ubhā jigyathur na parā jayethe na parā jigye kataraśchanainoḥ | Indraścha Vishṇo yad apaspṛidhethāṁ tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethām |*

"Indra and Vishṇu, I stimulate you twain with this rite and oblation: at the conclusion of this ceremony do ye accept our sacrifice, and grant us wealth, conducting us to our object by secure paths. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, ye who are the generators of all prayers, and are, [as it were,] the bowls which hold the soma-juice, may the words which are now recited gratify you, and the hymns which are sung with praises. 3. Indra and Vishṇu, ye two lords of exhilarating draughts, come to the soma-juice, bringing with you wealth; may the hymns uttered with praises anoint you[45] twain with the unguents of our prayers. 4. Indra and Vishṇu, may your steeds, vanquishing foes, and sharing in your triumph, bear you hither. Accept all the invocations of our hymns, and hear my devotions and prayers. 5. Indra and Vishṇu, this deed of you twain is worthy of celebration, that, in the exhilaration of the soma-juice, ye took vast strides;[46] ye made the

[45] Compare R. V. iii. 17, 1.

[46] The commentator remarks on this: *Yadyapi Vishṇor eva vikramas tathāpy ekārthatvād ubhayor ity uchyate* | "'Though 'striding' is an act of Vishṇu only, yet it is so [described as here] owing to both gods having one end in view." In R. V. vii. 99, 6 (see below), the epithet *urukrama*, "far-stepping," is applied in the same way to both these deities. In the Harivansa, 7418, it is applied to S'iva.

atmosphere wide, and stretched out the worlds, for our existence.[46a] 6. Indra and Vishṇu, gladdened by our oblation, ye to whom are due the first draughts of the soma, ye to whom offerings should be presented with reverence, and to whom butter is offered, bring us wealth, for ye are the ocean, the bowl in which the soma is held. 7. Indra and Vishṇu, workers of wonders, drink this sweet potion; fill your bellies with soma; the exhilarating soma-draughts have reached you; hear my prayers and invocation. 8. Ye two have both conquered, and are not vanquished. Neither of these twain has been vanquished. Vishṇu, when thou and Indra strove, ye scattered thrice a thousand [of your foes]."[47]

R. V. vii. 35, 9 (=A. V. xix. 10, 9).—*S'aṁ no Aditir bhavatu vratebhiḥ śaṁ no bhavantu Marutaḥ su-arkāḥ | śaṁ no Vishṇuḥ śaṁ u Pūshā no astu śaṁ no bhavitraṁ śaṁ u astu Vāyuḥ |* "May Aditi be propitious to us with her acts: may the well-hymned Maruts be propitious to us: may Vishṇu, may Pūshan, may the Air,[48] may Vāyu, be propitious to us."

[46a] Comp. i. 155, 5, above.

[47] The commentator explains this as follows. *Yad yad vastu praty apaspridhethāṁ asuraiḥ saha aspridhethāṁ tredhā loka-veda-vāgātmanā tridhā sthitaṁ sahasram amitaṁ cha vi tad airayethāṁ vyakramethām ity arthaḥ | tathā cha brāhmaṇam ubhā jigyathur ity achchhāvākasya | ubhau hi tau jigyathur na parājayethe na parājigye iti na hi tayoḥ kataraśchana parājigye 'Indraś cha Vishṇo yad apaspridhethāṁ tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethām' iti | Indraś cha ha vai Vishṇuś cha asurair yuyudhāte tān ha sma jitvā ūchatuḥ "kalpāmahai" iti | te ha tathā ity asurāḥ ūchuḥ | so 'bravīd Indro "yāvad evāyaṁ Vishṇus trir vikramate tāvad asmākam atha yushmākam itarad" iti | sa imān lokān vichakrame 'tho vedān atho vācham | tad āhuḥ "kiṁ tat sahasram" iti "ime lokāḥ ime vedāḥ atho vāg" iti brūyāt | "airayethām airayethām" ity achchāvākaḥ ukthye 'bhyasyati |* Ait. Br. 6, 15 (see Prof. Haug's translation, pp. 403, f.). "In reference to whatever thing ye two strove, i.e. strove with the Asuras, over that, in its three characters, i.e. as existing in its character of world, Veda, and speech, and in number a thousand, and immeasurable, ye strode. Thus a Brāhmaṇa [the Aitareya, 6, 15,] says: 'ye both conquered; this is what the Achhāvāka priest [repeats]: for ye both conquered, ye are not vanquished, neither was vanquished, for neither of these two was vanquished' [the last line of the verse before us is then cited]. Indra and Vishṇu fought with the Asuras. Having conquered them, they said, let us divide [the world]. The Asuras said, be it so. Indra said, As much as this Vishṇu strides over in three strides, so much shall be ours; the rest yours. He strode over these worlds, then the Vedas, then speech. When people say, what is that thousand? let him say, These worlds, these Vedas, then speech. The Achhāvāka priest repeats at the Ukthya ritual, ye scattered, ye scattered.'" Comp. Taitt. S. vii. 1, 5, 5.

[48] The word *bhavitra* is explained by Sāyaṇa as = *bhuvanam antarikshaṁ udakaṁ vā.* "The world, or the atmosphere, or water." The word, Dr. Aufrecht informs me, does not occur again in the Vedas.

R. V. vii. 36, 9.—*Achha ayaṁ vo Marutaḥ ślokaḥ etu achha Vishṇuṁ nishikta-pāṁ śravobhir ityādi* | "Maruts, may this hymn reach you: may it [reach] Vishṇu, the preserver of embryos, with its eulogies," etc.

R. V. vii. 39, 5.—*Ā Agne giro divaḥ ā pṛithivyāḥ Mitraṁ vaha Varuṇam Indram Agnim | Ā Aryamāṇam Aditiṁ Vishṇum eshāṁ Sarasvatī Maruto mādayantām* | "Agni, from heaven and earth bring Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Vishṇu to the hymns of these persons;[49] may Sarasvatī and the Maruts be gratified."

R. V. vii. 40, 5.—*Asya devasya mīḷhusho vayāḥ Vishṇor eshasya*[50] *prabhṛithe havirbhiḥ | vide hi Rudro rudriyaṁ mahitvaṁ yāsishṭaṁ vartir Aśvināv irāvat* | "The branches of this prolific and rapid deity Vishṇu [are to be worshipped?] with oblations at the offering. For Rudra possesses impetuous power. The Aśvins have come to our place of sacrifice which is provided with food."[49]

R. V. vii. 44, 1.—*Dadhikrāṁ vaḥ prathamam Aśvinā Ushasam Agniṁ samiddham Bhagam ūtaye huve | Indraṁ Vishṇum Pūshaṇam Brahmaṇaspatim Ādityān dyāvā-pṛithivī apaḥ svaḥ* | "I invoke you for succour, first Dadhikrā, the Aśvins, Ushas, the kindled Agni, Bhaga, Indra, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmaṇaspati, the Ādityas, Heaven and Earth, the Waters, the Sky."

R. V. vii. 93, 8.—*Etāḥ Agne āśushāṇāsaḥ ishṭīr yuvoḥ sachā abhi aśyāma vājān | mā Indro no Vishṇur Marutaḥ parikhyann ityādi* | "Breathing forth these petitions, may we, O Agni [and Indra], with [the help of] you twain, obtain food. Let not Indra, Vishṇu, and the Maruts despise us," etc.

[49] Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. esha*, conjecture that in this verse the correct reading is *eshāṁ*, "the rapid," as an epithet of Vishṇu, and not *eshām*.

[50] Sāyaṇa interprets the first words of the verse before us thus, *Vishṇoḥ sarvadevātmakasya asya devasya anye devāḥ vayāḥ śākhāḥ iva bhavanti* | "Other gods are, as it were, branches of this god, who is the soul of all the gods." He explains *eshasya* as follows: *Prabhṛithe havirbhir. havī-ṁṛūpair annaiḥ eshasya prāpraṇīyasya*, "one who can be brought by oblations of food." The same epithet *esha* is applied to Vishṇu in the other two following passages referred to in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under this word. R.V. ii. 34, 11.—*Tān vo ṁnaho Marutaḥ evayāvno Vishṇor eshasya prabhṛithe havāmahe | ityādi* | "At the offering of the rapid Vishṇu we invoke you, the great, and impetuous Maruts," etc. R. V. viii. 20, 3.—*Vidma hi Rudriyāṇāṁ śushmam ugram Marutām śimīvatām | Vishṇor eshasya mīḷhushām* | "For we know the fiery vigour of the sons of Rudra, the impetuous Maruts, of the rapid Vishṇu, [all of them] prolific."

R. V. vii. 99, 1.—*Paro mātrayā*[51] *tanvā vṛidhāna na te mahitvam anu aśnuvanti | ubhe te vidma rajasī pṛithivyāḥ Vishṉo deva tvam paramasya vitse* | 2. *Na te Vishṉo jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ param antam āpa | ud astabhnāḥ nākam ṛishvam̃ bṛihantam̃ dādhartha prāchīm̃ kakubham pṛithivyāḥ* | 3 (=Vāj. S. v. 16). *Irāvatī dhenumatī hi bhūtam̃ suyavasinī manushe*[52] *daśasyā | Vi astabhnāḥ rodasī Vishṉo ete dādhartha pṛithivīm abhito mayūkhaiḥ* | 4. *Urum̃ yajnāya chakrathur u lokam̃ janayantā Sūryam Ushasam Agnim | dāsasya chid vṛishaśiprasya māyāḥ jaghnathur narā pṛitanājyeshu* | 5. *Indrā-Vishṉū dṛim̃hitāḥ S'ambarasya nava puro navatim̃ cha śnathishṭam | śatam̃ varchinaḥ sahasram̃ cha sākam̃ hatho aprati asurasya vīrān* | 6. *Iyam manīshā bṛihatī bṛihantā urukramā tavasā vardhayantī | rare vām̃ stomam̃ vidatheshu Vishṉo pinvatam isho vṛijaneshu Indra* | 7. (S. V. 2, 977; Taitt. Sanh. ii. 2, 12, 4) *Vashaṭ te Vishṉo āsaḥ ā kṛiṉomi tad me jushasva S'ipivishṭa havyam | vardhantu tvā sushṭutayo giro me yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ* |

"Thou who, with thy body, growest beyond our measure, [men] do not attain to thy greatness: we know both thy two regions of the earth; thou, divine Vishṉu, knowest the remotest [world].[52*] 2. No one, O divine Vishṉu, who is being born, or who has been born, knows the furthest limit of thy greatness. Thou didst prop up the lofty and vast sky; thou didst uphold the eastern pinnacle of the earth.[53] 3. [Ye two worlds,] be ye abundant in food, cows, and pastures, through beneficence to man. Vishṉu, thou didst prop asunder these two worlds; thou didst envelope the earth on every side with beams of light. 4. Ye (Indra and Vishṉu) have provided ample room for the sacrifice, producing the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, O heroes, destroyed in the battles the wonderful powers of the hostile (*dāsa*) Vṛishaśipra. 5. Indra and Vishṉu, ye smote the ninety-nine strong cities of Sambara; together, ye slew, unopposed, a thousand and a hundred heroes of the Asura Varchin. 6. This great hymn gladdens you twain, the great, the wide-striding, the powerful; Vishṉu and Indra, I present to you twain a hymn at the sacrifices. Supply abundant nutriment in our habitations. 7. Vishṉu, I utter to thee this invocation from my mouth.

[51] Compare *paro-mātram ṛichīshamam Indram*; R. V. viii. 57, 1.
[52] Yajur-veda v. 16 reads *manave*. [52*] Comp. R. V. i. 155, 5, above, p. 74.
[53] Compare Isaiah xl. 22 xlv. 12, 18.

Śipiviṣṭa,[54] favourably receive this my oblation. May my laudatory hymns delight thee: do you always preserve us with blessings."

R. V. vii. 100.—*Nu 'marto dayate sanishyan yo Vishṇave urugāyāya dāśat | pra yaḥ satrāchā manasā yajāte etāvantaṁ naryam āvivāsāt | 2. Tvaṁ Vishṇo sumatiṁ viśvajanyām aprayutām evayāvo matiṁ dāḥ | parcho yathā naḥ suvitasya bhūrer aśvāvataḥ puruśchandrasya rāyaḥ | 3. Trir devaḥ pṛithivīm eshaḥ etāṁ vi chakrame śatarchasam mahitvā | pra Vishṇur astu tavasas tavīyān tveshaṁ hi asya sthavirasya nāma | 4. Vi chakrame pṛithivīm eshaḥ etāṁ kshetrāya Vishṇur manushe daśasyan | dhruvāso asya kīrayo janāsaḥ 'urukshitiṁ sujanimā chakāra |* 5. (S. V. 2, 976; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 9.) *Pra tat te adya Śipiviṣṭa nāma aryaḥ śaṁsāmi vayunāni vidvān | taṁ tvā gṛiṇāmi tavasam atavyān kshayantam asya rajasaḥ parāke |* 6. (S. V. 2, 975; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 12, 5; Nir. 5, 8.) *Kim it te Vishṇo parichakshyaṁ bhūt*[55] *pra yad vavakshe Śipiviṣṭo asmi | mā varpo asmad apa gūha etad yad anyarūpaḥ samithe babhūtha |* (The seventh verse is repeated from the last hymn.)

"That man never repents who, seeking [for good], brings offerings to Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart, and propitiates such a powerful [god]. 2. Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Vishṇu, thy benevolence, which embraces all mankind, thy unpreoccupied regard; that thou mayest grant us abundant good, and brilliant wealth, with horses. 3. Thrice the swift god by his greatness has traversed this earth with its hundred lights. May Vishṇu the strongest prevail over the strong: for awful is the name (nature) of that immovable [being]. 4. The swift Vishṇu traversed the earth to bestow it for a habitation on Manu [or man]. The men who praise him are secure: [the god] of exalted birth has given them an ample abode. 5. I, a devoted worshipper, who know the sacred rites, to-day celebrate this thy name, Śipiviṣṭa; I, who am weak, laud thee who art strong, and dwellest beyond this lower world. 6. What, Vishṇu, hadst thou to blame, that thou declaredst, 'I am Śipiviṣṭa'? Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another shape in the battle."[56]

[54] See the note on this word where it occurs in the hymn next following.

[55] The Sāma-veda reads *parichakshi nāma.*

[56] The following illustration of this verse is quoted by Professor Benfey from the commentary on the corresponding passage of the S. V.: *Purā khalu Vishnuḥ svaṁ*

R. V. viii. 9, 12.—*Yad Indreṇa saratham yātho Aśvinā yad vā Vāyunā bhavathaḥ samokasā | yad Ādityebhir Ṛibhubhiḥ sajoshasā yad vā Vishṇor vikramaṇeshu tishṭhathaḥ* | "When, Aśvins, ye ride in the same car with Indra, or when ye dwell in the same abode with Vāyu, or when ye are associated with the Ādityas and the Ṛibhus, or when ye abide in the strides of Vishṇu."

rūpam parityajya kṛitrimaṁ rūpāntaraṁ dhārayan saṅgrāme Vasishṭhasya sāhāyyaṁ chakāra | taṁ jānann ṛishir anayā pratyāchashṭe | "Vishṇu formerly abandoning his own form, and assuming another artificial shape, succoured Vasishṭha in battle. Recognizing the god, the ṛishi addresses him with this verse." In Nir. v. 8 and 9, Yāska quotes verses 5 and 6 of the hymn before us in inverse order. After telling us (v. 7) that, "according to Aupamanyava, Vishṇu has two names, S'ipivishṭa, and Vishṇu, of which the former has a bad sense" (*S'ipivishṭo Vishṇur iti Vishṇor dve namanī bhavataḥ | kutsitārthīyam pūrvam bhavati ity Aupamanyavaḥ*), Yāska quotes verse 6, on which he observes: *Kiṁ te Vishṇo 'prakhyātam etad bhavaty aprakhyāpanīyaṁ yan na prabrūshe | ḍepaḥ iva nirveshṭito 'smi ity apratipanna-raśmiḥ | api vā praśaṁsā-nāmaiva abhipretaṁ syāt | kiṁ te Vishṇo prakhyātam etad bhavati prakhyāpanīyaṁ yad uta prabrūshe | S'ipivishṭo 'smi iti pratipanna-raśmiḥ | śipayo 'tra raśmayaḥ uchyante | tair āvishṭo bhavati | mā varpo asmad apagūha etat | varpaḥ iti rūpa-nāma . . . . | yad anya-rūpaḥ saṁithe saṅgrāme bhavasi saṁyata-raśmiḥ* | "What, Vishṇu, is this undeclared thing of thine, not to be declared, which thou tellest not? 'I am enveloped like a private member,' *i.e.* with rays obscured. Or, by *S'ipivishṭa* a laudatory appellation may be intended; 'what is this declared thing of thine, which is to be declared, that thou tellest?' 'I am *S'ipivishṭa*, *i.e.* one whose rays are displayed.' The word '*śipi*' here means 'rays;' with these he is pervaded. 'Do not conceal this form:' *varpas* is a word meaning 'form.' . . . . 'That thou art of another form in the battle (*samithe*=*saṅgrāme*), with thy rays withheld.'" See Taitt. S., vol. ii., p. 585. On v. 5, Yāska remarks: Nir. v. 9: "*Tat te 'dya S'ipivishṭa nāma aryaḥ śaṁsāmi*" | *aryo 'ham asmi īśvaraḥ stomānām | aryas tvam asi iti vā | taṁ tvā staumi tavasam atavyāṁs tavasaḥ iti mahato nāmadheyam udito bhavati | nivasantam asya rajasaḥ parāke parākrānte* | "'I, a master, to-day celebrate this thy name, S'ipivishṭa.' I am *aryaḥ*, a master of praises. Or, thou art a master. 'I, weak, praise thee, the strong.' *Tavasa* is a word used for 'great.' 'Dwelling beyond (*parāke*=*parākrānte*) this lower world.'" From the above quotation, it appears that even in the time of Yāska, the sense of the word *S'ipivishṭa* was uncertain. In the Mahābhārata, S'āntiparva, vv. 13229, ff., Kṛishṇa is introduced as explaining the sense of the word thus (if the writer intended to represent Yāska as the Vedic ṛishi by whom the word was first applied to Vishṇu, he could not have been a particularly good Vedic scholar): *S'ipivishṭeti chākhyāyāṁ hīnaromā cha yo bhavet | tenāvishṭaṁ tu yat kinchich Chhipivishṭeti cha smṛitaḥ | Yāsko māṁ ṛishir avyagro naika-yajneshu gītavān | S'ipivishṭaḥ 'smi iti hy asmād guhya-nāmadharo hy aham | stutvā māṁ S'ipivishṭeti Yāskaḥ sarshiḥ udāra-dhīḥ | mat-prasādād adho nashṭam Niruktam abhijagmivān* | "A bald man is designated by the word *S'ipivishṭa*. Anything which is penetrated by that is called *S'ipivishṭa*. Yāska, the serene ṛishi, celebrated me at many sacrifices. In consequence of this, I bear the mysterious name of S'ipivishṭa. Yāska, that ṛishi of large understanding, having lauded me as S'ipivishṭa, recovered by my favour the Nirukta, which had been destroyed."

R. V. viii. 10, 2.— . . . . *Bṛihaspatiṁ Viśvāndevān ahaṁ huve Indrā-Vishṇū Aśvināv āśu-heshasā* | "I invoke Bṛihaspati, the Viśvedevas, Indra and Vishṇu, and the Aśvins with quickly neighing steeds."

R. V. viii. 12, 16 (=S. V. i. 384; A. V. 20, 111, 1).—*Yat somam Indra Vishṇavi yad vā gha Trite Āptye* | *yad vā Marutsu mandase sam indubhiḥ* | . . . 25. *Yad Indra pṛitanājye devās tvā dadhire puraḥ* | *ād it te haryatā harī vavakshatuḥ* | 26. *Yadā Vṛitraṁ nadī-vṛitaṁ śavasā vajrinn abadhīḥ* | *ād id ityādi* | 27. *Yadā te Vishṇur ojasā trīṇi padā vichakrame* | *ād id ityādi* |

"Whether, Indra, thou [drinkest] soma along with Vishṇu, or with Trita Āptya, or with the Maruts art exhilarated by libations. . . . . 25. When, Indra, the gods placed thee in their front in the battle, then thy dear steeds waxed strong. 26. When, thunderer, thou didst by thy might slay Vṛitra, who stopped up the streams, then thy dear steeds grew strong. 27. When by thy force Vishṇu strode three steps, then thy dear steeds waxed strong."

R. V. viii. 15, 8 (=S. V. 2, 996, f.; A. V. 20, 106, 26).—*Tava dyaur Indra pauṁsyam pṛithivī vardhati śravaḥ* | *tvām āpaḥ parvatāsaś cha hinvire* | 9. *Tvāṁ Vishṇur bṛihan kshayo*[57] *Mitro gṛiṇāti Varuṇaḥ* | *tvāṁ śardho madati anu mārutam* | 10. *Tvaṁ vṛishā janānām maṁhiṣṭhaḥ Indra jajnishe* | *satrā viśvā su-apatyāni dadhishe* |

8. "Indra, the sky augments thy manhood, and the earth thy renown. The waters and the mountains stimulate thee. 9. Vishṇu, who dwells on high, Mitra, and Varuṇa celebrate thee; the troop of Maruts follows thee with exultation. 10. Of all beings, thou, Indra, hast been born the most bountiful hero; thou hast made all things altogether prolific."

R. V. viii. 25, 11.—*Te no nāvam urushyata divā-naktaṁ sudānavaḥ* | *arishyanto ni pāyubhiḥ sachemahi* | 12. *Aghnate Vishṇave vayam arishyantaḥ sudānave* | *śrudhi svayāvan sindho pūrva-chittaye* | 13. (Nir. v. 1) *Tad vāryam vṛiṇīmahe variṣṭhaṁ gopayatyam* | *Mitro yat pānti Varuṇo yad Aryamā* | 14. *Uta naḥ siṇdhur apāṁ tad Marutas tad Aśvinā* | *Indro Vishṇur mīḍhvāṁsaḥ sajoshasaḥ* |

[57] Benfey, in his translation of the Sama-veda, renders *kshaya* by "king." Roth, in his Lexicon, thinks this sense is not established, and renders the words *bṛihan kshayaḥ* by "high abode, *i.e.* heaven, or those who dwell in the high abode, the gods." He also conjectures that the correct reading in this passage may be *bṛihat-kshayaḥ*, "who dwells on high."

"Do ye, bountiful [gods], preserve our bard[58] night and day. May we, free from injury, receive your protection. 12. Free from injury, we [offer praise] to the innocuous, and bountiful Vishṇu. Listen, O self-moving Ocean, [to us] as your first thought. 13. We desire that excellent treasure, worthy to be guarded, which Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman possess. 14. And may the Ocean of waters, may the Maruts, may the Aśvins, Indra, and Vishṇu, all of them prolific, associated together, [bestow] that upon us."

R. V. viii. 27, 8.—*Ā prayāta Maruto Vishṇo Aśvinā Pūshan mākīnayā dhiyā | Indraḥ āyātu prathamaḥ sanishyubhir vṛishā yo vṛitrahā griṇe* | "Come hither, ye Maruts, Vishṇu, Aśvins, Pūshan, at my hymn. May Indra come the first, he who is celebrated by those who desire [his blessing], as the vigorous, the slayer of Vṛitra."

The following hymn, in the seventh verse of which Vishṇu is mentioned, is interesting from the manner in which the various characteristics of the different gods are succinctly described:

R. V. viii. 29, 1 ff.—*Babhrur eko vishuṇaḥ sūnaro yuvā anjī ankte hiraṇyayaṁ* | 2. *Yonim ekaḥ ā sasāda dyotano antar deveshu medhiraḥ* | 3. *Vāśīm eko bibharti haste āyasīm antar deveshu nidhruviḥ* | 4. *Vajram eko bibharti haste āhitaṁ tena vṛitrāṇi jighnate* | 5. *Tigmam eko bibharti haste āyudhaṁ śuchir ugro jalāsha-bheshajaḥ* | 6. *Pathaḥ ekaḥ pīpāya taskaro yathā esha veda nidhīnām* | 7. *Trīṇi ekaḥ urugāyo vi chakrame yatra devāso madanti* | 8. *Vibhir dvā charataḥ ekayā saha pra pravāsā iva vasataḥ* | 9. *Sado dvā chakrāte upamā divi saṁrājā sarpirāsutī* | 10. *Archantaḥ eke mahi sāma manvata tena sūryam arochayan* |

"One[59] is a youth, brown, variable,[60] active. A golden lustre invests him. 2. Another,[61] luminous, has seated himself on the place

[58] Dr. Aufrecht tells me that the word *nāvam* is so accented that it cannot mean "ship." He regards it as a masc. noun from the root *nu*, "to praise;" and assigns to it the sense of "bard," or "hymn." That there is such a word as *nāva* is proved by its occurrence in R. V. ix. 45, 5: *Induṁ nāvāḥ anūshata* | where it must mean "the bards, or hymns, celebrated Indu."

[59] Soma, as the moon, according to the commentator. M. Langlois thinks the sun is meant. Dr. Aufrecht thinks the troop of Maruts, *Marud-gaṇa*, may be meant, to whom, he remarks, the epithet *babhru*, "dark-brown, tawny," is as applicable as it is to their master, Rudra, to whom it is frequently given.

[60] Böhtlingk and Roth understand *vishuṇa* of the changing phases of the moon.

[61] Agni, according to the commentator. *Atra yonim iti lingād Agnir uchyate* |

of sacrifice, wise, amidst the gods. 3. Another[62] holds in his hand an iron axe, steadfast, among the gods. 4. Another[63] holds the thunderbolt poised in his hand, with which he slays his enemies. 5. Another,[64] bright, fiery, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand. 6. Another[65] watches the roads like a robber: he knows the treasures. 7. Another,[66] wide-stepping, strode three [strides, in the regions] where the gods rejoice. 8. Two [others][67] ride on birds (horses) with one [goddess]: they dwell afar, as if abroad. 9. Two [others],[68] the highest, have made their abode in the sky, monarchs, worshipped with butter. 10. Some, worshipping, have meditated a great sāma-hymn, by which they have caused the sun to shine."

R. V. viii. 31, 10.—*Ā śarma parvatānām vriṇīmahe nadīnām ā Vishṇoḥ sachā-bhuvaḥ* | "We seek for protection from the mountains, the rivers, and Vishṇu who is associated with them."

R. V. viii. 35, 1, 14.—1. *Agninā Indreṇa Varuṇena Vishṇunā Ādityaiḥ Rudrair Vasubhiḥ sachā-bhuvā* | *sajoshasā Ushasā Sūryeṇa cha somam pibatam Aśvinā* | 14. *Angirasvantā uta Vishṇuvantā Marutvantā jaritur gachhatho havam ityādi* | "Aśvins, drink the soma-juice, united with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Vishṇu, the Ādityas, Rudra, the Vasus, and associated with Ushas and Sūrya. 14. Attended by Angiras, by Vishṇu, and by the Maruts, you come at the invocation of your worshipper."

R. V. viii. 66, 10.—*Viśvā it tā Vishṇur ābharad urukramas tvā ishitaḥ* | *śatam mahishān kshīra-pākam odanaṁ varāham Indra emusham*| "The wide-striding Vishṇu, urged by thee, O Indra, carried off all [these things], a hundred buffaloes, broth cooked with milk, and a fierce (?) hog."

This verse is considered by Dr. Aufrecht to contain an allusion to

[62] Tvashṭṛi. [63] Indra.

[64] Rudra. Compare R. V. i. 43, 4, where Rudra is named, and the same epithet, *jalāsha-bheshaja*, is applied to him, and R. V. vii. 35, 6, where he is called *jalāsha*, "healing."

[65] Pūshan. [66] Vishṇu.

[67] The Aśvins. In various passages of the R. V., the daughter of the Sun is said to ride on the car of the Aśvins. See the account of these deities in the fifth volume of this work. In R. V. v. 73, 5, the goddess is called Sūryā.

[68] Mitra and Varuṇa.

some myth (also referred to in R. V. i. 61, 7, quoted in p. 67), in which Vishṇu appears to have been represented as carrying off cattle, a hog, and other provisions for the use of Indra. Compare Professor Wilson's note (d) on R. V. i. 61, 7. The same story may be alluded to in R. V. vi. 17, 11, above, p. 81. See also the note there.

Sāyaṇa gives two explanations of the verse (viii. 66, 10), that of the Nairuktas or etymologists, and that of the Aitihasikas or recorders of legends. I cite the latter only. The story there told is the same as I have already cited above (pp. 39 f.) from the Taittirīya Sanhitā; but it is here given in a different and conciser version. Part of the following quotation consists of Sāyaṇa's own application of two Vedic texts, R.V. i. 61, 7, quoted above, p. 67, and viii. 66, 10, which has just been given.

Aitihāsika-pakshe | charaka-brāhmaṇe itihāsaḥ āmnāyate | "Vishṇur yajnaḥ | sa devebhyaḥ ātmānam antaradhāt | tam anya-devatāḥ na avindan | Indras tv avet | sa Indram abravīt 'ko bhavān' iti | tam Indraḥ pratyabravīd 'aham durgāṇām asurāṇāṁ cha hantā | bhavāṁs tu kaḥ' iti | so 'bravīd 'aham durgād āhartā | tvam tu yadi durgāṇām asurāṇāṁ cha hantā tato 'yaṁ varāho vāmā-mushaḥ ekaviṁśatyāḥ purām pāre 'śmanmayīnāṁ vasati | tasminn asurāṇāṁ vasu vāmam asti | tam imaṁ jahi' iti | tasya Indras tāḥ puro bhittvā hṛidayam avidhyat | adhi tatra yad āsīt tad Vishṇur āharad" iti | so 'yam itihāso "asya id u mātuḥ savaneshu" "viśvā it tā Vishṇur" ity ābhyām pratipāditaḥ | tayor madhye "asya id u mātur" ity atra Vishṇunā "he Indra tvam 'durgāṇāṁ hantā' ity ātmānaṁ kathayasi tarhi vāma-mushaṁ varāham asuraṁ jahi" ity uktārtho "vidhyad varāham" iti pādena pratipāditaḥ | Indreṇa cha 'Vishṇo tvaṁ "durgād āhartā" iti brūshe | mayā purāṇi jitāny asuraś cha ghātitas tasya vāmaṁ vasv ānaya' ity ukto Vishṇu-mūrtis tasya Varāhāsurasya dhanam mumosha | so 'rtho "mushāyad Vishṇuḥ pachatam" iti pādena sūchitaḥ | ka kim punar mushitavān iti tad atra uchyate "viśvā it tā" iti |

"On the part of the Aitihāsikas a story is recorded in the Charaka Brāhmaṇa (i.e. the Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda): 'Vishṇu is the sacrifice. He withdrew himself from the sight of the gods. The other gods did not discover him; but Indra knew [where he was]. He said to Indra, Who art thou? Indra replied, I am the destroyer of castles, and Asuras; but who art thou? He said, I am he who

removes [the spoil] from the castle: but if thou art the destroyer of castles and Asuras, then this Varāha, a plunderer of goods, dwells on the other side of twenty-one stone ramparts; in him abide the wealth and property of the Asuras: slay him. Indra broke through these ramparts, and pierced his heart; and Vishṇu carried off all that was found there.' This story is set forth in the two verses, the one beginning 'Having at the libations,' etc. (R. V. i. 61, 7), and 'The wide-striding Vishṇu,' etc. (viii. 66, 10). In the fourth quarter of the first of these verses the words 'pierced the boar' (Varāha) refer to the clause of this story in which Vishṇu says, 'Thou, Indra, callest thyself a destroyer of castles; slay then the Asura Varāha, the plunderer of goods.' The third quarter of the same verse, 'the impetuous Vishṇu stole the cooked mess,' alludes to the other clause of the story in which the being in the form of Vishṇu, being addressed by Indra in the words, 'Vishṇu, thou callest thyself the being who carries off goods from the castle. I (Indra) have conquered the castles and slain the Asura; now, therefore, bring the treasures plundered, the property of the Asura Varāha.' But what was it that he plundered? That is declared in the words, the wide-striding Vishṇu, etc. (viii. 66, 10)." The verse is then explained. The story in the Brāhmaṇa seems to be made up from the obscure hints in the hymns.

R. V. viii. 72, 7 (=Vāj. S. 33, 47).—*Adhi na Indra eshāṁ Vishṇo sajātyānām | ita Maruto Aśvinā* | "Remember, Indra, Vishṇu, Maruts, Aśvins, us thy kinsmen."

R. V. ix. 33, 3 (S. V. 2, 116).—*Sutāḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somāḥ arshanti Vishṇave* | "The soma-draughts poured forth, hasten to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 34, 2.—*Sutaḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo arshati Vishṇave* | "The soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 56, 4.—*Tvam Indrāya Vishṇave svādur Indo pari srava | nṛīn stotṛīn pāhi aṁhasaḥ* | "Indu, do thou flow, sweet, to Indra, to Vishṇu. Preserve from sin the men who praise thee."

R. V. ix. 63, 3.—*Sutaḥ Indrāya Vishṇave somaḥ kalaśe akṣharat | madhumān astu Vāyave* | "The soma, when poured forth, flowed into the vessel for Indra, for Vishṇu. May it be honied for Vāyu."

R. V. ix. 65, 20 (S. V. 2, 345).—*Apsāḥ Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Marudbhyaḥ | somo arshati Vishṇave* | "Pouring forth streams, the soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 90, 5.—*Matsi Soma Varuṇam matsi Mitram matsi Indram Indo pavamāna Vishṇum | matsi śardho Mārutam matsi devān matsi mahām Indram Indo madāya* | "Soma, Indu, purified, thou exhilaratest Varuṇa, thou exhilaratest Mitra, thou exhilaratest Indra, thou exhilaratest Vishṇu, thou exhilaratest the troop of the Maruts, thou exhilaratest the gods, and the great Indra, that they may be merry."

R. V. ix. 96, 5 (=S. V. ii. 293).—*Somaḥ pavate janitā matīnāṁ janitā divo janitā pṛithivyāḥ | janitā Agner janitā Sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitā uta Vishṇoḥ* | "Soma is purified [he who is] the generator of hymns, the generator of the Sky, the generator of the Earth, the generator of Agni, the generator of Sūrya, the generator of Indra, and the generator of Vishṇu."

This verse is quoted, and thus explained in the Nirukta-pariśishṭa, ii. 12: *Somaḥ pavate | somaḥ sūryaḥ prasavanāt | janitā matīnāṁ prakāśa-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ divo dyotana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ pṛithivyāḥ prathana-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ Agner gati-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ Sūryasya svīkaraṇa-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ Indrasya aiśvarya-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ Vishṇor vyāpti-karmaṇām āditya-raśmīnāṁ ity adhidaivatam | atha adhyātmam | somaḥ ātmā apy etasmād eva indriyāṇāṁ janitā ity arthaḥ | api vā sarvābhir vibhūtibhir vibhūtata* (?) *ātmā ity ātma-gatim ācashṭe* | "Soma is purified. Soma is 'sūrya' (the sun), from generating (*prasavanāt*). He is the generator of hymns (or thoughts), i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to reveal; of the Sky, i.e of those solar rays whose function it is to shine; of the Earth, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to spread; of Agni, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to move; of Sūrya, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to appropriate (*svīkaraṇa*); of Indra, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is sovereignty; of Vishṇu, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is diffusion: such is the mythological explanation. Now follows the spiritual interpretation, i.e. that which refers to soul. Soma is also the soul; and for this cause he is the generator of the senses: such is the meaning. Or, he thus declares the course of the soul, that it is variously modified by all its changing manifestations."

R. V. ix. 166, 6 (=S. V. ii. 366),—*Pavasva vāja-sātamaḥ pavitre dhārayā sutaḥ | Indrāya Soma Vishṇave devebhyo madhumattamaḥ |* "Soma, be purified, dispenser of strength, poured out in a stream into the filter, for Indra, for Vishṇu, for the gods, most honied."

R. V. x. 1, 3.—*Vishṇur itthā paramam asya vidvān jāto bṛihann abhi pāti dṛitīyam | āsā yad asya payo akrata svaṁ sachetaso abhi achanti atra |* "Vishṇu, knowing thus his (Agni's) highest [birth-place], when born, the great being, protects his third [birth-place, on earth]. Men unanimously worship him here, when they offer him their libation face to face."[69]

R. V. x. 65, 1.—*Agnir Indro Varuṇo Mitro Aryamā Vāyuḥ Pūshā Sarasvatī sajoshasaḥ | Ādityāḥ Vishṇur Marutaḥ Svar bṛihat Somo Rudro Aditir Brahmaṇaspatiḥ |* "Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Vāyu, Pūshan, Sarasvatī, associated together, the Ādityas, Vishṇu, the Maruts, the great Sky, Soma, Rudra, Aditi, Brahmaṇaspati."

R. V. x. 66, 4, 5.—*Aditir dyāvā-pṛithivī ṛitam mahad Indrā-Vishṇū Marutaḥ Svar bṛihat | devān Ādityān avase havāmahe Vasūn Rudrān Savitāraṁ sudaṁsasam | 5. Sarasvān dhībhir Varuṇo dhṛita-vrataḥ Pūshā Vishṇur mahimā Vāyur Aśvinā | brahma-kṛito ṁmṛitāḥ viśva-vedasaḥ śarma no yaṁsan trivarūtham aṁhasaḥ |*

"We invoke Aditi, Heaven and Earth, the great Ceremonial, Indra and Vishṇu, the Maruts, the great Sky, the divine Ādityas, to our succour, the Vasus, Rudras, and Savitṛi, the wonder-working. 5. May Sarasvat, through our prayers, may Varuṇa, whose ordinances are fixed, Pūshan, Vishṇu, the great Power, Vāyu, the Aśvins, the immortals, offerers of prayer, possessors of all wealth, grant us a triple protection from evil."

R. V. x. 92, 11.—*Te hi dyāvā-pṛithivī bhūri-retasā Narāśāṁsaś chaturango Yamo 'ditiḥ | devas Tvashṭā Draviṇodāḥ Ṛibhukshaṇaḥ pra rodasī Maruto Vishṇur arhire |* "The prolific Heaven and Earth, the four-limbed Narāśansa, Yama, Aditi, the god Tvashṭṛi, Draviṇodas, the Ṛibhukshans, the two worlds, the Maruts, Vishṇu have been honoured."

R. V. x. 113, 1.—*Tam asya dyāvā-pṛithivī sachetasā viśvebhir devair anu śushmam āvatām | yad ait kṛiṇvāno mahimānam indriyam pītvī somasya kratumān avardhata | 2. Tam asya Vishṇur mahimānam ojasā*[69*]

[69] See above p. 66 f.; and the fifth volume of this work, p. 207.

[69*] The same combination of words, *mahimānam ojasā*, occurs in R. V. v. 81, 3, above, p. 72.

aṁśuṁ dadhanvān madhuno vi rapśate | devebhir Indro maghavā sayāvabhir Vṛitraṁ jaghanvān abhavad varenyaḥ | "The concordant heaven and earth, with all the gods, have stimulated that vigour of his. When he went on displaying his energetic greatness, drinking the soma, the powerful god exulted. 2. Vishṇu, in his might, bringing the soma plant, [the source of] his greatness, is full of the honied juice. Indra, the opulent, with the gods attending, having slain Vṛitra, became distinguished."

R. V. x. 128, 2 (A. V. 5, 33).—*Mama devāḥ vihave santu sarve Indravanto Maruto Vishṇur Agnir ityādi |* "May the gods all attend on my invocation, the Maruts with Indra, Vishṇu, Agni," etc.

R. V. x. 141, 3 (Vāj. S. 9, 26; A. V. 3, 20, 4).—*Somaṁ rājānam avase 'gniṁ gīrbhir havāmahe*[70] *| Ādityān Vishṇuṁ Sūryam brahmāṇancha Bṛihaspatim | . . .* 5c (Vāj. S. 9, 27; A. V. 3, 20, 7.) *Aryamaṇam Bṛihaspatim Indraṁ dānāya chodaya | Vātaṁ Vishṇuṁ Sarasvatīṁ Savitārancha vājinam |* "We invoke with hymns king Soma, to our aid, and the Ādityas, Vishṇu, Sūrya, and the priest Bṛihaspati. 5. Excite Aryaman, Bṛihaspati, Indra, to generosity, and Vāta, Vishṇu, Sarasvatī, and Savitṛi, the heroic."

R. V. x. 181, 1.—*Prathaś cha yasya Saprathaś cha nāma ānushṭubhasya havisho havir yat | Dhātur dyutānāt Savituś cha Vishṇoḥ rathantaram ā jabhāra Vasishṭhaḥ | 2. Avindan te atihitaṁ yad āsīd yajnasya dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat | Dhātur dyutānād Savituś cha Vishṇor Bharadvājo bṛihad ā chakre Agneḥ | 3. Te 'vindan manasā dīdhyānāḥ yajuḥ skannam prathamaṁ devayānam | Dhātur dyutānād Savituś cha Vishṇor ā Sūryād abharan gharmam ete |*

"Vasishṭha has received from the shining Dhātṛi, from Savitṛi, and from Vishṇu, the Rathantara, that which is the offering of the fourfold sacrifice, whereof Prathas and Saprathas are the names. 2. These [sages] discovered what was very far removed, the supreme and secret abode of sacrifice. Bharadvāja has received the Bṛihat from the shining Dhātṛi, from Savitṛi, from Vishṇu, and from Agni. 3. Contemplating with their minds, these [sages] discovered the descended Yajush, the first path to the gods. From the shining Dhātṛi, Savitṛi, Vishṇu, Sūrya, they brought down Gharma."

R. V. x. 184, 1 (=A. V. 5, 25, 5).—*Vishṇur yoniṁ kalpayatu Tvashṭā*

[70] The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā reads *anvārabhāmahe* instead of *gīrbhir havāmahe*.

rūpāṇi piṁśatu | ā sinchatu Prajāpatir Dhātā garbhaṁ dadhātu te | "Let Vishṇu form the womb; let Tvashṭṛi mould the forms; let Prajāpati infuse [the seminal principle]; let Dhātṛi form the embryo."

SECT. II.—*Subordinate position occupied by Vishṇu in the hymns of the Rig-veda as compared with other deities.*

The preceding passages are all, or nearly all, which the Rig-veda contains regarding Vishṇu. In my remarks on R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. (above p. 64 ff.), I have quoted the opinions of two of the most ancient interpreters of the Veda, Śākapūṇi and Aurṇavābha, on the character of Vishṇu. The former regards him as a god who, in what are called his three strides, is manifested in a threefold form, as Agni on earth, as Indra or Vāyu in the atmosphere, and as the Sun in heaven. The second writer, Aurṇavābha, on the other hand, interprets Vishṇu's three strides as the rising, culmination, and the setting of the sun. These three strides are also noticed, as we have seen above, in R. V. i. 154, 1, 2, 3, 4; i. 155, 4, 5; vi. 49, 13; vii. 100, 3, 4; viii. 29, 7; while in other places (R. V. ii. 1, 3; iii. 54, 14; iv. 3, 7; iv. 18, 11; viii. 89, 12; v. 3, 3; v. 87, 4; viii. 9, 12; viii. 66, 10; x. 1, 3) the epithet "wide-stepping," or "wide-striding," is either applied to this deity, or, at least, some allusion is made to this function, or to this god's station in the heavens. In R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 6, Indra is associated with Vishṇu as taking vast strides.

As the peculiar divine office of Vishṇu, indicated by his three steps, stages, or stations, was differently understood by the oldest interpreters whose opinions have been handed down to us, it is natural to suppose that it was not so clearly defined or understood as the functions of some of the other gods, as Agni and Indra for example. But the specific character of many, I may say most, of the Vedic gods is far from being distinctly determined in the hymns.

Some other acts of even a higher character are attributed to Vishṇu. In R. V. i. 154, 1, 2; vii. 99, 2, 3, he is said to have established the heavens and the earth, to contain all the worlds in his strides; in R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 4, to have, with Indra, made the atmosphere wide, stretched out the worlds, produced the sun, the dawn and fire; in R. V. i. 156, 4, to have received

the homage of Varuṇa; while in R. V. vii. 99, 2, his greatness is described as having no limit within the ken of present or future beings. The attributes ascribed to Vishṇu in some of these passages are such that, if these latter stood alone in the Rig-veda, they might lead us to suppose that this deity was regarded by the Vedic Rishis as the chief of all the gods. But, as we have already seen, Indra is associated with Vishṇu even in some of those texts in which the latter is most highly magnified (as R. V. i. 155, 1 ff.; vi. 69, 1 ff.; vii. 99, 4 ff.; viii. 15, 10); nay, in one place (R. V. viii. 12, 27), the power by which Vishṇu takes his three strides is described as being derived from Indra; in R. V. iv. 18, 11, vi. 20, 2, and viii. 89, 12, he is the associate of Indra; in another text (R.V. viii. 15, 9), Vishṇu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises; while, in R. V. ix. 96, 5, Vishṇu is said to have been generated by Soma.

It is also a fact, notorious to all the students of the Rig-veda, that the hymns and verses which are dedicated to the praises of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Maruts, the Aśvins, etc., are extremely numerous; whilst the entire hymns and separate verses in which Vishṇu is celebrated are much fewer, and have all, or nearly all, been adduced in the preceding pages.

The reader will also have noticed that, in a large number of shorter passages which I have cited, Vishṇu is introduced as the subject of laudation among a great crowd of other divinities, from whom he is there in no way distinguished as being in any respect superior. From this fact, we may conclude that he was regarded by those writers as on a footing of equality with the other deities.

Further, the Rig-veda contains numerous texts in which the Ṛishis ascribe to Indra, Varuṇa, and other gods, the same high and awful attributes and functions which are spoken of in the hymns before cited as belonging to Vishṇu. I shall quote a sufficient number of these texts to show that, in the Rig-veda, Vishṇu does not hold a higher rank than several of these other divinities. If, on the other hand, we look to the large number of texts, in which, as I have just stated, some of the other gods are celebrated, and to the comparatively small number of those in which Vishṇu is exclusively or prominently magnified, we shall come to the conclusion that the latter deity occupied a somewhat subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the ancient rishis.

I shall first adduce a number of passages in which divine attributes and functions of the highest character are ascribed to Indra.[71]

R. V. i. 7, 3—*Indro dīrghāya chakshase ā sūryaṁ rohayad divi ityādi* | "Indra has raised up the sun in the sky to be seen from afar," etc.

R. V. i. 52, 8.— . . . . *ayachhathāḥ bāhvor vajram āyasam adhārayo divi ā sūryaṁ dṛiśe* | . . . . 12. *Tvam asya pāre rajaso vyomanaḥ svabhūty-ojāḥ ajase dhṛishan-manaḥ* | *chakṛishe bhūmim pratimānam ojasaḥ apaḥ svaḥ paribhūr eshi ā divam* | 13. *Tvam bhuvaḥ pratimānam pṛithivyāḥ ṛishva-vīrasya bṛihataḥ patir bhūḥ* | *viśvam ā aprāḥ antarikśam mahitvā satyam addhā nakir anyas tvāvān* | 14. *Na yasya dyāvā-pṛithivī anu vyacho na sindhavo rajaso antam ānaśuḥ* | *nota svavṛishṭim made asya yudhyataḥ eko anyach chakṛishe viśvam ānushak* |

"Thou hast grasped in thine arms the iron thunderbolt; thou hast placed the sun in the sky to be viewed. . . . . 12. [Dwelling] on the further side of this atmospheric world, deriving thy power from thyself, daring in spirit, thou, for our advantage, hast made the earth, the counterpart[72] of [thy] energy; encompassing the waters and the sky, thou reachest up to heaven. 13. Thou art the counterpart of the earth, the lord of the lofty sky, with its exalted heroes. Thou hast filled[73] the whole atmosphere with thy greatness. Truly there is none other like unto thee.[74] 14. Whose vastness neither heaven and earth have equalled, nor the rivers of the atmosphere have attained its limit,—not when, in his exhilaration, he fought against the appropriator of the rain (?); thou alone hast made everything else in due succession."

R. V. i. 55, 1.—*Divaś chid asya varimā vi paprathe Indraṁ na mahnā pṛithivī chana prati* | "His vastness is extended even beyond the sky: the earth is not comparable to Indra in greatness."

R. V. i. 61, 9.—*Asya id eva praririche mahitvaṁ divas pṛithivyāḥ pari antarikshāt ityādi* | "His greatness transcends the sky, the earth, and surpasses the atmosphere," etc.

[71] Compare the additional texts of the same tenor in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 99 ff.

[72] Compare R. V. i. 102, 8; ii. 12, 9; x. 111, 5 (below). The word *pratimāna* also occurs in R. V. x. 138, 3.—See the second volume of this work, p. 362.

[73] Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; ii. 15, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 20, 4; vii. 20, 4; vii. 98, 3; and x. 134, 1 (below).

[74] Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; iv. 30, 1; vi. 30, 4; and vii. 32, 23 (below).

R. V. i. 81, 5.—*Ā paprau pārthivaṁ rajo badbadhe rochanā divi | na tvāvān Indra kaśchana na jāto na janishyate ati viśvaṁ vavakshitha |* "He has filled the terrestrial region: he has fastened the luminaries in the sky. No one like thee, Indra, hath been born, or shall be born: thou hast transcended the universe."

R. V. i. 102, 8.—*Trivishṭi-dhātu pratimānam ojasas tisro bhūmīr nṛipate trīṇi rochanā | ati idaṁ viśvam bhuvanaṁ vavakshitha aśatrur Indra janushā sanād asi |* "The three worlds, O king, the three luminaries are a triple counterpart of [thy] energy. Thou hast transcended this whole universe. By nature, Indra, thou art of old without an enemy."[75]

R. V. i. 103, 2.—*Sa dhārayat pṛithivīm paprathachcha vajreṇa hatvā nir apaḥ sasarja | ahann Ahim ityādi |* "He established the earth and stretched it out; smiting with the thunderbolt, he let loose the waters. He slew Ahi," etc.

R. V. i. 121, 2.—*Stambhīd hā dyāṁ ityādi |* 3. . . . *tastambhad dyāṁ chatushpade naryāya dvipade |* "He has supported the sky, etc. 3. . . . . He has propped up the sky for the four-footed [beasts], and for the two-footed race of man."

R. V. ii. 12, 1 (Nirukta, x. 10).—*Yo jātaḥ eva prathamo manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūshat*[76] *| Yasya śushmād rodasī abhyasetāṁ nṛimṇasya mahnā sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ |* 2. *Yaḥ pṛithivīṁ vyathamānām adṛiṁhad yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramṇāt | yo antarikshaṁ vimame varīyo yo dyām astabhnāt sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ |* 9. . . . . *Yo viśvasya pratimānam babhūva yo achyuta-chyut sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ |* 13. *Dyāvā chid asmai pṛithivī namete śushmāch chid asya parvatāḥ bhayante ityādi |*

"He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, through the greatness of his strength, he, O men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains;

[75] Compare R.V. viii. 21, 13; x. 133, 2 (below).

[76] *Kratunā karmaṇā paryabhavat paryagṛihṇāt parāṅarakshad atyakrāmad vā . . . nṛimṇasya mahnā balasya mahattvena.*—Nirukta. At the end of the comment the writer adds: *iti ṛisher dṛishṭārthasya prītir bhavaty ākhyāna-saṁyuktā |* "Thus when the rishi has seen the subject [of his hymn], gratification ensues, conjoined with a narrative."

who measured[77] the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, O men, is Indra. 9. . . He who has been a counterpart of the universe; who casts down the unskaken, he, O men, is Indra. . . . 13. Even the sky and the earth bow down to him; even of his might the mountains are afraid," etc.

R. V. ii. 15, 1.—*Pra gha nu asya mahato mahāni satyā satyasya karaṇāni vocham | trikadrukeshu apibat sutasya asya made ahim Indro jaghāna | 2. Avaṁśe dyām astabhāyad bṛihantam ā rodasī apṛiṇad antarikṣham | sa dhārayat pṛithivīm paprathach cha somasya tā made Indraś chakāra | 3. Sadmeva prācho vi mimāya mānair ityādi |*

"I declare the mighty deeds of this mighty one; the true acts of this true one. From the three cups Indra drank of the soma, and in its exhilaration he slew Ahi. 2. He propped up the vast sky in empty space;[78] he hath filled the two worlds, and the atmosphere. He hath upheld the earth, and stretched it out. Indra has done these things in the exhilaration of the soma. 3. He measured with measures the eastern (regions) as an abode," etc.

R. V. iii. 30, 9.—*Ni sāmanām ishirām Indra bhūmim mahīm apārām sadane sasattha | astabhnād dyāṁ vṛishabho antarikṣham arshantu āpas tvayeha prasūtāḥ |* "Thou, Indra, hast fixed in its place the level, the blooming,[79] earth, the great, the boundless. The vigorous god has propped up the sky, and the atmosphere: may the waters flow, sent forth now by thee."

R. V. iii. 32, 7.—*Yajāma id namasā vṛiddham Indram bṛihantam ṛishvam ajaraṁ yuvānam | yasya priye mamatur yajniyasya na rodasī mahimānam mamāte | 8. Indrasya karma sukṛitā purūṇi vratāni devāḥ na minanti viśve | dādhāra yaḥ pṛithivīṁ dyām utemāṁ jajāna sūryam ushasaṁ sudaṁsāḥ | 9. Adrogha satyaṁ tava tad mahitvaṁ sadyo yaj jāto apibo ha somam | na dyāvaḥ Indra tavasas te ojo nāhā na māsāḥ śarado varanta*[80] |

[77] Compare R.V. i. 154, 1, 3, and the other corresponding passages above, p. 69 ff.; and R.V. ii. 15, 3, immediately following. The word here, however, may mean "constructed." With the first part of the verse compare R. V. x. 149, 1, below (p. 110).

[78] Compare R. V. x. 149, 1 (below); and Job xxvi. 7, "He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing." See also R. V. x. 111. 5; and vi. 72, 2 (below).

[79] Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, explain *ishira* as meaning "fresh," "blooming."

[80] Compare verse 16 of this same hymn, and R. V. viii. 77, 3: *Na tvā bṛihanto adrayo varante |* "The mighty mountains do not stop thee."

"We worship, with reverence, the mighty Indra, the powerful, the exalted, the undecaying, the youthful. The beloved[81] worlds (heaven and earth) have not measured, nor do they [now] measure, the greatness of this adorable being.[82] 8. Many are the excellent works which Indra has done; not all the gods are able to frustrate the counsels of him, who established the earth, and this sky, and, wonder-working, produced the sun and the dawn. 9. O innoxious god, thy greatness has been veritable since that time when, as soon as thou wast born, thou didst drink the soma. Neither the heavens, nor the days, nor the months, nor the seasons, can resist the energy of thee [who art] mighty."

R. V. iii. 44, 3.—*Dyām Indro haridhāyasam pṛithivīm̃ harivarpasam| adhārayad ityādi* | "Indra upheld the sky with its golden supports, and the earth with its golden form," etc.[83]

R. V. iv. 16, 5.—*Vavakshe Indro amitam ṛijīshī ubhe ā prapau rodasī mahitvā* | *ataś chid asya mahimā virechi abhi yo viśvā bhuvanā babhūva* | "The impetuous[84] Indra hath waxed immeasurably; he has filled both worlds with his vastness. Even beyond this extends the majesty of him who transcends all the worlds."

R. V. iv. 30, 1.—*Nakir Indra tvad uttaro na jyāyān asti Vṛitrahan| nakir eva yathā tvam* | "There is none, Indra, higher than thee, or superior to thee, thou slayer of Vṛitra; neither is there any like thee."

R. V. vi. 17, 7.—*Pāprātha kshām mahi dam̃so vi ūrvīm upa dyām ṛishvo bṛihad Indra stabhāyaḥ* | *adhārayo rodasī devaputre pratne mātarā yahvī ṛitasya* | "Thou hast filled the broad earth with thy mighty

[81] Sāyaṇa explains *priye* as meaning *aparimite*, "immeasurable."—See vii. 87, 2.

[82] Dr. Aufrecht proposes to translate the last clause thus: "his beloved (spouses), heaven and earth, imagine, but do not measure (=comprehend) the greatness of this holy being." He regards the repetition of the root *mā* "to measure" in two different forms as purposeless, and conjectures that *mamatuḥ* may be the perfect of *man*, and used for *mamanatuḥ* or *mamnatuḥ*. Compare the aorist *amata*, and *sasavān* for *sasanvān;* see also R. V. vii. 31, 7: *Mahān asi yasya te 'nu svadhāvarī sahaḥ* | *mamnāte Indra rodasī* | "Thou art great, (thou) to whose energy the self-supporting Heaven and Earth have submitted themselves."

[83] In the hymn from which this verse is taken, the changes are rung on the words *hari*, *harita*, etc.

[84] See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *ṛijīshin*, and Benfey's note 260, on R.V, i. 32, 6, in his "Orient und Occident." The verse before us (iv. 16, 5) is translated by the same author in his Glossary to S.V., p. 162. See also his Glossary to the Sāmaveda, *s.v. ṛijīshin*.

works; thou, Indra, exalted, hast mightily propped up the sky; thou hast supported the two worlds, of whom the gods are the offspring, the ancient and mighty parents of holy rites."

R. V. vi. 30, 4.—*Satyam it tad na tvāvān anyo asti Indra devo na martyo jyāyān ityādi* | "This is a truth, there is no other, god or mortal, like thee, Indra, or greater than thee," etc.

R. V. vi. 31, 2.—*Tvad-bhiyā Indra pārthivāni viśvā achyutā chit chyāvayante rajāṁsi* | *dyāvā-kshāmā parvatāso vanāni viśvaṁ dṛiḷham bhayate ajmann ā te* | "Through fear of thee, Indra, all the mundane regions, however steady, totter; heaven and earth, mountains, forests, everything that is fixed, is afraid at thy coming."

R. V. vi. 38, 3.—*Taṁ vo dhiyā paramayā purājām ajaram Indram abhi anūshi arkair ityādi* | "I have lauded with an excellent prayer, and with praises, thee, Indra, born of old, and undecaying."

R. V. vii. 20, 4.—*Ubhe chid Indra rodasī mahitvā ā paprātha tavishībhis tuvishmaḥ ityādi* | "Thou, powerful Indra, hast filled both worlds with thy mighty deeds," etc.

R. V. vii. 32, 16.—*Tava id Indra avamaṁ vasu tvam pushyasi madhyamam* | *satrā viśvasya paramasya rājasi nakis tvā goshu vṛiṇvate* | . . . . 22. *Abhi tvā śūra nonumaḥ adugdhāḥ iva dhenavaḥ* | *īśānam asya jagataḥ svardṛiśam īśānam Indra tasthushaḥ* | 23. *Na tvāvān anyo divyo na pārthivo na jāto na janishyate ityādi*[85] |

"Thine, O Indra, is the lowest wealth; thou possessest the middle; verily thou rulest over all the very highest; none resist thee among the cattle. . . . . 22. We, O heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord of this moving, and of the stationary [world]. 23. No one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to thee."

R. V. vii. 98, 3 (=A. V., 20, 87, 3).— . . . . *Ā Indra paprātha uru antarikshaṁ yudhā devebhyo varivaś chakartha* | . . . . "Indra, thou hast filled the wide sky: thou hast by battle acquired freedom for the gods."[86]

[85] This entire hymn is translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 543 ff.

[86] The words at the close of this verse occur also in R.V. i. 59, 5 (see below). In regard to *varivaḥ*, compare R. V. i. 63, 7: *aṁhoḥ rājan varivaḥ Pūruve kaḥ* | "Thou affordedst relief to Pūru from his strait." The word occurs R. V. ix. 97, 16, in the plural, *varivāṁsi kṛiṇvan*. In the Nighantu, 2, 10, it is said to mean "wealth."

R. V. viii. 3, 6 (=S. V. ii. 938).—*Indro mahnā rodasī paprathach chhavaḥ Indraḥ sūryam arochayat | Indre ha viśvā bhuvanāni yemire ityādi* | "The mighty Indra by his power has spread out the two worlds; Indra has lighted up the Sun: on Indra all the worlds are supported," etc.[87]

R. V. viii. 21, 13 (=S. V. 1, 399; A. V. 20, 114, 1)—*Abhrātṛivyo anā tvam anāpir Indra janushā sanād asi | yudhā id āpitvam ichhase* | "Indra, by thy nature, thou art indeed of old without a rival, without a fellow. By battle thou seekest alliance."

R. V. viii. 36, 4.—*Janitā divo janitā pṛithivyaḥ ityādi* | "Generator of the sky, generator of the earth," etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 37, 3.—*Ekarāḍ asya bhuvanasya rājasi ityādi* | "Thou rulest a sole monarch over this world," etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 51, 2.—*Ayujo asamo nṛibhir ekaḥ kṛishṭīr ayāsyaḥ | pūrvīr ati pravāvṛidhe viśvā jātāny ojasā ityādi* | "Without a fellow, unequalled by men, [Indra] alone, unconquerable, has surpassed in power many tribes, and all creatures."

R. V. viii. 59, 5 (=S. V. i. 278).—*Yad dyāvaḥ Indra te śataṁ śatam bhūmīr uta syuḥ | na tvā vajrin sahasraṁ sūryāḥ anu na jātam ashṭa rodasī* | "If, Indra, a hundred skies, and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor could anything created, [nor] the two worlds."

This verse is quoted and briefly commented on in the Nirukta Pariśishta i. 1, ff.: *Atha imāḥ atistutayaḥ ity ākhakshate api vā sampratyayaḥ eva syād mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ | . . Yadi te Indra śataṁ divaḥ śatam bhūmayaḥ pratimānāni syur na tvā vajrin sahasram api sūryāḥ na dyāvāpṛithivyāv apy abhyaśnuvītām iti* | "Now these [which follow] are what are called exaggerated praises; or they may be expressions of perfect faith owing to the grandeur of the Deity." Then, after citing

[87] In the 8th verse of this hymn (=S. V. 1, 924; Vāj. S. 33, 97; A. V. 20, 99, 2) the following words occur: *asyed Indro vāvṛidhe vṛishṇyaṁ śavo made sutasya vishṇavi* | "Indra increased his fecundating strength, in the exhilaration of this soma, at the sacrifice." *Vishṇavi*, the word here rendered "sacrifice," is the locative case of vishṇu. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, think the word here has this sense, as the Brāhmaṇas frequently employ the phrase *yajno vai Vishṇuḥ* | "Vishṇu is the sacrifice." The commentator of the Vāj. Sanhitā explains it by *sarva-śarīra-vyāpake*, "That which pervades the whole body." Sāyaṇa, too, makes it=*kṛitsna-dehasya vyāpake* |

passages referring to Agni and Varuṇa, the writer quotes the verse before us, and thus paraphrases it: "If, Indra, a hundred skies, a hundred earths be the counterparts [with which thou art compared], not even a thousand suns, O thunderer, nor heaven and earth, can equal thee."

R. V. viii. 67, 5.—*Nakīm Indro nikartave na Śakraḥ pariśaktave viśvaṁ śṛiṇoti paśyati* | "Indra is not to be overcome, Śakra is not to be overpowered. He hears and sees all things." [88]

R. V. viii. 77, 4.—*Yoddhā 'si kratvā śavasota, daṁsanā viśvā jātā abhi majmanā* | *ā tvā ayam arkaḥ ūtaye vavartati yaṁ Gotamāḥ ajījanan* | 5. (S. V. 1, 312.) *Pra hi ririkshe ojasā divo antebhyas* [89] *pari* | *na tvā vivyācha rajaḥ Indra pārthivaṁ anu svadhāṁ vavakshitha* |

"A warrior, thou surpassest all creatures in power, in vigour, in exploits, in strength. This hymn, which the Gotamas have generated, incites thee to succour us. 5. For by thy might thou hast overpassed the bounds of the sky. The mundane region hath not contained thee: thou hast grown according to thine own will." [90]

R. V. viii. 78, 5 (=S. V. ii. 779 f.)—*Yaj jāyathāḥ apūrvya Maghavan Vṛitra-hatyāya* | *tat pṛithivīm aprathayas tad astabhnāḥ uta dyām* | 6. *Tat te yajno ajāyata tad arkaḥ uta haskṛitiḥ* | *tad viśvam abhibhūr asi yaj jātaṁ yachcha jantvam* | [91]

"When thou, O unrivalled Maghavan (Indra), wast born for the destruction of Vṛitra, then thou didst spread out the earth, and then thou didst establish the sky. 6. Then was thy sacrifice produced; then thy hymn and thy song of praise. Then thou didst transcend all things that have been born, or shall be born."

R. V. viii. 82, 11.—*Yasya te nu chid ādiśaṁ na minanti svarājyaṁ na devo na adhrigur jaṇaḥ* | "Whose command, and empire, no one,—whether god, or audacious mortal,—can resist."

R. V. viii. 86, 9.—*Na tvā devāsaḥ āśata na martyāso adrivaḥ* | *viśvā*

[88] This hymn is translated by Professor Müller, Zeitsch. D. M. G. for 1853, p. 375.

[89] Instead of *antebhyaḥ* the S. V. reads *sadobhyaḥ*.

[90] At the end of the verse the S. V. reads *ati viśvam vavakshitha* | "Thou hast transcended the universe." On the sense of *svadhā*, see Roth, Illust. of Nir. pp. 40 f. and 132; and Müller, Transl. of R. V. vol. i. pp. 49 ff.

[91] Compare the words *yad bhūtaṁ yachcha bhāvyam* in the Puruṣha Sūkta, R. V. x. 90, 2. See the first volume of this work, in the early part of which this entire hymn is translated.

jātāni śavasā abhibhūr asi ityādi | 10 (S. V. i. 370). *Viśvāḥ pṛitanāḥ abhibhūtaraṁ naraṁ*[92] *sajūs tatakshur Indraṁ jajanuś cha rājase* | *kratvā varishṭhaṁ vare*[93] *āmurim uta ugram ojishṭhaṁ tavasam*[94] *tarasvinam* |

"Thee, O hurler of rocks, neither gods nor mortals have equalled. Thou transcendest in power all creatures, etc. 10. They, united, have formed and generated for dominion the heroic Indra, the vanquisher of all armies, eminent in power, destroyer, fierce, strong, vigorous, and swift."

R. V. viii. 87, 2.—*Tvam Indra abhibhūr asi tvaṁ sūryam arochayaḥ* | *viśvakarmā viśvadevo mahān asi* | "Thou, Indra, art the most powerful; thou hast kindled the sun; thou art great, the architect of all things, and the lord of all."

R. V. x. 43, 5 (=A. V. 20, 17, 5; Nir. 5, 22).—*Kṛitaṁ na śvaghnī vichinoti devane saṁvargaṁ yaṁ Maghavā sūryaṁ jayat* | *na tat te anyo anu vīryaṁ śakad na purāṇo Maghavan na uta nūtanaḥ* | "When Maghavan has conquered spoils[95] from the sun, he is like a gamester who gathers in his gains at play.[96] No other, Maghavan, either old or recent, can imitate that thy prowess."

R. V. x. 48, 3.—*Mahyaṁ Tvashṭā vajram atakshad āyasam mayi devāso avṛijann api kratum* | *mama anīkaṁ sūryasya iva dustaram mām āryanti kṛitena kartvena cha* | "Tvashṭṛi fashioned for me (Indra) an iron thunderbolt; into me the gods have infused force. My splendour is unsurpassed, like that of the sun. Men praise me for what I have done and shall do."

R. V. x. 86, 1 (=A. V. xx. 126, 1).—. . . . *viśvasmād Indraḥ uttaraḥ* | (Repeated at the close of every verse of this hymn.) "Indra is superior to every other."

[92] The Sāma-veda reads *naraḥ*.

[93] The Sāma-veda reads *kratve vare sthemany āmurim*. It is difficult to assign a sense to *vare* in the text.

[94] The Sāma-veda reads *tarasaṁ*.

[95] Sāyaṇa explains *saṁvargam* as = *saṁyag vṛishṭer varjayitāram* | "discharger of rain." The word, as Dr. Aufrecht informs me, occurs only once again in the R. V. viz. in viii. 64, 12: *saṁvargam saṁ rayiṁ jaya* | and he adds that the translation "spoils" is supported by several passages of the S'. I. Br. *e.g.* i. 7, 2, 24 (p. 69): *pitur dāyam upeyuḥ . . . kathaṁ nv imam api saṁvṛiṅjīmahi* (Schol. *apaharemahi*): Ibid. *samavṛinjata, saṁvṛinkte.* S'. P. Br. i. 9, 2, 34: *sarvaṁ yajñaṁ saṁvṛijya* (=*samāpti-pūrvaṁ saṁhṛitya*). In the R. V. Indra is called *samvṛik samatsu* "the spoiler in battles."

[96] The same phrases occur in R. V. x. 42, 9, and A. V. 7, 50, 6; 20, 89, 9.

R. V. x. 111, 1.—*Manīshiṇaḥ pra bharadhvam manīshāṁ yathā yathā matayaḥ santi nṛiṇām | Indraṁ satyair ā īrayāma kṛitebhiḥ sa hi vīro girvaṇasyur vidānaḥ | 2. Ṛitasya hi sadaso dhītir adyaut saṁ gārshṭeyo vṛishabho gobhir ānaṭ | ud atishṭhat taviṣheṇa raveṇa mahānti chid saṁvivyācha rajāṁsi | 3. Indraḥ kila śrutyai asya veda sa hi jishṇuḥ pathikṛit sūryāya | ād menāṁ kṛiṇvann achyuto bhuvad goḥ patir divaḥ sanajāḥ apratītaḥ | 4. Indro mahnā mahato arṇavasya vratā aminād Angirobhir gṛiṇānaḥ | purūṇi chid ni tatāna rajāṁsi dādhāra yo dharuṇaṁ satyatātā | 5. Indro divaḥ pratimānaṃ pṛithivyāḥ viśvā veda savanā hanti Śushṇam | mahīṁ chid dyām ā atanot sūryeṇa chāskambha chit skambhanena skabhīyān |*

"Sages, present the prayer, according as are the various thoughts of men. Let us move Indra, with his genuine acts, for he is a hero, and loves our hymns. 2. The hymn has shone forth from the place of sacrifice. The bull, offspring of a heifer, has approached the cows; he has arisen with a loud bellowing; he has embraced in himself the vast regions. 3. Indra by hearing is surely aware of this [hymn]. For he, the victorious, has formed a path for the sun, and then creating the female of the bull, became the unshaken, eternal and matchless lord of the sky (compare R. V. i. 51, 13; i. 121, 2). 4. Celebrated by the Angirases, Indra by his power has defeated the designs of the great streaming [cloud-demon];[97] he has stretched out many worlds, he who has laid a foundation in truth. 5. Indra, [who is] the counterpart of the heaven and of the earth, knows all libations, slays Śushṇa; with the sun, he has extended the vast sky, and, [being] a strong supporter, he has supported it with a support."[98]

R. V. x. 133, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1151).—*Tvaṁ sindhūn avāsṛijaḥ adharācho ahann Ahim | śatrur Indra jajnishe viśvam pushyasi vāryam ityādi* | "Thou hast let loose the streams to flow downwards; thou hast slain Ahi. Indra, thou hast been born without a foe: thou possessest all that is desirable," etc.

R. V. x. 134, 1 (=S. V. i. 379).—*Ubhe yad Indra rodasī āpaprātha*

[97] That this is the allusion in the word *arṇava* is shown by the following passage: R. V. x. 67, 2.—*Indro mahnā mahato arṇavasya vi mūrdhānam abhinad Arbudasya ityādi* | "Indra by his power split asunder the head of the great streaming Arbuda," etc.

[98] Compare R. V. vi. 72, 2, below.

ushāḥ iva | mahāntaṁ tvā mahīnāṁ saṁrājaṁ charshaṇīnām | devī janitrī ajījanad bhadrā janitrī ajījanat[99] | "When thou, Indra, like the dawn, didst fill both the worlds, a divine mother bore thee, the mighty monarch of mighty creatures,—a gracious mother bore thee."

How great soever the attributes assigned to Indra may be, we see that here he is not regarded as a self-existent being, but as the son of a mother. See the earlier part of the account of this deity in the fifth volume of this work.

The two following texts refer to Indra in conjunction with another god:

R. V. vi. 72, 2.—*Indrā-Somā vāsayatha ushāsam ut sūryaṁ nayatho jyotishā saha | upa dyāṁ skambhathuḥ skambhanena aprathatam pṛithivīm mātaraṁ vi* | "Indra and Soma, ye cause the dawn to shine, ye make the sun to rise with the light. Ye have propped up the sky with a support,[100] ye have spread out the earth, the mother."

R. V. vii. 82, 5.—*Indrā-Varuṇā yad imāni chakrathur viśvā jātāni bhuvanasya majmanā ityādi* | "Indra and Varuṇa, since ye have made all these creatures of the world by your power," etc.

The passages next following celebrate the divine attributes of Varuṇa:

R. V. i. 24, 8.—*Uruṁ hi rajā Varuṇaś chakāra sūryāya panthām anu-etavai u ityādi* | "King Varuṇa hath made a broad path for the sun to follow," etc.

R. V. ii. 27, 10.—*Tvaṁ viśveshāṁ Varuṇa asi rājā ye cha devāḥ asura ye cha martāḥ* | "Thou, divine Varuṇa, art king of all, both of those who are gods, and of those who are men."—Quoted in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 534.

R. V. vi. 70, 1.—*Ghṛitavatī bhuvanānām abhiśriyā ūrvī pṛithvī madhu-dughe supeśasā | dyāvā-pṛithivī Varuṇasya dharmaṇā vishkabhite ajare bhūri-retasā* | "Full of fatness, the common abodes of creatures, wide, broad, dropping sweetness, beautiful in form, heaven and earth are sustained asunder by the support of Varuṇa, undecaying, abundant in fertility."

R. V. vii. 86, 1.—*Dhīrā tu asya mahinā janūṁshi vi yas tastambha rodasī chid urvī | pra nākam ṛishvaṁ nunude bṛihantaṁ dvitā nakshatram paprathach cha bhūma* | "Wise are his creations who by his power

[99] The last line is repeated at the close of each of the five following verses.

[100] Compare R. V. ii. 15, 2; x. 111, 5; and x. 149, 1, below.

propped asunder the two worlds, thought vast. He raised up the lofty and wide firmament, and spread out apart the stars and the earth."—This hymn is translated in Müller's Sansk. Lit., pp. 540 f.

R. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Radat patho Varuṇaḥ sūryāya pra arṇāṁsi samudriyā nadīnām | sargo*[100*] *na sṛishṭo arvatīr ṛitāyan chakāra mahīr avanīr ahabhyaḥ | 2. Ātmā te vāto rajaḥ ā navīnot paśur na bhūrṇir yavase sasavān*[100†] *| antar mahī bṛihatī rodasī ime viśvā te dhāma Varuṇa priyāṇi |*

"Varuṇa has opened out paths for the sun, and the courses of the rivers leading to the ocean. Like a troop (of horses) let loose, following the mares, he has made great channels for the days. 2. The wind, thy breath, has sounded through the atmosphere, like an impetuous beast rushing along a pasture. Within [thee?] are these two great and vast worlds; all thy realms, O Varuṇa, are beloved."[101]

R. V. viii. 42, 1.—*Astabhnād dyām Asuro viśvavedāḥ amimīta varimāṇam pṛithivyāḥ | āsīdad viśvā bhuvanāni samrāḍ viśvā it tāni Varuṇasya vratāni | 2. Eva vandasva Varuṇaṁ bṛihantaṁ namasya dhīram amṛitasya gopām | sa naḥ śarma trivarūthaṁ viyaṁsad ityādi |*

"The omniscient Spirit (*Asura*) has propped up the sky; he has measured[102] the expanse of the earth; he has occupied all the worlds, the monarch: all these are the achievements of Varuṇa. 2. Reverence, then, the mighty Varuṇa, bow down before the wise guardian of immortality. May he extend to us triple protection," etc.

The next texts refer to the Sun (Sūrya, Āditya, or Savitṛi):

R. V. i. 50, 7.—*Vi dyām eshi rajas pṛithv ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni Sūrya |* "Thou traversest the sky, the broad expanse, measuring the days with thy rays; beholding created things, O Sūrya."

R. V. viii. 90, 11, 12 (=S. V. ii. 1138, 9).—*Baḍ mahān asi Sūrya baḍ Āditya mahān asi | mahas te sato mahimā panasyate addhā deva mahān asi | Baṭ Sūrya śravasā mahān asi satrā deva mahān asi | mahnā devānām asuryaḥ purohito vibhu jyotir adābhyam |*

"Verily, Sūrya, thou art great; verily, Āditya, thou art great. The majesty of thee who art great is celebrated: certainly, god, thou art great. 12. Verily, Sūrya, thou art great in renown: O god, thou art

[100*] The word *sarga* occurs also in R. V. i. 190, 2; iii. 33, 4; vi. 32, 5; vi. 46, 13.

[100†] In regard to this participle, see the note (82) on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above, p. 102.

[101] See note (81) on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above, p. 102.

[102] See above, p. 71.

truly great; through thy greatness thou art the divine leader of the gods, the pervading, irresistible luminary."

R. V. x. 149, 1.—*Savitā yantraiḥ pṛithivīm aramṇād askambhane Savitā dyām adṛiṁhat | aśvam iva adhukshad dhunim antarikṣham atūrte baddhaṁ Savitā samudram | 2. Yatra samudraḥ skabhito viaunad apāṁ napāt Savita tasya veda | ato bhūr ataḥ āḥ utthitaṁ rajo ato dyāvā-pṛithivī aprathetām |*

"Savitṛi has established the earth by supports; Savitṛi has fixed the sky in unsupported space;[103] Savitṛi has milked the atmosphere, which resembles a sounding horse,—the ocean fastened in the impassable expanse. 2. Savitṛi, the son of the waters, knows the place where the ocean, supported, issued forth. From him the earth, from him the atmosphere arose; from him the heaven and earth extended."

[103] In later times, as is well known, the earth is represented in Hindu mythology as resting on the head of the serpent S'esha, or on some other support. Thus it is said in the Vishṇu Pur. ii. 5, 19 (Wilson, Dr. Hall's ed. ii. 212): *Sa bibhrat s'ekharī-bhūtam aśeshaṁ kshiti-maṇḍalam | āste pātāla-mūla-sthaḥ S'esho 'śesha-surārchitaḥ |* "S'esha, worshipped by all the gods, supports the whole region of the earth which forms a diadem on his head, and stands beneath the base of Pātāla." The Siddhāntas, or scientific astronomical works of India, however, maintain that the earth is unsupported. Thus it is said in the Siddhānta-s'iromaṇi, iii. 2: *Bhūmeḥ piṇḍaḥ śaśāṅka-jña-kavi-ravi-kujejyārki-nakshatra-kakshā-vṛittair vṛitaḥ san mṛid-anila-salila-vyoma-tejomayo 'yam | nānyādhāraḥ sva-śaktyaiva viyati niyataṁ tiṣṭhati ityādi | . . . 4. Mūrto dhartā ched dharitryās tad-anyas tasyāpyanyo 'syaivam atrānavasthā | antye kalpyā chet sva-śaktiḥ kim ādye kiṁ no bhūmir ityādi |* which is thus translated by the late Mr. L. Wilkinson in the Bibl. Indica (new series), No. 13: "2. This globe of the earth formed of [the five elementary principles] earth, air, water, the ether, and fire, is perfectly round, and encompassed by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and by the constellations. It has no [material] supporter; but stands firmly in the expanse of heaven by its own inherent force. On its surface throughout subsist [in security] all animate and inanimate objects, Danujas and human beings, gods and Daityas." . . . "4. If the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter, and for that second a third would be required. Here we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first—that is, in the earth? For is not the earth one of the forms of the eight-fold divinity, *i.e.* of S'iva?" Ārya Bhaṭṭa, one of the most ancient of Indian scientific astronomers, even maintained that the alternation of day and night is the result of the rotation of the earth on its own axis. His words, as quoted by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays, ii. p. 392), are these: *Bha-pañjaraḥ sthiro bhūr evāvṛityāvṛitya prātidaivasikāv udayāstamayau sampādayati nakshatra-grahāṇām |* "The starry firmament is fixed. It is the earth, which, continually revolving, produces the rising and setting of the constellations and planets."

The first of the preceding verses is quoted by Yāska (Nir. x. 32), and illustrated as follows: *S'avītā yantraiḥ pṛithivīm aramayat | anārambhaṇe 'ntarikshe Savitā dyām adṛiṁhat | aśvam iva adhukshad dhunim antarikshe megham baddham atūrte baddham atūrṇe iti vā 'tvaramāṇe iti vā Savitā samuditāram iti | kam anyam madhyamād evam avakshyat | Ādityo 'pi Savitā vchyate.* "Savitṛi by supports has caused the earth to rest; Savitṛi has fixed the sky in the place which has no basis—the atmosphere. Savitṛi has milked the cloud fastened in the atmosphere,—the impassable, or the unhastening—(the cloud) sounding as a horse, and that which rises. What other god than the intermediate one (i.e. the deity residing in the atmosphere) would he have thus described? The sun also (whose place is in the sky) is called Savitṛi."

Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 143) thus translates the verse: "Savitṛi has fixed the earth with supports, he has fastened the heaven in unsupported space; he has milked the atmosphere shaking itself like a horse, the stream which is confined within limits which cannot be overpassed." In his Lexicon, however, Prof. Roth gives to *dhuni* the sense of "sounding" (which is also adopted by Prof. M. Müller, Transl. of R. V. i. 95). He then observes: "According to Yāska the Savitṛi who is here mentioned must be the intermediate one, on account of his function in causing rain."

The following passages refer to Agni:

R. V. i. 59, 5.—*Divaś chit te bṛihato Jātavedo vaiśvānara pra ririche mahitvam | rājā kṛishṭīnām asi mānushīṇāṁ yudhā devebhyo varivaś chakartha |* "Jātavedas, present with all men, thy greatness surpasses even that of the vast sky. Thou art the king of human creatures; by battle thou hast obtained freedom for the gods" (see R. V. vii. 98, 3, above p. 103).

R. V. i. 67, 3.—*Ajo na kshāṁ dādhāra*[103*] *pṛithivīm tasthambha dyām mantrebhiḥ satyair ityādi |* "Like the moving [sun, or the unborn] he upheld the broad earth; he supported the sky with true texts," etc.

The next verses celebrate the greatness of Parjanya:

R. V. vii. 101, 4.—*Yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthus tisro dyāvas tredhā sasrur āpaḥ ityādi |* 6. *Sa retodhāḥ vṛishabhaḥ śaśvatīnāṁ tasminn ātmā jagataś tastuṣhaścha |* (Compare R. V. i. 115, 1.) "He

[103*] Comp. R. V. viii. 42, 10:—*Yaḥ skumbhenā vi rodasī ajo na dyām adhārayat |*

in whom all the worlds abide, and the three heavens, and [by whom] the waters flowed in three directions, etc. 6. He is the bull that impregnates all [the cows]: in him is the soul of the moving and stationary world" (comp. *sūryaḥ ātmā jagatas tastushaś cha*, R. V. i. 115, 1).

The next passage refers to the god called Gandharva:

R. V. x. 139, 5.—. . . . *Divyo Gandharvo rajaso vimānaḥ* | "The divine Gandharva, measurer of the world," etc.

The last set of passages which I shall adduce celebrate the greatness of Soma:

R. V. ix. 61, 16 (= S. V. 1, 484).—*Pavamāno ajījanad divaś chitrāṁ na tanyatum* | *jyotir vaiśvānaram bṛihat* | "The purified [Soma] has generated the great light which is common to all mankind, like the wonderful thundering of the sky."

R. V. ix. 86, 28.—*Taveme̱āḥ prajāḥ divyasya retasas tvaṁ viśvasya bhuvanasya rājasi* | *athe̱dāṁ viśvam pavamāna te vaśe tvam Indo prathamo dhāmadhāḥ asi* | 29. *Tvaṁ samudro asi viśvavit kave tavemāḥ pancha pradiśo vidharmaṇi* | *tvaṁ dyāṁ cha pṛithivīṁ chāti jabhrishe tava jyotīṁshi pavamāna sūryaḥ* | 30. *Tvā̱m pavitre rajaso vidharmaṇi devebhyaḥ soma pavamāna pūyase* | *tvām Uśijaḥ prathamāḥ agṛibhṇata tubhyemā viśvā bhuvanāni yemire* |

"All these creatures spring from thy divine seed; thou art the lord of the whole universe. All this, purified god, is under thy control; thou, Indu, art the first sustainer of the regions. 29. Thou, sage, art an all-containing ocean; all these five quarters of the world are upheld by thee. Thou hast ascended beyond the sky and the earth; thine, O purified god, are the luminaries and the sun. 30. In the filter which is the support of the world, thou, pure Soma, art purified for the gods. The Uśijes first gathered thee. To thee all these worlds have bowed."

R. V. ix. 89, 6.—*Vishṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ pṛithivyāḥ viśvāḥ uta kshitayo haste asya ityādi* | "He is the supporter of the sky, the upholder of the earth: all men are in his hand."

R. V. ix. 96, 5, which has been quoted above (p. 94), should be again referred to here.

R. V. ix. 97, 24.—*Pavitrebhiḥ pavamāno nṛichakshāḥ rājā devānām uta martyānām ityādi* | "[Soma], purified by filters, the beholder of men, is the king of gods and of mortals," etc.

R. V. ix. 100, 8.—*Pavamāna mahi śrœvaś chitrebhir yāsi raśmibhiḥ* [104] | *śardhan tamāṁsi jighnase viśvāni dāśusho gṛihe* | 9. *Tvaṁ dyāṁ cha mahivrata pṛithivīṁ chāti jabhrishe ityādi* | "Thou, pure [Soma], marchest onward to great renown, by thy brilliant rays; daring, thou willest to destroy all darkness in the house of thy worshipper. 9. Thou, achiever of great deeds, hast ascended above heaven and earth," etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7.— . . . *Tvaṁ kavir abhavo deva-vītamaḥ ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi* | "Thou art a sage most pleasing to the gods; thou hast caused the sun to rise in the sky."

R. V. ix. 109, 4 (=S. V. ii. 591).—*Pavasva soma mahān samudraḥ pitā devānāṁ viśvā abhi dhāma* | "Be purified in all abodes, Soma, [who art] a great ocean, the father of the gods," etc.

The preceding texts are amply sufficient to show that Vishṇu is not the only god to whom the highest divine functions are ascribed in the Veda, but that, on the contrary, the same attributes are assigned, and with far greater frequency, to several of the other deities.

The following passage from Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 532 f.) shows that all the principal Vedic deities are, in their turn, addressed by their worshippers as supreme:

"When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as limited by the power of others as superior or inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the supplicants as good as all the gods. He is felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. 'Among you, O gods, there is none that is small, none that is young: you are all great indeed,' [105] is a sentiment which, though, perhaps, not so distinctly expressed as by Manu Vaivasvata, nevertheless, underlies all the poetry of the Veda. Although the gods are sometimes distinctly invoked as the great and the small, the young and the old (R. V. i. 27, 13), this is only an attempt to find the most comprehensive expression for the divine powers, and nowhere is any of the gods represented as the slave

[104] Compare R. V. ix. 4, 1: *Sanā cha Soma jeshi cha pavamāna mahi śravaḥ* | and ix. 83, 5: *Jayan śravo bṛihat* |

[105] R. V. viii. 30, 1, quoted by Müller, p. 531.

of others. It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute. In the first hymn of the Second Maṇḍala, Agni is called the ruler of the universe,[106] the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men;[107] nay, all the powers and names of the others are distinctly ascribed to Agni. The hymn belongs, no doubt, to the modern compositions; yet, though Agni is thus highly exalted in it, nothing is said to disparage the divine character of the other gods. Indra is celebrated as the strongest god in the hymns as well as in the Brāhmaṇas, and the burden of one of the songs of the Tenth Book[108] is: *Viśvasmād Indra uttaraḥ* | 'Indra is greater than all.' Of Soma it is said that he was born great, and that he conquers every one.[109] He is called the king of the world,[110] he has the power to prolong the life of men,[111] and in one verse he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Vishṇu.[112] If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuṇa (*οὐρανός*), we perceive that the god here invoked is, to the mind of the poet, supreme and almighty. Nevertheless, he is one of the gods who is almost always represented in fellowship with another, Mitra; and even in our hymn there is one verse, the sixth, in which Varuṇa and Mitra are invoked in the dual. Yet what more could human language achieve, in trying to express the idea of a divine and supreme power, than what our poet says of Varuṇa: 'Thou art lord of all, of heaven and earth.' Or, as is said in another hymn (ii. 27, 10), 'Thou art the king of all; of those who are gods, and of those who are men,'" etc.

Sect. III.—*Vishṇu as one of the Ādityas.*

In the hymns of the Veda the Ādityas, or sons of Aditi, are alluded to as being seven or eight in number; but only six deities, of whom Vishṇu is not one, are specified by name as belonging to this class.[113]

[106] "*Tvaṁ viśvāni svanīka patyase* | ii. 1, 8.—See Nirukta Pariśishṭa i.
[107] ii. 1, 9. [108] x. 86. [109] ix. 59.
[110] ix. 96, 10: *bhuvanasya rājā*. [111] ix. 96, 14. [112] ix. 96, 5.
[113] See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *Āditya*; Prof. Roth's dissertation on the Ādityas in his paper "on the principal gods of the Arian nations," Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. vi., pp. 68 ff.; and the 5th vol. of this work, pp. 54 ff. Sūrya (the Sun) is however called *Āditeya* in R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29).

The following are the only texts which I consider it necessary to cite on this subject:

R. V. ii. 27, 1 (Nir. xii. 36).—*Imāḥ giraḥ Ādityebhyo ghṛitasnūḥ sanād rājabhyo juhvā juhomi | śṛiṇotu Mitro Aryamā Bhago nas tuvijāto Varuṇo Daksho Aṁśaḥ* | "With my tongue I of old offer up these praises, dropping with unctuousness, to the kings, the Ādityas: may Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, the mighty Varuṇa, Daksha, Anśa, hear us." Yāska makes *tuvijātaḥ* to be=*bahujātaś cha Dhātā*, thus understanding it to designate Dhātṛi, as a seventh Āditya.

R. V. ix. 114, 3.—*Sapta diśo nānā-sūryāḥ sapta hotāraḥ ṛitvijaḥ | devāḥ Ādityāḥ ye sapta tebhiḥ Somābhiraksha naḥ* | "The seven points of the compass, with their respective suns, the seven hotṛi priests, and the seven gods, the Ādityas,—with these, O Soma, protect us."

In another text (R. V. x. 72, 8, 9), which has already been quoted in p. 12 f., it is said that Aditi had eight sons, though she only presented seven of them to the gods, and cast out Mārtāṇḍa, the eighth.

In his explanation of the first text, which I have now quoted (R. V. ii. 27, 1), Sāyaṇa observes of the Ādityas: *Te cha Taittirīye 'ashṭau putrāso Aditer' ity upakramya spashṭam anukrāntāḥ | 'Mitraścha Varuṇaścha Dhātācha Aryamācha Aṁśuścha Bhagaścha Indraścha Vivasvāṁś cha ete' iti* | "They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taittirīya, beginning with the words, 'The eight sons of Aditi,' as 'these, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Anśu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat.'"

In a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 1, 3, 3 ff.) quoted above (p. 14, f.), the Ādityas are alluded to as eight in number, in conformity with the text of the R. V. x. 72, 8, 9. In other texts of the same Brāhmaṇa mention is made of twelve Ādityas.

Vishṇu, as is remarked by Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, is mentioned along with the Ādityas [of the R. V., and other gods with whom they were afterwards associated] in A. V. xi. 6, 2: *Brūmo rājānaṁ Varuṇam Mitraṁ Vishṇum atho Bhagam | Aṁśaṁ Vivasvantam brūmas te no munchantū aṁhasaḥ* | 3 | *Brūmo devaṁ Savitāram Dhātāram uta Pūshaṇam | Tvashṭāram agriyam brūmaḥ* | "We invoke King Varuṇa, Mitra, Vishṇu, Bhaga, Anśa, Vivasvat. May they free us from calamity. 3. We invoke the God Savitṛi, Dhātṛi, Pūshan, and Tvashṭṛi the chief," etc.

The following are two passages of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in which mention is made of the Ādityas as being twelve in number.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 2, 8.—*Sa manasā eva vācham mithunaṁ samabhavat sa dvādaśa drapsān garbhy abhavat | te dvādaśa Ādityāḥ asṛijyanta tān dikshu upādadhāt* | "With his mind he associated conjugally with Speech. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. Them he placed in the quarters of the horizon."

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Bṛih. Ār. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). *Katame Ādityāḥ iti | dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsarasya ete Ādityāḥ—ete hi idaṁ sarvam ādadānāḥ yanti | te yad idaṁ sarvam ādadānāḥ yanti tasmād Ādityāḥ iti* | "How many Ādityas are there? There are twelve months of the year. These are the Ādityas. For they go on taking (*ādadānāḥ*) all this. Since they go on taking all this, they are called Ādityas."

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 9, 21, 1, tells a story of the Ādityas: *Ādityāś cha Angirasaś cha suvarge loke 'spardhanta | te 'ngirasaḥ Ādityebhyo 'mum Ādityaṁ aśvaṁ śvetam bhūtaṁ dakshiṇām anayan | te 'bruvan "yaṁ no 'neshṭa sa varyo 'bhūd" iti | tasmād aśvaṁ savarya ity āhvayanti | tasmād yajne varo dīyate | yat Prajāpatir ālabdho 'śvo 'bhavat tasmād aśvo nāma | yat śvayad-arur āsīt tasmād arvā nāma | yat sadyo vājān samajayat tasmād vājī nāma | yad asurāṇāṁ lokān ādatta tasmād Ādityo nāma* | "The Ādityas and the Angirases strove in heaven. The Angirases brought that Āditya, who had become a white horse, to the Ādityas as a present. The latter said, 'He whom you have brought to us has become excellent (*varya*).' Hence men call to a horse, *o savarya*. Hence a boon (*vara*) is given at a sacrifice. Inasmuch as Prajāpati when sacrificed became a horse (*aśva*, which means "pervading," according to the commentator), he has the name of *aśva*. Inasmuch as he suffered pain from swelling (so the commentator renders *śvayad-aruḥ*, stating that Prajāpati suffered from a swollen eye), he is called *arvan*. Inasmuch as he conquered riches [or, in races] (*vāja*), he got the name *vājin*. Inasmuch as he took (*ādatta*) from the Asuras their worlds, he is called *Āditya*."

The Taitt. Āraṇyaka, i. 14, 1, also derives Āditya from the root ā+dā: *Yo 'sau tapann udeti sa sarveshām bhūtānām prāṇān ādāya udeti | mā me prajāyāḥ mā paśūnām mā mama prāṇān adāya udagāḥ | asau yo*

'stam eti sa sarveshām bhūtānām prāṇān ādāya astam eti | mā me prajāyāḥ mā paśūnām mā rāma prāṇān ādāya astaṁ gāḥ | "That [Sun] which rises glowing, rises taking the breath of all creatures. Do not rise [O Sun], taking the breath of my offspring, or of my cattle, or of myself. That [Sun] which sets, sets taking the breath of all creatures. Do not set [O Sun], taking the breath of my offspring, or of my cattle, or of myself."

The Nirukta, ii. 13, gives various etymologies of the word Āditya: *Ādityaḥ | kasmād | ādatte rasān | ādatte bhāsaṁ jyotishaṁ | ādīpto bhāsā iti vā | Aditeḥ putraḥ iti vā | alpaprayogaṁ tu asya etad ārchābhyāmnāye | sūkta-bhāk "sūryam ādityam" Aditeḥ putram | evam anyāsām api devatānām Ādityapravādāḥ stutayo bhavanti | tad yathā etad | Mitrasya Varuṇasya Aryamṇo Dakshasya Bhagasya Aṁśasya iti |*

"The Āditya: whence [so called]? He takes up the fluids.[114] He takes up the light of the luminaries; he is illuminated (*ādīptaḥ*) by light; or, he is the son of Aditi. But this [appellation] is seldom applied to him in the text of the Rigveda. *Sūrya Ādityeya*, Sūrya the son of Aditi, is mentioned in a hymn.[115] In the same way there are praises of other deities, addressed to them as Ādityas; as in the case of Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Daksha, Bhaga, Anśa."

In the following texts from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, the Ādityas, though their names are not always uniformly given, are stated or understood to be twelve in number, except in one case where only eleven are specified. Vishṇu is almost always named as one of them,

[114] *Sahasra-guṇam utsrashṭum ādatte hi rasān raviḥ |* "For the sun takes up the fluids [from the] earth, to discharge them again a thousand-fold."—Raghuvanśa, i. 18. In the hymn to the Sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is similarly said, v. 179: *Tvam ādāyāṁśubhis tejo nidāghe sarva-dehinām | sarvaushadhi-rasānāṁ cha punar varshāsu munchasi |* "Having in the hot season taken up by the rays the substance of all embodied beings, and the essence of all plants, thou again dischargest them in the rainy season." And Manu says: *Ashṭau māsān yathā "dityas toyaṁ harati raśmibhiḥ | tathā haret karaṁ rāshṭrād nityam arkavrataṁ hi tat |* "As Āditya (the sun) during eight months draws up water by his rays, so let him (a king) extract revenue from his country, for that is his continual solar function."—Manu, ix. 305.

[115] Dr. Aufrecht conjectures that the word *sūkta-bhāk* should be read *asūkta-bhāk* "has *not* a hymn devoted to him;" as he appears to be only mentioned in one verse, R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29). Durga, however, as quoted by Roth (Illust. p. 21), says: *sūkta-bhāg eva chaitad abhidhānaṁ na havirbhāk |* "This appellation has a hymn devoted to it, but no oblation is ordained [to be offered to the god under this name]." By "hymn" Durga may only mean part of a hymn.

and as by the time when these works were written, his dignity had become enhanced in general estimation, he is declared to be the greatest of the twelve.

Mahābhārata, i. 2,519, 2,522 ff.—*Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu imāḥ prajāḥ | prajajñire mahābhāgāḥ Daksha-kanyās trayodaśa | . . . .* 2,522. *Adityāṁ dvādaśādityāḥ 'sambhūtāḥ bhuvaneśvarāḥ | ye rājan nāmatas tāṁs te kīrtayishyāmi Bhārata | Dhātā Mitro'ryamā Śakro Varuṇas tv Aṁśaḥ eva cha | Bhago Vivasvān Pūshā cha Savitā daśamas tathā | ekādaśas tathā Tvashṭā dvādaśo Vishṇur uchyate | jaghanyajas tu sarveshām Ādityānāṁ guṇādhikaḥ |*

"Kaśyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kaśyapa these beings were born. There were thirteen eminent daughters of Daksha . . . 2,522. I will recount to thee, by name, king of the race of Bharata, the twelve Ādityas, lords of the world, who were produced from Aditi;[116] Dhātṛi, Mitra, Aryaman, Śakra (Indra), Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Pūshan, and Savitṛi the tenth; the eleventh is Tvashṭṛi, and the twelfth is called Vishṇu, who, though the latest born, surpasses all the Ādityas in his attributes."

Mahābhārata, i. 2,598.—*Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapasya Surāsurāḥ | jajñire nṛipa-śārdūla lokānām prabhavas tu saḥ |* . . . . . 2,600. *Dvādaśaivāditeḥ putrāḥ Śakra-mukhyāḥ narādhipa | teshām avarajo Vishṇur yatra lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ |*

"From Kaśyapa, who was the son of Marīchi, were produced, O king, the deities (Suras) and the Asuras; and he was the source from which all beings sprang. . . . 2,600. Aditi had twelve sons, beginning with Śakra. The youngest of them was Vishṇu, on whom the worlds are supported."

Mahābhārata, xiii. 7,092 f.—*Aṁśo Bhagaścha Mitraścha Varuṇaścha jaleśvaraḥ | tathā Dhātā 'ryamā chaiva Jayanto Bhāskaras tathā | Tvashṭā Pūshā tathaivendro dvādaśo Vishṇur uchyate | ity ete dvādaśādityāḥ Kāśyapeyāḥ iti śrutiḥ |*

"Anśa, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuṇa, lord of the waters, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Jayanta, Bhāskara, Tvashṭṛi, Pūshan, Indra, and Vishṇu, who is called

[116] In the hymn to the sun, Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., it is said that that Luminary, dividing himself twelvefold, became the twelve Ādityas (*kṛitvā dvādaśadhā "tmānaṁ dvādaśādityatāṁ gataḥ*).

the twelfth: these are the twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kaśyapa, according to tradition (or the Veda, *śruti*)."

Mahābhārata, v. 3,501 ff.—*Akshayaś chāvyayaś chaiva Brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ | tathaiva bhagavantau tau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛishī | Ādityānāṁ hi sarveshāṁ Vishṇur ekaḥ sanātanaḥ | ajayyaś chāvyayaś chaiva śāśvataḥ prabhur īśvaraḥ | nimitta-maraṇāś chānye chandra-sūrya-mahījalam | Vāyur Agnis tathā "kāśaṁ grahās tārā-gaṇās tathā | te cha kshayānte jagato hitvā lokā-trayaṁ sadā | kshayaṁ gachhanti vai sarve sṛijyante cha punaḥ punaḥ | muhūrta-maraṇās tv anye mānushāḥ mṛiga-pakshiṇaḥ |* "Brahmā, the parent of the world, is undecaying and imperishable; and so too are the venerable Ṛishis, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa. Vishṇu alone of all the Ādityas is eternal, invincible, imperishable, everlasting, potent, the lord. Other beings perish on some occasion, [as at the end of a Kalpa],—[117] the moon, the sun, the earth, water,[118] air, fire, the ether, the planets, and the stars. At the dissolution of the universe, all these invariably abandon the three worlds, and perish, and are created again and again. Other [creatures], men, beasts, and birds, die after a brief interval (*muhūrta*)."

Vishṇu Purāṇa, 1, 15, 90 ff. (vol. ii. pp. 26 f. of Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's translation)—*Pūrvamanvantare śreshṭhāḥ dvādaśāsan surottamāḥ | Tushitāḥ nāma te 'nyonyam ūchur Vaivasvate 'ntare | upasthite 'tiyaśasaś Chākshushasyāntare Manoḥ | samavāyīkṛitāḥ sarve samāgamya parasparam | Āgachhata drutaṁ devāḥ Aditiṁ sampraviśya vai | Manvantare prasūyāmas tan naḥ śreyo bhaved iti | evam uktvā tu te sarve Chākshushasyāntare Manoḥ | Mārīchāt Kaśyapāj jātās te 'dityā Daksha-kanyayā | tatra Vishṇuścha Śakraścha jajñāte punar eva hi | Aryamā chaiva Dhātāṫha Tvashṭā Pūshā tathaiva cha | Vivasvān Savitā chaiva Mitro Varuṇaḥ eva cha | Aṁśo Bhagaś chātitejāḥ Ādityāḥ dvādaśa smṛitāḥ | Chākshushasyāntare pūrvam āsan ye Tushitāḥ smṛitāḥ | Vaivasvate 'ntare te vai Ādityāḥ dvādaśa smṛitāḥ |*

"In the former Manvantara there were twelve eminent and re-

[117] I suppose *nimitta-maranāḥ* is to be understood practically in this sense.—See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's ed. i. 113; v. 186, and note. Nārāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Mahābhārata, explains the phrase thus: *Nimittam pralayādi-nimittam maraṇaṁ nāśo yeshāṁ te nimitta-maraṇāḥ |*

[118] Water and ether are said in the Rāmāyaṇa to have preceded Brahmā.—See above, p. 33. See also the order of creation described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and in Manu, in section ii., chapter i., above.

nowned deities called Tushitas; who, being assembled together, said to each other in the Chākshusha Manvantara, when the Vaivasvata Manvantara was approaching, 'Come quickly, deities, let us enter into Aditi, and be born in the [next] Manvantara: this will be for our welfare.' Having thus spoken in the Chākshusha Manvantara, they were all born from Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, and Aditi, daughter of Daksha. In this way Vishṇu and Śakra (Indra) were again born, and Aryaman, Dhātṛi, Tvashṭṛi, Pūshan, Vivasvat, Savitṛi, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, and the energetic Bhaga: these are known as the twelve Ādityas. Those who formerly in the Chākshusha Manvantara were called the Tushitas, are known as the twelve Ādityas in the Vaivasvata Manvantara."

The same story is repeated in very nearly the same words in the Harivanśa, verses 171 ff.

The following is another passage from the Harivanśa, verses 11,548 ff.: *Adityāñ jajnire rājann Ādityāḥ Kaśyapād atha | Indro Vishṇur Bhagas Tvashṭā Varuno 'ñśo 'ryamā Raviḥ | Pūshā Mitraścha varado Manuḥ Parjanyaḥ eva cha | ity ete dvādaśādityāḥ varishṭhās tridivaukasaḥ |* "From Kaśyapa and Aditi were born the Ādityas, Indra, Vishṇu, Bhaga, Tvashṭṛi, Varuṇa, Anśa, Aryaman, Ravi (the Sun), Pūshan, Mitra, the bestower of boons, Manu, and Parjanya,—these are the twelve Ādityas, most eminent celestials."

In the same work, verses 12,456 f., we read: *Aryamā Varuṇo Mitraḥ Pūshā Dhātā Purandaraḥ | Tvashṭā Bhago 'ñśaḥ Savitā Parjanyaścheti visrutāḥ | Adityañ jajnire devāḥ Kaśyapāl loka-bhāvanāḥ |* "The gods, creators of the worlds, known as Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūshan, Dhātṛi, Purandara (Indra), Tvashṭṛi, Bhaga, Anśa, Savitṛi, and Parjanya, were sprung from Kaśyapa and Aditi."

Only eleven names occur in this list: that of Vishṇu is omitted.

The next is another legend on the same subject from the same work. Here quite a different origin is assigned to the Ādityas, who are said to have sprung from the face of Vivasvat or Mārtaṇḍa, the Sun.

Harivanśa, 589 ff.—*Tato nirbhāsitañ rūpañ tejasā saṁhatena vai | kāntāt kāntataraṁ drashṭum adhikañ śuśubhe tadā | mukhe nirvartitañ rūpañ tasya devasya goptaḥ | tataḥ-prabhṛiti devasya mukham āsīt tu lohitam | mukha-rāgantu yat pūrvam Mārtaṇḍasya mukha-chyutam | Ādityāḥ dvādaśaiveha sambhūtāḥ mukha-sambhavāḥ | Dhātā 'ryamā cha*

Mitraścha Varuṇo 'mśo Bhagas tathā | Indro Vivasvān Pūshā cha Parjanyo daśamas tathā | tatas Tvashṭā tato Vishṇur ajaghanyo jaghanyajaḥ | harshaṁ lebhe tato devo dṛishṭvā "dityān sva-deha-jān | "Then his appearance, illuminated with concentrated lustre, shone forth more brilliantly, fairer than the fairest to behold. This appearance was produced in the face of that god, the lord of rays. Henceforward the face of the god was red: From the previous colour of the face which fell from the countenance of Mārtaṇḍa were produced twelve face-born Ādityas: Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhaga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya the tenth, then Tvashṭṛi, then Vishṇu not the least, though the last born. The god then rejoiced, beholding the Ādityas, sprung from his own body."

This story is not only in opposition to the ordinary account of the Ādityas being sons of Aditi, but it contradicts itself. Vivasvat is one of the Ādityas, who is produced from Vivasvat; and Tvashṭṛi was already existing, and playing a part in the former part of the legend. (See Langlois's note 7, p. 50 of his French version of the Harivanśa.) The Vishṇu Purāṇa tells the same story about Vivasvat, but says nothing of the birth of the Ādityas. (See Wilson's translation, Dr. Hall's ed., iii. 20 f.)

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, vi. 6, 24 f.—*S'riṇu nāmāni lokānām mātṛiṇāṁ śaṁkarāṇi cha | atha Kaśyapa-patnīnāṁ yat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | Aditir Ditir ityādi | . . . .* 36 f. *Athātaḥ śrūyatāṁ vaṁśo yo 'diter anupūrvaśaḥ | yatra Nārāyaṇo devo svāṁśenāvātarad vibhuḥ | Vivasvān Aryamā Pūshā Tvashṭā 'tha Savitā Bhagaḥ | Dhātā Vidhātā Varuṇo Mitraḥ S'akraḥ Urukramaḥ |*

"Hear now the auspicious names of the wives of Kaśyapa, the mothers of the worlds, from whom this universe was produced; Aditi, Diti, etc. . . . 36 f. Hear now, in order, the race of Aditi, in which the all-pervading god, Nārāyaṇa, descended in a part of himself,—Vivasvat, Aryaman, Pūshan, Tvashṭṛi, Savitṛi, Bhaga, Dhātṛi, Vidhātṛi, Varuṇa, Mitra, S'akra, Urukrama (the wide-strider=Vishṇu)."

SECT. IV.—*Stories regarding Vishṇu from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Panchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas.*

The following story from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (in which Vishṇu is represented as a dwarf, and as having, under the form of

sacrifice, conquered the whole earth), with others of the same tenor, contains the germ of the story of the Dwarf Incarnation:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 2, 5, 1 ff.—*Devāścha vai Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛidhire | tato devāḥ anuvyam iva āsuḥ | atha ha Asurāḥ menire 'asmākam eva idaṁ khalu bhuvanam' iti* | 2. *Te ha ūchur 'hanta imām pṛithivīṁ vibhajāmahai tāṁ vibhajya upajīvāma' iti | tām aukshṇaiś charmabhiḥ paśchāt prāncho vibhajamānāḥ abhīyuḥ* | 3. *Tad vai devāḥ śuśruvur "vibhajante ha vai imām Asurāḥ pṛithivīm preta tad eshyāmo yatra imām Asurāḥ vibhajante | ke tataḥ syāma yad asyai na bhajemahi" iti | te yajnam eva Vishṇum puraskṛitya īyuḥ* | 4. *Te ha ūchuḥ "anu no 'syām pṛithivyām ābhajata astv eva no 'py asyām bhāgaḥ" iti | te 'surāḥ asūyantaḥ iva ūchur "yāvad eva esha Vishṇūr abhiśete tāvad vo dadmaḥ' iti* | 5. *Vāmano ha Vishṇur āsa | tad devāḥ na jihīḍire "mahad vai no 'dur ye no yajna-saṁmitam adur" iti* | 6. *Te prānchaṁ Vishṇuṁ nipādya chhandobhir abhitaḥ paryagṛighṇan "gāyatreṇa tvā chhandasā parigṛihṇāmi" iti dakshiṇatas | "traishṭubhena tvā chhandasā parigṛihṇāmi" iti paśchāt | "jāgatena tvā chhandasā parigṛihṇāmi" iti uttarataḥ* | 7. *Taṁ chhandobhir abhitaḥ parigṛihya agnim purastāt samādhāya tena archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ | tena imāṁ sarvām pṛithivīṁ samavindanta | tad yad enena imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta tasmād vedir nāma | tasmād āhur 'yāvatī vedis tāvatī pṛithivī' iti | etayā hi imāṁ sarvāṁ samavindanta | evaṁ ha vai imāṁ sarvāṁ sapatnānām saṁvṛiṅkte nirbhajaty asyai sapatnān yaḥ evam etad veda* | 8. *So 'yaṁ Vishṇur glānaś chhandobhir itaḥ parigṛihīto 'gniḥ purastād na apakramaṇam āsa | sa tataḥ eva oshadhīnām mūlāny upa mumlocha* | 9. *Te ha devāḥ ūchuḥ "kva nu Vishṇur abhūt kva nu yajno 'bhūd" iti | te ha ūchuś "chhandobhir itaḥ parigṛihīto 'gniḥ purastād na apakramaṇam asty atra eva anvichhata" iti taṁ khanantaḥ iva anvīshus taṁ tryangule 'nvavindaṁs tasmāt tryangulā vediḥ syāt | tad u ha api Pānchis tryangulām eva saumyasya adhvarasya vediṁ chakre* | 10. *Tad u tathā na kuryād ityādi |*

"The gods and Asuras, who were both sprung from Prajāpati, strove together. Then the gods were, as it were, worsted, and the Asuras thought, 'This world is now certainly ours.' 2. Then they spake, 'Come, let us divide this earth, and having divided it, let us subsist thereon.' They accordingly went on dividing it with ox-hides from west to east. 3. The gods heard of it, [and] said, 'The Asuras are dividing this earth; come, we shall go to the spot where they are

dividing it. Who shall we become (*i.e.* what shall become of us), if we do not share in it?' Placing at their head Vishṇu, the sacrifice, they proceeded [thither], 4. and said, 'Put us with yourselves in possession of this earth; let us also have a share in it.' The Asuras, grudging as it were, answered, 'We give you as much as this Vishṇu can lie upon.'[119] 5. Now, Vishṇu was a dwarf. The gods did not reject that offer; [but said among themselves], 'They have given us much, [these Asuras], who have given us what is co-extensive with sacrifice.' 6. Then having placed Vishṇu to the east, they surrounded him with metres; [saying], on the south side, 'I surround thee with the Gāyatrī metre;' on the west, 'I surround thee with the Triṣṭubh metre;' on the north, 'I surround thee with the Jagatī metre.' 7. Having thus surrounded him with metres, they placed Agni (fire) on the east, and thus they went on worshipping and toiling. By this means they acquired the whole of this earth; and since by this means they acquired (*samavindanta*) it all, therefore [the place of sacrifice] is called *vedi* (from the root *vid*, 'to acquire'). Hence men say, 'as great as is the altar, so great is the earth;' for by it (the altar) they acquired the whole of this [earth]. Thus he who so understands this, appropriates all this [earth] from rivals, dispossesses from it rivals. 8. Then this Vishṇu, being wearied, surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, did not advance; but then hid himself among the roots of plants. 9. The gods then exclaimed, 'What has become of Vishṇu? what has become of the sacrifice?' They said, 'Surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, he does not advance; search for him here.' So digging, as it were, they searched for, and found him at a depth of three fingers; therefore let the altar [have a trench] three fingers deep; therefore, also, Pānchi[120] made an altar of this description for the soma sacrifice. 10. But let no one do so," etc.

The next story from the same work relates how Vishṇu became pre-eminent among the gods, and how he lost his head. Here also he is identified with sacrifice:

[119] Compare with this story the similar one quoted above in the note on R. V. vi. 69, 8 (p. 84 f.) from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 6, 15.

[120] *Pānchiḥ soma-yāgasyapi vediṁ tryangula-khātām eva mene* | "Pānchi thought that the altar for the soma sacrifice also should have a trench three fingers deep." (Commentary.) Pānchi is again mentioned in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 1, 4, 27 (p. 143), along with Āsuri and Mādhuki, where the commentator speaks of them as three munis (Āsuri-prabhṛitayas trayo munayaḥ). See Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 192, 434.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 1, 1 ff.—*Devāḥ ha vai satraṁ nishedur Agnir Indraḥ Somo Makho Vishṇur viśve-devāḥ anyatra eva Aśvibhyām* | 2. *Teshāṁ Kurukshetraṁ devayajanam āsa* | *tasmād āhuḥ "Kurukshetraṁ devānāṁ devayajanam" iti* | *tasmād yatra kva cha Kurukshetrasya nigachhati tad eva manyate "idaṁ devayajanam" iti tad hi devānāṁ devayajanam* | 3. *Te āsata* | *"śriyaṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma" iti tatho eva ime satram āsate "śriyaṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādaḥ syāma" iti* | 4. *Te ha ūchur "yo naḥ śrameṇa tapasā śraddhayā yajnena āhutibhir yajnasya udṛicham pūrvo 'vagachhāt sa naḥ śreshṭho 'sat tad u naḥ sarveshāṁ saha" iti "tathā" iti* | 5. *Tad Vishṇuḥ prathamaḥ prāpa* | *sa devānāṁ śreshṭho 'bhavat tasmād āhur "Vishṇur devānāṁ śreshṭhaḥ" iti* | 6. *Sa yaḥ sa Vishṇur yajnaḥ sa* | *sa yaḥ sa yajno 'sau sa Ādityaḥ* | *tad ha idaṁ yaśo Vishṇur na śaśāka saṁyantum* | *tad idam apy etarhi na eva sarvaḥ iva yaśaḥ śaknoti saṁyantum* | 7. *Sa tisṛi-dhanvam*[121] *ādāya apachakrāma* | *sa dhanur-ārtnyā śiraḥ upastabhya tasthau* | *taṁ devāḥ anabhidhṛishṇuvantaḥ samantam pariṇyaviśanta* | 8. *Tāḥ ha vamryaḥ ūchuḥ* | *imāḥ vai vamryo yad upadīkāḥ* | *"yo 'sya jyām apyadyāt kim asmai prayachheta" iti "annādyam asmai prayachhema api dhanvann apo 'dhigachhet tathā asmai sarvam annādyam prayachhema" iti* | 9. *Tasya upaparāśritya jyām apijakshus tasyāṁ chhinnāyāṁ dhanur-ārtnyau vishphurantyau Vishṇoḥ śiraḥ prachichhidatuḥ* | 10. *Tad ghriṇṇ iti papāta* | *tat patitvā 'sāv Ādityo 'bhavat* | *atha itaraḥ prāṇ eva prāvṛijyata* | *tad yad ghriṇṇ ity apatat tasmād gharmaḥ* | *atha yat prāvṛijyata tasmād pravargyaḥ* | 11. *Te devāḥ abruvan* | *"mahān vata no vīro 'pādi" iti tasmād mahāvīraḥ* | *tasya yo raso vyaksharat tam pāṇibhiḥ sammamṛijus tasmāt samrāṭ* | 12. *Taṁ devāḥ abhyasṛijyanta*[122] *yathā vittiṁ vetsyamānāḥ evam* | *tam Indraḥ prathamaḥ prāpa* | *tam anvangam anunyapadyata* | *tam paryagṛihṇāt tam parigṛihya idaṁ yaśo 'bhavad yad idam Indro yaśaḥ* | *yaśo ha bhavati ya evaṁ veda* | 13. *Sa u eva makhaḥ sa Vishṇuḥ* | *tataḥ Indro makhavān abhavad* | *makhavān ha vai tam Maghavān ity ācakshate paroksham paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ* | 14.

[121] This word occurs also in Śatap. Br. xi. 1, 5, 10; in Taitt. S. i. 8, 19, 1, and Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 9, 2, in all which places it is explained by the Comm. *tisṛibhir ishubhir yuktaṁ* (or *sahitaṁ*) *dhanva* (or *dhvnuḥ*).

[122] This, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, is the correct reading, in place of *abhimṛijyanta*, given in Weber's edition. See a parallel passage, Śatap. Br. iv. 1, 3, 5.

Tābhyo vamrībhyo 'nnādyam prāyachhan | *āpo vai sarvam annañ tābhir hi idam abhiknūyam iva adanti* | *yad idam kiñvadanti* | 15. *Atha imañ Vishṇuñ yajñañ tredhhā vyabhajanta* | . . . . *tena apaśīrshṇā yajñena devā archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ* |

"The gods, Agni, Indra, Soma, Vishṇu, Makha, and all the [other] deities, excepting the Aśvins, were present at a sacrifice. 2. Kurukshetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence, men say that Kurukshetra is the country where the gods sacrifice. Consequently, to whatever part of Kurukshetra a man goes, he looks upon it as a place for divine worship, since it was the spot where the gods worshipped. 3. They were [there. They said], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' And in the very same way these [men] attend a sacrifice [saying], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' 4. Then [the gods] said, 'Whoever among us, through toil, austerity, faith, sacrifice, and oblations, first comprehends the issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us: this [shall be] common to us all.' [To this they consented, saying], 'Be it so.' 5. Vishṇu first attained that [proposed object]. He became the most eminent of the gods: wherefore men say, 'Vishṇu is the most eminent of the gods.' 6. He who is this Vishṇu is sacrifice; he who [is] this sacrifice is the Āditya. Vishṇu could not control [his love of] this fame.[123] And the same is the case now, that every one cannot control [his love of] fame. 7. Taking his bow and three arrows, he departed. He stood, resting his head on the end of his [bended] bow. Being unable to overcome him, the gods sat down all around him. 8. Then the ants said to them (now the ants were the same as *upadīkās*—another name for ants), 'What will you give to him who gnaws the bowstring?' [The gods replied], 'We will give him the enjoyment of food, and he shall find waters even in the desert; so shall we give him every enjoyment of food.' 9. [The ants, then], approaching, gnawed his bowstring. When that was cut, the ends of the bow, starting asunder, cut off the head of Vishṇu. 10. It fell, making a sound (*ghṛiṇ*). That having fallen, became that Āditya. Then the rest of him became extended towards the east. Since the head fell with the sound of *ghṛiṇ*, hence *gharma*, ['the

[123] It seems as if there were a play of words here, the word *yaśaḥ*, "fame," having reference to the words *sa yaḥ sa* Vishṇuḥ, etc., *sa yaḥ sa* yajñaḥ, etc. "He *who* [is] *this* Vishṇu," etc. "He *who* [is] *this* sacrifice," etc.

sacrificial kettle,' received its name]; and since he became extended, (*prāvṛijyata*), the *pravargya* [received its appellation]. 11. The gods then said, 'A great hero (*mahān vīraḥ*) of ours has fallen.' Hence arose the name of *mahāvīra* (a sacrificial vessel).[124] They wiped (*sammamṛijuḥ*) with their hands the fluid (blood) which flowed from him. Hence arose the name of *samrāṭ*. 12. The gods rushed towards him (Vishṇu), as men about to obtain property do. Indra first reached him. He came into contact with him limb by limb. He embraced him. Having embraced him, he became this fame, which Indra is. He who so knows this becomes fame. 13. That Vishṇu was indeed Makha.[125] Hence Indra became Makhavat (the possessor or associate of Makha). He is Makhavat: they call him Maghavat esoterically; for the gods love what is esoteric. 14. They (the gods) gave food to those ants. All food is water; for with water men, as it were, moisten the food which they eat: as the common saying is. 15. Then they divided into three portions this Vishṇu, the sacrifice. . . . . With that headless sacrifice (see above), the gods went on worshipping and toiling."

I am indebted to Professor Weber for the next two passages; the first from the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,[126] and the second from the Pancha-

[124] A long account is given of the *gharma*, *pravargya*, and *mahāvīra in* Katyāyāna's Śrauta Sūtras, xxvi.

[125] In regard to this word I quote the explanation of Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v.* 2 *c*: "This is the name of a malign mythical being, as is to be conjectured from the following passages, R. V. x. 171, 2: *tvam Makhasya dodhataḥ śiro ava tvacho bharaḥ*| ('Thou hast smitten off the head, the skin, of the furious Makha'); ix. 101, 13, *apa śvānam arādhasaṁ hata Makhaṁ va Bhṛigavaḥ* | ('Drive away the niggardly dog, as the Bhṛigus did Makha'). Herewith is to be connected the mention made of Makha's head in sacrificial formulæ, Vāj. Saṁhitā, 37, 3: *devī dyāvā-pṛithivī Makhasya vām adya śiro rādhyāsaṁ devayajane pṛithivyāḥ* | . . . . 4. *Devyo vamryo bhūtasya prathamajāḥ makhasya vo 'dya śiro rādhyāsam devayajane pṛithivyāḥ* | ('O divine heaven and earth, may I rightly prepare for you to-day the head of Makha, on the part of the earth where the gods sacrificed. . . . 4. O divine ants, firstborn of created things, may I rightly prepare for you the head of Makha on the part of the earth where the gods sacrificed'); ibid. 11, 57; Taitt. S. i. 1, 8, 1; iii. 2, 4, 1, *namo 'gnaye Makhaghne* | *Makhasya mā yaśo 'ryād ity āhavanīyam upatishṭhate* | *yajno vai makhaḥ* ('Adoration to Agni, the slayer of Makha. May the fame of Makha come to me. So (saying), he stands by the āhavanīya-fire. Makha is sacrifice')," etc.

[126] This part of the Taitt. Ār. has now been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 590 ff. The commentary on it will be found in pp. 371 ff.

viṁśa Brāhmaṇa, which both relate the same story which has just been given from the Śatapathā Brāhmaṇa.

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, v. i. 1–7.—1. *Devāḥ vai satram āsata ṛiddhi-parimitaṁ yaśaskāmāḥ | te 'bruvan "yan naḥ prathamaṁ yaśaḥ ṛichhāt sarveshāṁ nas tat saha asad" iti | teshāṁ kurukshetraṁ vedir āsīt | tasyai Khāṇḍavo dakshiṇārdhaḥ āsīt Tūrghnam uttarārdhaḥ Parīṇaj jaghanārdho Maravaḥ utkaraḥ |* 2. *Teshām Makhaṁ Vaishṇavaṁ yaśaḥ ārchhat | tad nyakāmayata | tena apākrāmat | taṁ devāḥ anvāyan yaśo 'varurutsamānāḥ | tasya anvāgatasya savyād dhanur ajāyata dakshiṇād ishavaḥ | tasmād ishudhanvam puṇya-janma yajna-janma hi |* 3. *Tam ekaṁ santam bahavo na abhyadhṛiśhṇuvan | tasmād ekam ishudhanvaṁ*[127] *vīram bahavo 'nishudhanvāḥ na abhidhṛishṇuvanti | so 'ṣmayata "ekam mā santam bahavo na abhyadharshishur" iti | tasya śishmīyāṇasya tejo 'pākrāmat | tad devāḥ oshadhīshu nyamṛijyuḥ | te śyāmākāḥ abhavan | smayākāḥ vai nāma ete |* 4. *Tat smayākānāṁ smayākatvam | tasmād dīkshitena apigṛihya smetavyaṁ tejaso dhṛityai | sa dhanuḥ pratiskabhya atishṭhat | tāḥ upadīkāḥ abruvan | "varaṁ vṛiṇāmahai | atha vaḥ imaṁ randhayāma | yatra kva cha khanāma tad apo 'bhiṭṛiṇadāma" iti | tasmād upadīkāḥ yatra kva cha khananti tad apo 'bhiṭṛindanti |* 5. *Vārevṛitaṁ hy āsām | tasya jyām apyādan | tasya dhanur vipravamāṇaṁ śiraḥ udavartayat | tad dyāvāpṛithivī anuprāvartata | yat prāvartata tat pravargyasya pravargyatvam | yad ghrāṁ ity apatat tad gharmasya gharmatvam | mahato vīryam apaptad iti tad mahāvīrasya mahāvīratvam |* 6. *Yad asyāḥ samabharaṁs tat samrājaḥ samrāṭtvam | taṁ stṛitaṁ devatās tredhā vyagṛihṇata | Agniḥ prātaḥsavanam Indro mādhyandinaṁ savanaṁ Viśvedevās tṛitīya-savanam | tena apaśīrshṇā yajnena yajamānāḥ na āśisho 'vārundhata na suvargaṁ lokam abhyajayan | te devāḥ Aśvināv abruvan |* 7. *"Bhishajau vai sthaḥ | idaṁ yajnasya śiraḥ pratidhattam" iti | tāv abrūtāṁ "varaṁ vṛiṇāvahai grahaḥ eva nāv atrāpi gṛihyatām" iti | tābhyām etam āśvinam agṛihṇan | tāv etad yajnasya śiraḥ pratyadhattāṁ yat pravargyaḥ | tena saśīrshṇā yajnena yajamānāḥ ava āśisho 'rundhata | abhi suvargaṁ lokam ajayan | yat pravargyam praviṇakti yajnasya eva tach chhiraḥ pratidadhāti | tena saśīrshṇā yajnena yajāmāno 'va āśisho rundhe 'bhi suvargaṁ lokaṁ jayati | tasmād eshu āśvina-pravayāḥ iva yat pravargyaḥ |*

[127] The Bibl. Ind. reads *ishudhanvinam*.

"The gods, desirous of glory, were attending a sacrifice complete in every respect. They said, 'Whatever glory first comes to us, that shall be common to us all.' Kurukshetra was their altar. Khāṇḍava was its southern, Tūrghna its northern, and Parīṇah its hinder section. The Marus were the earth dug from it. 2. Glory came to Makha Vaishṇava among their number. This glory he eagerly desired; with it he departed. The gods followed him, seeking to obtain [this] glory. From the left [hand] of him while thus followed, a bow was produced, and from his right hand arrows. Hence a bow and arrows have a holy origin, for they are sprung from sacrifice. 3. Though many, they could not overcome him, though he was only one. Therefore many men without bows and arrows cannot overcome one hero who has a bow and arrows. He smiled, 'Though they are many, they have not overcome me who am only one.' Strength departed from him as he continued to smile. This the gods put upon the plants. They became śyāmāka grain. For they are smilers (*smayākāḥ*). 4. Hence this grain derives its name. Wherefore a person who has been consecrated should smile with [his mouth] shut, that he may retain his strength. He stood leaning on his bow. The ants said [to the gods], 'Let us choose a boon; and after that we shall subject him to you. Wherever we dig, let us open up water.' Hence wherever ants dig, they open up water. 5. For this was the boon which they chose. They knawed his (Vishṇu's) bowstring. His bow, starting asunder, hurled his head upwards. It travelled through heaven and earth. From its so travelling (*prāvartata*), the pravargya derives its name. From its falling with the sound of *ghrāṁ*, gharma obtained its name. Strength (*vīrya*) fell from the mighty one (*mahataḥ*): hence the mahāvīra got its name. 6. As they gathered it (*samabharan*) from this [earth], a samrāṭ obtains his appellation. The gods divided him when prostrate, into three parts; Agni [took] the morning oblation; Indra the midday oblation, and the Viśvedevas the third oblation. Sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they (the gods), neither obtained blessings, nor conquered heaven. 7. The gods said to the Aśvins, 'Ye two are physicians, replace this head of the sacrifice.' They said, 'Let us ask a boon, let our graha (libation of Soma) be offered here also.' [The gods, accordingly] recognized this Aśvina [libation] for them. [The Aśvins] replaced this head of the sacrifice, which is

the pravargya. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, they obtained blessings, they conquered heaven.[128] When one offers the pravargya, then he replaces the head of the sacrifice. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, a man obtains blessings, and conquers heaven. Hence this pravargya is principally efficacious through texts addressed to the Aśvins."

Panchaviṁs'a Brâhmaṇa, vii. 5, 6.—*Devaḥ vai yaśaskāmāḥ satram āsata Agnir Indro Vāyur Makhas te 'bruvan 'yan no yaśaḥ ṛichhāt tan naḥ saha asad' iti | teshām Makhaṁ yāśaḥ ārchhat | tad ādāya apākrāmat | tad asya pra saha āditsanta tam paryayatanta | sa dhanuḥ pratishṭhabhya atishṭhat tasya dhanur-ārtnir ūrdhvā patitvā śiro 'chhinat sa pravargyo 'bhavat | yajño vai Makhaḥ | yat pravargyam pravṛiñjanti yajñasya eva tach chhiraḥ pratidadhati |*

"Desirous of glory, the gods, Agni, Indra, Vāyu and Makha, were attending a sacrifice. They said, 'Whatever glory comes to us, that shall be common to us.' Glory came to Makha among their number. Taking it, he departed. The others wished to take their share in it. They surrounded him. He stood leaning on his bow. The end of his bow, springing upwards, cut off his head. He became the pravargya. Makha is sacrifice. When men offer the pravargya, they replace the head of Makha."

The Aitareya Brâhmaṇa has these two passages relating to Vishṇu, 1, 1: *Agnir vai devānām avamo | Vishṇuḥ paramas | tadantareṇa sarvāḥ anyāḥ devatāḥ.* "Agni is the lowest, Vishṇu the highest, among the gods; between them both are placed all the other deities." In his Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 390, note, Prof. Müller remarks that "this passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Vishṇu." Again, 1, 30, on quoting R. V. 1, 156, 4, the Aitareya says: *Vishṇur vai devānāṁ dvārapaḥ | sa eva asmai etad dvāraṁ vivṛiṇoti.* "Vishṇu is the door-keeper of the gods; he opens for him this door." The Taitt. Br. iii. 1, 5, 7, has the following: *Vishṇur vai akāmayata puṇyaṁ ślokaṁ śṛiṇvīya na mā pāpī kīrttir āgachhet.* "Vishṇu desired, 'May I hear a holy verse; may no ill renown reach me.'" The Taitt. S. iii. 4, 5, 1, says: *Rudraḥ paśūnāṁ Tvashṭā rūpāṇāṁ Vishṇuḥ parvatā-*

[128] Compare the close of the story about the Aśvins quoted from the S'atapatha Brâhmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff., in the fifth volume of this work, pp. 250 ff.

nām Maruto ganānām adhipatayaḥ. "Rudra is the lord of beasts, Tvashṭṛi of forms, Vishṇu of mountains, the Maruts of hosts."

The following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa gives the legend of the Dwarf incarnation in its later form:

"Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's ed.), i. 31, 2 ff.—2. *Iha Rāma mahābāho Vishṇur deva-namaskṛitaḥ | tapaś-charaṇa-yogārtham uvāsa sa mahātapāḥ |* 3. *Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ | siddhāśramaḥ iti khyātaḥ siddho yatra mahātapāḥ |* 4 *Abhibhūya cha devendram purā Vairochanir Baliḥ | trailokya-rājyam bubhuje balotseka-madānvitaḥ |* 5. *Tato Balau tadā yajnañ yajamāne bhayārditāḥ | Indrādayaḥ suraganāḥ Vishṇum ūchur ihāśrame |* 6. *"Balir Vairochanir Vishṇo yajate 'sau mahābalaḥ | kāma-daḥ sarva-bhūtānām maharddhir asurādhipaḥ |* 7. *Ye chainam abhivartante yāchitāraḥ itastataḥ | yacheha yatra yathāvacheha sarvañ tebhyaḥ prayachchhati |* 8. *Sa tvañ sura-hitārthāya māyā-yogam upāśritaḥ | vāmanatvañ gato Vishṇo kuru kalyāṇam uttamam"* | 9.[129] [*Etasminn antare Rāma Kaśyapo 'gni-sama-prabhaḥ | Adityā sahito Rāma dīpyamānaḥ ivaujasā |* 10. *Devī-sahāyo bhagavān divya-varsha-sahasrakam | vratañ samāpya vara-dañ tushṭāva Madhusūdanam |* 11. *"Tapomayañ tapo-rāśiñ tapo-mūrtiñ tapo-dhanam | tapasā tvāñ su-taptena paśyāmi purushottamam |* 12. *S'arīre tava paśyāmi jagat sarvam idam prabho | tvam anādir anirdeśyas tvām ahañ śaraṇañ gataḥ"* | 13. *Tam uvācha Hariḥ prītaḥ Kaśyapañ dhūta-kalmasham | varañ varaya bhadrañ te varārho 'si mato mama |* 14. *Tach chhrutvā vachanañ tasya Mārīchaḥ Kaśyapo 'bravīt | "putratvañ gachchha bhagavann Adityāḥ mama chānagha |* 15. *Bhrātā bhava yavīyāñs tvañ S'akrasyāsura-sūdana | śokārtānāñ tu devānāñ sāhāyyañ kartum arhasi"* | 16. *Atha Vishṇur mahātejāḥ Adityāñ samajāyata | chhatrī bhikshuka-rūpeṇa kamaṇḍalu-śikhojjvalaḥ |*] 17. *Evam uktaḥ surair Vishṇur vāmanañ rūpam āsthitaḥ | Vairochanim upāgamya trīn yayāchātmanaḥ kramān |*

[129] The following verses 9–16 seem to be rightly inclosed in brackets by Schlegel, as interpolated. A comparison of verse 8 with verse 17 shows that the latter must originally have followed immediately after the former. It will be seen, however, that in verse 19 of the text of the Bombay edition, as quoted further on, the words at the beginning of verse 17 of Schlegel's edition: *Evam uktaḥ surair Vishṇuḥ* ("Vishṇu being thus addressed by the deities"), are omitted, and the appearance of interpolation is avoided. Compare the versions of the story given below from the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, where the dwarf is said to have been the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. This is also the parentage of Vishṇu as one of the twelve Ādityas.—See above, pp. 118 ff.

18. *Labdhvā cha trīn kramān Vishṇuḥ, kṛitvā rūpam athādbhutam* | *tribhiḥ kramais tadā lokān ājahāra tri-vikramaḥ* | 19. *Ekena hi padā kṛitsnām pṛithivīm so 'dhyatishṭhata* | *dvitīyenāvyayaṁ vyoma dyāṁ tṛitīyena Rāghava* | 20. *Taṁ chāsuram Baliṁ kṛitvā pātāla-tala-vāsinam* | *trailokya-rājyam Indrāya dadāv uddhṛitya kaṇṭakam* |

The readings of this passage, as given in the Bombay edition[130] i. 29, 2 ff., differ occasionally from those of Schlegel's. I subjoin them here: 2. *Iha Rāma mahābāho Vishṇur deva-namaskṛitaḥ* | *varshāṇi subahūnīha tathā yuga-śatāni cha* | 3 | *tapaś-charana-yogārtham uvāsa sumahātapāḥ* | [verses 3b and 4a correspond,—with only the difference of *hy atra* for *atra*,—with verse 3 of Schlegel's edition] 4b | *etasminn eva kāle tu rājā Vairochanir Baliḥ* | 5 | *nirjitya daivata-gaṇān sendrān saha-marud-gaṇan* | *kārayāmāsa tad-rājyaṁ trishu lokeshu viśrutaḥ* | 6 | *yajnaṁ chakāra*[131] *sumahān asurendro mahābalaḥ* | *Bales tu yajamānasya devāḥ sāgni-purogamāḥ* | *samāgamya svayaṁ chaiva Vishṇum ūchur ihāśrame* | 7 | "*Balir Vairochanir Vishṇo yajate yajnam uttamam* |

[130] See Prof. Weber's account of this edition in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1863, vol. 17, pp. 771 ff.

[131] In his note on this passage, the commentator discusses the question how Bali could sacrifice to the gods, since he was at enmity with Indra and the rest of them: *Nanu "asurasya Baler deva-dvisho yāgādyanupapattir yāga-tarpaṇīya-devatābhāvād Indradīnāṁ tad-dveshyatvāt* | *nacha śabda-mātraṁ devatā iti yuktam artha-vāda-prāmāṇyena devatāyāḥ vigrahavattvasya uttara-mīmāṁsāyāṁ siddhāntitatvād" iti chet* | *na* | *karma-deva-ājāna-deva bhedena devānāṁ dvaividhyāt* | *tatra ye karmaṇā devatvam prāptās te karma-devāḥ* | *ājāna-devās tu yajna-mantrārtha-bhūtāḥ mantreṇa nitya-sambaddāḥ karma-devebhyaḥ prāchīnāḥ eva* | *tat-karma-devānāṁ dveshyatve 'py ājāna-devānāṁ yajne tarpyatve na doshaḥ* | *vighna-kartāro 'py atra karma-devāḥ eva* | *yajnādyadhikārābhāvo 'py ājāna-devānām eva sva-yashṭavya-devatāntarābhāvāt* | *karma-devānāṁ tv asty eva* | *ataḥ eva Indrādīnāṁ yajnādi-śravaṇaṁ ṇa anupannam* |

"But is there not an absurdity in the idea of sacrifice, etc., being celebrated by Bali, the enemy of the gods; from there being no deities who could be gratified by it, since Indra and the rest of them were the objects of his hostility? And it is not correct to say that a god is a mere name, for in the Uttara Mīmāṁsā the corporeality of the deities is established on the authority of the Arthāvadas (illustrative passages of the Vedas). [See the passage of Sankara's Commentary on the Brahma or Vedānta Sūtras, i. 3, 28, quoted in the third vol. of this work, pp. 99 ff., especially p. 102 at the foot.] If this objection be urged, then I reply, that the case is not so; for the gods are of two kinds, work-gods, and those who are gods from their birth. (See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 17, f. note 26, and the S'atap. Br. xiv. 7, 1, 34 f.) Of these two kinds, the gods who have become such by works of merit are 'work-gods.' But it is those who are gods from their birth that are the objects of the sacrificial formulas, and eternally connected with those formulas; and they are more ancient than the 'work-gods.' Even if the 'work-gods' be objects of hostility, no exception can be taken to the supposition that the gods by birth may be gratified by sacrifice. And in

asamāpta-vrate tasmin svakāryam abhipadyatām | [verses 8–15*a* correspond with verses 7–14*a* of Schlegel's ed., substituting however *tapātmakam* for *tapo-dhanam*, and *purushopamam* for *purushottamam*] 15*b* | *Adityāḥ devatānāṁ cha mama chaivānuyāchitam* | 16 | *varaṁ varada suprīto dātum arhasi suvrata* | [verses 16*b* and 17 agree with 14*b* and 15 of Schlegel's edition] 18. *Ayaṁ Siddhāśramo nāma prasādāt te bhavishyati* | *siddhe karmaṇi deveśa uttishṭha bhagavann itaḥ* | 19. *Atha Vishṇur mahātejāḥ Adityāṁ samajāyata* | *Vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthāya Vairochanim upāgamat* | 20 | *trīn padān atha bhikshitvā pratigṛihya cha medinīm* | *ākramya lokān lokārthī sarva-loka-hite rataḥ* | 21 | *Mahendrāya punaḥ prādād niyamya Balim ojasā* | *trailokyam sa mahātejāś chakre Śakra-vaśam punaḥ* |

I subjoin the text of the same passage according to Signor Gorresio's edition:

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's ed.), i. 32, 2 ff.—*Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ* | *siddhāśramaḥ iti khyātaḥ siddho yatra mahāyaśāḥ* | 3. *Vishṇur vāmana-rūpena tapyamāno mahat tapaḥ* | *trailokya-rājye 'pahṛite Balinendrasya Rāghava* | [verses 4, 5, 6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition] 7. *Taṁ tvaṁ vāmana-rūpeṇa gatvā bhikshitum arhasi* | *vikramāṁs trīn mahābāho dātā hi niyataṁ sa te* | 8. *Bhikshito vikramān etāṁs trīn vīrya-bala-darpitaḥ* | *paribhūya jagannāthaṁ tubhyaṁ vāmana-rūpiṇe* | 9. *Ye hy enam abhiyāchante lipsamānāḥ svam īpsitam* | *tān kāmair īpsitaiḥ sarvān yojayaty asureśvaraḥ* | 10. *Sa tvaṁ trailokya-rājyaṁ no hṛitam bhūyo jagat-pate* | *dātum arhasi nirjitya vikramair bhūribhis tribhiḥ* | 11. *Ayaṁ siddhāśramo nāma siddha-karmā bhavishyati* | *tasmin karmaṇi saṁsiddhe tava satya-parākrama* | [Gorresio's edition does not contain any verses corresponding to those marked by Schlegel as spurious, viz. lines 9–16 of his edition.] 12. *Evam uktaḥ surair Vishṇur vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ* | *Vairochanim upāgamya trīṇ ayāchata vikramān* | [The remaining verses are word for word the same as in Schlegel's recension.]

the case before us it is the 'work-gods' who are the disturbers of the sacrifice. Further, it is the gods by birth who are incapable of performing sacrifice, because there are no other deities to whom they could offer it. [See the first vol. of this work, p. 365, note 163.] Whereas the 'work-gods' can perform sacrifice. Wherefore the tradition that Indra and the rest performed sacrifice is not absurd." It is strange for readers of the Vedic hymns to be told that Indra is not an object of worship by sacrifice.

The following is a translation of the passage according to Schlegel's edition:

Viśvāmitra speaks: "2. In this place, O large-armed Rāma, Vishṇu, the great ascetic, reverenced by the gods, dwelt for the purpose of practising austerity, and contemplation. 3. This, Rāma, was the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, renowned as the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the great ascetic was perfected. 4. Formerly, Bali, the son of Virochana, after conquering the chief of the gods (Indr[illegible]ree enjoyed the empire of the three worlds, intoxicated with the increase[illegible] of his power. 5. When Bali was then celebrating a sacrifice, Indra and [illegible]u for other gods, disturbed with apprehension, addressed Vishṇu in this her[illegible] give age. 6. 'That mighty Bali, son of Virochana, O Vishṇu, is now perfo[illegible] from ing sacrifice,—he who grants the desires of all creatures, the prospe[illegible]which lord of the Asuras. 7. Whatever suppliants wait upon him from wh[illegible], in ever quarter, he bestows on them in a proper manner all whatever, of any sort of thing, [they wish]. 8. Do thou, O Vishṇu, assuming a magical state for the benefit of the deities, take the shape of a dwarf, and bring about our highest welfare.' [9. At this period, O Rāma, the divine Kaśyapa, luminous as fire, glowing, as it were, with splendour, attended by the goddess Aditi, (10) having completed an act of austerity which had lasted for a thousand years of the gods, celebrated [thus] the praises of the boon-bestowing Madhusūdana: 11. 'Through intense austerity I behold thee, the supreme Spirit, whose essence is austerity, who art a congeries of austerity, the impersonation of austerity, who art rich in austerity. 12. In thy body, lord, I behold this whole universe; thou art unbeginning and ineffable; to thee I have resorted as my refuge.' 13. Then Hari, gratified, spake to Kaśyapa, whose taint of sin had been purged away: 'Ask a boon; may good attend thee; thou art regarded by me as deserving a boon.' 14. Hearing these words of his, Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, replied: 'Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi and myself. 15. Slayer of the Asuras, become the younger brother of Śakra (Indra). Thou oughtest to succour the gods who are oppressed with grief.' 16. Vishṇu, of mighty energy, was accordingly born of Aditi, shaded by an umbrella, in the form of a mendicant, resplendent with a drinking gourd, and a lock of hair on the crown of his head.] 17. Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu took the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana,

begged three of his own paces. 18. Having obtained three paces, the thrice-stepping Vishṇu assumed a miraculous form, and with three paces took possession of the worlds. For with one step he occupied the whole earth, with a second the eternal atmosphere, and with a third the sky, O Rāghava. Having then assigned to the Asura Bali an abode in Pātāla (the infernal region), he gave the empire of the three worlds to Indra, after removing his enemy."

I subjoin a translation of those parts of the Bombay text which are different from Schlegel's:

2. "In this place, O great-armed Rāma, Vishṇu, the great ascetic, reverenced by the gods, dwelt very many years and hundreds of yugas, for the purpose of practising austerity and contemplation. [Verses 1 and 4*a* are almost identical with the reading of the other edition.]

But at this very period the renowned King Bali, son of Virochana, (5) having conquered the hosts of the deities, including Indra and the Maruts, ruled in their stead over the three worlds. 6. This very great and potent lord of the Asuras celebrated a sacrifice. While he was doing so, the gods, headed by Agni, assembled, and addressed Vishṇu in this hermitage. 7. 'Bali, the son of Virochana, O Vishṇu, is celebrating a grand sacrifice. Let his rite remain incomplete; and let our object be attained. [Verses 8–15*a* correspond very nearly with 7–14*a* of the other edition.] 15*b*–16*b*. O boon-bestowing, holy, deity, be well pleased, and bestow the boon which Aditi, the gods, and I solicit. [Verses 16*b* and 17 agree with 14*b* and 15 of the other ed.] 18*a*. This by thy favour shall be called Siddhāśrama (the hermitage where the work was accomplished). The work being accomplished, depart hence, O king of the gods.' 19. Then the glorious Vishṇu was born of Aditi. Assuming the form of a dwarf, he approached the son of Virochana. 20. Then having begged for three paces of ground, and having occupied the earth, he, desiring the worlds, devoted to the good of all creatures, having stalked over the worlds, (21) restored them to Mahendra (great Indra), having overcome Bali by his might. This glorious being made the three worlds again subject to Śakra (Indra)." (See note [129] above.)

I add a translation of those parts of Gorresio's text which differ from Schlegel's:

"2. This, Rāma, is the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf,

called the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,'[131*] where the illustrious Vishṇu was perfected, (3) when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, [at the time] when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali. [Verses 4–6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition.] 7. 'Now thou shouldst go in the form of a dwarf, and beg three paces, O large-armed. 8. For, proud of his valour and strength, after his victory over the lord of the world (Indra), he, when supplicated, will certainly give these three paces to thee [appearing] in the form of a dwarf. 9. For that lord of the Asuras fulfils the desires of all those persons who supplicate him for their accomplishment. 10. Thou, lord of the world, oughtest to give us back the empire of the three worlds which has been taken away from us, after thou hast conquered it by three vast strides. 11. This which is called Siddhāśrama (the hermitage where the work was fulfilled),[131*] shall be [a place] where this work is fulfilled, when this work has been accomplished by thee, O possessor of real might.' Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu assumed the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged for three paces." (The rest corresponds with Schlegel's edition, except, as above stated, in the omission of verses 9–16 there given.)

The following are two brief notices of the dwarf incarnation from the Mahābhārata:

Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, vv. 12943 ff. — *Virochanasya balavān Baliḥ putro mahāsuraḥ | abadhyaḥ sarva-lokānām sa-devāsura-rakshasām | bhavishyati sa Śakrancha sva-rājyād chārayishyati* (=*chyāvayishyati?*) | *trailokye 'prahṛite tena vimukhe cha Śachīpatau | Adityaṁ dvādaśādityaḥ sambhavishyāmi Kaśyapāt | tato rājyam pradāsyāmi Śakrāyāmita-tejase | devatāḥ sthāpayishyāmi sveshu sthāneshu Nārada | Balinchaiva karishyāmi pātāla-tala-vāsinam | Dānavancha Balim śreshṭham abadhyam sarva-daivataiḥ |*

After referring to his Boar, and Man-lion incarnations, Vishṇu says to Nārada: "The great Asura Bali, the strong son of Virochana, shall be indestructible by all beings, including gods, Asuras, and Rākshasas. He shall oust Śakra (Indra) from his kingdom. When the three worlds have been taken by Bali, and the lord of Śachi (Indra) has been put to flight, I shall be born in the form of the twelve Ādityas, the

[131*] The participle *siddha* means both "perfect" and "accomplished."

son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. I will then restore his empire to Śakra of boundless energy; will reinstate the gods in their several positions; will place Bali in Pātāla, the eminent Dānava Bali, indestructible by all the gods."

Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, vv. 484 ff.—[132]*Aditer api putratvam etya Yādava-nandana | tvaṁ Vishṇur iti vikhyātaḥ Indrād avarajo vibhuḥ | śiśur bhūtvā divaṁ khancha pṛithivīncha parantapa | tribhir vikramaṇaiḥ Kṛishṇa krāntavān asi tejasā | samprāpya divam ākāśam āditya-sadane sthitaḥ | atyārohaścha bhūtātman bhāskaraṁ svena tejasā | prādurbhāva-sahasreshu teshu teshu tvayā vibho | adharma-ruchayaḥ Kṛishṇa nihatāḥ śataśo' surāḥ |* "And thou, Kṛishṇa, of the Yādava race, having become the son of Aditi, and being called Vishṇu, the younger brother of Indra, the all-pervading, becoming a child, O vexer of thy foes, hast by thy energy traversed the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, in three strides. Having attained to the sky and the ether, and occupied the abode of the Ādityas, thou, O soul of all beings, hast overpassed the sun by thine own lustre. In these thousands of thy manifestations, O all-pervading Kṛishṇa, thou hast slain hundreds of Asuras who delighted in iniquity."

The next passage is a short notice of the same incarnation from the Vishṇu Purāṇa:

Vish. Pur. iii. 1 (p. 265 of Wilson's translation; vol. iii., p. 18, of Dr. Hall's ed.).—*Manvantare tu samprāpte tathā Vaivasvate dvija | vāmanaḥ Kaśyapād Vishṇur Adityāṁ śambabhūva ha | Tribhiḥ kramair imān lokān jitvā yena mahātmanā | Pūrandarāya trailokyaṁ dattaṁ nihata-kaṇṭakam |* "So when the Vaivasvata manvantara had arrived, Vishṇu was born as a dwarf, the son of Aditi and Kaśyapa. By this great being, after he had conquered these worlds by three paces, the three worlds were given to Purandara (Indra), his enemy being destroyed."

The story of Vishnu's incarnation as a dwarf is told in a greatly developed form in the fifteenth and following sections of the eighth Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. As the whole narrative is too long to be quoted here in extenso, I shall give an abstract of the contents of these sections, translating in full some of those portions which appear the most important. The story commences thus:

[132] See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 489, note, and p. 779 f. and note (pp. 587, and 921 of the second edition).

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 15, 1.—*Baleḥ pada-trayam bhūmeḥ kasmād Harir ayāchatā | bhūtveśvaraḥ kṛipaṇa-val labdārtho 'pi babandha tam | 2. Etad veditum ichhāmo mahat kautūhalaṁ hi naḥ | yajneśvarasya pūrṇasya bandhanaṁ chāpy anāgasaḥ |*

The king asks: "Why did Hari, the lord of creatures, ask, like a poor man, three paces of land from Bali? and why, when he had obtained his object, did he bind him? 2. This we desire to know; and we have a great curiosity;—and also why an innocent being was bound by the perfect lord of sacrifice?" The sage Śuka replies (verses 3 ff.) that after Bali had been deprived of life by Indra, he was restored by the Brāhmans of the race of Bhṛigu, who consecrated him for supreme dominion, and celebrated for him a Viśvajit sacrifice, which had the virtue of enabling him to conquer all his enemies. He then sets out (verse 11), attended by a host of Daityas, to attack the capital of Indra, which is described with all its splendours and attractions. When Bali had invested the city (verse 23), Indra inquires of his spiritual preceptor how it is that his enemy has acquired this tremendous power, which appears altogether irresistible.

The preceptor replies (verses 15, 28 ff.): *Jānāmi Maghavan śatror unnater asya kāraṇam | śishyāyopabhṛitaṁ tejo Bhṛigubhir brahma-vādibhiḥ | 29. Bhavad-vidho bhavān vā'pi varjayitveśvaraṁ Harim | nāsya śaktaḥ puraḥ sthātum kṛitāntasya yathā janāḥ | 30. Tasmād nilayam (=adarśanam,[133] Comm.) utsṛijya yūyaṁ sarve trivishṭapam | yāta kālam pratīkshanto yataḥ śatror viparyayaḥ | 31. Esha vipra-balodarkaḥ sampraty ūrjita-vikramaḥ | teshām evāvamānena sānubandho vinankshyati |*

"I know, Maghavan, the cause of the exaltation of this your enemy to be the might imparted to their pupil by the Bhṛigus, the declarers of the Veda. 29. No one such as you, not even you yourself, [nor any one] excepting only Hari the lord, is able to stand before him, as men [are unable to confront] death. 30. Wherefore do ye all, abandoning heaven, disappear, expecting [the operation of] time, from which [shall come] the overthrow of your enemy. 31. He now reaps the fruits of Brahmanical power, and thus his prowess has become augmented. Through contempt of these same Brahmans, he shall perish with all his dependents."

[133] The word *nilaya*, however, may also mean "abode," in which case the sense will be "abandoning heaven, your abode, depart," etc.

(The prophecy here uttered in regard to the fall of Bali as a result of his disregard of the Brahmans will hereafter be found to be fulfilled. See below, sect. 20, vv. 14 ff., p. 145.)

Following the advice of their preceptor, Indra and the other gods abandoned heaven, and Bali took possession of the celestial capital, when the Bhṛigus celebrated for him a hundred aśvamedhas (or horse-sacrifices).

The sixteenth section opens with an account of the distress of Aditi, the mother of the gods, at the discomfiture of her sons by the Daityas. She receives a visit from her husband the Prajāpati Kaśyapa, who makes various conjectures about the cause of her apparent unhappiness, of which (verse 15 f.) he receives an explanation. He then replies:

(Sect. 16, vv. 18 ff.)—*Evaṃ abhyarthito 'dityā Kas tām āha smayann iva | aho māyā-balaṃ Vishṇoḥ sneha-baddham idaṃ jagat |* 19. *Kva deho bhautiko 'nātmā kva chātmā prakṛiteḥ paraḥ | kasya ke pati-putrādyāḥ mohaḥ eva hi kāraṇam |* 20. *Upatishṭhasva Purusham bhagavantaṃ Janārdanam | sarva-bhūta-guhāvāsaṃ Vasudevaṃ jagad-gurum |* 21. *Sa vidhāsyati te kāmān Harir dīnānukampanaḥ | amoghā bhagavad-bhaktir netareti matir mama |*

18. "Being thus entreated by Aditi, Ka [134] (Kaśyapa) answers her, as it were smiling, 'O, the power of Vishṇu's illusion! this world is bound by affection. 19. Where is this elemental body, which is not soul? and where is soul, which is superior to matter? (*i.e.* how great is the superiority of soul to the body!) [135] Who are the husband, or the sons, or other relatives, of any person? [136] (*i.e.* there are no such things

[134] For an explanation of this word see above, p. 15, note 43. Here it stands for Kaśyapa.

[135] Compare for this idiom the Raghuvaṃśa, i. 2: *Kva sūrya-prabhavo vaṃśaḥ kva chālpa-vishayā matiḥ |* "Where is the race descended from the Sun, and where is my mind of which the (proper) objects are so small?" *i.e.* the disproportion between the two things is great.

[136] This sentiment appears to be here intended as orthodox: but similar observations, when made in the Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's and Bombay editions), ii. 108, 3 f., are spoken of as *dharmāpeta*, which the scholiast in the Bombay edition interprets as = *dharma-mārga-viddhaṃ lokāyatika-matāvalambanam, i.e.*, "opposed to righteousness, and derived from the tenets of the Lokāyatikas."[2] The words there are: *kaḥ kasya purusho bandhuḥ kim āpyaṃ kasya kenachit | eko hi jāyate jantur ekaḥ eva vinaśyati |* 4 | *tasmād mātā pitā cheti Ṛāma sajjeta yo naraḥ | unmattaḥ iva sa jneyo nāsti kaśchid hi kasyachit |* 3. "What person is the relation of any (other)? what affinity has any one with another? For a creature is born alone, and perishes alone. 4. Whosoever,

as real relations); delusion alone creates them. 20. Betake thyself to Purusha, the divine Janārdana, who dwells in the heart of all creatures, Vāsudeva, the preceptor of the world. 21. Hari, who compassionates the afflicted, will fulfil thy desires: devotion to the lord, and that alone, is never fruitless; such is my judgment."

Aditi then asks how she is to worship Vishṇu in such a way as to obtain her desire, and receives from Kaśyapa an account (extending to the end of the section) of the milk ceremonial (*payo-vrata*) which she is to perform.

She accordingly celebrates the prescribed rite (sect. 17 ff.), when Hari, the primeval Purusha, appears to her in yellow vesture, with four arms, bearing his shell, discus, and club. She implores his succour, and receives an assurance that he has been gratified by her service, which shall not remain unfruitful. He goes on to say:

(Sect. 17, vv. 18 ff.)—*Tvayārchitaś chāham apatya-guptaye payo-vratenānuguṇaṁ samīḍitaḥ | svāṁśena putratvam upetya te sutān goptāsmi Mārīcha-tapasy adhishṭhitaḥ* | 19. *Upadhāva patim bhadre prajāpatim akalmasham | māṁ cha bhāvayatī patyāv evaṁrūpam avasthitam* | 20. *Naitat parasmai ākhyeyam pṛishṭayā 'pi kathanchana | sarvaṁ sampadyate devi deva-guhyaṁ susaṁvṛitam* | 21. *Śukaḥ uvācha | etāvad uktvā bhagavāṁs tatraivāntaradhīyata | Aditir durlabhaṁ labdhvā Harer janmātmani prabhoḥ | upādhāvat patim bhaktyā parayā kṛita-kṛitya-vat* | 22. *Sa vai samādhi-yogena Kaśyapas tad abudhyata | pravishṭam ātmani Harer aṁśaṁ hy avitathekshaṇaḥ* | 23. *So 'dityāṁ vīryām ādhatta tapasā chira-sambhṛitam | samāhita-manāḥ rājan dāruṇy agniṁ yathā 'ṇilaḥ* |

"'Worshipped by thee with the milk ceremonial for the deliverance of thy offspring, and lauded according to my attributes, I shall, with a portion of myself, become thy son, and deliver thy children, presiding over the austerity of Mārīcha (Kaśyapa). 19. Wait, virtuous female, upon thy husband, the sinless Prajāpati, meditating on me, who in

therefore, is attached to any person, (thinking 'this is my) father or mother,' is mad: No one is anything to any other." The word *āpyam* in verse 3, which I have rendered by "affinity," according to the Vedic sense of the term, is explained by the commentator as =*prāpyam*, "to be obtained." The clause, according to him, would thus mean: "What is to be obtained by any one person from any other?" The word may here, however, perhaps have the Vedic sense, although it is unusual, if not elsewhere unknown, in modern Sanskrit. Gorresio's edition, ii. 116, 12, has *kāryam* instead of *āpyam*, thus making the meaning to be, "What has any one person to do with any other?"

this form abide within him. 20. This must not in any way be disclosed by thee to any one, even though thou art asked. The secrets of the gods, O goddess, issue in good [only] when they are kept concealed.' 21. When the deity had said so much, he disappeared on the spot. Aditi, having obtained the [boon], so hard to obtain, that Hari, the lord, should be born of her, waited on her husband with the greatest devotion, like one who had obtained her object. 22. Kaśyapa with certain intuition understood by the power of contemplation that a portion of Hari had entered into him. 23. With contemplative mind, he impregnated Aditi with the generative fluid which he had accumulated by long austerity, as the wind forces fire into wood."

We have already seen that Vishṇu, in his character as one of the Ādityas, also, was the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi (see above, p. 118 ff.). The connexion with the old legend is therefore preserved here, as well as in the story given in the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa, above, pp. 132 and 134.

The eighteenth section relates how Hari was born of Aditi, to the great delight of all creatures, and how he then took the form of a dwarf:

(Sect. 18, v. 12).—*Yat tad vapur bhāti-vibhūshaṇāyudhair avyaktachid vyaktam adhārayad Hariḥ | babhūva tenaiva sa vāmano baṭuḥ sampaśyator divya-gatir yathā naṭaḥ |* "With that body which Hari, the invisible spirit, had assumed, and which was manifested by splendour, by its ornaments, and by weapons,—with that same body, he, whose ways are supernatural, became, while [his parents] were looking on, a dwarfish Brahmanical student, as an actor [changes his character]."

He afterwards went to attend the aśvamedha sacrifices celebrated for Bali by the Bhṛigus on the banks of the river Narmadā.[137] Bali welcomes the young Brahman dwarf with respect, offers him a seat, aud washes his feet. The narrative then proceeds:

(Sect. 18, v. 28 ff.)—*Tat-pāda-śauchaṁ jana-kalmashāpahaṁ sa dharma-vid mūrdhny adhāt sumangalam | yad deva-devo Girišaś chandramaulir dadhāra mūrdhnā parayā cha bhaktyā |* 29. *Balir uvācha | svāgataṁ te namas tubhyaṁ brahman kiṁ karavāma te | brahmarshīṇāṁ tapaḥ sākshād manye tv ārya vapur-dharam | . . . .* 32. *Yad yad baṭo vānchhasi tat pratīchha me tvām arthinam vipra-sutānutarkaye | gāṁ*

[137] It is to be noticed that the scene of this sacrifice is on earth, though Bali, as we were told above, had taken possession of Indra's heaven.

kāṅchanaṁ guṇavad dhāma mṛishṭaṁ ṭathā 'nna-peyam uta vā vipra-kanyām | grāmān samṛiddhāṁs turagān gajān vā rathāṁs tathā 'rhattama sampratīchha | 28. "Acquainted with duty, he placed upon his head the auspicious water with which the Brahman's feet had been washed, which removes the sins of men, and which Giriśa (Śiva), the god of gods, who wears the moon for a frontal ornament, bore on his head, with supreme devotion. 29. Bali said: 'Welcome to thee, reverence to thee, Brahman, what can we do for thee? honourable man, I regard thee as the visible, impersonated austerity of Brahman-sages. . . . . 32. Ask of me, student, whatever thou desirest; son of a Brahman, I conclude that thou art a suppliant; ask, most venerable youth, a cow, pure gold, an embellished house, food and drink, or a Brahman's daughter, flourishing villages, horses, or elephants, and carriages.'"

In section nineteenth the dwarf answers Bali in a speech complimentary to himself and his ancestors, and craftily, with a hypocritical pretence of moderation not very creditable to a god, ends with the seemingly modest demand of three paces of ground:

(Sect. 19, v. 16 ff.)—*Tasmāt tvatto mahīm īshad vriṇe 'haṁ varadarshabhāt | padāni trīṇi daityendra sammitānī padā mama* | 17. *Nānyat te kāmaye rājan vadānyāj jagadīśvarāt | nainaḥ prāpnoti vai vidvān yāvad-artha-pratigrahaḥ* | 18. *Balir uvācha | Aho Brāhmaṇa-dāyāda vāchas te vriddha-sammatāḥ | tvam bālo bāliśa-matiḥ svārtham praty abudho yathā* | 19. *Māṁ vachobhiḥ samārādhya lokānām ekam īśvaram | pada-trayaṁ vriṇīte yo 'buddhimān dvīpa-dāśusham* | 20. *Na pumān mām upravrajya bhūyo yāchitum arhati | tasmād vṛitti-karīm bhūmiṁ baṭo kāmam pratīchha me* | 21. *Śrī-bhagavān uvācha | yāvanto vishayāḥ preshṭhās trilokyām ajitendriyam | na śaknuvanti te sarve pratipūrayituṁ nṛipa* | 22. *Tribhiḥ kramair asantushṭo dvīpenāpi na pūryate | nava-varsha-sametena saptadvīpa-varechhayā* | . . . . . 27. *Tasmāt trīṇi padāny eva vriṇe tvad varadarshabhāt | etāvataiva siddho 'ham vittaṁ yāvat prayojanam* | 28. *Śukaḥ uvācha | ity uktaḥ sa hasann āha vāñchhitam pratigṛihyatām | vāmanāya mahīṁ dātuṁ jagrāha jala-bhājanam* |

"Wherefore I ask from thee, the chief of the bountiful, a small portion of ground, three paces, lord of the Daityas, measured by my step. 17. I desire nothing more from thee, the generous lord of the world. A wise man incurs no sin when he asks [only] as much as he needs.

18. Bali answered: 'Thy words, son of a Brahman, are such as beseem an old man. Thou art a youth, with the mind of a stripling, and like one ignorant regarding his own interest. 19. He is not wise who, having by words reverenced me, the sole lord of the worlds, asks me, the bestower of continents, for three paces of ground. 20. It is not fit that a man should come to me and make repeated requests: wherefore freely ask me for ground sufficient for thy subsistence.' 21. The deity replied: 'All the desirable objects in the three worlds cannot, O king, satisfy the man whose senses are unsubdued. 22. He who is not contented with three paces of ground will not be satiated even with a continent, and its nine divisions (*varshas*), since he will desire the gift of the seven continents.[138] . . . . 27. Wherefore I desire from thee, who art the chief of the bountiful, only three paces of ground. With so much as suffices for my maintenance I am complete.' 28. Being thus addressed, Bali said, smiling, 'take what thou desirest;' and with the view of giving the land to the dwarf, he took a vessel of water."

Uśanas,[139] however, Bali's priest and preceptor, recognizing Vishṇu in the dwarf, and knowing the god's designs, here interposes, and warns the monarch against granting the ground solicited:

(Sect. 19, v. 29 ff.)—*Vishṇave kshmām pradāsyantam Uśanā asureśvaram | jānanś chikīrshitaṁ Vishṇoḥ śishyam prāha vidāṁ varaḥ* | 30. *Sʻukrāchāryaḥ uvācha | Esha Vairochane sākshād bhagavān Vishṇur avyayaḥ | Kaśyapād Aditer jāto devānāṁ kārya-sādhakaḥ* | 31. *Pratiśrutaṁ tvayaitasmai yad anartham ajānatā | na sādhu manye daityānām mahān upagato 'nayaḥ* | 32. *Esha te sthānam aiśvaryaṁ śriyaṁ tejo yaśaḥ śrutam | dāsyaty āchhidya Sʻakrāya māyā-māṇavako Hariḥ* | 33. *Tribhiḥ kramair imān lokān viśva-kāyaḥ kramishyati | sarvasvaṁ Vishṇave dattvā mūḍha vartishyase katham* | 34. *Kramato gāṁ padaikena dvitīyena divaṁ vibhoḥ | khaṁ cha kāyena mahatā tārtīyasya kuto gatiḥ* | 35. *Nishṭhām te narake manye hy apradātuḥ pratiśrutam | pratiśrutasya yo 'nīśaḥ pratipādayitum bhavān* | 36. *Na tad dānam praśaṁsanti yena vṛittir vipadyate | dānaṁ yajnas tapaḥ karma loke vṛittimato yataḥ* | 37. *Dharmāya yaśase 'rthāya kāmāya svajanāya cha | panchadhā vibhajan vittam ihāmutra cha modate* | 38. *Atrāpi bahvṛichair gitaṁ śṛiṇu me*

[138] See the first volume of this work, pp. 489 ff. for an account of these continents and varshas.

[139] See the second volume of this work, p. 386, note 65.

'sura-sattama | satyam om iti yat proktaṃ yan nety āhānṛitaṃ hi tat | 39. *Satyam pushpa-phalaṃ vidyād ātma-vṛikshasya jīvataḥ | vṛikshe 'jīvati tan na syād anṛitaṃ mūlam ātmanaḥ |* 40. *Tad yathā vṛikshaḥ unmūlaḥ śushyaty udvartate 'chirāt | evaṃ nashṭānṛitaḥ sadyaḥ ātmā śushyed na saṃśayaḥ |* 41. *Parāg riktam apūrṇaṃ vai aksharaṃ yat tad "om" iti | yat kinchid "om" iti brūyāt tena richyeta vai pumān |* 42. *Bhikshave sarvam om kurvan nālaṃ kāmena chātmane | athaitat pūrṇam abhyātmaṃ yach cha nety anṛitaṃ vachaḥ |* 43. *Sarvaṃ nety anṛitam brūyāt sa dushkīrtiḥ śvasan mritaḥ | strīshu narma-vivāhe cha vṛitty-arthe prāṇa-sankaṭe | go-brāhmaṇārthe hiṃsāyāṃ nānṛitaṃ syāj jugupsitam |*

29. "Uśanas, chief of the wise, knowing Vishṇu's intention, thus addresses his pupil, the chief of the Asuras, who was about to give the earth to that deity: 30. 'This, O son of Virochana, is manifestly the divine, undecaying Vishṇu himself, born of Kaśyapa and Aditi, [to be] the fulfiller of the purposes of the gods. 31. That ill-advised promise which thou, unwittingly, hast made to him, is not, I consider, to the advantage of the Daityas;—a great error has been committed. 32. This illusory dwarf, having bereft thee of thy place, dominion, prosperity, splendour, renown, and sacred knowledge, will give them to Śakra. 33. He whose body is the universe, will traverse these worlds in three strides; fool, where shalt thou abide, when thou hast given all thy possessions to Vishṇu? 34. Where shall there be room for the third pace of the all-pervading being when he has traversed the earth with one pace, the sky with a second, and [occupied] the heaven with his vast body? 35. I think that thy abode shall be in hell, when thou art unable to give all that thou hast promised, since thou shalt not be master (so as to bestow it) of what thou hast engaged to give. 36. Men do not approve that gift by which [the donor's] livelihood is ruined: for [it is understood] in the world that gifts, sacrifices, austerities, ceremonies, are only performed by those who have the means. 37. The man who divides his property into five parts destined severally for purposes of religion, renown, personal interest, pleasure and family support, is happy in this world as well as in the next.[140] 38. Hear from me, most excellent of the

[140] The drift of verses 38 ff., which are founded upon a passage of the Veda quoted by the commentator, is thus explained by him: *Nanu tarhi pratiśrutya "na" iti*

Asuras, what has been sung on this subject by teachers of the Rigveda: to say "yes" is to be true; to say "no" is to be false. 39. Know that truth is celebrated as the flower and fruit of that tree, one's self, while it is alive; but this cannot be the case unless the tree lives; [therefore, when it tends to our preservation], falsehood is the root of one's self. 40.

katham anṛitaṁ vāchyam | tatra āha sārdhhaiḥ shaḍbhiḥ | atrāpi satyānṛita-vyavasthāyām bahvṛicha-śrutyā hi prathamam "'om' iti satyaṁ 'na' iti anṛitam" ity ādinā satyānṛitayor lakshaṇa-pūrvakaṁ stuti-nindābhyāṁ satyaṁ vihitam anṛitaṁ cha nishiddham anantaraṁ cha "parāg vai etad riktam aksharam" ityādinā satye doshān anṛite cha guṇān uktvā "tasmāt kāle eva dadyāt kāle na dadyāt tat satyānṛite mithunīkaroti" ity upasaṁhāreṇa vṛitti-sankaṭādishv anṛitam apy anujñātam tam imaṁ śruty-arthaṁ darśayann āha | "But the objection arises, how, after promising, can a man say 'no,' and thus be guilty of falsehood? To this he replies in six and a half verses. Here, with a view to fixing the rules regarding truth and falsehood, after having first of all stated the characteristic marks of each, according to these words of the Rigvedic doctors, '"yes" is truth, and "no" is falsehood,' etc., and having by praise and blame shown that truth is enjoined and falsehood forbidden, he cites the clause, 'this word denotes removal and evacuation,' etc., to indicate the faults of truth and the virtues of falsehood; and lastly, after quoting the words, 'he combines truth and falsehood by saying "let a man give and withhold on the proper occasions,"' he sums up by deciding that falsehood is permitted when necessary for the sake of subsistence, and in straits, etc. Propounding this doctrine of scripture, he says, etc."

The words of the passage here referred to, from a Bahvṛicha-S'ruti (Rigveda Brāhmaṇa or Upanishad, which is unknown to me), as quoted by the commentator in his notes on verses 40, 41, and 42 of this passage, are as follows: "*Om" iti satyaṁ "na" ity anṛitam | tad etat pushpam phalam vācho yat satyam | sa ha īśvaro yaśasvī kalyāṇa-kīrtir bhavitā | pushpaṁ hi phalaṁ vāchaḥ satyaṁ vadati | atha etad mūlaṁ vācho yad anṛitam | tad yathā vṛikshaḥ āvirmūlaḥ śushyati sa udvartate evam eva anṛitaṁ vadann āvirmūlam ātmānaṁ karoti sa śushyati sa udvartate | tasmād anṛitaṁ na vaded dayeta tv enena | [anena tv anṛitena "dayeta" sankaṭeshv ātmānaṁ rakshed iti śruty-arthaḥ |* Comm.] *parāg vai etad riktam aksharam yad etad "om" iti | tad yat kincha "om" ity āha atra eva asmai tad richyate | sa yat sarvam "oṁ" kuryād richyād ātmānaṁ sa kāmebhyo nālaṁ syāt | Atha etat pūrṇam abhyātmaṁ yad "na" iti | sa yat sarvaṁ "na" iti brūyāt pāpikā 'sya kīrtir jāyeta | sā enam tatra eva kunyāt | Tasmāt kāle eva dadyāt kāle na dadyāt tat satyānṛite mithunīkaroti |*

"'Yes' (*om*) is true, 'no' is false. Truth is the flower, and the fruit, of speech. He shall be lord, famous, of excellent renown: for he utters truth, the flower, and the fruit, of speech. Again, falsehood is the root of speech. Just as a tree, the root of which is exposed, dries up, and falls, so a man, uttering a falsehood, exposes his own roots, dries up, and falls. Wherefore let no man utter falsehood, but let him protect himself by it." [Such is the sense assigned to *dayeta tv enena* by the commentator, who adds "in straits."] "This word, 'yes,' denotes removal and emptiness. Therefore by every 'yes' which is uttered, emptiness is occasioned. The man who says always 'yes' will empty himself, and not have sufficient for his wishes. Again, the word 'no' denotes fulness in one's own interest. He who says always 'no' will acquire an evil reputation, which will straightway destroy him. Wherefore he combines truth and falsehood by [the rule] let a man give and withhold at the proper times."

Wherefore, as a tree, when uprooted, dries up and falls, so too we ourselves, if we abandon falsehood, shall undoubtedly become dried up. 41. The word "yes" denotes removal, evacuation, and emptiness; whenever, then, any person says "yes," he will be emptied out. 42. By continually saying "yes" to an applicant, a man does not retain enough to satisfy his own desires; whilst a false "no" [preserves our] full [property] for ourselves. 43. The man whose every "no" is false, is infamous, and dead even while he breathes. But falsehood is not blamable when addressed to women, or in jest, or in reference to a marriage, or for subsistence, or when life is in danger, or on behalf of cows and Brāhmans, or when one is exposed to violence.'"

Bali, however, refuses (sect. 20, vv. 2 ff.) to break his promise, whatever consequences to himself may result. He is thereupon cursed by his preceptor for his disobedience:

(Sect. 20, vv. 14 ff.)—*Evam aśraddhitaṁ śishyam anādeśa-karaṁ guruḥ | śaśāpa daiva-prahitaḥ satyasandham manasvinam | 15. "Dṛiḍham paṇḍita-māny ajnaḥ stabdho 'sy asmad-upekshayā | mach-chhāsanātigo yas tvam achirād bhraśyase śriyaḥ" | 16. Evaṁ śaptaḥ sva-guruṇā satyād na chalito mahān | vāmanāya dadāv enām architvodaka-pūrvakam | 17. Vindhyāvalis tadā "gatya patnī jālaka-mālinī*[141] *| āninye kalaśaṁ haimam avanejany-apām*[142] *bhṛitam | 18. Yajamānaḥ svayaṁ tasya śrīmat-pāda-yugaṁ mudā | avanijyāvahad mūrdhni tad-apo viśva-pāvanīḥ |*

14. "The preceptor, impelled by fate, cursed his disciple, thus devoid of faith and disobedient, yet wise and true to his promise; [saying], 15. 'Though thou regardest thyself as extremely learned, thou art ignorant and stubborn in thy contempt of us: but thou who transgressest my commandment, shalt soon fall from thy prosperous state.' 16. Though thus cursed by his preceptor, this great [monarch], who would not depart from truth, gave this [earth] to the dwarf, after making an obeisance and pouring water [on his hand]. 17. Then his wife Vindhyāvali, wearing a necklace of pearls, approaching, brought a golden vessel filled with water for ablution. 18. Next the offerer of the sacrifice, after himself washing with delight the blessed feet [of the Brahman], bore upon his head the world-purifying water which had been so employed."

This magnanimous act of Bali is applauded by the celestials, and

[141] *Jālakam muktābharaṇa-viśeshaḥ* | Comm.
[142] *Avanejanīnām apām* | Comm.

rewarded by them with a shower of flowers, and by strains of music. Immediately, however, the body of the dwarf begins to expand:

(Sect. 20, v. 21.)—*Tad vāmanaṁ rūpam avardhatādbhutaṁ Harer anantasya guṇa-trayātmakam | bhūḥ khaṁ diśo dyaur vivarāḥ payodhayas tiryaṇ-nṛi-devāḥ ṛishayo yad āsata |* "That dwarfish body of the infinite Hari, consisting of the three qualities, increased miraculously, [that body] in which were comprehended the earth, the air, the points of the compass, the sky, the abysses, the oceans, brutes, men, gods and ṛishis."

A further account of this vast body, of the effect which the appearance of it produced on the Asuras, and other beings, is given in verses 22–32; and at length the strides of the deity are thus described:

(Sect. 20, v. 33.)—*Kshitiṁ padaikena Baler vichakrame nabhaḥ śarīreṇa diśaścha bāhubhiḥ | padaṁ dvitīyaṁ kramatas trivishṭapaṁ na vai tṛitīyāya tadīyam aṇv api | urukramasyāṅghrir upary upary atho maharjanābhyāṁ tapasaḥ paraṁ gataḥ |* "He traversed the earth of Bali with one pace; and [occupied] the air with his body and the points of the compass with his arms. His second pace, as he strode, [filled] the heaven; and not even the minutest fraction of it remained for a third pace. The foot of the wide-striding deity rose upwards and upwards, and then reached beyond the Mahar-, Jana-, and Tapo-lokas."[143]

The gods assemble (sect. 21) to do homage to Hari on his victory, which they celebrate with great rejoicing, and which is proclaimed by the king of the bears:

(Sect. 21, vv. 8 ff.)—*Jāmbavān ṛiksha-rājas tu bheri-śabdair manojavaḥ | vijayaṁ dikshu sarvāsu mahotsavam aghoshayat |* 9. *Mahīṁ sarvāṁ hṛitāṁ dṛishṭvā tri-pada-vyāja-yāchnayā | ūchuḥ sva-bhartur asurāḥ dīkshitasyātyamarshitāḥ |* 10. *Na vai ayam brahma-bandhur Vishṇur māyāvināṁ varaḥ | dvija-rūpa-pratichhanno deva-kāryaṁ chikīrshati |* 11. *Anena yāchamānena śatruṇā baṭu-rūpiṇā | sarvasvaṁ no hṛitam bhartur nyastadaṇḍasya varhishi |* 12. *Satya-vratasya satataṁ dīkshitasya viśeshataḥ | nānṛitam bhāṣhituṁ śakyam brahmaṇyasya dayāvataḥ |* 13. *Tasmād asya badhe dharmo bhartuḥ śuśrūshaṇe cha naḥ | ity āyudhāni jagṛihur Baler anucharāsuraḥ |* 14. *Te sarve vāmanaṁ hantuṁ śūla-paṭṭiśa-pāṇayaḥ | anichhato Baleḥ rājan prādravan jātamanyavaḥ |*

8. "Jāmbavat, king of the bears, swift as thought, proclaimed this

[143] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa (p. 48, note, and p. 213 = pp. 98, vol. i., and 226, vol. ii., of Dr. Hall's ed.) for an account of these Lokas.

victory, the occasion of great festivity, with sound of kettledrums, in all the regions. 9. Beholding the whole earth taken from their master when consecrated for sacrifice, by an artful request for three paces of ground, the Asuras, greatly incensed, exclaimed: 10. 'This is certainly not a petty Brahman, but Vishṇu, the chief of magicians; disguised under the form of a twice-born man, he seeks to accomplish the purposes of the gods. 11. By this enemy, in the form of a suppliant student, has been taken all the property of our master, who had laid down his sceptre on the sacrificial grass. 12. Untruth cannot be uttered by one who is always devoted to truth[2]—especially when he is consecrated,—by one who is pious and compassionate. 13. Wherefore it is our duty to slay him (the dwarf), and obey our master:'—so saying, the Asuras, followers of Bali, seized their weapons. 14. Against the wish of Bali, they all ran, infuriate, pikes and axes in hand, to slay the dwarf." [144]

This attack of the Asuras is, however, derided by the followers of Vishṇu, who kill some of them, and they are at length restrained by Bali, who points out that time and fate are at present unfavourable to his cause. Bali is then bound in the chains of Varuṇa, and reproached by Vishṇu for failing to fulfil his promise:

(Sect. 21, v. 26.)—*Atha Tārkshy-suto jnātvā Virāṭ prabhu-chikīrshitam | babandha Vāruṇaiḥ pāśair Baliṁ sautye'hani kratau | 27. Hāhākāro mahān āsīd rodasyoḥ sarvato-diśam | gṛihyamāṇe 'sura-patau Vishṇunā prabhavishṇunā | 28. Tam baddhaṁ Vāruṇaiḥ pāśair bhagavān āha vāmanaḥ | nashṭa-śriyam sthira-prajnam udāra-yaśasaṁ nṛipa | 29. Padāni trīṇi dattāni bhūmer mahyaṁ tvayā 'sura | dvābhyāṁ krāntā mahī sarvā tṛitīyam upakalpaya | 30. Yāvat tapaty asau gobhir yāvad Induḥ sahoḍubhiḥ | Yāvad varshati Parjanyas tāvatī bhūr iyaṁ tava | 31. Padaikena mayā krānto bhūrlokaḥ khaṁ diśas tanoḥ | svarlokas tu dvitīyena paśyatas te svam ātmanā | 32. Pratiśrutam adātus te niraye vāsaḥ ishyate | viśa tvaṁ nirayaṁ tasmād guruṇā chānumoditaḥ | 33. Vṛithā manorathas tasya dūra-svargaḥ (duresvargaḥ, Bombay ed.) pataty adhaḥ | yo viprāya pratiśrutya na tad arpayate 'rthitam*[145] | 34. Vipra-

[144] It will be observed that here the dwarf is still represented as having that shape, though he had been above described as assuming a superhuman form and filling all the worlds. Yet though he is spoken of as a Brahman dwarf, he is said to have had followers who easily defeated the Asuras of Bali.

[145] The reading given of this line is that of Burnouf's edition. The Bombay edition has instead of it: *pratiśrutasyādānena yo 'rthinaṁ vipralambhate* | "who deceives a suppliant by not giving him what had been promised."

labdho dadāmīti tvayā 'haṁ chādhya-māninā | tad-vyalīka-phalam bhunkshva nirayaṁ katichit samāḥ | 26. "Then Virāṭ (Garuḍa), the son of Tārkshya, knowing the purpose of the lord, bound Bali with the bonds of Varuṇa[146] at the sacrifice on the day of the Soma libation. 27. A great lamentation arose in all the quarters of the two worlds (heaven and earth), when the Lord of the Asuras was seized by the puissant Vishṇu. 28. Him bound with the bonds of Varuṇa, whose prosperity was destroyed, but whose understanding was firm, and whose renown was vast, the divine dwarf thus addressed: 29. 'Asura, three paces of ground were given to me by thee: with two paces the entire world has been traversed: find a place for the third. 30. This world of thine extends as far as that [sun] warms with his beams, as far as the moon shines with the stars, as far as Parjanya rains. 31. With one pace I traversed the region of the earth, and [occupied] the air and regions with my body; and whilst thou wast looking on, I [traversed] the sky with a second [pace, filling] thy possessions with myself. 32. As thou hast not given what was promised, it is my pleasure that thou shalt dwell in the infernal regions; enter therefore thither, with the approbation of thy preceptor. 33. That man's desires are frustrated, and he falls downward, far from heaven, who, after promising to a Brahman, does not deliver to him what he had solicited. 34. I have been deluded by thee, thinking thyself wealthy, when thou saidst "I give." Endure the infernal regions for some years as the penalty of that deceit.'"

Bali answers as follows (sect. 22):

(Sect. 22, v. 2).—*Yady uttama-śloka bhavān mameritaṁ vacho vyalīkaṁ sura-varya manyate | karomy ṛitaṁ tad na bhavet pralambhanam pādaṁ tṛitīyaṁ kuru śīrshṇi me nijam |* 3. *Bibhemi nāhaṁ nirayāt pada-chyuto na pāśa-bandhād vyasanād duratyayāt | naivārtha-kṛichchhrād bhavato vinigrahāt asādhu-vādād bhṛiśam udvije yathā |*

2. "If, renowned chief of the gods, thou considerest the word which I uttered to be deceitful, I now make it good,—and here there can be no deception,—place thy third step on my head.' 3. Fallen from my position, I fear not the infernal regions, nor binding in bonds, nor mis-

[146] See Manu, viii. 82; ix. 308. In R. V. vii. 65, 3, Mitra and Varuṇa are said to be *bhuri-pāśāv anṛitasya setū* | "barriers against falsehood, furnished with many nooses."—See Roth's article on the principal gods of the Arian nations, "Journal of the German Oriental Society," vol. vi. p. 73, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 57, 65.

fortune difficult to escape, nor loss of wealth, nor thy restraint, so much as I am afflicted by a bad name."

He then goes on to express his sense of his conqueror's superiority, and submission to his fate. He is now visited and consoled by his grandfather Prahrāda. His wife Vindhyāvali nexts worships Vishṇu; and then Brahmā intercedes in behalf of the Asura monarch. Vishṇu, after making some general reflections, replies as follows:

(Sect. 22, v. 28).—*Eśha dānava-daityānām agraṇīḥ kīrti-vardhanaḥ | ajaishīd ajayām māyāṁ sīdann api na muhyati | 29. Kshīṇa-rikthaś chyutaḥ sthānāt kshipto baddhaścha śatrubhiḥ | jnātibhiścha parityakto yātanām anuyāpitaḥ | 30. Guruṇā bhartsitaḥ śapto jahau satyaṁ na suvrataḥ | chhalair ukto mayā dharmo* [quere *dharmaṁ?*] *nāyam tyajati satyavāk | 31. Esha me prāpitaḥ sthānaṁ dushprāpam amarair api | Sāvarṇer antarasyāyam bhavitendro mad-āśrayaḥ | 32. Tāvat sutalam adhyāstāṁ Viśvakarma-vinirmitam | yan nādhayo vyādhayaścha klamas tandrā parābhavaḥ | nopasargāḥ nivasatāṁ sambhavanti mamechchhayā |*

28. "This chief of the Dānavas and Daityas, and enhancer of their renown, has conquered unconquerable Delusion: though dispirited, he is not bewildered. 29. Having lost his prosperity, fallen from his place, cast down and bound by his enemies, abandoned by his relations, involved in suffering, 30. reprehended and cursed by his preceptor, still, faithful to his obligation, he has not abandoned truth. [Though] duty has been inculcated by me in a deceitful fashion, this truthful being does not swerve from it.[147] 31. He has [therefore] been elevated by me to a position to which even the immortals with difficulty attain: he shall be the Indra, supported by me, of the Sāvarṇi Manvantara. 32. Meanwhile let him occupy Sutala, formed by Viśvakarman, where, by my will, neither mental nor bodily pains, nor fatigue, nor weariness, nor discomfiture, nor diseases afflict the inhabitants."

(Sect. 23, v. 2).—Bali replies thus: *Aho praṇāmāya kṛitaḥ samudyamaḥ prapanna-bhaktārtha-vidhau samāhitaḥ | yal lokapālais tvadanugraho 'marair alabdha-pūrvo 'pasade 'sure 'rpitaḥ | 3. Śukaḥ uvācha | ity uktvā Harim ānamya Brahmāṇaṁ sa-Bhavaṁ tataḥ | viveśa Sutalam prīto Balir muktaḥ sahāsuraiḥ | 2. "'* O, even the effort made to adore

[147] If we should read *dharmam* instead of *dharmaḥ*, the sense would be: "Though deceitfully addressed by me, he does not abandon duty."

thee succeeds in effecting the object of the devout man who seeks thee; seeing that thy favour, such as has not been before attained by the immortal guardians of the worlds, has been bestowed on me, a degraded Asura.' 3. Having thus spoken, and bowed down to Hari, to Brahmā, and to Bhava (Śiva), Bali, being released, entered Sutala with joy, along with the Asuras." Vishṇu now addresses Uśanas, the priest of Bali:

(Sect. 23, v. 13).—*Athāhośanasaṁ rājan Harir Nārāyaṇo 'ntike | āsīnam ṛitvijām madhye sadasi brahma-vādinām |* 14. *Brahman santanu śishyasya karma-chhidraṁ vitanvataḥ | yat tat karmasu vaishamyam brahma-dṛishṭaṁ samam bhavet |* 15. *Śukraḥ uvācha | Kutas tat-karma-vaishamyaṁ yasya karmeśvaro bhavān | yajneśo yajnapurushaḥ sarva-bhāvena pūjitaḥ |* 16. *Mantratas tantrataś chhidraṁ deśa-kālārha-vastutaḥ | sarvaṁ karoti niśchhidram anusankīrtanaṁ tava |* 17. *Tathāpi vadato bhūman karishyāmy anuśāsanam | etach chhreyaḥ param puṁsāṁ yat tavājnānupālanam |* 18. *Śukaḥ uvācha | abhinandya Harer ājnām Uśanā bhagavān iti | yajna-chhidraṁ samādhatta Baler viprarshibhiḥ saha |* 19. *Evam Baler mahīm rājan bhikshitvā vāmano Hariḥ | dadau bhrātre Mahendrāya tridivaṁ yat parair hṛitam |* 13. "Hari Nārāyaṇa then approaching Uśanas sitting among the priests, in an assembly of expounders of the Veda, thus addressed him: 14. 'Brahman, rectify the irregularities of thy pupil in performing the ceremonial: whatever fault there is in any rite is removed if it be seen by a Brahman.' 15. Śukra (Uśanas) replied: 'How can there be any irregularity in that ceremony of which thou art the lord, the lord of sacrifice, the sacrificial Man, adored in every aspect? 16. Whatever defects there may be in respect of texts, of order, of place, of time, of persons, or of materials,—the mere celebration of thee obliterates them all. 17. Nevertheless, great being, I shall fulfil the injunction which thou utterest: this is the highest happiness of men, to obey thy commands.' 18. Having assented to the order of Hari, the divine Uśanas, with the Brahman-rishis, rectified the irregularities of Bali's sacrifice. 19. Having in this manner begged the earth from Bali, the dwarf Hari gave [back] to his brother Mahendra[148] the heaven which had been taken from him by his enemies."

[148] Vishṇu is called Upendra (the inferior or younger Indra), the brother of Mahendra, the great Indra.—See above, p. 133, line 6 from the bottom.

Though the whole tenor of this legend, and, indeed, of the entire Bhāgavata Purāṇa, represents Vishṇu, of whom the dwarf was an incarnation, as the supreme deity, it is now rather strangely said that Brahmā and the other deities made the dwarf governor of all things:

(Sect. 23, v. 20).—*Prajāpati-patir Brahmā devarshi-pitṛi-bhūmipaiḥ| Daksha-Bhṛigv-Angiro-mukhyaiḥ Kumāreṇa Bhavena cha* | 21. *Kaśyapasyāditeḥ prīṭyai sarva-bhūta-bhavāya chā* | *lokānām loka-pālānām akarod vāmanam patim* | 22. *Vedānāṁ sarva-devānāṁ dharmasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ* | *mangalānāṁ vratānāncha kalpaṁ svargāpavargayoḥ* | 23. *Upendraṁ kalpayānchakre patiṁ sarva-vibhūtaye* | *tadā sarvāṇi bhutāni bhṛiśam mumudire nṛipa* | 20. "Brahmā, the lord of the Prajāpatis, together with the gods, ṛishis, pitṛis, with Daksha, Bhṛigu, Angiras, and other lords of the earth, with Kumāra, and Bhava, 21. with a view to the gratification of Kaśyapa and Aditi, and the good of all creatures, made the Dwarf master of the worlds and of the guardians of the worlds. 22, 23. He made Upendra (Vishṇu) master of the Vedas, of all the gods, of righteousness, renown, prosperity, blessings, and ceremonies, and lord of heaven and final liberation, in order that he might have command of all things. Then all creatures rejoiced exceedingly."

The section concludes with the verse I have already quoted above (p. 72) in glorification of Vishṇu, followed by a statement of the benefits resulting from hearing the story of the Dwarf incarnation.

This incarnation is also briefly related in the Agni Purāṇa, iv. 5*b*–11, and is either referred to, or narrated more or less diffusely, in the Harivaṁśa, verses 2725; 4159; 4166; 12195–12204; and 12900–14390. In the last-mentioned verses the story is told at length, with the various conflicts between the gods and Asuras by which it had been preceded. The incarnation itself and its results are related in vv. 14039–14390. Sections 231–233 of the Matsya Purāṇa are devoted to the same subject.[149] I give an abstract of the 47th section, in which Vishṇu's incarnations are enumerated.[150] It is here stated that it was in consequence of a curse pronounced by Bhṛigu (as we shall

[149] See Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 42*b*. The Matsya Purāṇa has been lithographed and published at Bombay, with a Mahratti explanation; but the portion containing the sections in question has not yet reached me.

[150] In verse 9 it is said that Kaśyapa was a portion of Brahmā, and Aditi of the Earth (*Brahmaṇaḥ Kaśyapas tv aṁśaḥ Pṛithivyās tv Aditis tathā*).

see further on) that Vishṇu assumed most of these forms (v. 37). There were twelve conflicts between the gods and Asuras (vv. 39–52). It is related (vv. 58 ff.) that on one occasion when Prahrāda had been overcome, and Indra had gained the empire of the three worlds, Śukra, the priest of the Asuras, left them and went to the gods.[150*] They, however, entreated him not to desert them, when he reassured them by the promise of his support (vv. 60 ff.). They were nevertheless attacked by the gods, and again resorted to Śukra; when their assailants left them. Śukra then referred to their former discomfitures, counselled them to wait for a favourable turn of fortune, and declared his intention to resort to Mahādeva and obtain certain sacred texts which would insure their victory (vv. 65 ff.). They then promised to the gods to desist from hostilities and betake themselves to austerities (vv. 73 ff.). Śukra accordingly went to Mahādeva and asked for texts more powerful than those possessed by Bṛihaspati, the priest of the gods; when the deity directed him to perform a painful rite, imbibing the smoke of chaff (*kaṇa-dhūma*)[151] with his head downward for a thousand years. This he agreed to do (vv. 78 ff.). Hearing of this, and taking advantage of the defenceless state of the Asuras, the gods went to attack them. The Asuras remonstrated, and in the absence of Śukra, resorted to his mother for help, and were reassured by her (vv. 83 ff.). The gods, however, followed, and assailed them, when the goddess (Śukra's mother—her name is not given), by her magical power, rendered Indra helpless, and then the other gods took to flight (vv. 91 ff.). Vishṇu, however, now interposed, and desired Indra to enter into him (Vishṇu). This provoked the goddess, who threatened to burn them up. Indra called upon Vishṇu to slay her before she could carry her threat into effect. Vishṇu, though hesitating to kill a female, cut off her head with his weapon (vv. 95 ff.). Vishṇu was hereupon doomed by a curse of Śukra to be born seven times in the world of men; and in consequence of this he appears for

[150*] Compare Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 20: *Uśanā vai Kāvyo 'surāṇām purohitaḥ āsīt | taṁ devāḥ kāmadughābhir (kāma-dugdhābhir gobhiḥ | Comm.) upāmantrayanta | tasmai etāny aśanāni prāyachhan | kāmadughāḥ vai aśanāni |* "Uśanas Kāvya was the priest of the Asuras. The gods invited him with milch cows. They gave him these Aśana texts. Aśana texts are milch cows."

[151] I have to thank Prof. Aufrecht for pointing out an explanation of this phrase given by the commentator on the Kāśī Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Pur. 16, 2, viz. *Kaṇāḥ khaṇḍitās taṇḍulatushās tajjanyaṁ dhūmam |*

the good of the world when unrighteousness prevails:[152] (vv. 102 *taṁ dṛishṭvā stri-badhaṁ ghoraṁ chukrodha Bhṛigur īśvaraḥ* | *tato 'bhiśapto Bhṛiguṇā Vishṇur bhāryā-badhe tadā* | 103 | *yasmāt te jānato dharmam abadhyā strī nishūditā* | *tasmāt tvaṁ saptakṛitveha mānusheshūpapatsyasi* | 104 | *tatas tenābhiśāpena nashṭe dharme punaḥ punaḥ* | *lokasya cha hitārthāya jāyate mānusheshv iha*). Śukra then sprinkled his mother with water, and restored her to life, an act and result which were applauded by all creatures (vv. 105 ff.). Indra now, with the intention of counteracting Śukra's austerities, sent his daughter Jayantī to the saint to wait upon and soothe him by her assiduous and affectionate attentions and services, till the conclusion of his painful performances (vv. 111 ff.). She found him in the act of being thrown down into the pit of fire by the Yaksha who had prepared it, and drinking in the smoke of the chaff, with his head downward, and though enfeebled, yet tranquilly meditating on the form of Mahādeva (vv. 116 ff. *taṁ dṛishṭvā tu pibantaṁ sā kaṇadhūmam avāṇmukham* | *yakshena pātyamānaṁ cha kuṇḍa-dhāreṇa pātitam* | *dṛishṭvā cha tam pātyamānaṁ devī Kāvyam avasthitam* | *svarūpa-dhyāna-śāmyantaṁ durbalam bhūtim āsthitam*); lauded him with endearing language, and rubbed his limbs with her gentle touch (v. 118). At the conclusion of his austere rite, continued for a thousand years, Mahādeva applauded him as the only person who had ever performed it; and granted him a variety of boons, including superiority to the gods. Śukra lauded the god in a hymn of 41 stanzas, consisting of an enumeration of his attributes (vv. 119 ff.). Mahādeva, gratified, touched the saint with his hand, granted him a vision of his form, and then disappeared (v. 167). Śukra then noticed Jayantī standing beside him, expressed

[152] I have not elsewhere met with an explanation of Vishṇu's incarnations so dishonourable to the god. Yet even here he is said to be born for the good of mankind when righteousness has declined, with a view to its restoration—a singular result of a curse! Compare the passage from the Bhagavadgītā given above, p. 53, and vv. 7 and 8 of the 4th sect. of the same work: *'Yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati Bhārata* | *abhyutthānam adharmasya tadā "tmānaṁ sṛijāmy aham* | *paritrāṇāya sādhūnaṁ vināśāya cha dushkṛitām* | *dharma-samsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge* | "Whenever righteousness declines, and unrighteousness arises, then I create myself. For the deliverance of the good and the destruction of the wicked, I am born in every Yuga." See also the 32nd verse of the hymn to Vishṇu in the 10th Canto of the Raghuvaṁśa: *Anavāptam avaptavyaṁ na te kinchana vidyate* | *lokānugrahaḥ evaiko hetus te janma-karmaṇoḥ* | "Thou hast nothing unobtained to obtain. Kindness to men is the only cause of thy birth and of thy action."

himself gratified by her devoted attentions, asked her what she wished, and promised to bestow it. She replied that he, in virtue of his transcendent knowledge, should know what she wished. Her desire was, he said, to live in his company for ten years. This he granted, and took her home and married her. They lived together, rendered invisible to all eyes by his magical power, for ten years (vv. 168 ff.). The Asuras, however, learning the success of their preceptor's austerities, came to his abode, but failed to see him. Bṛihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, knowing that Śukra would be occupied with Jayantī for ten years, at the instigation of Indra, took advantage of this circumstance to assume his form, and summoning the Asuras, passed himself off to them as their spiritual guide, and offered to act as their teacher, an offer which they gladly accepted (vv. 177 ff.). As the fruit of Śukra's ten years' cohabitation with Jayantī, a daughter, Devayānī, was born. Śukra then resolved to visit his pupils, and informed Jayantī of this intention, the fulfilment of which she admitted to be a duty, and said she would not stand in the way of its performance. He accordingly went and found that the Asuras had been deluded by Bṛihaspati, who had assumed his (Śukra's) form. He told them that he was Śukra; and when they were bewildered by the sight of the two sages identical in appearance, he repeated that he was their genuine preceptor, and that the other was Bṛihaspati, and demanded that they should forsake the latter, and follow him. They, however, were unable to distinguish between the two; and Bṛihaspati asseverated that he was the genuine Śukra, and that the other was Bṛihaspati. The Asuras, considering that the person who had taught them for ten years was their real preceptor, made obeisance to him, and angrily rejected the claim of Śukra to be their Guru. They were in consequence doomed by the curse of the incensed sage (Śukra) to lose their senses and incur defeat (vv. 183 ff.). Satisfied with this result, Bṛihaspati reassumed his own proper form, and disappeared. Seeing that they had been deluded, the Asuras, headed by Prahrāda, followed Śukra, and appeared before him with downcast looks. Though at first angry, he was at length pacified by their entreaties, reassured them by saying that they would regain their senses and gain one victory over the gods, though after that they should have to descend to the infernal regions, the period of their dominion de-

clared by Brahmā having then expired. 'In the Sāvarṇi Manvantara, however, they were destined to regain supremacy, and Bali, grandson of Prahrāda, would become lord of the worlds. Another boon was destined for Prahrāda, which Brahmā had forbidden Śukra to reveal (vv. 201 ff.). Elated by this prediction of their future ascendancy, the Asuras desired to anticipate the time of its realization, and challenged the gods to battle. A combat ensued, which lasted for a thousand years, at the end of which the Asuras were victorious. The gods then took counsel together, and invited Saṇḍa and Marka[153] (who are mentioned in verse 39, and appear to be the pupils of Bṛihaspati alluded to in v. 221) to abandon the Asuras, and aid them (the gods) in their sacrifice. If they, succeeded in obtaining this aid, they were confident they should overcome the Asuras. Saṇḍa and Marka accepted the invitation, and the gods conquered the Asuras; who, being forsaken by these two priests, and undergoing the consequences of Śukra's curse, were expelled by their adversaries from the upper world, and entered the infernal regions [226. *Yajnenopāhvayāmas tau tato jeshyāmahe 'surān | tadopāmantrayan devāḥ Śaṇḍāmarkau tu tāv ubhau |* 227. *yajne chāhuya tau proktau "tyajetām asurān dvijau | vayaṁ yuvām bhajishyāmaḥ saha jitvā tu dānavān" |* 228. *evaṁ kṛitābhisandhī tau Śaṇḍāmarkau surās tathā | tato devāḥ jayam prāpur dānavāś cha parājitāḥ |* 229. *Śaṇḍāmarka-parityaktāḥ dānavāḥ hy abalās tathā | evam daityāḥ purā Kāvya-śāpenābhihatās tadā |* 230. *Kāvya-śāpābhibhūtās te nirādhārāś cha sarvaśaḥ | nirasyamānāḥ devaiś cha viviśus te rasātatam |]* (vv. 223 ff.). In consequence of Śukra's curse, which operated periodically, Vishṇu was born time after time, (see above, p. 152), after a decline of righteousness, which he re-established, destroying the Asuras. For Brahmā had decreed that all those Asuras who should be disobedient to Prahrāda[154] should be slain by men (231. *tataḥ-prabhṛiti śāpena Bhṛigor naimittikena tu |* 232. *jajne punaḥ punar Vishṇur dharme praśithile prabhuḥ | kurvan dharmavyavasthānam asurāṇām praṇāśanam |* 233. *Prahrādasya nideśe tu na sthāsyanty asurāś cha ye | manushya-badhyās te sarve Brahmeti vyāharat prabhuḥ |* Vishṇu's incarnations are then enumerated (verses

[153] See the fifth volume of this work, p. 230, note.

[154] Regarding Prahrāda, or Prahlāda, see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's ed., vol. ii., pp. 30–68.

234–245) viz. (1) a portion of him sprung from Dharma, (2) the Narasinha, or Man-lion, and (3) the Dwarf, incarnations, which are called the celestial manifestations, the remaining seven being the human incarnations caused by Śukra's curse (v. 238. *Etās tisraḥ smṛitās tasya divyāḥ sambhūtayo dvijāḥ | mānushāḥ sapta yānyās* (sic.) *tu śāpajās tāḥ nibodhata*). These seven are (4) the Dattātreya, (5) Māndhātṛi, (6) Paraśurāma, (7) Rāma, (8) Vedavyāsa, (9) Buddha, (10) Kalki, incarnations. (Eight instead of seven are obtained if, with the Mahratti expounder, we understand the beginning of verse 243 to refer to Kṛishṇa.) The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives twenty-two incarnations (i. 3, 1 ff.) viz.: Those in the forms of (1) Purusha, (2) Varāha or the Boar, (3) Nārada, (4) Nara and Nārāyaṇa, (5) Kapila, (6) Dattātreya, (7) Yajna or Sacrifice, (8) Ṛishabha, (9) Pṛithu, (10) Matsya or the Fish, (11) Kūrma or the Tortoise, (12 and 13), Dhanvantari, (14) Narasinha or the Man-lion, (15) Vāmana or the Dwarf, (16) Paraśurāma, (17) Vedavyāsa, (18) Rāma, (19 and 20) Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, (21) Buddha, and (22) Kalki. These last two are represented as future. But the incarnations of Vishṇu are innumerable, like the rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake. Rishis, Manus, gods, sons of Manus, Prajāpatis are all portions of him (verse 26. *Avatārāḥ hy asankheyāḥ Hareḥ sattva-nidher dvijāḥ | yathā 'vidāsinaḥ kulyāḥ sarasaḥ syuḥ sahasraśaḥ | 27. ṛishayo manavo devāḥ manu-putrāḥ mahaujasaḥ | kalāḥ sarve Harer eva saprajāpatayas tathā*).

Sect. V.—*Vishṇu as represented in the Nirukta, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas.*

From the passages adduced in the preceding pages, it is clear that Vishṇu is not regarded as the supreme god either in the Rig-veda, or in the Brāhmaṇas. In these ancient works he is considered only as one of the gods, and not as superior to the rest. It is also manifest from the passage I have cited from the Nirukta (xii. 19) in p. 64 that neither Yāska himself, nor Śākapūṇi and Aurṇavābha, the ancient interpreters of the Veda, whose opinions he quotes, assigned to Vishṇu any higher rank than they did to the other members of the Indian Pantheon. From another text of the Nirukta (vii. 5) which I have cited in p. 66, in appears that the old expounders of the Veda regarded the deities worshipped in the Veda as mainly represented by three gods

of primary consequence, and that of these Vishṇu is not one. As the passage from which this latter extract was made is of great interest and importance, I shall quote it here at length:

Nir. 7, 4.—*Tad ye 'nādishṭa-devaṭāḥ mantrās teshu devatopaparīkshā | yad-devataḥ sa yajno vā yajnāngaṁ vā tad-devatāḥ bhavanti | atha anyatra yajnāt prājāpatyāḥ iti yājnikāḥ | nārāśaṁsāḥ iti nairuktāḥ | api vā sā kāma-devatā syāt prāyo-devatā vā | asti hy āchāro bahulaṁ loke deva-devatyam atithi-devatyam pitṛi-devatyam | yājna-daivato mantraḥ iti | api hy adevatāḥ devatā-vat stūyante | yathā 'śva-prabhṛitīny oshadhi-paryantāny athāpy ashṭau dvandvāni | sa na manyeta āgantūn iva arthān devatānām pratyaksha-dṛiśyam etad bhavati | mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ ekaḥ ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmano 'nye devāḥ pratyangāni bhavanti | api cha sattvānām prakṛiti-bhūmabhir ṛishayaḥ stuvanti ity āhuḥ | prakṛiti-sārvanāmnyāch cha itaretara-janmāno bhavanti itaretara-prakṛitayaḥ karma-janmānaḥ ātma-janmānaḥ | atmā eva eshāṁ ratho bhavaty ātmā 'śvāḥ ātmā "yudham ātmā ishavaḥ ātmā sarvaṁ devasya |* 5. *Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ iti naiṛuktāḥ Agniḥ pṛithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntariksha-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyāḥ api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-pṛithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvaryur brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā pṛithag eva syuḥ | pṛithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni | yatho etat-"karma-pṛithaktvād" iti bahavo 'pi vibhajya karmāṇi kuryuḥ | tatra saṁsthānaikatvaṁ sambhogaikatvaṁ cha upekshitavyam | yathā pṛithivyām manushyāḥ paśavo devāḥ iti sthānaikatvam | sambhogaikatvaṁ cha dṛiśyate yathā pṛithivyāḥ Parjanyena cha Vāyv-Ādityābhyāṁ cha sambhogo 'gninā cha itarasya lokasya | tatra etad nara-rāshṭram iva |* 6. *Atha ākāra-chintanaṁ devatānām | purusha-vidhāḥ syur ity ekam | chetanāvad-vad hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni | athāpi paurusha-vidhikair angaiḥ saṁstūyante | "ṛishvā te Indra sthavirasya bāhū"* (R. V. vi. 47, 8); *"yat sangribhṇāḥ maghavan kāśir it te"* (R. V. iii. 30, 5) | *athāpi paurusha-vidhikair dravya-saṁyogaiḥ | "ā dvābhyāṁ haribhyām Indra yāhi"* (R. V. ii. 18, 4); *"kalyāṇīr jāyā suraṇaṁ gṛihe te"* (R. V. iii. 53, 6) *athāpi paurusha-vidhikaiḥ karmabhiḥ | "addhi Indra piba cha prasthitasya"* (R. V. x. 116, 2); *"āśrutkarṇa śrudhi havam"* (R. V. i. 10, 9) | 7. *Apurusha-vidhāḥ syur ity aparam | api tu yad dṛiśyate 'purusha-vidhaṁ tat | yathā 'gnir vāyur ādityaḥ pṛithivī chandramāḥ iti | yatho etat "chetanāvad-vad hi stutayo bhavanti" ity achetanāny*

apy evaṁ stūyante yathā 'kṣha-prabhṛitīny oshadhi-paryantāni | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikair angaiḥ saṁstūyante" ity achetaneshv apy etad bhavati | "abhi krandanti haritebhir āsabhiḥ" iti grāva-stutiḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikair dravya-saṁyogair" ity etad api tādṛiśam eva | "sukhaṁ rathaṁ yuyuje sindhur aśvinam" iti nadī-stutiḥ | yatho etat "paurusha-vidhikaiḥ karmabhir" ity etad api tādṛiśam eva | "hotuś chit pūrve havir adyam āśata" iti grāva-stutir eva | api cha ubhaya-vidhāḥ syuḥ | api vā purusha-vidhānām eva satāṁ karmātmānaḥ ete syuḥ | yathā yajno yajamānasya | esha cha ākhyāna-samayaḥ | 8. Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ ity uktam purastāt | tāsām bhakti-śāhacharyaṁ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | atha etāny Agni-bhaktīny ayaṁ lokaḥ prātaḥ-savanaṁ vasanto gāyatrī trivṛit-stomo rathantaraṁ sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātāḥ prathame sthāne 'gnāyī pṛithivī ilā iti striyaḥ | atha asya karma vahanaṁ cha havishām āvahanaṁ cha devatānāṁ yach cha kinchid dārshṭi-vishayikam Agni-karma eva tat | atha asya saṁstavikāḥ devāḥ Indraḥ Somo Varuṇaḥ Parjanyaḥ ṛitavaḥ | Āgnā-Vaishṇavaṁ havir na tu ṛik saṁstavikī daśatayīshu vidyate | atha apy Āgnā-Paushṇaṁ havir na tu saṁstavaḥ | tatra etāṁ vibhakti-stutim ṛicham udāharanti (R. V. x. 17, 3) 9. *"Pūshā tvā itaś chyavayatu pra vidvān anashṭapaśur bhuvanasya gopāḥ | sa tvā etebhyaḥ paridadat pitṛibhyo Agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ" | "Pūshā tvā itaḥ prachyāvayatu vidvān anashṭapaśur bhuvanasya gopāḥ" ity esha hi sarveshām bhūtānām gopāyitā Ādityaḥ | "sa tvā etebhyaḥ pari dadat pitṛibhyaḥ" iti sāṁśāyikas tritīyaḥ pādaḥ | Pūshā purastāt tasya anvādeśaḥ ity ekam Agnir uparishṭāt tasya prakīrtanā ity aparam | "Agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ" | suvidatraṁ dhanam bhavati vindater vā ekopasargād dadāter vā syād dvyupasargāt | 10. Atha etāni Indra-bhaktīny antariksha-loko mādhyandinaṁ savanaṁ grīshmas trishṭup panchadaśa-stomo bṛihat-sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātāḥ madhyame sthāne yāścha striyaḥ | atha asya karma rasā-nupradānaṁ Vṛitra-vadho yā cha kā cha bala-kṛitir Indra-karma eva tat | atha asya saṁstavikāḥ devāḥ Agniḥ Somo Varuṇaḥ Pūshā Bṛihaspatir Brahmaṇaspatiḥ Parvataḥ Kutso Vishṇur Vāyuḥ | atha api Mitro Varuṇena saṁstūyate | Pūshṇā Rudreṇa cha Somaḥ | Agninā cha Pūshā | Vātena cha Parjanyaḥ | 11. Atha etāny Āditya-bhaktīny asau lokas tṛitīya-savanaṁ varshāḥ jagatī saptadaśa-stomo vairūpaṁ sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātāḥ uttame sthāne yāścha striyaḥ | atha asya karma rasādānaṁ raśmibhiś cha rasādhāraṇaṁ yach cha kinchit pravalhitam*

Āditya-karma eva tat | Chandramasā Vāyunā Saṁvatsareṇa iti saṁstavaḥ | eteshv eva sthāna-vyūheshv ṛitu-chhandaḥ-stoma-pṛishṭhasya bhakti-śesham anukalpayīta | śarad-anushṭub-ekaviṁśa-stomo vairājaṁ sāma iti pṛithivy-āyatanāni | hemantaḥ panktis triṇava-stomaḥ śākvaram sāma ity antarikshāyatanāni | śiśiro 'tichhandās trayas-triṁśa-stomo raivatam sāma iti dyu-bhaktīni |

4. "We shall now inquire who are the deities in those hymns in which no deity is indicated. They are addressed to the god to whom the sacrifice or part of a sacrifice [in which they are employed] is offered. The hymns which are unconnected with a sacrifice are, according to the ritualists (yājnikāḥ), addressed to Prajāpati; according to the etymologists (nairuktāḥ), they are spoken in praise of men.[155] Or in such cases the deity may be an optional one, or a class of deities:[156] for it is a very prevalent practice to [classify rites] as those which have a god, a guest, or a progenitor, respectively, for their deity. In reference to what has been said that hymns are sacrificial, and addressed to a god, [it is to be remarked that] beings other than gods are lauded as gods, as *e.g.* the objects beginning with horses and ending with herbs (see Nighaṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 1–28), and also the eight pairs (see Nighaṇṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 35 ff.). But let him [the student] not regard any matters relating to the gods as if they were accidental: this may be clearly seen. Owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is lauded in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul. And [the learned] say that the rishis address their hymns according to the multiplicities of natures in the [celestial] existences; and [further] from the universality of their nature [these existences] are produced from each other, and possess the natures of each other (compare Nir. xi. 23, quoted above, p. 13); they are produced from works; they are produced from soul. It is soul that is their car, soul their steeds, soul their weapon, soul their arrows, soul is a god's all.

[155] Professor Roth refers to Nir. ix. 9, where the word *nārāśaṁsa* is thus defined: *Yena narāḥ praśasyante sa nārāśaṁso mantraḥ* | "A hymn in which men are eulogized is a *nārāśaṁsa* hymn." As an instance of this kind of hymn Yāska quotes R. V. i. 126, 1.

[156] This is the sense assigned to *prāyo-devatā* by Roth, Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 102, see note 1 there: but may not the word mean a being who has something of the character of a god?

5. "There are three deities according to the etymologists (nairuktāḥ), viz. Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra,[157] whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya (the Sun), whose place is in the sky. These [deities] receive many designations in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] hotṛi, adhvaryu, brahman, and udgātṛi, are applied to one and the same person. Or the gods in question may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their appellations, are distinct. As [regards the view that] this [diversity of appellation] arises from difference of function [and not from distinctness of personality, it may be objected that] a plurality of individuals also may each fulfil their separate allotted functions. In this latter case, a community of locality, and of possession, must be remarked. Thus men, beasts, and gods, occupy the earth; here is community of place. Community of possession, too, is seen in such instances as that of the joint occupation of the earth both by Parjanya, and by Vāyu, and Āditya, and of the rest of the world by [Vāyu, Āditya, and] Agni. Here the case is like that of a kingdom and its inhabitants (*i.e.* the one realm is occupied by different classes of persons).

6. "We have now to consider the forms of the gods. One [mode of representation in the hymns makes] them resemble men: for they are praised and addressed as intelligent beings. They are also celebrated with members such as those of men. Thus R. V. vi. 47, 8: 'Huge, O Indra, are the arms of thee who art strong'; iii. 30, 5, 'when thou didst grasp the two worlds, they were but as a handful to thee.' They are also [celebrated] with the accompaniment of material objects such as those belonging to men. Thus it is said, R. V. ii. 18, 4, 'Come, Indra, with thy two tawny steeds'; iii. 53, 6, 'A handsome wife and pleasure are in thy house.' And further, they are celebrated with functions of a similar character to the human. Thus R. V. x. 116, 2, 'Eat, O Indra, and drink from the bowl;' R. V. i. 10, 9, 'Thou whose ears hear us, listen to our invocation.'

7. "Another [mode of representation makes them] unlike men. But further, that which is seen [of them] is unlike what is human, as Fire, Air, Sun, Earth, Moon. As [regards the assertion] that 'they are

[157] Compare Taitt. Sañh., vi. 6, 8, 3: *Indra-Vāyū hi sayujau* | "For Indra and Vāyū are closely united.

praised as intelligent beings,'—it is also true that senseless things are in like manner praised, as the objects beginning with dice and ending with herbs (Nigh. 5, 3; Nir. 3, 7 ff.). Again, as [regards the remark] that the gods are 'celebrated with members such as those of men,'—the same thing is done in the case of senseless objects, as stones are celebrated in the words, 'They cry with their ruddy mouths' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Further, the same is the case as [regards the remark] that the gods are [celebrated] 'with the accompaniment of material objects such as those possessed by men;' for a river is praised in the words, 'The Sindhu has yoked his beautiful car drawn by steeds' (R. V. x. 75, 9). And the same thing applies to the remark that the gods are described with 'functions similar to those of men;' for stones are lauded in the words, 'Even before the priests they have eaten food of melted butter' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Or the gods may be described under both forms (either as having, or as not having, a human form). Or, again, when they are described as similar to men, this may be merely in their character of actors in a particular function, as sacrifice is only the [temporary] act of the man who offers it. This is the condition of all narrations.[158]

8. "It has been declared above (par. 5) that there are three deities. We shall now declare the various objects which are associated with their provinces. Now these which follow are connected with Agni's domain: viz. this world, the morning oblation, spring, the gāyatrī metre, the trivṛit stoma, the rathantara sāma, the classes of gods who in the Nighaṇṭu are enumerated in the first sphere, with the goddesses Agnāyī, Pṛithivī, and Ilā. Then Agni's function is to carry away the oblations, and to bring the gods: and whatever has reference to things visible is the work of Agni. Then the deities who are lauded along with him are Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Parjanya, and the seasons. There is an oblation made to Agni and Vishṇu in common; but in the ten books [of the R. V.] there is no Ṛich which praises these two gods together. There is also an oblation made to Agni and Pūshan in

[158] The commentator Durga (as I learn from Prof. Roth's note, Illust. of Nir. p. 104) refers this observation to the Mahābhārata, and adduces, as illustrations of the remark in the text, the appearances of the Earth in the form of a woman to request a Brahman to relieve her of her load, and of Agni in the form of a Brahman to ask aid from Vāsudeva and Arjuna respecting the Khāṇḍava wood, and in the form of a man, and of fire, to burn the wood in question. See Williams's Indian Epic Poetry, p. 101; and the Vanaparvan, verses 8079 ff.

common, but no conjoint laudation. Here the following verse containing separate praise [of these two gods] is quoted, viz. R. V. x. 17, 3: 9. 'May Pūshan, the wise, the preserver of the world, he who loses none of his cattle, convey thee away hence: may he deliver thee to these fathers; and may Agni [entrust thee] to the gracious gods.' The words, 'May Pūshan, the wise, etc.,' refer to the Sun, who is the protector of all creatures. The sense of the third quarter of the verse beginning, 'May he deliver thee, etc.,' is dubious: on the one hand it may be a repetition of the reference to Pūshan, who had been named before;[159] or, on the other hand, it may be a celebration of Agni, who is mentioned afterwards. *Suvidatra* (from which *suvidatriyebhyaḥ* in the fourth clause, "May Agni," etc., comes) means 'wealth,' and is either derived from *vid*, 'to find,' with one preposition (*su*), or from *dā*, 'to give,' with two prepositions (*su* and *vi*).

10. "The following are the objects connected with Indra's domain: viz. the atmosphere, the midday oblation, summer, the trishṭubh metre, the panchadaśa stoma, the bṛihat sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the second sphere. Indra's function is to bestow moisture, to slay Vṛitra: and all exertions of force are the work of Indra. The deities lauded along with him are Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Pūshan, Bṛihaspati, Brahmaṇaspati, Parvata, Kutsa, Vishṇu, and Vāyu. Further, Mitra is lauded along with Varuṇa, Soma with Pūshan and Rudra, Pūshan with Agni, and Parjanya with Vāta.

11. "The following are the objects connected with Āditya's (the Sun's) domain: heaven, the third oblation, the rainy season, the jagatī metre, the saptadaśa stoma, the vairūpa sāma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the highest sphere. The function of Āditya is to draw up moisture, and to retain it by his rays: and whatever is mysterious is the work of Āditya. He is praised along with the Moon, the Air (Vāyu), and the Year.

"[The student] is to class the remaining seasons, metres, stomas, and pṛishṭhas (particular sāma formulas) under [one or other of] the [three] spheres above mentioned. Autumn, the anushṭubh metre, the ekavinśa stoma, and the vairāja sāma, belong to the sphere of earth. The early winter, the pankti metre, the triṇava stoma, and the śākvara sāma, belong to the atmospheric sphere. The later winter, the ati-

[159] I have translated the clause as referring to Pūshan.

chhandas metre, the trayastrinśa stoma, and the raivata sāma, are connected with the celestial sphere."[160]

It will be observed that in the preceding classification of the gods, the principal places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu, or Indra, and Sūrya, who appear therefore to have been regarded in the time of Yāska as the triad of deities in whom the supreme spirit was especially revealed. Vishṇu is only alluded to as one of the divinities who were worshipped conjointly with Indra; and Rudra is only mentioned as worshipped along with Soma. If we may judge from his silence regarding it, the conjunction of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra as the triple manifestation of the deity (trimūrti) would appear to have been unknown to Yāska.

It is true that his object in the passage I have cited, as well as in other parts of his work, is to classify the Vedic deities; and it may be urged that the Puranic mythology (of which the trimūrti of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva is a part) might have grown up along with the Vedic. It may, however, be objected to this view, that if Yāska had been cognizant of any other than the Vedic mythology (at least if he had attached any authority to any other), he would not have failed to make some reference to the latter, and would have endeavoured to blend and reconcile it with the former. As we find no attempt of this kind in his work, we may perhaps conclude, either that the Puranic mythology had no existence in his day, or that he regarded it as undeserving of any attention.

The following passages from the Bṛihaddevatā, in which the views of Yāska are repeated, are derived from Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 113 f.:

Bṛihaddevatā, i. 13.—*Bhavad-bhūta* [*sya bha*] *vyasya jangama-sthāvar-asya cha* | *asyaike sūryam evaikam prabhavam pralayañ viduḥ* | *asataś cha sataś chaiva yonir esha Prajāpatiḥ* | *yad aksharañ cha vāchyañ* (?) *cha yathaiva Brahma śāśvatam* | *kṛitvaisha hi tridhā "tmānam eshu lokeshu tishṭhati* | Ibid. i. 14 . . . *tisraḥ eveha devatāḥ* | *etāsām eva māhātmyād nāmānyatvañ vidhīyate* | *tach cha sthāna-vibhāgena tatra tatreha dṛiśyate* | i. 13: "Some consider Sūrya (the Sun) to be the only cause of the production and destruction of this [universe], present, past, and future, moving and stationary. And this lord of creatures (Prajāpati) is the source of non-entity and entity, which is undecaying and describable (?) like

[160] The above passage is translated by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 101 ff.

the eternal Brahma. He, having made himself threefold, abides in these worlds. i. 14: . . . There are but three deities; and from their greatness, a variety of names is assigned [to each of them]. This is seen in different instances according to the distinction of places."

From the passage cited above (p. 30 f.) from Manu, it appears that the word Nārāyaṇa is there applied to Brahmā, and that no mention whatever is made of Vishṇu, as concerned in the creation. In fact Vishṇu is only once mentioned[161] by Manu, viz. in the following verse xii. 121:

Manasīndum diśaḥ śrotre krānte Vishṇum bale Haram | vāchy Agnim Mitram utsarge prajane cha Prajāpatim | "[He may contemplate] in his mind the Moon (Indu), in his hearing the regions, in his stepping Vishṇu, in his strength Hāra, in his voice Agni, in excretion Mitra, and in procreation Prajāpati." Vishṇu is not spoken of here as in any way superior to the other gods with whom he is associated.

In the text quoted above (p. 33) from the older recension of the Rāmāyaṇa too, it is Brahmā who is spoken of not only as the creator, but also as the god who raised up the earth from the bottom of the ocean.

Again, those texts of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas (see above, pp. 118 ff.) where Vishṇu is described as one of the twelve Ādityas, confirm the conclusion that he must have been originally looked upon as a deity of no more elevated rank than the other sons of Aditi; and the circumstance that he is in some of those passages distinguished from the rest of the gods by epithets expressive of some higher characteristics is easily explicable, as I have already remarked, by the supposition that those passages have been composed or modified at a period when his superiority had come to be recognized.

In some of the earlier passages of the Rāmāyaṇa also, where Vishṇu is introduced, though he is treated as a deity of higher rank than Indra and others (with whom he had been originally, at most, on a footing of equality), yet he is not designated by the same sort of epithets which are applied to him in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, and in some parts of the Mahābhārata, and other portions of the Rāmāyaṇa itself (unless we suppose these to be later interpolations), or identified with the supreme deity, as in these first-named works. In proof of this I adduce the following passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff. (Schlegel's

[161] Lassen, Ind. Ant., 1st ed., i. 777, note; or 2nd ed., p. 918.

edition;=i. 15, 1 ff., Bombay edition, and i. 14, 1 ff. of Gorresio's edition):

Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff.—*Medhāvī tu tato dhyātvā sa kinchid idam uttaram | labdha-sanjnas*[162] *tatas taṁ tu veda-jño nṛipam abravīt | 2 | ishṭiṁ te 'nyāṁ*[163] *karishyāmi putrīyām putra-kāraṇāt | atharvaśirasi proktair mantrair siddhāṁ vidhānataḥ | 3 |* [164]*tataḥ prachakrame kartum ishṭiṁ kāma-samṛiddhaye | tasya rājño hitānveshī Vibhāṇḍaka-suto vaśī | 4 | tatra devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ Siddhāścha munibhiḥ saha | bhāga-pratigrahārthaṁ vai pūrvam eva samāgatāḥ | 5 | Brahmā sureśvaruḥ Sthāṇus tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ | Indraś cha bhagavān sākshād Marud-gaṇa-vṛitas tathā | 6 | aśvamedhe mahāyajne rājñas tasya mahātmanaḥ | tatra bhāgārthino devān āgatān so 'bhyayāchata | 7 | ayaṁ rājā Daśarathaḥ putrārthī taptavāṁs tapaḥ | ishṭavān aśvamedhena bhavataḥ śraddhayā 'nvitaḥ | 8 | ishṭiṁ cha putra-kāmo 'nyām punaḥ kartuṁ samudyataḥ | tad asya putra-kāmasya prasādaṁ kartum arhatha | 9 | abhiyāche cha vaḥ sarvān asyārthe 'haṁ kṛitāñjaliḥ | bhaveyur asya chatvāraḥ putrās trailokya-śiśrutāḥ | 10 | te tathety abruvan devāḥ ṛishi-putraṁ kṛitāñjalim | mānanīyo 'si no vipra rājā chaiva viśeshataḥ | 11 | prāpsyate paramaṁ kāmam etayeshṭyā narādhipaḥ | ity uktvā*

[162] *Labdha-sanjnaḥ samādhy-utthitaḥ* | Comm. in Bombay ed.

[163] Bombay ed. reads *te 'ham* for *te 'nyām*.

[164] The Bomb. ed. here reads: 3. *Tataḥ prākramad ishṭiṁ tām putrīyām putra-kāraṇāt | juhāv agnau cha tejasvī mantra-dṛishṭena karmaṇā | 4 | tato devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha paramarshayaḥ | bhāva-* [qu. *bhāga*] *pratigrahārthaṁ vai samavetāḥ yathāvidhi | 5 | tāḥ sametya yathānyāyaṁ tasmin sadasi devatāḥ | abruvan loka-kartāram Brahmāṇaṁ vachanaṁ tataḥ | 6 | Bhagavaṁs tvat-prasādena Rāvaṇo nāma rākshasaḥ | sarvān no bādhate vīryāt śāsituṁ taṁ na śaknumaḥ |* "He then began that sacrifice for the sake of obtaining a son; and the glorious (rishi) cast an oblation into the fire, accompanied by the prescribed recitation of texts. 4. Then the gods, Gandharvas, Siddhas, and great Rishis were gathered together in due form to receive their portion. 5. Having duly assembled in that abode, the deities spake thus to Brahmā, the creator of the world: 6. 'Lord, owing to thy favour a Rākshasa named Rāvaṇa distresses us all by his power, and we cannot subdue him.'" What follows corresponds in the main with the readings of Schlegel's text.

This text, it will be noticed, differs in several points from Schlegel's [and from Gorresio's] in (*a*) not stating the gods to have been already present at the preceding sacrifice of the aśvamedha; (*b*) in not naming Brahmā, Sthāṇu (Mahādeva), and Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) as being of the number; or (*c*) as having been supplicated by the rishi on behalf of king Daśaratha; and (*d*) in proceeding at once to represent the gods as invoking Brahmā's aid, as the other two texts do further on. The Bombay text may be the most original, and the verses there omitted may be later additions, as they do not fit in very well into the sequel. Compare note 166 below. This, however, would not prove that the whole section was not a prior interpolation. See further on.

'ntarhitāḥ devās tataḥ S'akra-purogamāḥ | 12 | *tāḥ sametya yathānyāyaṁ tasmin sadasi devatāḥ* | *abruvan loka-kartāram Brahmāṇaṁ vachanaṁ tataḥ* | 13 | *tvat-pradishṭa-varo Brahman Rāvaṇo nāma rākshasaḥ* | *sarvān no bādhate darpād maharshīṁś cha tapo-ratān* | 14 | *tvayā hy asya varo dattaḥ prītena bhagavan purā* | *deva-dānava-yakshāṇām abadhyo 'sīti kāmataḥ* | 15 | *mānayantaścha te vākyaṁ sarvam asya 'sahāmahe* | *sa bādhayati lokāṁś trīn vihiṁsan rākshaseśvaraḥ* | . . . . 19. *Tad mahad no bhayaṁ tasmād rākshasād ghora-darśanāt* | *badhārthaṁ tasya bhagavann upāyaṁ kartum arhasi* | *evam uktaḥ suraiḥ sarvaiś chintayitvā tato 'bravīt* | *hantāyaṁ vihitas tasya badhopāyo durātmanaḥ* | *tena "gandharva-yakshāṇāṁ deva-dānava-rakshasām* | *abadhyaḥ syām" iti proktaṁ tathety uktaṁ cha tad mayā* | *avajnāya tu tad raksho manushān nānvakīrtayat* | *tasmāt sa mānushād badhyo mṛityur nānyo 'sya vidyate* | *etach chhrutvā priyaṁ vākyam Brahmaṇā samudāhṛitam* | *devāḥ S'akra-purogās te harshitāḥ sarvato 'bhavan* | *etasminn antare Vishṇur upayāto mahādyutiḥ* | *śankha-chakra-gadā-pāṇiḥ pīta-vāsāḥ jagat-patiḥ* | *Vainateyaṁ samāruhya bhāskaras toyadaṁ yathā* | *taptc-haṭaka-keyūro vandyamānaḥ surottamaiḥ* | *tam abruvan surāḥ sarve samabhishṭutya sannatāḥ* | *ārtānām asi lokānām ārti-hā Madhusūdana* | *yāchāmahe 'tas tvām ārtāḥ śaraṇaṁ no bhavāchyuta* | *brūta kiṁ karavāṇīti Vishṇus tān abravīd vachaḥ* | *iti tasya vachaḥ śrutvā punar ūchur idaṁ surāḥ* | *rājā Daśaratho nāma taptavān sumahat tapaḥ* | *ishṭavāṁś chāśvamedhena prajā-kāmaḥ sa chāprajāḥ* | *asman-niyogāt tvaṁ Vishṇo tasya putratvam āpnuhi* | *tasya bhāryāsu tisṛishu Hrī-S'rī-Kīrty-upamāsu cha* | *Vishṇo putratvam āgachha kṛitvā "tmānaṁ chaturvidham* | *tatra tvam mānusho bhūtvā pravṛiddhaṁ lokakaṇṭakam* | *abadhyaṁ daivatair Vishṇo samare jahi Rāvaṇam* | . . . . . 34. *Tvaṁ gatiḥ paramā deva sarveshāṁ naḥ parantapa* | *badhāya devaśatrūṇāṁ nṛiṇāṁ loke manaḥ kuru* | *sa niyuktas tathā devaiḥ sākshād Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ* | *tān uvācha ityādi* |

"Then that sage, skilled in the Veda, having meditated for a little on this answer, having regained his consciousness [which had been suspended during his state of meditation], said to the king: 'I shall perform for thee another sacrifice, celebrated according to rule with the texts enjoined in the Atharva-śiras, to obtain for thee a son.' The self-subdued son of Vibhāṇḍaka, desiring the king's welfare, then began to perform the sacrifice for the attainment of his desire. The gods, with the Gandharvas, Siddhas, and Munis, had previously come

thither to receive their portions [of the sacrifice], both Brahmā, lord of the deities, Sthāṇu (Mahādeva), the lord Nārāyaṇa[165] (Vishṇu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruts. He (Ṛishyasṛinga thus) supplicated the gods who had come, desiring their shares, to the great aśvamedha sacrifice [described in the preceding section] of that high-souled king: 'This King Daśaratha, desiring a son, has performed austerity, and inspired with faith, has worshipped you with an aśvamedha. Longing for a son, he is also prepared to celebrate another sacrifice. Ye ought, therefore, to show favour to him, who is anxious for a son; and with joined hands, I entreat you all on his behalf. Let him have four sons, renowned in the three worlds.' The gods said to the rishi's son [standing] with joined hands, 'So be it. Thou, Brahman, art deserving of honour from us, and so especially is the king. The lord of men shall obtain the highest object of his desire by means of this sacrifice.' Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by Śakra (Indra), then disappeared.

"Having duly assembled, in that abode,[166] these gods then addressed a word to Brahmā, the creator of the world: 'A Rākshasa named Rāvaṇa, having obtained a boon from thee, O Brahmā, in his pride harasses us all, and the great rishis devoted to austerity. For, O lord, a boon was formerly granted to him freely by thee when well-pleased, viz. 'Thou shalt be indestructible by gods, Dānavas or Yakshas.' Obedient to thy words, we endure everything at his hands. This lord of the Rākshasas vexes the three worlds by his acts of cruelty . . . 19. We are therefore in great fear of this Rākshasa of horrible aspect.

[165] Here it will be observed that Vishṇu, like the other gods, comes for his share.

[166] This verse does not combine well with what precedes. See the last note but one (164). Why should the gods disappear in order to reassemble, so far as appears, in the same place (*tasmin sadasi*)? See the text of the Bombay ed., as quoted in note 164, verses 4 and 5. Gorresio's edition connects the disappearance and reappearance of the gods thus, i. 14, 11*b* ff.: *ity uktvā 'ntarhitāḥ devās tataḥ Śakra-purogamāḥ* | 12 | *tāṁ dṛishṭvā vidhivad dīkshāṁ kriyamāṇām mahaṛshiṇā* | *upetya lokakartāram Prajāpatim idaṁ vachaḥ* | 13 | *ūchuḥ prāñjalayo bhūtvā Brahmāṇaṁ varadaṁ tatha* | 11*b*: "Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by Śakra, vanished thence. 12. Beholding that initiatory ceremony being duly performed by the great rishi, they approached with joined hands the lord of creatures, the boon-bestowing Brahmā, and spoke as follows," etc. It may also be noticed that Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) is mentioned both in Schlegel's ed. and in Gorresio's (v. 4) as having been one of the gods who were present. If the gods who reappeared were the same as those who disappeared, why was not he among them? But he is said to have arrived afterwards.

Thou, lord, oughtest to imagine some device for his slaughter.' Being thus addressed by all the deities, [Brahmā], after reflection, thus spoke to them: 'O, this device has been imagined [by me] for the slaughter of that malignant being. 'Let me be indestructible by Gandharvas, Yakshas, gods, Dānavas and Rākshasas;' such was his request, to which I replied, 'Be it so.' But despising men, the Rākshasa made no mention of them. He must therefore be slain by a man: no other death is possible for him.' Having heard this acceptable word spoken by Brahmā, the gods, headed by Śakra, were altogether delighted. In the mean time the glorious Vishṇu arrived, bearing in his hand the shell, discus, and club, in yellow garments, lord of the world, mounted on Garuḍa, like the Sun on a cloud, with an armlet of refined gold, adored by the chief of the deities. After lauding him with prostrations, all the gods said: 'Thou, Madhusūdana, art he who removes the affliction of the afflicted worlds. Wherefore we, distressed, beseech thee be our refuge, O Achyuta (Unfalling).' Vishṇu said to them, 'Tell me what I shall do.' Hearing this answer of his, the gods again said: 'A king named Daśaratha has performed great austerity, and celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, desirous of offspring, for he is childless. Do thou, Vishṇu, according to our appointment, take upon thee his sonship. Making thyself fourfold, do thou become the offspring of his three wives who resemble Hrī, Śrī, and Kīrti (Modesty, Prosperity, and Renown). Having then become man, do thou slay in battle Rāvaṇa, the powerful enemy of the worlds, who is indestructible by the gods. . . . 34. Thou, god, vexer of thy foes, art the highest refuge of us all; resolve to destroy in the world of men the enemies of the deities.' The manifested lord Nārāyaṇa, being thus appointed by the gods," replies by asking for further explanations in regard to the occasion which demanded his intervention. This explanation the gods give and say, that he alone of all the celestials can kill the wicked one (*tvatto hi nānyas tam pāpaṁ śakto hantuṁ divaukasām*). Vishṇu, then, "the lord of the gods" (*deveśa*), "the most excellent of the immortals" (*tridaśa-pungava*), "adored by all the worlds" (*sarva-loka-namaskṛita*), reassures the deities, promises to slay Rāvaṇa, and to reign on earth for eleven thousand years.

I have said that the representation given of Vishṇu in the preceding passage is of a different character from that which we find in writings

of a later age. But it is not certain that any portion of this passage formed part of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it originally existed. I extract the following remarks from Lassen's "Indian Antiquities," (vol. i. p. 488, 1st edition; i. 586, 2nd edition), in regard to the interpolations which he supposes to have been made in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata:

"It is true that in the Epic poems Rāma and Kṛishna appear as incarnations of Vishṇu, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other light than other highly gifted men,—acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Vishṇu. It is impossible to read either of these two poems with attention, without being reminded of the later interpolation of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes, and of the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced, and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress." [167]

In p. 489 (1st edition, p. 587 2nd edition) note, he remarks more

[167] In the Preface to his Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. ix., 4to. ed.(=p. xv. of Dr. Hall's ed.), Professor Wilson had previously made some observations of the same tenor: "But the ascription to individual and personal deities of the attributes of the one universal and spiritual Supreme Being, is an indication of a later date than the Vedas certainly, and apparently also than the Rāmāyaṇa, where Rāma, although an incarnation of Vishṇu, commonly appears in his human character alone. There is something of the kind in the Mahābhārata in respect to Kṛishṇa, especially in the philosophical episode known as the Bhagavad Gītā. In other places the divine nature of Kṛishṇa is less decidedly affirmed; in some it is disputed or denied; and in most of the situations in which he is exhibited in action, it is as a prince and warrior, not as a divinity. He exercises no superhuman faculties in the defence of himself, or his friends, or in the defeat and destruction of his foes. The Mahābhārata, however, is evidently a work of various periods, and requires to be read throughout carefully and critically before its weight as an authority can be accurately appreciated." Professor Goldstücker, too, observes in the Preface to his Mānava Kalpa Sūtra, p. xxxi.: "It is of course impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to every one who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature."

particularly: "As regards the Rāmāyaṇa, Mr. von Schlegel has often observed to me that the chapters in which Rāma is conceived of as an incarnation of Vishṇu, might be entirely omitted without injuring the connexion of the story. In fact, at the point where the incarnation of Vishṇu in the four sons of Dasaratha is described (Rām. i. 14 ff.), the proper great sacrifice is already concluded, and the priests have all been presented with gifts at its close, when the new sacrifice is commenced, at which the gods appear, then withdraw, and now for the first time propose to Vishṇu to become incarnate. If this had been an original portion of the story, the gods would certainly have considered the matter sooner, and the ceremonial of sacrifice would have proceeded without interruption. In the same book, ch. 74, 75, a scene with the earlier [or Paraśu-] Rāma is suddenly interpolated, in order that he may be made to declare the new Rāma to be Vishṇu."

An examination of the earlier portions of the Rāmāyaṇa seems to confirm the opinion of Lassen that the 14th and following sections which describe the miraculous births of Rāma and his brothers as incarnations of Vishṇu, are additions interpolated at a later date in the original poem. It appears from various passages which I shall cite from the 8th and following sections, that the aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice, a rite of great importance and dignity, was instituted for the express purpose of procuring progeny for Daśaratha. But if this be so, what necessity was there for celebrating the fresh ceremony, alluded to at the beginning of section 14 as a "putrīyā ishṭi," for the same purpose? The passages to which I allude are the following:

Rām. i. 8, 1 ff. (=Bombay ed. i. 8, 1; Gorresio's ed. i. 8, 1).—*Tasya tv evam-prabhāvasya dhārmikasya mahātmanaḥ | sutārtham tapyamānasya nāsīd vaṁśa-karaḥ sutaḥ | tasya chintayato buddhir utpanneyam mahāmateḥ | sutārtham vāji-medhena kimarthaṁ na yajāmy aham | suniśchitām matiṁ kṛitvā yashṭavye vasudhādhipaḥ |* "But a son to prolong his race was not born to this king so mighty, and righteous, and great, though he performed intense austerity for that purpose. As this wise man reflected, the idea arose in his mind, 'why do I not celebrate a horse-sacrifice to obtain a son?' Having then formed this fixed opinion that he ought to sacrifice, the king, etc."

Again, in sect. 11, 1 (=Bombay ed. i. 12, 1; Gorresio's ed. i. 11, 1), it is said: *Atha kāle vyatikrānte śiśire tadanantaram | vasanta-samaye*

prāpte rājā yashṭum mano dadhe | *tataḥ prasādya śirasā taṁ vipraṁ deva-varchasam* | *yajnāya varayāmāsa santānārthaṁ kulasya vai* | "Then, when the winter had passed, and the spring had arrived, the king set his mind upon sacrificing. Having then propitiated, by [bowing] his head, that Brahman of divine splendour, he solicited him to [perform] a sacrifice for the prolongation of his race."

Then, after calling his spiritual advisers, Vāmadeva, Jāvāli, Vasishṭha, etc., he says to them (v. 8=v. 8*b* Bomb. ed.; v. 11, Gorr.): *Mama tātapyamānasya putrārthaṁ nāsti vai sukham* | *tad ahaṁ haya-medhena yajeyam iti me matiḥ* | *tad-arthaṁ yashṭum ichhāmi haya-pūrveṇa karmaṇā* | "I get no satisfaction, though I perform intense austerity for a son. It is therefore my resolution to celebrate a sacrifice in which a horse is the first victim."

We are again told (v. 20):

Tataḥ sa gatvā tāḥ patnīr narendro hṛidayangamāḥ | *uvācha dīkshāṁ viśata yakshye 'haṁ suta-kāraṇāt* | "Then going to his beloved wives, the king said to them, 'Enter upon a course of consecration; I am about to sacrifice for a son.'"

And at the beginning of the 12th section (=Bomb. ed. 13th; Gorr. 12th) it is said: *Punaḥ prāpte vasante tu pūrṇaḥ saṁvatsaro 'bhavat* | *prasavārtham gato yashṭum hayamedhena vīryavān* | "Then, when the spring arrived, a year had elapsed, and the heroic king went to celebrate a horse-sacrifice for the sake of offspring."

Preparations are then made for the sacrifice (sect. 12), and it is duly celebrated (sect. 13). The queen, Kauśalya, "through desire of a son," remains in close contact with the slaughtered horse for one night (13, 36 [=Bomb. ed., i. 14, 34; Gorr. i. 12, 34]: *Patatriṇā tadā sārddham sushṭhitena cha chetasā* | *avasad rajanīm ekām Kauśalyā putra-kāmyayā*), and the other two queens beside her (v. 37).[163]

The conclusion of the sacrifice is thus recorded at the end of section 13, vv. 54 ff. (=Bomb. ed. 14, 58*b*; Gorr. 13, 45).

[163] See Wilson's translation of the R. V., vol. ii., Introd., p. xiii.; the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, xxiii. 20 ff., and commentary; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 990 ff.; Kātyāyana Sūtras, p. 973; and Mahābhārata, xiv. 2645. On the word *patatrin*, "winged," applied to the horse, the commentator in the Bombay ed., *in loco*, remarks: *Purā aśvānām pakshāḥ santi iti prasiddhyā evaṁvādaḥ* | *patatriṇā garuḍa-vegena ity anye* | "This is said because it is well known that horses formerly had wings. Others say the meaning of the word is, 'having the speed of Garuḍa' (the fabled bird)."

Dakshiṇāḥ parigṛihyātha suprīṭa-mānasā dvijāḥ | ūchur Daśarathaṁ tatra kāmaṁ dhyāyeti vai tadā | tato 'bravīd Ṛishyaśringaṁ rājā Daśarathas tadā | kulasya vardhanaṁ tat tu kartuṁ arhasi suvrata | tatheti sa cha rājānam uvācha dvija-sattamaḥ | bhavishyanti sutā rājaṁś chatvāras te kulodvahāḥ | "Having received the gifts with great gratification, the Brahmans then said to Daśaratha, 'Think of the object you desire.' The king then said to Ṛishyaśringa, 'Thou oughtest, saint, to effect that increase of my race.' The most excellent of Brahmans replied, 'So be it; king, there shall be to thee four sons, the continuators of thy race.'"

We are then told at the beginning of section 14, as above quoted (p. 165), that Ṛishyaśringa, after thinking over the preceding reply, offers to celebrate another sacrifice with texts from the Atharva-śiras, in order to procure offspring for the king; and proceeds accordingly to do so, though, in striking contrast to the particular description given of the aśvamedha, no details of this additional ceremony are supplied. We are then told (verse 4) that the gods had previously come to the aśvamedha sacrifice, to obtain their shares of the oblations, and that Ṛishyaśringa now tells them that the king had performed austerity in order to obtain offspring, that he had also celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, and was now about to perform another rite. The necessity for this second sacrifice does not appear; it seems strange that a ceremony of such importance as the aśvamedha should be insufficient; there appears to be no reason why the gods should not have been told at first, on that occasion, that the king was anxious for a son, since that was the very object for which the first sacrifice was offered; and that this communication should have been reserved till the commencement of the second sacrifice.

In section 15 (=Bombay ed. 15, 31 ff. and 16; Gorr. 15) we are told that Vishṇu, considering how he shall fulfil his promise to the gods, makes himself fourfold, and chooses Daśaratha for his human parent. He then, after respectfully addressing Brahmā, disappears from heaven, and when Daśaratha is offering the second sacrifice for progeny, the god issues forth from the fire in the form of a glorious being, calling himself a son of Prajāpati (*prājāpatyaṁ naram*), and bearing a large vessel full of nectar. This nectar he desires Daśaratha to administer to his wives, who would then bear sons. Vishṇu then, after receiving the king's homage, disappears.

Daśaratha gives the half of the potion to Kauśalyā, and a fourth each to Sumitrā and Kaikeyī. They all in consequence become pregnant.

Section 16 (=Bombay ed. 17; Gorresio, 20) begins thus: *Putratvaṁ tu gate Vishṇau rājnas tasya mahātmanaḥ | uvācha devān āhūya Svayambhūr bhagavān idam |* "When Vishṇu had entered into the relation of sonship to that great king, the divine Svayambhū (Brahmā) summoned the gods, and said to them." These words must either be said by way of anticipation, for the birth of Daśaratha's sons is not related till we come to section 19; or the section must be misplaced, or interpolated. The commentator in the Bombay ed. explains *gate* by *gantum upakrānte*, "had begun to enter." In Gorresio's ed. this section is placed as the 20th. The section proceeds to describe the creation of the monkeys, who were to be the allies of Rāma.

The conclusion of the aśvamedha sacrifice and the departure of the gods are again alluded to at the commencement of sect. 17 (Schlegel's ed.) in these words: 1. *Samāpte tu kratau tasmin vājimedhe mahātmanaḥ | havirbhāgān avāpyeshṭān jagmur devāḥ yathāgatam |* 2 | *ṛishayaś cha mahātmānaḥ pratijagmuḥ supūjitāḥ | rājānaś chaiva ye tatra kratāv āsan samāgatāḥ |* 1. "When that horse-sacrifice of the great king had been completed, the gods, having received the desired shares of the oblations, departed as they had come. 2. The great rishis, too, after being duly honoured, and the kings who had come to the sacrifice, returned." Here we have another indication that the sections intervening between the 13th and the 17th form a later interpolation. With the commencement of this 17th section of Schlegel's ed., the opening verses of Gorresio's 16th section, and of the 18th section of the Bombay ed., coincide. The last-mentioned recension, however, from which I proceed to quote some verses, touches very briefly on the dismissal of the kings who had come to the sacrifice, and of Ṛishyaśṛinga, and proceeds to the birth of Rāma and his brothers, whilst the other two texts enlarge on the former topics, and do not arrive at the last subject before their 19th section. Sect. 18 of the Bombay ed. begins thus:

1 | *Nivṛitte tu kratau tasmin hayamedhe mahātmanaḥ | pratigṛihyāmarāḥ bhāgān pratijagmur yathāgatam |* 2 | *samāpta-dīkshā-niyamaḥ patnī-gaṇa-samanvitaḥ | praviveśa purīṁ rājā sa-bhṛitya-bala-vāhanaḥ |*

3 | *yathārham pūjitās tena rājñā cha prithivīśvarāḥ* | *muditāḥ prayayur deśān praṇamya muni-pungavam* | 4 | *śrīmatāṁ gachhatāṁ teshāṁ svagṛihāṇi purāt tataḥ* | *balāni rājñāṁ śubhrāṇi prahṛishṭāni chakāśire* | 5 | *gateshu prithivīśeshu rājā Daśarathaḥ punaḥ* | *praviveśa purīṁ śrīmān puraskṛitya dvijottamān* | 6 | *S'āntayā prayayau sārdham Ṛishyaśṛingaḥ supūjitaḥ* | *anugamyamāno rājñā cha sānuyātreṇa dhīmatā* | 7 | *Evaṁ visṛijya tān sarvān rājā sampūrṇa-mānasaḥ* | *uvāsa sukhitas tatra putrotpattiṁ vichintayan* | 8 | *tato yajne samāpte tu ṛitūnāṁ shaṭ samatyayuḥ* | *tataś cha dvādaśe māse ityādi* | 1. "When that horse-sacrifice of the great king had come to an end, the immortals, after receiving their shares, returned as they had come. 2. The ceremony of consecration being concluded, the king with his wives, servants, army, and chariots, entered into the city. 3. The princes, too, after being duly honoured by the king, and having made obeisance to the most excellent muni, departed with joy to their several countries. 4. The hosts of these glorious monarchs, as they set out from the city for their homes, shone brilliant and delighted. 5. When they had gone, King Daśaratha again entered the city, preceded by the Brahmans. 6. Ṛishyaśṛinga, receiving homage, set out with (his wife) S'āntā, followed by the wise king and his attendants. 7. Having dismissed all these (visitors), the king, with satisfied mind, dwelt in happiness, meditating on the birth of his sons. 8. Then six seasons elapsed after the sacrifice had been completed; and in the twelfth month," etc. [The sequel of this passage, together with the parallel verses of Gorresio's edition, will be found in the Appendix.]

Schlegel's ed., as I have already noticed, does not reach the same point of the narrative till its 19th section, which begins by relating the birth of Daśaratha's sons, twelve months after the conclusion of the sacrifice, by which no doubt the horse sacrifice is intended (*tato yajne samāpte tu ṛitūnāṁ shaṭ samatyayuḥ* | *tataścha dvādaśe māśe ityādi*). After specifying the month, day, and planetary influences under which Rāma was born, the writer proceeds: . . . . *Jagannāthaṁ sarva-loka-namaskṛitam* | *Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmaṁ divya-lakshaṇa-saṁyutam* | *Kauśalyā śuśubhe tena putreṇāmita-tejasā* | *yathā 'dhipena devānām Aditir Vajrapāṇinā* | [**bhavāya sa hi lokānāṁ Rāvaṇasya badhāya cha* | *Vishṇor vīryārdhato jajne Rāmo rājīva-lochanaḥ* | *Bharato*

*nāma Kaikeyyāṁ jajne satya-parākramaḥ | [*sākshād Vishṇoś chaturbhāgaḥ sarvaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ | atha Lakshmaṇa-Satrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau | dṛiḍha-bhaktī mahotsāhau Vishṇor ardha-samanvitau |] pushye jātas tu Bharato mīna-lagne prasanna-dhīḥ | sārpe jātau tu Saumitrī kulīre 'bhyadite ravau |*

"Kauśalyā bore Rāma, the lord of the universe, adored by all worlds, distinguished by divine marks. Kauśalyā derived lustre from that son of boundless might, as Aditi did from the Thunderer, the lord of the gods. [*For the lotus-eyed Rāma was produced from the half of Vishṇu's virile power, for the good of the world and the slaughter of Rāvaṇa. Bharata, of genuine valour, was born of Kaikeyī, manifest as the fourth part of Vishṇu, endowed with all virtues. Then Sumitrā brought forth two sons, of strong devotion and great energy, Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna, possessing (each) the half (of the fourth part) of Vishṇu.] Now Bharata, of clear understanding, was born under Pushya (the eighth lunar mansion), under the sign of the fishes; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under the [ninth] lunar mansion of the serpents, when the sun had entered into Cancer."

If the supposition of Schlegel and Lassen that the 14th, 15th, and 16th sections are interpolated, be correct, it is quite conceivable that the verses of the section before us describing Daśaratha's sons as portions of Vishṇu, which I have marked with an asterisk and included in brackets, may also have been interpolated, as they can be spared without detriment to the connexion; and if they are retained, the births of Bharata, Lakshmaṇa, and Śatrughna, are related twice. In that case the epithets "lord of the universe," and "adored by all worlds," which occur in the first of the verses I have quoted, may have been afterwards substituted for some of a less magnificent character which stood there before. And, in fact, if Rāma was originally regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu, it does not appear so suitable to compare his birth to that of Indra (in that case a personage of less dignity than Vishṇu), as is done in one of the verses which I presume to be ancient, and genuine.

The following is a summary of the episode of the apparition of Paraśurāma referred to above by Prof. Lassen in p. 170. When King Daśaratha was returning to his capital, after taking leave of Janaka, the King of Mithilā, whose daughter Sītā had just been married to

Rāma (Rāmāyaṇa, Schleg. i. 74=Bombay ed. i. 74, and Gorresio's ed. i. 76), he was alarmed by the ill-omened sounds uttered by certain birds, which however were counteracted, as the sage Vasishṭha assured the king, by the auspicious sign of his being perambulated by the wild animals of the forest. The alarming event indicated was the arrival of Paraśurāma, preceded by a hurricane which shook the earth and prostrated the trees, and by thick darkness which veiled the sun. He was fearful to behold, brilliant as fire, and bore his axe and a bow on his shoulder. Being received with honour, which he accepted, he proceeded to say to Rāma, the son of Daśaratha (in section 75), that he had heard of his prowess in breaking the bow produced by Janaka (Rām. i. 67), and had brought another which he asked Rāma to bend, and to fit an arrow on the string; and if he succeeded in doing so, he (Paraśurāma) would offer to engage with him in single combat. Daśaratha is rendered anxious by this speech, and adopts a suppliant tone towards Paraśurāma, but the latter again addresses Rāma, and says that the bow he had broken was Śiva's, but the one he himself had now brought was Vishṇu's. Two celestial bows, he proceeds, were made by Viśvakarman, of which one was given by the gods to Mahādeva, the other to Vishṇu. The narrative then proceeds (14 ff.):

Tadā tu devatāḥ sarvāḥ pṛichhanti sma Pitāmaham | Śitikaṇṭhasya Vishṇoś cha balābala-nirīkshayā | abhiprāyaṁ tu vijñāya devatānām Pitāmahaḥ | virodhaṁ janayāmāsa tayoḥ satyavatāṁ varaḥ | virodhe tu mahad yuddham abhavad roma-harshaṇam | Śitikaṇṭhasya Vishṇoś cha parasparajayaishiṇoḥ | tadā tu jṛimbhitam śaivaṁ dhanur bhīma-parākramam | hunkāreṇa Mahādevaḥ stambhito 'tha trilochanaḥ | devais tadā samāgamya sarshi-sanghaiḥ sa-chāraṇaiḥ | yāchitau praśamaṁ tatra jagmatus tau surottamau | jṛimbhitaṁ tad dhanur dṛishṭvā śaivaṁ Vishṇu-parākramaiḥ | adhikam menire Vishṇuṁ devāḥ sarshi-gaṇās tathā | dhanū Rudras tu sankruddho Videheshu mahāyaśāḥ | Devarātasya rājarsher dadau haste sa-sāyakam | idaṁ tu Vaishṇavaṁ Rāma dhanuḥ para-puranjayam | Ṛichīke Bhārgave prādād Vishṇuḥ sa nyāsam uttamam | "The gods then all made a request to Brahmā, desiring to find out the strength and weakness of Śitikáṇṭha (Mahādeva) and Vishṇu. Brahmā, most excellent of the true, learning the purpose of the gods, created enmity between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between Śitikaṇṭha and Vishṇu, each of whom was eager to

conquer the other. S'iva's bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahādeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, rishis, and Chāraṇas, then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of S'iva had been relaxed by the prowess of Vishṇu; the gods and rishis esteemed Vishṇu to be superior.[169] Then the illustrious Rudra, incensed, gave the bow and arrows into the hand of the royal rishi Devarāta [who dwelt] among the Videhas. But this, Rāma, is the bow of Vishṇu, which vanquishes hostile cities. Vishṇu gave this excellent deposit to Ṛichīka, the descendant of Bhṛigu." From him it came to Jamadagni, father of Paraśurāma. After referring to his father's murder by Arjuna,[170] and his own subsequent history, Paraśurāma repeats that he had heard of Rāma's prowess in breaking the other bow, and again asks him to bend Vishṇu's; and in the event of his succeeding, again offers to fight him. Rāma replies (section 76) that though his warlike qualities are contemned by his rival, he will give him a proof of his powers. He then snatches, in anger, the bow from the hand of Paraśurāma, bends it, fits an arrow on the string; and tells his challenger that he will not shoot at him because he is a Brāhman, and for the sake of his kinsman Viśvāmitra; but will either destroy his superhuman capacity of movement, or deprive him of the blessed abodes he has acquired by austerity. The gods now arrive to be witnesses of the scene. Paraśurāma becomes disheartened and powerless, and humbly entreats that he may not be deprived of his faculty of movement (lest he should be incapacitated from fulfilling his promise to Kaśyapa to leave the earth every night), but consents that his blissful abodes may be destroyed. He then goes on, v. 17 (Schlegel's and Bombay editions=sect. 77, 49 ff. of Gorresio): *Akshayam Madhuhantāraṁ jānāmi tvām maheśvaram* (or *sureśvaram*) | *dhanusho 'sya parāmarśāt svasti te 'stu parantapa* | 18 | *ete sura-gaṇāḥ sarve nirīkshante samāgatāḥ* | *tvām apratima-karmāṇam apratidvandvam āhave* | 19 | *na cheyam mama Kākutstha vrīḍā bhavitum arhati* | *tvayā trailokya-nāthena yad ahaṁ vimukhīkṛitaḥ* | 17. "By the bending of

[169] The orthodox commentator (in the Bombay edition) will not allow this to be taken absolutely. He says: *Vastutas tu prakṛita-yuddhe Vishṇor ādhikya-darśanāt Tripura-badhe S'ivasya ādhikya-darśanāt tayoḥ sāmya-grahaṇam iti tātparyam* | "In reality, as we find that Vishṇu is the stronger in the fight before us, whilst S'iva is stronger in the slaughter of Tripura, the result is that their equality must be assumed."

[170] See the first volume of this work, second edition, pp. 449 ff.

this bow I recognize thee to be the imperishable slayer of Madhu, the great Lord (or lord of the Gods): hail, vanquisher of thy foes! 18. All these assembled gods behold thee who art unequalled in action, unrivalled in fight. 19. It need be no cause of shame to me that I have been humbled by thee who art the lord of the three worlds." Rāma then shoots the arrow, and destroys Paraśurāma's abodes.

In whatever light the author of these lines may really have looked upon Vishṇu, whether as identical with the supreme Spirit or not, the passage itself contains no epithet or expression which necessitates such an interpretation. At the same time it is to be observed that the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's trans. pp. 594 ff. 4to. ed.=pp. 114 ff. vol. v. of Dr. Hall's ed.), the Harivaṁśa (sections 183 and 184), and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (x., 64th and previous sections), which indubitably regard Vishṇu as the supreme Deity, also relate a combat between him and Mahādeva. There is no doubt, however, that the 119th section of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, which I now proceed to quote from the text of the edition published some years ago at Bombay, distinctly speaks of Rāma as an incarnation of the supreme Spirit. This Bombay text, though it follows the Devanāgarī recension of Upper India, does not, in this section, differ materially, except in the arrangement of the verses, from that of Gorresio. I should judge, from the nature of the epithets which are here applied to Vishṇu, that this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. In the preceding portion of the poem it had been related that Sītā, after being recovered by Rāma on the defeat and death of Rāvaṇa, had been suspected of unchastity by her husband, and had in consequence entered the fire. The 119th section then goes on thus:

Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, sect. 119, 1 ff.—*Tato hi durmanāḥ Rāmaḥ śrutvaivaṁ vadatāṁ giraḥ | dadhyau muhūrtaṁ dharmātmā vāshpa-vyākula-lochanaḥ | tato Vaiśravaṇo rājā Yamaś cha pitṛibhiḥ saha | Sahasrākshaś cha deveśo Varuṇaścha jaleśvaraḥ | shaḍ-ardha-nayanaḥ śrīmān Mahādevo vṛisha-dvajaḥ | kartā sarvasya lokasya Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | [171] sa cha rājā Daśaratho vimānenāntarīksha-gaḥ | abhyājagāma taṁ deśaṁ deva-rāja-sama-dyutiḥ |] ete sarve samāgamya vimānaiḥ sūrya-sannibhaiḥ | āgamya nagarīṁ Lankām abhijagmuś cha Rāghavam | tataḥ sa-hastābharaṇān pragṛihya vipulān bhujān | abruvan tridaśa-śreshṭhāḥ Rāghavam prāñjaliṁ*

[171] This verse is found in Gorresio's edition only, not in that of Bombay.

sthitam | kartā sarvasya lokasya śreshṭho jñānavidāṁ vibhuḥ | upekshase kathaṁ Sītām patantīm havyavāhane | kathaṁ deva-gaṇa-śreshṭham ātmānaṁ nāvabudhyase ||| Ṛita-dhāmā Vasuḥ pūrvaṁ Vasūnāṁ cha Prajāpatiḥ | tvam trayāṇāṁ hi lokānām ādikartā svayam prabhuḥ | Rudrāṇām ashṭamo Rudraḥ Sādhyānām api panchamaḥ | Aśvinau chāpi te karṇau chandrādityau cha chakshushī | ante chādau cha bhūtānāṁ dṛiśyase tvam parantapa | upekshase cha Vaidehīm mānushaḥ prākṛito yathā | ity ukto lokapālais taiḥ svāmī lokasya Rāghavaḥ | abravīt tridaśa-śreshṭhān Rāmo dharma-bhṛitāṁ varaḥ | ātmānam mānusham manye Rāmaṁ Daśarathātmajam | so 'haṁ yaśeha yataś chāhaṁ bhagavāṁs tad bravītu me | iti bruvāṇaṁ Kākutsthaṁ Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | abravīt śṛiṇu me vākyaṁ satyaṁ satya-parākrama | bhavān Nārāyaṇaḥ devaḥ śrīmāṁś chakrāyudhaḥ prabhuḥ | eka-śṛingo varāhas tvam bhūta-bhavya-sapatna-jit | aksharam Brahma satyaṁ cha madhye chānte cha Rāghava | lokānāṁ tvam paro dharmo Vishvaksenaś chaturbhujaḥ | Śārnga-dhanvā Hṛishīkeśaḥ purushaḥ purushottamaḥ | ajitaḥ khaḍga-dhṛig Vishṇuḥ Kṛishṇaś chaiva vṛihadbalaḥ | Senānīr grāmaṇīḥ satyas tvam buddhis tvaṁ kshamā damaḥ | prabhavaś chāpyayaś cha tvam Upendro Madhusūdanaḥ | Indra-karmā Mahendras tvam padmanābho raṇānta-kṛit | śaraṇyaṁ śaraṇaṁ cha tvām āhur divyāḥ maharshayaḥ | sahasra-śṛingo vedātmā śata-śīrshāḥ maharshabhaḥ | tvaṁ trayāṇāṁ hi lokānām ādi-kartā svayam prabhuḥ | siddhānām api sādhyānām āśrayaś chāsi pūrvaja | tvaṁ yajnas tvaṁ vashaṭkāras tvam oṁkāraḥ parāt paraḥ | prabhavaṁ nidhanaṁ vā te na viduḥ ko bhavān iti | dṛiśyase sarva-bhūteshu brāhmaṇeshu cha goshu cha | dikshu sarvāsu gagane parvateshu nadīshu cha | sahasra-charaṇaḥ śrīmān śata-śīrshāḥ sahasra-dṛik | tvaṁ dhārayasi bhūtāni vasudhāṁ cha sa-parvatām | ante pṛithivyāḥ salile dṛiśyase tvam mahoragaḥ | trīn lokān dhārayan Rāma deva-gandharva-dānavāḥ | ahaṁ te hṛidayaṁ Rāma jihvā devī Sarasvatī | devāḥ romāṇi gātreshu Brahmaṇā nirmitāḥ prabho | nimeshas te smṛitā rātrir unmesho divasas tathā | saṁskārās te 'bhavan vedāḥ naitad asti tvayā vinā | jagat sarvaṁ śarīraṁ te sthairyaṁ te vasudhā-talam | Agniḥ kopaḥ prasādas te Somaḥ śrīvatsalakshaṇa | tvayā lokās trayaḥ krāntāḥ purā svair vikramais tribhiḥ | Mahendraś cha kṛito rājā Balim baddhvā sudāruṇam | [172] yat paraṁ śrūyate jyotir yat paraṁ śrūyate tamaḥ | yat param parataś chaiva paramātmeti kathyase | paramākhyam paraṁ yach cha tvam eva parigīyase | sthity-utpatti-vināśānāṁ tvām āhuḥ paramāṁ

[172] These two verses occur in Gorresio's edition only, not in that of Bombay.

gatim |] Sītā Lakshmīr bhavān Vishṇur devaḥ Kṛishṇaḥ prajāpatiḥ | badhārthaṁ Rāvaṇasyeha pravishṭo 'mānushīṁ tanum ityādi |

"Then the righteous Rāma, dejected, on hearing the words of those who thus spoke, meditated for a moment, with his eyes disturbed by tears. Then King Kuvera, and Yaṁa with the Pitṛis, and Indra, lord of the gods, and Varuṇa, lord of the waters, and the glorious three-eyed Mahādeva, whose ensign is a bull, and Brahmā, the creator of the whole world, the most eminent of the knowers of the Veda; [*and that King Daśaratha, moving in the air on a celestial car, arrived in that region, equal in lustre to the king of the gods]; these all having come on cars brilliant as the sun, and arrived in the city of Lankā, came near to Rāghava (Rāma). Then these most eminent gods, holding the large arms of Rāma, adorned with armlets, addressed him as he stood with joined hands: 'How dost thou, the maker of the whole universe, the most eminent of the wise, the pervading, disregard Sītā's throwing herself into the fire? How dost thou not perceive thyself to be the chief of the host of the gods? [Thou wast] formerly the Vasu Ṛitadhāman, and the Prajāpati of the Vasus. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, the eighth Rudra of the Rudras, and the fifth of the Sādhyas. The Aśvins are thine ears, the Moon and Sun thine eyes. Thou, vexer of thy foes, art seen in the end and at the beginning of created things. And yet thou disregardest Sītā like a common man.' Being thus addressed by these guardians of the world, Rāma, the lord of the world, chief of the supporters of righteousness, said to the most eminent gods, 'I regard myself as a man,[173] Rāma, son of Daśaratha; do you, divine being, tell me who and whence I am.' Brahmā, chief of the knowers of the

[173] In the parts of the Mahābhārata where Kṛishṇa is identified with the supreme Deity, he is always represented as perfectly conscious of his true character. The commentator explains away this eleventh verse in the following manner: *Atha Brahmānugrahād eva Brahma-vidyaunmukhyasya śruty-ādi-siddhatayā tad-aunmukyasya "ātmānaṁ nāvabudhyase" iti Brahmaṇaiva kṛitatvāt taj-jijñāsur iva svīyānāṁ sva-svarūpa-bodhanāya Brahmāṇaṁ gurum ajñaḥ iva upāsad ity āha "ātmānam" iti |* "As it is established by the Veda, etc., that the aspiration after the science of Brahma comes only from the grace of Brahmā, and since Brahmā had just prompted that aspiration by the words 'how dost thou not perceive thyself?' Rāma, assuming the appearance of a desire to know, with the view of explaining his nature to his (worshippers), applies to Brahmā, as an ignorant student to his teacher, and says, 'I regard myself,' etc."

Veda, replied to Kākutstha (Rāma) thus speaking: 'Hear my true word, O being of genuine power. Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyaṇa, armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma, both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the worlds, Vishvaksena, the four-armed; the bearer of the bow, Sārnga, Hṛishīkeśa (lord of the senses), Purusha (the male), the highest of Purushas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Vishṇu, and Kṛishṇa[174] of mighty force, the general, the leader, the true. Thou art intelligence, thou art patience, and self-restraint. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra), and Madhusūdana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra, he from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles. The great divine rishis call thee the refuge, the resort of suppliants. Thou art the thousand-horned, composed of the Veda, the hundred-headed, the mighty. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, and the refuge of the Siddhas and Sādhyas, O thou primevally born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra, and the oṁkāra, higher than the highest. Men know not who thou art, the source of being, or the destroyer. Thou art seen in all creatures, in Brahmans and in cows, in all the regions, in the mountains and rivers, thousand-footed, glorious, hundred-headed, thousand-eyed. Thou sustainest creatures, and the earth with its mountains; thou art seen, Rāma, at the extremity of the earth, in the waters, a mighty serpent supporting the three worlds, gods, Gandharvas, and Dānavas. I am thy heart, Rāma, the goddess Sarasvatī is thy tongue. The gods have been made by Brahmā the hairs on thy limbs. The night is called the closing, and the day the opening, of thine eyes. The Vedas are thy thoughts.[175] This [universe] exists not without thee. The whole world is thy body; the earth is thy stability. Agni is thine anger, Soma is thy pleasure, O thou whose mark is the Śrīvatsa. By thee

[174] If this means, as it seems to do, Kṛishṇa, the son of Devakī, it must, if not an anachronism, be intended as prophetic. The commentator, both here and further on, makes it mean merely the "black-coloured" (*kṛishṇas tad-varṇaḥ*).

[175] The commentator explains *saṁskārāḥ* thus: *Saṁskriyante bodhyante ebhir lokāḥ iti saṁskārāḥ pravṛitti-nivṛitti-vyavasthā-bodhakāḥ* | "*Saṁskāras* are the things by which people are instructed, the things which prescribe the rules of acting and forbearing to act." But this cannot well be the sense here.

the three worlds were traversed of yore with thy three paces, and Mahendra was made king after thou hadst bound the terrible Bali. [*That which is known as the chiefest light, that which is known as the chiefest darkness, that which is higher than the highest,—thou art called the highest Soul. It is thou who art hymned as that which is called the highest, and [is] the highest. Men call thee the highest source of continuance, production, and destruction.] Sītā is Lakshmī,[176] and thou art Vishṇu, the divine Kṛishṇa, the lord of creatures, who hast entered a mortal body for the slaughter of Rāvaṇa,'" etc.

In the same way as Vishṇu is associated with Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa, so is he connected with Kṛishṇa in the Mahābhārata, the Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaivartta, Purāṇas, and other Vaishṇava works of a later date. In the two first-named Purāṇas, though Kṛishṇa is sometimes spoken of as a partial incarnation of Vishṇu (see the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, quoted above, p. 50, and another from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, which will be adduced below), he is generally regarded as a perfect manifestation of that deity, who, again, is identified with the supreme Spirit. In the Mahābhārata—which, as we have seen, contains a vast collection of heterogeneous materials originating in different ages, and embodying the opinions of various sects—we shall find that Kṛishṇa is diversely represented in different parts of the work. I have already (p. 169) quoted some remarks of Professors Wilson and Lassen on this subject. According to these authors Kṛishṇa, in so far as he is introduced as an actor in the events of the poem, is generally made to play a merely human part, and to manifest no superhuman power in succouring friends, or overcoming enemies; while, as Professor Wilson remarks, his divine character is frequently disputed. In the Chhāndogya Upanishad he is spoken of simply as the son of Devakī. In various parts of the Mahābhārata he is described as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and as receiving from him boons of various kinds. In many passages he is identified with the rishi Nārāyaṇa, while his friend Arjuna appears as one with the rishi Nara, the inseparable companion of the former. In these various passages, however, Kṛishṇa is by no means regarded in general as an ordinary mortal. He receives various divine weapons from Mahādeva; in his

[176] In regard to Lakshmī and S'rī, see the fifth volume of this work, pp. 348 f.

character as the rishi Nārāyaṇa, he lives through successive ages, and displays superhuman faculties. Even while acting as the ally of the Pāṇḍus, he destroys Śiśupāla supernaturally with his discus. And in numerous passages he is identified in the clearest manner with Vishṇu, who again, as I have said, is commonly assumed to be one with the supreme Spirit. I shall now proceed to adduce a variety of passages illustrative of these various assertions.

I. The following short passage from the Chhāndogya Upanishad (pp. 220 ff. of the Bibl. Ind.) is, I believe, the oldest text yet known in which Kṛishṇa the son of Devakī is mentioned. It is extremely unfortunate that it is so brief; that it leaves us without any particulars of a personage about whom we should have been glad to possess the fullest details, who in after-times became so famous as to obtain the honour of deification,—except the meagre information that he was the son of Devakī, the pupil of a teacher named Ghora,[177] and that he was so enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of mystical lore as to become indifferent to everything else:

Tad ha etad Ghoraḥ Āṅgirasaḥ Kṛishṇāya Devakī-putrāya uktvā uvācha apipāsaḥ eva sa babhūva so 'nta-velāyām etat-trayam pratipadyeta "akshitam asy achyutam asi prāṇa-saṁśitam asi" iti | "Ghora, the descendant of Angiras, having declared this [the preceding mystical lore] to Kṛishṇa the son of Devakī, said to him that [which, when he heard], he became free from thirst [*i.e.* desire], viz.: 'let a man at the time of his death have recourse to these three texts, 'Thou art the undecaying, thou art the imperishable, thou art the subtile principle of breath.'"

I quote some of the commentator's remarks on this important text:

Tad ha etad yajna-darśanaṁ Ghoro nāmataḥ Āṅgiraso gotrataḥ Kṛishṇāya Devakī-putrāya śishyāya uktvā uvācha | *tad "etat trayam" ityādi vyavahitena sambandhaḥ* | *sa cha etad darśanaṁ śrutvā apipāsaḥ eva anyābhyo vidyābho babhūva* | *itthaṁ cha viśishṭā iyaṁ vidyā yat Kṛishṇasya Devakī-putrasya anyāṁ vidyām prati trid-vichheda-karī iti purusha-yajna-vidyāṁ stauti* | *Ghoraḥ Āṅgirasaḥ Kṛishṇāya uktvā imāṁ vidyāṁ kim uvācha iti tad āha* | *sa evaṁ yathokta-yajna-vid anta-velāyām maraṇa-kāle etan-mantra-trayam pratipadyeta japed ity arthaḥ* |

[177] I am not aware whether Ghora is mentioned in connexion with Kṛishṇa in any other work.

. . . . *prāṇa-saṁśitam prāṇasya śaṁśitaṁ samyak tanukṛitancha sūkshmaṁ tattvam asi* . . . . | "A person, Ghora by name, and an Āngirasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Kṛishṇa the son of Devakī, his pupil, then said, etc. The connexion of the last word 'said,' is with the words which occur some way below, 'these three,' etc. And having heard this doctrine, he became free from desire for any other kinds of knowledge. In this manner he praises this knowledge of the Purusha-sacrifice by saying that it was so distinguished that it destroyed all thirst in Kṛishṇa, the son of Devakī, for any other knowledge. He now tells us what Ghora Āngirasa said after declaring this knowledge to Kṛishṇa. It was this: 'Let him who knows the aforesaid sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mutter, these three texts; . . . . *prāṇa-saṁśitam* means, 'thou art the very minute, and subtile principle of breath.'"

II. I shall next quote some passages of the Mahābhārata in which Kṛishṇa is represented as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and consequently, to all appearance, as acknowledging his own inferiority to that deity. It is related in the Vana-parvan (vv. 1513–1656), in a passage which I shall quote further on, that Arjuna goes to supplicate Mahādeva for celestial weapons, and obtains from him the Pāśupata.

At a later stage of the poem (Droṇa-parvan, v. 2838) Arjuna is advised by Kṛishṇa to apply again to Mahādeva for the same Pāśupata weapon, as if the author (if indeed he is the same by whom the earlier passage was written) had forgotten that he had already got it. Arjuna, it appears, had vowed (vv. 2681 ff.) to slay Jayadratha on the following day, though all the inferior deities should stand forward as his protectors. Subsequently, however, he becomes dejected, reflecting that the enemy's leaders would do their utmost to preserve Jayadratha, and that he would thus be unable to fulfil his promise (vv. 2830 ff.). Kṛishṇa hereupon advises Arjuna to supplicate Mahādeva for the Pāśupata weapon with which that god himself had formerly destroyed all the Daityas, and with which he (Arjuna) would be able to slay Jayadratha on the morrow (vv. 2833 ff.). Arjuna and Kṛishṇa then arrive with the speed of the wind, at the mountain on the summit of which Mahādeva abode, where they obtain a vision of that deity, with Pārvatī and his attendant Bhūtas (demons). On seeing him Vāśudeva (Kṛishṇa) bows down to the earth:

Mahābhārata, Droṇa-parvan, vv. 2862 ff.—*Vāsudevas tu taṁ dṛishṭvā jagāma śirasā kshitim | Pārthena saha dharmātmā gṛiṇan brahma sanātanam | lokādiṁ viśva-karmāṇam ajam īśānam avyayam | manasaḥ paramāṁ yoniṁ khaṁ vāyuṁ jyotishāṁ nidhim | srashṭāraṁ vāridhārāṇām bhuvaścha prakṛitim parām | deva-dānava-yakshāṇām mānavānāncha sādhanam | yogānāncha param brahma tṛiptam brahma-vidāṁ nidhim | charācharasya srashṭāram pratihartāram eva cha | kāla-kopam mahātmānaṁ śakra-sūrya-guṇodayam | vavande taṁ tadā Kṛishṇo vāṅ-mano buddhi-karmabhiḥ | yam prapadyanti vidvāṁsaḥ sūkshmādhyātma-padaishiṇaḥ | tam ajaṁ kāraṇātmānaṁ jagmatuḥ śaraṇam Bhavam | Arjunaś chāpi taṁ devam bhūyo bhūyo 'py avandata | jñātvā taṁ sarva-bhūtādim bhūta-bhavya-bhavodbhavam | tatas tāv āgatau dṛishṭvā Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | suprasanna-manāḥ S'arvaḥ provācha prahasann iva | āgataṁ vāṁ nara-śreshṭhāv uttishṭhetāṁ gata-klamau | kincha vām īpsitaṁ vīrau manasaḥ kshipram uchyatām | yena kāryeṇa samprāptau yuvāṁ tat sādhayāmi kim | vriyatām ātmanaḥ śreyas tat sarvam pradadāmi vām |*

"The righteous Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa) then, together with the son of Pṛithā (Arjuna), reciting the eternal Veda, bowed his head to the ground, beholding him, the source of the worlds, the maker of the universe, the unborn, the imperishable lord, the supreme source of mind, the sky, the wind, the abode of the luminaries, the creator of the oceans, the supreme substance of the earth, the framer of gods, Dānavas, Yakshas, and men, the supreme Brahma of meditative systems, the satisfied, the treasure of those who know Brahma, the creator of the world, and also its destroyer, the great impersonated destructive Wrath, the original of the attributes of Indra and Sūrya. Kṛishṇa then reverenced him with voice, mind, understanding, and act.[178] Those two [heroes] had recourse to Bhava (Mahādeva) as their refuge,—to him whom the wise, desiring the subtile spiritual abode, attain,—to him the unborn cause. Arjuna, too, again and again reverenced that deity, knowing him to be the beginning of all beings, the source of the past, the future, and the present. Beholding those two, Nara and Nārāyaṇa,

[178] In a passage from the S'āntiparvan, vv. 13152 ff., which I shall quote further on, Kṛishṇa explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have rendered to Mahādeva, by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others, and was in reality offered to himself, Mahādeva being one of his manifestations, and, in fact, one with him. But no hint is given of this here.

arrived, S'arva (Mahādeva), then greatly gratified, said, as if smiling: 'Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up freed from fatigue, and tell me quickly, heroes, what your mind desires. Shall I accomplish for you the object for which you have come? Choose what is most for your welfare. I will give you all.'"

Kṛishṇa and Arjuna then recite a hymn in honour of Mahādeva, in the course of which he is designated as the "soul of all things, the creator of all things, and the pervader of all things" (*viśvātmane viśva-sṛije viśvam āvṛitya tishṭhate*). Arjuna now, after reverencing both Kṛishṇa and Mahādeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. They are thereupon sent by Mahādeva to a lake where he says he had formerly deposited his bow and arrows. They there saw two serpents, one of which was vomiting flames, and approached them, bowing to Mahādeva and uttering the Śatarudriya.[179] Through the power of Mahādeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow (v. 2899), which Kṛishṇa and Arjuna bring to Mahādeva. Eventually Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahādeva the Pāśupata weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha (vv. 2906 ff.); after which they both return to their camp.

In the Sauptika-parvan, 312 f., Mahādeva, smiling, as it were (*hasann iva*), says to Aśvatthāman: *Satya-śauchārjava-tyāgais tapasā niyamena cha | kshāntyā matyā cha dhṛityā cha buddhyā cha vachasā tathā |* 313. *Yathāvad aham ārāddhaḥ Kṛishṇenāklishṭa-karmaṇā | tasmād ishṭatamaḥ Kṛishṇād anyo mama na vidyate |* "I have been duly worshipped by Kṛishṇa, the energetic in action, with truth, purity, honesty, liberality, austerity, ceremonies, patience, wisdom, self-control, understanding and words: wherefore no one is dearer to me than Kṛishṇa." (See Prof. Monier Williams's analysis of this book in his "Indian Epic Poetry," pp. 121 ff.)

In a later part of the same book (vv. 765 ff.) Kṛishṇa thus celebrates the greatness of Mahādeva: *Nūnaṁ sa deva-devānām īśvareśvaram avyayam | jagāma śaranaṁ Drauṇir ekas tenābadhīd bahūn |* 766 | *prasanno hi Mahādevo dadyād amaratām api | vīryaṁ cha giriśo dadyād yenendram api śātayet |* 767 | *vedāhaṁ hi Mahādevaṁ tattvena Bharat-arshabha | yāni chāsya purāṇāni karmāṇi vividhāni cha |* 768 | *ādir*

[179] A long hymn from the Yajur-veda, which will be quoted further on in the chapter on Rudra.

esha hi bhūtānām madhyam antaś cha Bhārata | vicheshṭate jagach chedaṁ sarvam asyaiva karmaṇā | 765. "Aśvatthāman resorted to the imperishable lord of lords of the gods of gods as his refuge; and through him he, though but one, slew many. 766. For Mahādeva, if pleased, can bestow even immortality, and prowess whereby any one may overcome even Indra himself. 767. I perfectly know Mahādeva, and his various works of old, 768. For he is the beginning, middle, and end of (all) creatures; and this entire world moves through his agency." See Williams's "Indian Epic Poetry," p. 123.

The Anuśāsana-parvan also contains several sections in which the praises of Mahādeva are celebrated at considerable length, and in which he is declared to have been worshipped by Kṛishṇa. At v. 588 of that book Yudhishṭhira asks Bhīshma to declare the names of that deity, when the latter replies as follows (vv. 590 ff.):

Aśakto 'haṁ guṇān vaktum Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ | yo hi sarva-gato devo na cha sarvatra dṛiśyate | Brahma-Vishṇu-sureśāṇāṁ srashṭā cha prabhur eva cha | Brahmādayaḥ Piśāchāntāḥ yaṁ hi devāḥ upāsate | prakṛitīnām paratvena purushasya cha yaḥ paraḥ | chintyate yo yoga-vidbhir ṛishibhis tattva-darśibhiḥ | aksharam paramam Brahma asachcha sad-asachcha yat | prakṛitim purushanchaiva kshobhayitvā sva-tejasā | Brahmāṇam asṛijat tasmād deva-devaḥ prajāpatiḥ | ko hi śakto guṇān vaktuṁ deva-devasya dhīmataḥ | garbha-janma-jarā-yukto martyo mṛityu-samanvitaḥ | ko hi śakto Bhavaṁ jñātum mad-vidhaḥ Parameśvaram | ṛite Nārāyaṇāt putra śankha-chakra-gadā-dharāt | esha vidvān guṇa-śreshṭho Vishṇuḥ parama-durjayaḥ | divya-chakshur mahātejāḥ vīkshyate [vīkshate ?] yoga-chakshushā | Rudra-bhaktyā tu Kṛishṇena jagad vyāptam mahātmanā | tam prasādya tadā devaṁ Badaryām kila Bhārata | arthāt[180] *priyataratvaṁ cha sarva-lokeshu vai tadā | prāptavān eva rājendra suvarṇākshād Maheśvarāt | pūrṇaṁ varsha-sahasraṁ tu taptavān esha Mādhavaḥ | prasādya varadaṁ devaṁ charāchara-guruṁ Śivam | yuge yuge tu Kṛishṇena toshito vai Maheśvaraḥ | bhaktyā paramayā chaiva prītaśchaiva mahātmanaḥ | aiśvaryaṁ yādṛiśaṁ tasya jagad-yoner mahātmanaḥ | tad ayaṁ dṛishṭavān sākshāt putrārthe Harir achyutaḥ | tasmāt parataranchaiva nānyam paśyāmi Bhārata | vyākhyātuṁ deva-devasya śakto namāny aśeshataḥ | esha śakto mahābāhur vaktum bhagavato guṇān | vibhūtinchaiva kārtsnyena satyāṁ māheśvarīṁ nṛipa |*

[180] The MS. of the Mahābhārata in the library of the Roy. As. Soc reads *annāt*.

"I am unable to declare the attributes of the wise Mahādeva, who is an all-pervading god, yet is nowhere seen, who is the creator and the lord of Brahmā, Vishṇu,[181] and Indra, whom the gods, from Brahmā to the Piśāchas, worship, who transcends material natures as well as spirit (Purusha), who is meditated upon by rishis versed in contemplation (*yoga*), and possessing an insight into truth, who is the supreme, imperishable Brahma, that which is both non-existent, and at once existent and non-existent. Having agitated matter and spirit by his power, this god of gods and lord of creatures (Prajāpati) thence created Brahmā. What human being like me, who has been subject to gestation in the womb, and to birth, and is liable to decay and death, can declare the attributes of Bhava, the supreme lord,—[who can do this] except Nārāyaṇa, the bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club? This Vishṇu, wise, eminent in qualities, very hard to overcome, with divine insight, of mighty power, beholds[182] [him] with the eye of contemplation. Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Kṛishṇa. Having then propitiated that deity (Mahādeva) at Badari, he (Kṛishṇa) obtained from the golden-eyed Maheśvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth. This Mādhava (Kṛishṇa) performed austerity for a full thousand years, propitiating Śiva, the god who bestows boons, and the preceptor of the world. But in every mundane period (*yuga*) Maheśvara has been propitiated by Kṛishṇa, and has been gratified by the eminent devotion of that great personage. This unshaken Hari (Kṛishṇa), [when seeking] for offspring, has beheld distinctly of what character is the glory of that great parent of the world. Than him I behold none higher. This large-armed [Kṛishṇa] is able to recount fully the names of the god of gods, to describe the qualities of the divine [being], and the real might of Maheśvara in all its extent."

Bhīshma then calls upon Kṛishṇa, whom he designates as Vishṇu,

[181] Professor Aufrecht (Catalogue, p. 54a, note) quotes the following verse from the 55th chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa, as spoken by Mahādeva: *Ayam me dakshiṇo bāhur Brahmā loka-pitāmaḥaḥ | vāmo bāhuś cha me Vishṇur nityaṁ yuddheshu nirjitaḥ |* "Brahmā, the parent of the universe, is my right arm, and Vishṇu is my left arm, always overcome in battles." Must not the correct reading here be *yuddheshv anirjitaḥ*, "unconquered in battles"?

[182] The printed text reads *vīkshyate*, "is beheld," but the sense seems to require *vīkshate*, "beholds."

and as the divine teacher of gods and Asuras (*surāsura-guro deva Vishṇo*), to celebrate Mahādeva's greatness. Kṛishṇa accordingly says (vv. 610 ff.):

Na gatiḥ karmaṇāṁ śakyā vettum īśasya tattvataḥ | Hiraṇyagarbha-pramukhāḥ devāḥ sendrāḥ maharṣhayaḥ | na vidur yasya bhavanam Ādityāḥ sūkshma-darśinaḥ | sa kathaṁ nara-mātrena śakyo jñātuṁ satāṁ gatiḥ | tasyāham asura-ghnasya kāṁśchid bhagavato guṇān | bhavatāṁ kīrtayishyāmi vrateśāya [vrateśasya?] yathātatham | "The course of the deeds of Īśa (Mahādeva) cannot be really known. He whose essence neither the gods headed by Hiraṇyagarbha, nor the great rishis with Indra, nor the Ādityas, the perceivers of the minutest objects, understand,—how can he, the refuge of saints, be known by any mere man? I shall declare to you exactly some of the attributes of that divine slayer of the Asuras, of the lord of religious ceremonies."

Kṛishṇa then relates how he had formerly seen Mahādeva. It appears that his wife Jāmbavatī (v. 616), daughter of the king of the monkeys [183] (*kapīndra-putrī*, v. 629), had come to him desirous of a son; she says (vv. 619 f.):

Na hi te 'prāpyam astīha trishu lokeshu kinchana | lokān sṛijes tvam aparān ichhan Yadu-kulodvaha | tvayā dvādaśa-varshāṇi vratībhūtena śushyatā | ārādhya paśubhartāraṁ Rukmiṇyāṁ janitāḥ sutāḥ | "For there is nothing in these three worlds unattainable by thee (Kṛishṇa). Thou, scion of the race of Yadu, couldst create other worlds.[184] By thee, after twelve years' fasting and mortification,[185] and worship of the nourisher of beasts (Mahādeva), sons were begotten on Rukmiṇī (another of his wives)."

Kṛishṇa promises to bring about the accomplishment of Jāmbavatī's wishes. The story proceeds that he was then conveyed by the celestial bird Garuḍa to the Himālaya (v. 632), where he sees the delightful hermitage of the saint Upamanyu, which is described at length (vv. 634–652).[186] Kṛishṇa enters, and is reverentially saluted by Upamanyu

[183] He is, however, called king of the bears in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson's translation, p. 427 f. (vol. iv., pp. 76 and 79 of Dr. Hall's ed.)

[184] Compare what is said of Viśvāmitra in the first volume of this work, p. 404.

[185] This twelve years' austerity performed before for the sake of progeny is alluded to further on in the Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 6397, and the birth of a son is mentioned, v. 6889. As Kṛishṇa is represented in that passage in a higher character than he is in the one before us, it will be more appropriately quoted further on.

[186] One of the features of the hermitage is thus depicted in v. 651: *Krīḍanti sar-*

(v. 655), who tells him that after propitiating Mahādeva by austerities, he shall obtain a son equal to himself (v. 658).[187] The saint then goes on to celebrate the greatness of Mahādeva, who, he said, had given boons to various beings, and to Vishṇu his discus (vv. 662 ff.):

Hiraṇyakaśipur yo 'bhūd dānavo Meru-kampanaḥ | tena sarvāmaraiś-varyaṁ S'arvāt prāptaṁ samārbudam | tasyaiva putra-pravaro Mandaro nāma viśrutaḥ | Mahādeva-varāch chhakraṁ varshārbudam ayodhayat | Vishṇoś chakrancha tad ghoraṁ vajram Ākhaṇḍalasya cha | śīrṇam purā 'bhavat tāta Grahasyāngeshu Keśava | yat tad bhagavatā pūrvaṁ dattaṁ chakraṁ tavānagha | jalāntara-charaṁ hatvā daityancha balagarvitam | utpāditaṁ Vṛishāṅkena dīptaṁ jvalana-sannibham | dattam bhagavatā tubhyaṁ durdharshaṁ tejasā 'dbhutam | na śakyaṁ drashṭum anyena varjayitvā Pināṅkinam | Sudarśanam bhavaty evam Bhavenoktaṁ tadā tu tat | Sudarśanaṁ tadā tasya loke nāma pratishṭhitam | taj jīrṇam abhavat tāta Grahasyāngeshu Keśava | Grahasyātibalasyāṅge varadattasya dhīmataḥ | na śastrāṇi vahanty ange chakraṁ vajra-śatāny api | ardamānāścha vibudhā Graheṇa subalīyasā | S'iva-datta-varān jaghnur asurendrān Surāḥ bhṛiśam |

"Hiraṇyakaśipu, the Dānava, the shaker of mount Meru, obtained from Sarva (Mahādeva) the sovereignty of all the immortals for a hundred million years. He had an eminent and renowned son, called Mandara, who by the grace of Mahādeva fought with Indra for a hundred million years. Formerly both the dreadful discus of Vishṇu and the thunderbolt of Ākhaṇḍala[188] (Indra) were shattered against the limbs of Graha (Rāhu). That discus, resplendent and fiery, which was formerly given to thee by the god after slaying the marine monster, and the Daitya, proud of his strength, was produced

pair nakulāḥ mṛigair vyāghrāścha mitra-vat | prabhāvād dīpta-tapasāṁ sannikarshād mahātmanām | "Weasels sport in a friendly fashion with serpents," [the two kinds of creatures being deadly foes], "and tigers with deer, through the power of those saints of brilliant austerity, from the proximity of those mighty ones."—Compare Isaiah xi. 6 ff.: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid," etc.

[187] In v. 655 the appellation *puṇḍarīkāksha*, "lotus-eyed," and in v. 659, that of *adhokshaja*, are applied to Kṛishṇa.

[188] This word occurs in Rigveda, viii. 17, 12, and the words are quoted in the Nirukta, iii. 10: *Ākhaṇḍala pra hūyase* | "O Ākhaṇḍala, or destroyer, thou art invoked." It is rendered "shatterer," "destroyer," in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*

by Mahādeva.[189] Bestowed upon thee by the god, resistless, and wonderful in its potency, it could not be looked upon by any other than Pināk in (the bearer of the bow, *i.e.* Mahādeva). It then received from Bhava (Mahādeva) the name of Sudarśana, and by that name it is celebrated in the world. That discus was shattered against the limbs of Graha. On the body of the wise and very powerful Graha, who had received a boon, no weapons, not even the discus, or a thousand thunderbolts, produce any effect. The gods being harassed by the most mighty Graha, slew on many occasions the Asuras who had received boons from Śiva."

After telling that many other persons had obtained boons by worshipping Mahādeva, the saint Upamanyu relates a story about himself, how his mother, after smelling him on the head (*mūrdhany āghrāya*) had fully declared to him the greatness of this deity (vv. 724 ff.). In addition to the more general attributes assigned to the god, the following are some characteristics of a more special description (some of them sufficiently horrible or disgusting), as detailed with admiration by this female devotee. He assumes many forms of gods (as Brahmā, Vishṇu, Indra, Rudra), and of men, of goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, with many varieties of human disguises, etc. (v. 731 ff.). He is the soul of all the worlds, all-pervading, residing in the heart of all creatures, knowing all desires (v. 742 f.). He carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, an axe (v. 745). He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents, and an outer garment of serpents' skins (v. 746). He laughs, sings, dances charmingly, and plays various musical instruments (v. 747). He leaps, gapes, weeps, makes others weep; speaks like a madman or a drunkard, as well as in sweet tones (v. 748). He laughs terrifically (v. 749). He is both visible and invisible, on the altar, on the sacrificial post, in the fire, a boy, an old man, a youth (v. 751). He dallies with the daughters and the wives of the rishis, with erect hair, obscene appearance,[190] naked, with excited look (v. 752: *krīḍate*

[189] In an account of Kṛishṇa's exploits in the Droṇa-parvan, however, it is said (v. 402) that the chakra was obtained by worshipping Agni: *Khāṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayitvā Hutāśanam | Āgneyam astraṁ durdharshaṁ chakraṁ lebhe mahābalaḥ |* In the same passage (v. 401) he is said to have obtained his shell (*śankha*) by conquering Panchajana in the infernal regions.

[190] Literally, *ingenti membro virili præditus.* Compare Sauptika-parvan, v. 289.

ṛishi-kanyābhir ṛishi-patnībhir eva cha | ūrddha-keśo mahāśepho nagno vikṛita-lochanaḥ |). He is one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, many-faced.

Such is the deity, of whom, after hearing this description, Upamanyu becomes a constant devotee, and whom he gratifies by long austerities, standing for a thousand years on the tip of his left toe, during the first hundred years of which period he lives on fruits, the second hundred on withered leaves, the third hundred on water, and the remaining seven hundred on air (v. 758 ff.). Mahādeva at length appears to him in the form of Indra, and offers him his choice of a boon. Upamanyu, however, is indifferent about Indra, and declares that he cares nothing about any other god than Mahādeva, and will accept no boon, however great, at the hand of any other, adding many passionate expressions of devotion to this deity. And a further occasion being offered by a question of Indra, the saint again proceeds to expatiate in a passage of some length on the attributes of his favourite god (vv. 784–829), of which I shall only quote the following lines (v. 822 ff.):

Hetubhir vā kim anyais tair Īśaḥ kāraṇa-kāraṇam | na śuśruma yad anyasya lingam abhyarchyate suraiḥ | kasyānyasya suraiḥ sarvair lingam muktvā Maheśvaram | archyate 'rchita-pūrvaṁ vā brūhi yady asti te śrutiḥ | yasya Brahmā cha Vishṇuś cha tvaṁ chāpi saha daivataiḥ | archayethāḥ sadā lingaṁ tasmāch chreshṭhatamo hi saḥ | na padmānkāḥ na chakrānkāḥ na vajrānkāḥ yataḥ prajāḥ | lingānkā cha bhagānkā cha tasmād Māheśvarī prajā | Devyāḥ kāraṇa-rūpa-bhāva-janitāḥ sarvāḥ bhagānkāḥ striyo lingenāpi Harasya sarva-purushāḥ pratyaksha-chihnīkṛitāḥ | yo 'nyat kāraṇam īśvarāt pravadate devyā cha yad nānkitaṁ trailokye sacharāchare sa tu pumān vāhyo bhaved durmatiḥ | pumlingaṁ sarvam Īśanaṁ strī-lingaṁ viddhi chāpy Umāṇ | dvābhyāṁ tanubhyāṁ vyāptaṁ hi charācharam idaṁ jagat | "Is Īśa (Mahādeva) the Cause of causes for any other reasons? We have not heard that the linga (male organ) of any other person is worshipped by the gods. Declare, if thou hast heard, what other being's linga except that of Maheśvara is now worshipped, or has formerly been worshipped, by the gods? He whose linga Brahmā and Vishṇu, and thou (Indra), with the deities, continually worship, is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahmā's), nor of the discus (Vishṇu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's), but are marked with the male and the

female organs,—therefore offspring is derived from Maheśvara. All women produced from the nature of Devī as their cause, are marked with the female organ, and all males are manifestly marked with the linga of Hara. He who asserts any other cause than Īśvara (Mahādeva) or [affirms] that there is any [female] not marked by Devī in the three worlds, including all things movable or immovable, let that fool be thrust out. Know everything which is male to be Īśana, and all that is female to be Umā; for this whole world, movable and immovable, is pervaded by [these] two bodies."

The saint is at length gratified by the appearance of Mahādeva himself with his spouse Pārvatī (vv. 837–841 f.); and a long description of the vision is given. Brahmā and Vishṇu stand on Mahādeva's right and left, and celebrate his praises (v. 869 f.):

Savya-deśe tu devasya Brahmā loka-pitāmahaḥ | divyaṁ vimānam āsthāya haṁsa-yuktam manojavam | vāma-pārśva-gataś chāpi tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ sthitaḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhya śankha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | . . . . . 875 f. *Astuvan vividhaiḥ stotrair Mahādevaṁ surās tadā | Brahmā Bhavaṁ tadā 'staushīd rathantaram udīrayan | jyeshṭha-sāmnā cha deveśaṁ jagau Nārāyaṇas tadā | gṛiṇan brahma paraṁ S'akraḥ śatarudriyam uttamam | Brahmā Nārāyaṇaś chaiva devarājaścha Kauśikaḥ | aśobhanta mahātmānas trayas trayaḥ ivāgnayaḥ |* 869. "On the left (right?) of the god was Brahmā, patriarch of the world, standing on a celestial car, drawn by swans, and fleet as thought. On the left was Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) mounted on Garuḍa, bearing a shell, discus and club. . . . . 875. The gods then lauded Mahādeva with various hymns. Brahmā celebrated him, reciting the Rathantara, while Nārāyaṇa hymned the god of gods with the Jyeshṭha sāman, and Indra, uttering that most eminent prayer, the excellent Satarudriya. Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, and the king of the gods (Indra), the son of Kuśika,[191] the three mighty deities, shone like the three fires."

Upamanyu himself then lauds Mahādeva (vv. 880–923). At the conclusion of his hymn a shower of flowers falls from the sky on his head, accompanied by celestial odours, and music (v. 925 f.), and Mahādeva addresses him, offering to bestow everything he wishes. Upamanyu

[191] The epithet of Kauśika is given to Indra in R. V. i. 30, 11. See the first vol. of this work, pp. 347 f.

sheds tears of joy, falls on his knees, makes repeated prostrations, and after acknowledging with gratitude the god's condescension in granting him this vision, proceeds to say (vv. 839 ff.):

Sa esha bhagavān devaḥ sarva-sattvādir avyayaḥ | sarva-tattva-vidhāna-jnaḥ pradhāna-purushaḥ paraḥ | yo 'sṛijad dakshiṇād angād Brahmāṇaṁ loka-sambhavam | vāma-pārśvat tathā Vishṇuṁ loka-rakshārtham Īśvaraḥ | yugānte chaiva samprāpte Rudram Īśo 'sṛijat prabhur ity ādi | "This is the glorious god, the beginning of all existences, undecaying, who knows the formation of all principles, who is Pradhāna and Purusha (or the principal Purusha), the supreme; who, the lord, created from his right side Brahmā, the originator of the worlds, and from his left side Vishṇu, for the preservation of the universe; and when the end of the age (*yuga*) had arrived, the mighty lord created Rudra," etc.

Upamanyu concludes by asking these boons, viz. that his devotion to the god may be perpetual, that he may know the past, the present, and the future, that he may always eat food cooked with milk (*kshīraudana*) with his relations, and that they may ever enjoy the near presence (*sānnidhya*) of Mahādeva in their hermitage (vv. 945 ff.). The god bestows all these and many other blessings, and disappears (vv. 949 ff.).

Having heard all this account from Upamanyu, Kṛishṇa expresses a desire that the god may vouchsafe to him a similar vision and the like favour. Upamanyu promises that Mahādeva shall appear to Kṛishṇa in six months, and bestow on him twenty-four boons, and pays him the compliment of saying that any of the gods would consider it as a highly laudable act to have an interview with such a pious, innocent, and devout person as he (Kṛishṇa) is (vv. 964 ff.). Kṛishṇa is then consecrated by the Brahman (973 ff.). Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with ghee, and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahādeva and his wife (v. 978), whom all the gods were worshipping, and among them Indra, Vishṇu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahmā, all uttering the rathantara sāma (*S'atakratuś cha bhagavān Vishṇuś chāditi-nandanāḥ | Brahmā rathantaraṁ sāma īrayanti Bhavāntike*). Kṛishṇa then describes the effect of this vision on himself (vv. 997 ff.):

Purastād dhishṭhitaḥ S'arvo mamāsīt tridaśeśvaraḥ | purastād dhishṭhi-

taṁ dṛishṭvā mameśānancha Bhārata | sa-Prajāpati-Śakrāntaṁ jagad mām abhyudaikshata | īkshituṁ cha Mahādevaṁ na me śaktir abhūt tadā | tato mām abravīd devaḥ "paśya Kṛishṇa vadasva cha | tayā [tvayā ?] hy ārādhitaś chāhaṁ śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ | tvat-samo nāsti me kaśchit trishu lokeshu vai priyaḥ" | śirasā vandite deve devī prītā hy Umā 'bhavat | tato 'ham abruvaṁ Sthāṇuṁ stutam Brahmādibhiḥ suraiḥ | "Before me stood Śarva, the lord of the gods. Beholding Īśāna standing before me, the world from Prajāpati to Śakra (Indra) gazed upon me. I had no power to look on Mahādeva. The god then said to me, 'Behold, Kṛishṇa, and speak. I have been adored by thee hundreds and thousands of times. There is no one in the three worlds so dear to me as thou.' The god having been reverenced by obeisance, the goddess Umā was gratified. I then said to Sthāṇu (Mahādeva), who had been praised by Brahmā and the rest of the gods," etc.

Kṛishṇa proceeds to laud Mahādeva (vv. 1002–1018) as the supreme Deity. Mahādeva then says (v. 1023): *Vidmaḥ Kṛishṇa parām bhaktim asmāsu tava śatruhan | vriyatāṁ ātmanaḥ śreyaḥ prītir hi tvayi me parā | vriṇīshvāshṭau varān Kṛishṇa dātāsmi tava sattama | brūhi Yādava-śārdūla yān ichhasi sudurlabhān |* "We know, Kṛishṇa, slayer of foes, thy eminent devotion to us. Choose what is most advantageous to thee, for my love for thee is extreme. Choose eight boons; I will give them to thee, most excellent being. Specify, chief of the Yadus, those boons which are most difficult to obtain which thou desirest." Kṛishṇa then asks these eight boons: (1) steadfastness in righteousness, (2) the destruction of his foes in battle, (3) eminent renown, (4) the greatest strength, (5) abstraction (*yoga*), (6) amiability (*priyatvam*), (7) close proximity to Mahādeva, and (8) a hundred hundreds of sons,—all of which were accordingly granted by Mahādeva. Umā next offers him his choice of eight more boons, and he selects (1) the goodwill of the Brahmans, (2) the favour of his father, (3) a hundred sons, (4) eminent enjoyment, (5) the affection of his tribe, (6) the favour of his mother, (7) tranquillity of mind, and (8) ability. These boons are granted by the goddess, who superadds sixteen thousand wives whose affection he should retain, and several other blessings. Mahādeva and his spouse then disappear, and Kṛishṇa relates to Upamanyu all that has happened (v. 1034). That sage then goes on to tell him a story about a rishi called Taṇḍi, who had formerly worshipped Mahādeva,

in the Kṛita age, and praised him in a long hymn (which is given vv. 1049–1103) as the supreme Deity whom even Brahmā, Indra, and Vishṇu did not perfectly know, vv. 1052 (*Brahmā S'atakratur Vishṇur viśvedevāḥ maharshayaḥ | na vidus tvāṁ tu tattvena kuto vetsyāmahe vayam*). These words appear to have been especially gratifying to the god (vv. 1105 ff.). Taṇḍi had then come to Upamanyu's hermitage, and recited to him the eleven thousand mystical names of Mahādeva, which Upamanyu repeated to Kṛishṇa (vv. 1144 ff.). This hymn, existing in the heart of Brahmā, was, we are told (vv. 1287 ff.), declared by that deity to Indra, by him to Mṛityu (Death), by him to the Rudras, and from them it came to Taṇḍi, etc.

A little further on (vv. 1358 ff.) we are told that Upamanyu expressed himself thus to Kṛishṇa:

Aśubhaiḥ pāpakarmāṇo ye narāḥ kalushīkṛitāḥ | Īśānaṁ na prapadyante tamo-rājasa-vṛittayaḥ | Īśvaraṁ samprapadyante dvijāḥ bhāvita-bhāvanāḥ | sarvathā vartamāno 'pi yo bhaktaḥ parameśvare | sadṛiśo 'ranyavāsānāṁ munīnām bhāvitātmanām | Brahmatvaṁ Keśavatvaṁ cha S'akratvaṁ vā suraiḥ saha | trailokyasyādhipatyaṁ vā tushṭo Rudraḥ prayachchhati ityādi | "Those sinful men who are soiled by unhallowed (deeds) do not seek Īśāna, living under the dark and passionate qualities. Brahmans who have meditated on the cause [of all things] seek Īśvara. The man who is devoted to Maheśvara—whatever mode of life he follows—is equal to those contemplative munis who dwell in the forests. Rudra, when he is gratified, bestows the rank of Brahmā, or of Keśava (Keśava is a name of Kṛishṇa), or of Indra, or the supreme lordship of the three worlds, including the deities."

In a later part of the Anuśāsana-parvan, 7402 ff., Kṛishṇa relates to Yudhishṭhira the benefits which had resulted to himself from his patient submission to the caprices and freaks of the irritable Brahman Durvāsas (an incarnation of S'iva, as it is stated below; see page 204), who, among other tricks, had yoked Kṛishṇa's wife Rukmiṇī to his car, and had wounded her with a goad, while drawing him on the road, and as a reward of Kṛishṇa's patient endurance of all this annoyance, had offered him his choice of boons, and had promised to Rukmiṇī that she should be eminently renowned in the world, and the most distinguished of the sixteen thousand wives of Kṛishṇa, whom she should worship. The Brahman then disappeared, and Kṛishṇa per-

formed an Upānśu rite, *i.e.* muttered prayers, with his wife. Then entering his house he found that all the articles which Durvāsas had broken or burned, were replaced.

Yudhishṭhira then says to Kṛishṇa (vv. 7458 ff.): *Durvāsasaḥ prasādāt te yat tadā Madhusūdana | avāptam iha vijnānaṁ tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | mahābhāgyancha yat tasya nāmāni cha mahātmanaḥ | tattvato jnātum ichhāmi sarvam matimatāṁ vara | Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | Hanta te kīrtayishyāmi namaskṛitya Kapardine | yad avāptam mayā rājan śreyo yach chārjitaṁ yaśaḥ | prayataḥ prātar utthāya yad adhīye viśāmpate | prānjaliḥ śatarudrīyaṁ tan me nigadataḥ śriṇu | Prajāpatis tat sasṛije tapaso 'nte mahātapāḥ | S'ankaras tv asṛijat tāta prajāḥ sthāvara-jangamāḥ | nāsti kinchit param bhūtam Mahādevād viśāmpate | iha trishv api lokeshu bhūtānaṁ pravaro hi saḥ | na chaivotsahate sthātuṁ kinchid agre mahātmanaḥ | na hi bhūtaṁ samaṁ tena trishu lokeshu vidyate | gandhenāpi hi sangrāme tasya kruddhasya śatravaḥ | visanjnāḥ hata-bhūyishṭhāḥ vepante cha patanti cha | ghorancha ninadaṁ tasya Parjanya-ninadopamam | śrutvā viśīryed hṛidayaṁ devānām api saṁyuge | yāṁścha ghoreṇa rūpeṇa paśyet kruddhaḥ pināka-dhṛik | na surāḥ nāsurāḥ loke na gandharvāḥ na pannagāḥ | kupite sukham edhante tasmīnn api guhāgatāḥ | Prajāpates tu Dakshasya yajato vitate kratau | vivyādha kupito yajnaṁ nirbhayas tv abhavat tadā | dhanushā vāṇam utsṛijya saghoshaṁ vinanāda cha | tena śarma kutaḥ sāntiṁ vishādaṁ lebhire surāḥ | viddhe cha sahasā yajne kupite cha Maheśvare | tena jyā-tala-ghoshena sarve lokāḥ samākulāḥ | babhūvur avaśāḥ Pārtha visheduś cha surāsurāḥ | āpaś chukshubhire chaiva chakampe cha vasundharā | vyadravan giriryaś chāpi dyauḥ paphāla cha sarvaśaḥ | andhena tamasā lokāḥ prāvṛitāḥ na chakāśire | praṇashṭā jyotishām bhāś cha saha sūryeṇa Bhārata | bhṛiśam bhītās tataḥ śāntiṁ chakruḥ svastyayanāni cha | ṛishayaḥ sarva-bhūtānām ātmanaś cha hitaishiṇaḥ | tataḥ so 'bhyadravad devān Rudro raudra-parākramaḥ | Bhagasya nayane kruddhaḥ prahāreṇa vyaśātayat | Pūshāṇaṁ chābhidudrāva pādena cha rushānvitaḥ | puroḍāśam bhakshayato daśanāṁś cha vyaśātayat | tataḥ praṇemur devāś te vepamānās tu S'ankaram | punaś cha sandadhe Rudro dīptaṁ suniśitaṁ śaram | Rudrasya vikramaṁ dṛishṭvā bhītāḥ devāḥ saharshibhiḥ | tataḥ prasādayāmasuḥ sarve te vibudhottamāḥ | jepuś cha śatarudrīyaṁ devāḥ kṛitvā 'njaliṁ tadā | saṁstūyamānas tridaśaiḥ prasasāda Maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya bhāgaṁ yajne cha viśishṭaṁ te tv akalpayan | bhayena tridaśāḥ rājan śaraṇaṁ cha pra-*

pedire | tena chaiva hi dushṭena (tushṭena?) sa yajno sandhito 'bhavat | yad yach chāpahṛitaṁ tatra tat tathaiva sa jīvayat | Asurāṇām purāṇy āsaṁs trīṇi vīryavatāṁ divi | āyasaṁ rājataṁ chaiva sauvarṇam api chāparam | nāśakat tāni Maghavā bhettuṁ sarvāyudhair api | atha sarve Mahārudraṁ jagmuḥ śaraṇam arditāḥ | tataḥ ūchur mahātmāno devāḥ sarve samāgatāḥ | Rudra raudrāḥ bhavishyanti paśavaḥ sarva-karmasu | jahi daityān saha purair lokāṁs trāyasva mānada | sa tathoktas tathety uktvā kṛitvā Vishṇuṁ śarottamam | śalyam Agniṁ tathā kṛitvā punkhaṁ Vaivasvataṁ Yamam | vedān kṛitvā dhanuḥ sarvān jyāṁ cha sāvitrīm uttamām | Brahmāṇaṁ sārathiṁ kṛitvā viniyujya cha sarvaśaḥ | triparvaṇā triśalyena kāle tāni bibheda saḥ | śareṇādītya-varṇena kālāgni-sama-tejasā | te 'surāḥ sa-purās tatra dagdhāḥ Rudreṇa Bhārata | taṁ chaivānka-gātaṁ dṛishṭvā bālam panchaśikham punaḥ | Umā jijñāsamānā vai "ko 'yam" ity abravīt tadā | asūyataś cha S'akrasya vajreṇa praharishyataḥ | sa vajraṁ stambhayāmāsa tam bāhum parighopamam | na sambubudhire chaiva devās tam bhuvaneśvaram | sa-prajāpatayaḥ sarve tasmin sumahatīśvare | tato dhyātvā tu bhagavān Brahmā tam amitaujasam | ayaṁ śreshṭhaḥ iti jñātvā vavande tam Umā-patim | tataḥ prasādayāmāsur Umāṁ Rudraṁ cha te suraḥ | babhūva sa tadā bāhur balahantur yathā purā | sa chāpi brāhmaṇo bhūtvā Durvāsāḥ nāma vīryavān | Dvāravatyām mama pure chiraṁ kālam upāvasat | viprakārān prayunkte sma subahūn mama veśmani | tān udāratayā chāhaṁ chakshame chāti-duḥsahān | sa vai Rudraḥ sa cha S'ivaḥ so 'gniḥ S'arvaḥ sa sarva-jit | sa vai chandraś cha Vāyuś cha so 'śvinau sa cha Vidyutaḥ | sa chandramāḥ sa cheśānaḥ sa Sūryo Varuṇaś cha saḥ | sa kālaḥ so 'ntako mṛityuḥ sa tamo rātry ahāni cha | māsārdha-māsāḥ ṛitavaḥ sandhye saṁvatsaraś cha saḥ | sa dhāta sa vidhātā cha viśvakarmā sa sarva-vit | nakshatrāṇi grahāś chaiva diśo 'tha vidiśaś tathā | viśva-mūrtir ameyātmā bhagavān amara-dyutiḥ | ekadhā cha dvidhā chaiva bahudhā cha sa eva hi | tathā sahasradhā chaiva tathā śata-sahasraśaḥ | īdṛiśaḥ sa Mahādevo bhūmaḥ[192] *sa bhagavān ajaḥ | na hi śakyāḥ guṇāḥ vaktum api varsha-śatair api | Yudhishṭhira mahābāho mahābhāgyam mahātmanaḥ | Rudrāya (?) bahurūpāya bahu-nāmne nibodha me | Vadanty Agnim Mahādevaṁ tathā Sthāṇum Maheśvaram | ekāksham tryambakaṁ chaiva viśva-rūpaṁ S'ivaṁ tathā | dve tanū tasya*

[192] See Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. bhūman*, vol. v., p. 1660, where several passages of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa are referred to in which a kindred word, *bhūman*, is applied as an epithet to Kṛishṇa. See also page 347 of the same vol.

devasya brāhmaṇāḥ vedajnāḥ viduḥ | ghorāñ anyāñ śivañ anyāñ te tanū bahudhā punaḥ | ugrā ghorā tanūr yā sā so 'gnir vidyut sa bhāskaraḥ | śivā saumyā chā yā tv asya dharmas tv āpo 'tha chandramāḥ | ātmano 'rdhañ tu tasyāgniḥ somo 'rdham punar uchyate | brahmacharyañ charaty ekā śivā yā 'sya tanus tathā | yā 'sya ghoratamā mūrtir jagat saṁharate tadā[192*] *| īśvaratvād mahatvāch cha Maheśvaraḥ iti smṛitaḥ | yad nirdahati yat tīkshṇo yad ugro yat pratāpavān | māṁsaśoṇita-majjādo yat tato Rudraḥ uchyate | devānāñ sumahān yach cha yach chāsya vishayo mahān | yach cha viśvam mahat pāti Mahādevas tataḥ smṛitaḥ | dhūmra-rūpañ cha yat tasya dhūrjaṭīty ata uchyate | samedhayati yad nityañ sarvān vai sarva-karmabhiḥ | manushyān śivam anvichhañs tasmād eva Śivaḥ smṛitaḥ | ityādi*

Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 7458 ff.—Yudhishṭhira says to Kṛishṇa: "Thou oughtest, Madhusūdana, to expound to me that knowledge which thou then obtainedst by the favour of Durvāsas. I wish, most eminent of the wise, to know exactly all the grandeur of that great Being, and his names. Vāsudeva replies: Yes, I shall declare to thee, after bowing down before the god with the spirally-braided hair (Mahādeva), the happiness which was obtained by me, and the glory which was acquired. Hear from me, O king, the Śatarudrīya, which, when risen in the morning, I intently repeat with joined hands. The great devotee, Prajāpati, created that [prayer[193]] at the end of his austerity. Śankara has created [all] beings, stationary and moving. There is nothing, O king, which exists superior to Mahādeva; for he is the most excellent of beings in all these three worlds. And nothing can stand before this great deity: for there is no being like him in the three worlds. In battle, when he is even in the slightest degree (*lit.* 'even by a scent') incensed, his enemies tremble and fall senseless, and mostly slain. And the heart even of the gods would be withered in battle, on hearing his dreadful voice, resembling the sound of Parjanya (*i.e.* of the thunder clouds). And neither gods, nor Asuras, nor Gandharvas, nor Pannagas, nor any one whom the Holder of the bow (Mahādeva), incensed, looks upon with his direful aspect, can enjoy tranquillity when

[192*] With this and the preceding lines compare Dronap., 9632 ff.

[193] It is part of the White Yajur Veda (Vājasaneyi Sanhita). See further on, chapter iii., section second. It is not reproduced in the passage before us. Compare vol. iii. of this work, on the mode in which the Veda is conceived to have been produced.

he is angry, even though they hide themselves. When the Prajāpati Daksha was sacrificing, and his ceremonial was arranged, Mahādeva in his wrath pierced the sacrifice, and was then devoid of fear, and discharging an arrow with his bow, he uttered a loud shout. The gods received from this no pleasure or tranquillity, but rather dejection. And forthwith, the sacrifice being pierced, and Maheśvara being incensed, all the worlds were disturbed at the sound of his bowstring; both gods and Asuras became helpless and cast down; the waters were troubled, and the earth shook; the mountains were dissolved; the sky was rent in all directions; enveloped in thick darkness, the worlds did not shine, and the light of the luminaries and of the sun was quenched. Being greatly alarmed, the rishis then sought to appease Mahādeva, and recited texts to avert his anger, seeking their own welfare, and that of all creatures. Rudra of dreadful power then ran up to the gods, and, in his rage, knocked out the eyes of Bhaga with a blow, and, incensed, assaulted Pūshan with his foot, and knocked out his teeth, as he was eating the puroḍāśa offering.[194] The gods

[194] For the older story about Bhaga and Pūshan, see Indische Studien, ii. 306 f.; and Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 6, 8, 3 f., partially quoted in the fifth vol. of this work, p. 476, note on p. 178, line 6. The entire passage is as follows: *Devāḥ vai yajnād Rudram antar āyan | sa yajnam avidhyat | tam devāḥ abhisamagachhanta "kalpatām naḥ idam" iti | te 'bruvan "svishṭam vai naḥ idam bhavishyati yad imam rūdhayishyāmaḥ" iti | tat svishṭakṛitaḥ svishṭakṛittvam | tasya āviddham nirakṛintan* (4) *yavena sammitam | tasmād yava-mātram avadyet | yaj jyāyo 'vadyed ropayet tad yajnasya | yad upa cha striṇīyād abhi cha ghārayed ubhayataḥ saṁśvāyi kuryāt | avadāya abhighārayati | dviḥ sampadyate | dvipād yajamānaḥ | pratishṭhityai | yat tiraśchīnam atihared anabhividdham yajnasya abhividhyet | agreṇa pariharati tīrthena eva pariharati | tat Pūshṇe paryaharan tat* (5) *Pūshā prāśya dato 'ruṇat | tasmāt Pūshā prapishṭa-bhāgaḥ | adantako hi | tam devāḥ abruvan "vi vai ayam ārdhi | aprāśitriyo vai ayam abhūd" iti | tad Bṛihaspataye paryaharan | so 'bibhed Bṛihaspatir "itthaṁ vāva sya ārtim ārishyati" iti | sa etam mantram apaśyat* | "The gods excluded Rudra" [in the form of Svishṭakṛit Agni, Comm.] "from the sacrifice. He pierced the sacrifice [with an arrow]. The gods came together to him, [and said,] 'Let this [rite] of ours be [again] rectified.' They [i.e. certain wise gods, according to the Commentator] said, 'If we propitiate him, this [rite] of ours will be well sacrificed (*svishṭa*).' It is from this that the Svishṭakṛit insures the due performance of the rite." [According to Professor Weber, Ind. Stud., ix. 217, the svishṭakṛit is the portion of the sacrifice destined for Agni Svishṭakṛit.] "They cut off the part which had been pierced to the extent of a barleycorn. 4. Wherefore let the adhvaryu priest cut off [the prāśitra portion] only to the extent of a barleycorn. If he cut off more than this, he will break that off from the sacrifice. If he should both spread [ghee] underneath and sprinkle [ghee] above, he would cause the oblation to become swollen on both sides. He is therefore, after cutting off [the prāśitra], only to

trembling then made obeisance to Śankara, and he again fitted on the string the glittering, well-whetted arrow. Beholding the prowess of Rudra, the gods, with the rishis, terrified, propitiated him, and with

sprinkle [ghee] above it. To do this twice is proper [for the sacrificer has two feet], in order that it may succeed. If he hands [the brāhmān's share] to him across [the altar], he will pierce that part of the sacrifice which is uninjured; whereas if he reaches it to him in front, he does so in the proper direction. They handed that [portion] to Pūshan. Eating it, he broke his teeth. Wherefore Pūshan has a portion of ground meal offered to him; for he is toothless. The gods said of him, 'he has come to grief; he has become unfit for the prāśitra.' They handed it to Bṛihaspati. He was afraid, saying, 'In this way shall one incur misfortune.' He saw this text," etc.

I am indebted to Professor Weber for a German translation of this passage, which has enabled me to correct and improve my own. He remarks that the reason why the prāśitra broke Pūshan's teeth was, that it was 'Rudriya' (see the passage from the S'atap. Br., i. 7, 4, 15 f., adduced at the end of a following quotation), i.e. the portion of the oblation struck by Rudra's shot. This effect of it must be obviated by the use of a text. Professor Weber thinks that *aruṇak* (followed by *tasmāt*), in the above passage, must stand for *aruṇak* (though the root *ruj* is nowhere else conjugated in the seventh conjugation), and compares Taitt. S., vii. 4, 9, 1, *asṛid dvābhyām* for *asṛig* (see Ind. Stud., viii. 54, note); Kauś. 39, *nyat* for *nyak; sammad-aṇṇā* for *samyag-ājnā*, Dhammap. verse 57; *saṁsṛidbhiḥ* from *saṁsṛip*, Taitt. Br., i. 8, 1, 1; *nadbhyaḥ* from *nap*, R. V., x. 60, 6; *adbhiḥ, adbhyaḥ* from *ap*; *saṁyat te*, Taitt. S., i. 2, 7, 1 (compare Weber's Indische Streifen, i. 127, note 5).

The S'atap. Br. i. 7, 4, 5, refers to the same story in the sequel of a passage which has already been given above, p. 45. The continuation is as follows: 5 | *Te ha ūchur "upajānīta yathā idaṁ na amuyā asat kanīyo ha āhuter yathā idaṁ syād" iti* | 6 | *te ha ūchur "Bhayāya enad dakshiṇataḥ āsīnāya pariharata* | *tad Bhagaḥ prāśishyati tad yathā āhutam eva bhavishyati" iti* | *tad Bhagāya dakshiṇataḥ āsīnāya paryājahruḥ* | *tad Bhago 'vekshāṁchakre* | *tasya akshiṇī nirdadāha* | *tathā in nūnaṁ tad āsa* | *tasmād āhur "andho Bhagaḥ" iti* | 7 | *te ha ūchur "no nv atra aśamat* | *Pūshṇe enat pariharata" iti* | *tat Pūshṇe paryājahruḥ* | *tat Pūshā prāśa* | *tasya dato nirjaghāna* | *tathā in nūnaṁ tad āsa* | *tasmād āhur "adantakaḥ Pūshā" iti* | *tasmād yam Pūshṇe charuṁ kurvanti prapishṭānām eva kurvanti yathā adantakāya evam* | 5 "They said, 'Take care that this may not be lost; but that it may be less than the oblation.' 6. They said, 'Present it to Bhaga, sitting on the right side; he will eat it; that shall be as if it were offered.' They presented it to Bhaga sitting on the right side; he looked at it; it burned his eyes. That truly happened so. Therefore they say, 'Bhaga is blind.' 7. They said, 'Let it not be so tranquilized. Present it to Pūshan.' Pūshan ate it; it knocked out his teeth. That verily so happened. Wherefore they say, 'Pūshan is toothless.' Hence the cooked oblation they present to Pūshan is of ground materials."

In the sequel of this passage it is said, i. 7, 4, 9: *Sa yat prāśitram avadyati yad eva atra āviddhaṁ yajnasya yad Rudriyaṁ tad eva etad nirmimīte* (*bahiḥ karoti nishkarshati*, Comm.) | "The prāśitra which he cuts off, the part of the sacrifice which was pierced, which is connected with Rudra,—that he separates." And further on, i. 7, 4, 15: *Sat prāśnāti* | "*Agnes tvā āsyena prāśnāmi" iti* | *na vai Agniṁ kinchana pinasti* | *tathā u ha enam etad na hinasti* | 16 | *tad na dadbhiḥ khādet* | "*na id me idaṁ Rudriyaṁ dato hinasad" iti* | *tasmād na dadbhiḥ khādet* | 15. "He eats that,

joined hands, muttered the Śatarudriya. Being thus lauded by the gods, Maheśvara became pleased; and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice, and, through fear, resorted to him as

[saying], 'I eat thee with Agni's mouth.' 'Nothing destroys Agni. So this does not destroy him. 16. Let no one eat it with his teeth, [thinking], 'Lest this, which is connected with Rudra, destroy my teeth.' Wherefore let no one eat it with his teeth."

The following is a passage from the preceding section of the same Brāhmaṇa: i. 7, 3, 1: *Yajnena vai devāḥ divam upodakrāman | atha yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśūnām īshṭe sa iha ahīyata | tasmād vāstavyaḥ ity āhuḥ | vāstau hi tad ahīyata* 2 | *sa yena eva devāḥ divam upodakrāmaṁs tena u eva archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ | atha yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśūnām īshṭe yaḥ iha ahīyata* (3) *sa aikshata "aha asya ha antaryanty u mā yajnād" iti | so 'nuchchakrāma | sa āyatayā uttarataḥ upotpede | sa esha svishṭakṛitaḥ kālaḥ* | 4 | *te devāḥ abruvan "mā visrakshīr" iti | "te vai mā yajnād mā 'ntargata āhutiṁ me kalpayata" iti | "tathā" iti | sa samabṛihat sa na āsyat sa na kanchana ahinat* | 5 | *te devāḥ abruvan "yāvanti no havīṁshi gṛihītāny abhūvan sarveshāṁ teshāṁ hutam upajānīta yathā 'smai āhutiṁ kalpayāma" iti* | 6 | *te 'dhvaryum abruvan "yathāpūrvaṁ havīṁshy abhighāraya | ekasmai avadānāya punar āpyāyaya | ayātayāmani kuru tataḥ ekaikam avadānam avadya" iti* | 7 | *so 'dhvaryur yathāpūrvaṁ havīṁshy abhyaghārayad ekasmai avadānāya punar āpyāyayad ayātayāmāny akarot tataḥ ekaikam avadānam avādyat* | 1. "By sacrifice the gods ascended to the sky. Now the god who rules over cattle was excluded here. Hence men call him Vāstavya; for he was excluded [by remaining] on the sacrificial ground (*vāstu*). 2. The gods went on worshipping and toiling with that whereby they had ascended to the sky. Now, the god who rules over cattle, and was here excluded, (3) perceived that the other gods were excluding him from the sacrifice. He followed them, and rose up on the north with . . . . This is the time of the Svishṭakṛit. 4. The gods said to him, 'Do not disturb (the sacrifice).' [He rejoined,] 'Do not exclude me from the sacrifice; give me an oblation.' They agreed. He kept together, and did not scatter, the materials of the sacrifice, or injure anything. 5. The gods said, 'Take notice of all the offerings which have been presented, that we may form an oblation for him.' 6. They said to the Adhvaryu, 'Sprinkle the oblations in order with butter; and again replenish each fragment. Make them fresh; then cut off each part.' 7. The Adhvaryu accordingly sprinkled the oblations in order with butter, replenished each fragment, made them fresh, and divided all the parts from each other."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, referred to by Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v.* Bhaga and Pūshan, has the following verses on these gods: iv. 5, 20 | *Bhagasya netre bhagavān pātitasya rushā bhuvi | ujjahāra sadasstho 'kshṇā yaḥ śapantam asūsuchat* | 21 | *Pūshṇaś chāpātayad dantān Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ | S'apyamāne garimaṇi yo'hasad darśayan dataḥ* | "The god (Mahādeva) in the assembly plucked out the eyes of Bhaga, whom in his rage he had felled to the ground, because with his eye he had made a sign to [Daksha] who was cursing [Mahādeva]. 21. And he knocked out the teeth of Pūshan (as Bala had done to the king of Kalinga), because, when the great god was being cursed, he had laughed, showing his teeth." vi. 6, 41 | *Pūshā 'napatyaḥ pishṭādo bhagna-danto 'bhavat purā | yo 'sau Dakshāya kupitaṁ jahāsa vivṛitadvijaḥ* | "Pūshan formerly became childless, an eater of ground food, toothless, because he had laughed with his teeth disclosed at [Mahādeva], who was incensed against Daksha."

their refuge. He then became pleased and rectified the sacrifice, and whatever was removed he restored to life as it had been before.

"There were in the sky three cities of the valorous Asuras, one of iron, another of silver, and a third of gold,[195] which Maghavan (Indra) could not demolish, with all his weapons. Then all the great gods, distressed, went to the great Rudra as their refuge, and said to him, after they were assembled: 'Rudra, there shall be victims devoted to thee in all the sacrifices. Bestower of honour, destroy the Daityas with their cities, and deliver the worlds.' He, being thus addressed, said, 'So be it;' and making Vishṇu his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vedas his bow, and the excellent Sāvitrī (the Gāyatrī) his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer,[196] he in due time pierced through these cities with a three-jointed three-barbed arrow, of the colour of the sun, and in fierceness like the fire which burns up the world. These Asuras with their cities were there burnt up by Rudra.[197] Again, beholding him a child in the lap, with five locks,[198] Umā, desiring to know,[199] said, 'Who is

[195] See the second vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff., and the Karṇa-parvan of the M.Bh. vv. 1402 ff. below.

[196] See the story from the Karṇa-parvan, cited below, vv. 1515 ff.

[197] For the older forms of this story, see the second vol. of this work, pp. 380–384.

[198] Like an ascetic, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v. pañchaśikha.*

[199] Or, is the proper reading *jijñāsamānān*, and the sense this: "Umā said to [the gods] who were inquiring, 'Who is this?'" There is a parallel passage in the Droṇa-parvan, v. 9575, which throws some light on the one before us: *Purāṇi dagdhavantaṁ taṁ devī yātā pravīkshitum | bālam ankagataṁ kṛitvā svayam pañchaśikham punaḥ | Umā jijñāsamānā vai "ko' yam" ity abravīt surān | asūyataś cha S'akrasya vajreṇa praharishyataḥ | bāhuṁ savajraṁ taṁ tasya kruddhasyāstambhayat prabhuḥ | prahasya bhagavāṁs tūrṇam sarva-lokeśvaro vibhuḥ | tataḥ saṁstambhita-bhujaḥ S'akro deva-gaṇair vṛitaḥ | jagāma sa-suras tūrṇam Brahmāṇam prabhum avyayam | te tam praṇamya śirasā prochuḥ prāñjalayas tadā | kimapy ankagatam Brahman Pārvatyāḥ bhūtam adbhutam | bāla-rūpa-dharaṁ dṛishṭvā nāsmābhir abhivāditaḥ | tasmāt tvām prashṭum ichchhāmo nirjitāḥ yena vai vayam | ayudhyatā hi bālena līlayā sa-purandarāḥ |* "The goddess (Umā) went to see him when he had burnt the cities, having again placed the child with five locks in her lap. She told the gods, who inquired [should we read, *jijñāsamānān?* though none of the printed copies read so] 'Who is this?' And the divine lord, master of all the worlds, all-pervading, with a smile, instantly paralyzed the arm and thunderbolt of Indra, who showed ill-will, and in his anger was about to smite with the thunderbolt. Indra, his arm having been paralyzed, immediately went with the gods to Brahmā, the imperishable lord; and bowing with their heads, with joined hands, they said: 'O Brahmā, we have seen in the lap of Pārvatī, a wonderful being bearing the form of a child; and we have not saluted him. Wherefore we desire to ask thee who is the child by whom we, including Indra, have been conquered, as if in play, and without any fight.'"

this?' And when Indra, envious, was about to smite him (the child) with the thunderbolt, he stayed the thunderbolt, and paralyzed that arm resembling a club. None of the gods, including Prajāpati, understood the lord of the worlds, [existing] in that most mighty deity [in the form of an infant]. Then the divine Brahmā, meditating on that being of boundless glory, and knowing that he was supreme, adored the lord of Umā. Then these gods propitiated Umā and Rudra; and the arm of the slayer of hosts became as before. And again, Mahādeva, becoming a powerful Brahman, by name Durvāsas, dwelt a long time in my city Dvāravatī. He practised very many perversities in my house, which, though difficult to support, I, through generosity, endured. He is Rudra, he is Śiva, he is Agni, he is Sarva, the all-conquering; he is Indra, he is Vāyu, he is the Aśvins, he is the lightning, he is the moon, he is Īśāna, he is Sūrya, he is Varuṇa, he is time, he is Death the ender, he is darkness, and night, and the days, he is the months, and the half months, and the seasons, the morning and evening twilight, and the year. He is Dhātṛi, and Vidhātṛi, Viśvakarman, the all-knowing, the constellations, the planets, the regions [or quarters], and intermediate regions or [points of the compass]; universal-formed, immeasurable in essence, divine, of undecaying splendour. He is simple, twofold, manifold, a thousand-fold, and a hundred-thousand-fold. Such is Mahādeva, the vast, the divine unborn being; his qualities cannot be declared in a hundred years." Kṛishṇa proceeds uninterruptedly at the beginning of a new section: "Large-armed Yudhishṭhira, understand from me the greatness of the glorious, multiform, many-named Rudra. They call Mahādeva Agni, Sthāṇu, Maheśvara, One-eyed, Tryambaka, the universal-formed, and Śiva. Brahmans versed in the Veda know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious;[200] and these two bodies again have many forms. The dire and awful body is fire, lightning, the sun. The auspicious and beautiful body is virtue, water, and the moon. The half of his essence is fire, and the moon is called the [other] half. The one, which is his auspicious body, practises chastity: while the other, which is his most dreadful body, destroys the world. From his being lord (īśvara) and great (mahat), he is called Maheśvara. Since he consumes, since

[200] In Vāj. S., v. 8, Agni is said to have three bodies. See the second volume of this work, p. 381, note.

he is fiery, fierce, glorious, an eater of flesh, blood, and marrow,—he is called Rudra. As he is the greatest of the gods, as his domain is wide, and as he preserves the vast universe,—he is called Mahādeva. From his smoky colour, he is called Dhūrjaṭi. Since he constantly prospers all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (śiva), he is therefore called S'iva," etc., etc.

In the Bhīshma-parvan (vv. 793 ff.) Kṛishṇa is introduced as recommending Arjuna to worship the goddess Durgā :

Sanjayaḥ uvācha | Dhārtarāshṭram balaṁ dṛishṭvā yuddhāya samupasthitam | Arjunasya hitārthāya Kṛishṇo vachanam abravīt | S'rībhagavān uvācha | S'uchir bhūtvā mahābāho saṅgrāmābhimukhe sthitaḥ | parājayāya śatrūnāṁ Durgā-stotram udīraya | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | evam ukto 'rjunaḥ saṅkhye Vāsudevena dhīmatā | avatīrya rathāt Pārthaḥ stotram āha kṛitāñjaliḥ |

"Beholding the host of Dhṛitarāshṭra come near to the conflict, Kṛishṇa, in the interest of Arjuna, addressed to him these words: 'Having purified thyself, O large-armed hero, standing in front of the battle, utter a hymn to Durgā for the overthrow of thine enemies.' Arjuna, being thus addressed in battle by the wise Vāsudeva, descending from his chariot, uttered a hymn with joined hands."

III. In the passage which I have quoted above (p. 169, note 167) from Professor Wilson, it is remarked that in some places of the Mahābhārata the divine nature of Kṛishṇa is disputed or denied. An instance of this denial is to be found in the following passage of the Sabhā-parvan, in which S'iśupāla, prince of the Chedis, is introduced as objecting to the divine honours which had been paid to Kṛishṇa, and as ultimately suffering the penalty of his proud and contemptuous impiety at the hands of the incarnate deity.

Yudhishṭhira having resolved to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice (Sabhā-parvan, v. 1211), is joined by Kṛishṇa, who is designated as Hari, the ṛishi, the ancient, identified with the Veda, invisible to those who know him, the highest of things moving and stationary, the source and destroyer of all things, the lord of the past, the future, and the present (v. 1213: *Athaivam bruvatām evaṁ teshām abhyāyayau Hariḥ | ṛishiḥ purāṇo vedātmā 'dṛiśyaś chaiva vijānatām | jagatas tasthushāṁ śreshṭhaḥ prabhavaś chāvyayaś (chāpyayaś?) cha ha | bhūta-bhavya-bhavan-nāthaḥ Keśavaḥ keśi-sūdanaḥ*). Numerous kings assembled to

witness the celebration (vv. 1260 ff.). On this occasion Bhīshma proposed that, apart from the customary presents bestowed on all the kings, Kṛishṇa should be singled out as the most eminent of the chiefs to receive gifts indicative of his superiority (vv. 1333 ff.).

Sabhā-parvan, 1333 ff.:—*Esha hy eshāṁ samastānāṁ tejo-bala-parākramaiḥ | madhye tapann ivābhāti jyotishām iva bhāskaraḥ | asūryam iva sūryeṇa nirvātaḥ iva vayunā*[201] *| bhāsitaṁ hlāditaṁ chaiva Kṛishṇenedaṁ sado hi naḥ | tasmai Bhīshmābhyanujñātaḥ Sahadevaḥ pratāpavān | upajahre 'tha vidhivad Vārshṇeyāyārghyam uttamam | pratijagrāha tat Kṛishṇaḥ śāstra-dishṭena karmaṇā | S'iśupalas tu tām pūjāṁ Vāsudeve na chakshame |* "For he, by his energy, force and valour, appears shining in the midst of all these princes, like the sun among the luminaries. This assembly of ours is enlightened and gladdened by Kṛishṇa, as a sunless place is by the sun, and a windless spot is by the wind. Commissioned by Bhīshma, the majestic Sahadeva then presented in due form to Vārshṇeya (Kṛishṇa) a most excellent offering, which the latter received with the act prescribed by the śāstra. But S'iśupāla could not endure that honour shown to Vāsudeva."

S'iśupāla then proceeds to state at length a variety of objections to what had been done (vv. 1338 ff.). He urges that Kṛishṇa was a "transgressor of the injunctions of law (*smṛiti*), a contemptible and ill-instructed person" (v. 1340: *Ayaṁ cha smṛity-atikrānto hy apageyo 'lpa-darśanaḥ*); that he was not a king, or a person venerable from age, his father Vasudeva being still alive (v. 1343: *Athavā manyase Kṛishṇaṁ sthaviraṁ Kuru-pungava | Vasudeve sthite vṛiddhe katham arhati tat-sutaḥ |)*; that in other respects he was inferior to other chiefs present, and that he had unjustly killed Jarāsandha (v. 1360, compare verses 1474 ff.); and taunts him with being greatly elated with the undeserved honour that had been paid him, like a dog devouring in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered (v. 1364: *Ayuktām ātmanaḥ pūjāṁ tvam punar bahu manyase | havishaḥ prāpya nisyandam prāśitā śveva nirjane |)*.[202] Having

[201] This line had previously occurred as part of verse 1218 of the same Parvan.

[202] Similarly we read in S'iśupāla's speech on the same occasion as given in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 74, 34: .... *Gopālaḥ kula-paṁsanaḥ | yathā kākaḥ puroḍāśaṁ saparyāṁ katham arhati |* "How does this cowherd, the vilest of his race, deserve homage, any more than a crow deserves to eat an oblation?" The commentator thus gives what he calls the "real sense" of these words: "*Gopālaḥ*"

thus vented his indignation, Śiśupāla leaves the assembly, followed by Yudhishṭhira, who endeavours to soothe him. Bhīshma then defends Kṛishṇa's claims to the honour which he had received (vv. 1377 ff.):

Na hi kevalam asmākam ayam archyatamo 'chyutaḥ | trayāṇām api lokānām archanīyo mahābhujaḥ | Kṛishṇena hi jitāḥ yuddhe bahavaḥ kshatriyarshabhāḥ | jagat sarvañ cha Vārshṇeye nikhilena pratishṭhitam | tasmāt satsv api vṛiddheshu Kṛishṇam archāmi netarān | . . . . 1382. *Nā kevalañ vayañ kāmāch Chedi-rāja Janārdanam | na sambandham puraskṛitya kṛitārthañ vā kathanchana | archāmahe 'rchitañ sadbhir bhuvi bhūta-sukhāvaham | Yaśaḥ śauryam jayañ chāsya vijñāyārchām prayuṃjmahe | na cha kaśchid ihāsmābhiḥ subālo 'py aparīkshitaḥ | guṇair vṛiddhān atikramya Harir archyatamo mataḥ | jñāna-vṛiddho dvijātīnāñ kshatriyāṇām balādhikaḥ |* "1377: This unfalling being (Achyuta) is not only deserving of the utmost worship from us, but, large of arm, he is also to be worshipped by the three worlds. For many eminent Kshatriyas have been conquered by Kṛishṇa: and the whole world rests upon Vārshṇeya. Wherefore, even though there be aged men [present], I worship Kṛishṇa, and not the others. . . . . 1382: It is not therefore from interested motives, king of the Chedis, nor in consequence of our connexion, nor for the sake of anything he has done for us, that we worship Janārdana, who is worshipped by the good on earth, and who promotes the happiness of creatures. But knowing his renown, heroism, and victories, we offer him our worship. Nor is there here any mere youth whom we have never tried. Hari, surpassing the aged in his virtues, is regarded by us as most worthy

iti veda-pṛithivy-ādi-pālakaḥ ity arthaḥ | kutsitañ veda-viparītañ lapanti iti kulapāḥ pākhaṇḍāḥ | tān añsate samāghātayati iti tathā saḥ | "akākaḥ" kañ cha akañ cha kāke (=kā+āke) sukha-duḥkhe te na vidyete yasya saḥ | "akākaḥ" āptakāmaḥ ity arthaḥ | sa yathā āptakāmo deva-yogyam puroḍāśa-mātrāṃ na arhati api tu sarvasvam api tathā 'yañ śrī-kṛishṇo brahmarshi-yogyañ samarpaṇa-mātraṃ katham arhati | kintv ātma-samarpaṇam apy arhati ity arthaḥ | "'Gopāla' means the protector of the Veda, the earth, etc. 'Ku-lapāḥ' are those who speak what is evil, contrary to the Veda, heretics. 'Kulapāñsana' (Ku+lapa+añsana) is thus one who destroys (*añsate*) such persons. 'Akākaḥ' (the commentator chooses here to suppose that there is an elided *a* between *yathā* and *kākaḥ*) is one to whom ('kāke') pleasure and pain (*ka+a+ka*) do not attach; one who has gained all he desires. Just as such an one merits not merely an oblation suitable for a deity, but all wealth also, so Kṛishṇa does not deserve merely the offering suitable for a Brāhman-ṛishi, but also the offering up of one's self."

of worship. In knowledge he excels Brahmans, and in force Kshatriyas." . . . .

1386: *Pūjyatāyāncha Govinde hetū dvāv api saṁsthitau | veda-vedāṅga-vijñānam balaṁ chāpy adhikaṁ tathā | nṛiṇāṁ loke hi ko 'nyo 'sti viśishṭaḥ Keśavād ṛite | dānaṁ dākshyaṁ śrutaṁ śauryaṁ hrīḥ kīrtir buddhir uttamā | sannatiḥ śrīr dhṛitis tushṭiḥ pushṭiścha niyatā 'chyute | tam imaṁ loka-sampannam āchāryam pitaraṁ gurum | arghyam architam archārhaṁ sarve saṁkshantum arhatha | ṛitvig gurur vivāhyaś cha snātako nṛipatiḥ priyaḥ | sarvaṁ etad Hṛishīkeśas tasmād abhyarchito 'chyutaḥ | Kṛishṇaḥ eva hi lokānām utpattir api chāpyayaḥ | Kṛishṇasya hi kṛite viśvam idam bhūtaṁ charācharam | esha prakṛitir avyaktā kartā chaiva sanātanaḥ | paraś cha sarva-bhūtebhyaś tasmād pūjyatamo 'chyutaḥ | Buddhir mano mahad vāyus tejo 'mbhaḥ kham mahī cha yā | chatur-vidhaṁ cha yad bhūtam sarvaṁ Kṛishṇe pratishṭhitam | . . . . . .*

1396: *Sa-devakeshu lokeshu bhagavān Keśavo mukham | ayaṁ tu purusho bālaḥ Śiśupālo na budhyate | sarvatra sarvadā Kṛishnaṁ tasmād evaṁ prabhāshate | yo hi dharmaṁ vichinuyād utkṛishṭam matimān naraḥ | so vai paśyed yāthā dharmaṁ na tathā Chedi-rāḍ ayam| sa-vṛiddha-bāleshv athavā pārthiveshu mahātmasu | ko nārham manyate Kṛishṇaṁ ko vā py enaṁ na pūjayet | athainām dushkṛitām pūjāṁ Śiśu-pālo vyavasyati | dushkṛitāyāṁ yathānyāyaṁ tathā 'yaṁ kartum arhati|*

"There are two reasons why Govinda is worthy of honour: his knowledge of the Vedas and Vedāngas, and his superior strength. For who in the world of men is distinguished except Keśava? Generosity, ability, sacred learning, heroism, modesty, eminent renown, intelligence, humility, splendour, endurance, cheerfulness and joyousness, exist continually in Achyuta. You ought all to tolerate this teacher arisen in the world (or successful in the world), this father, preceptor, venerable, honoured, deserving of honour. Priest, preceptor, marriageable man, householder, king, beloved,—Hṛishīkesa is all this, and therefore he has been honoured. It is Kṛishṇa who is the origin and the destruction of the worlds: all this universe, movable and immovable, has come into being through (or for the sake of) Kṛishṇa.[203] He is un-

[203] The grounds urged for honouring Kṛishṇa in this and the following verses are of a different character from those in the preceding lines, which do not ascribe to him any qualities of a superhuman character; whilst the succeeding ones do. It is quite possible that the whole of this description of his qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced.

distinguishable matter (prakṛiti), and he is the eternal maker, transcending all beings: hence Achyuta is most worthy of honour. Intellect, mind, the great one (mahat), air, fire, water, sky, and earth—whatever fourfold being exists—all depends upon Kṛishṇa. . . . . 1396. The divine Keśava is chief among the worlds including the gods. But this foolish man, S'iśupāla, does not know that Kṛishṇa [is] everywhere and always—and hence he speaks thus. For this king of the Chedis does not regard righteousness in the same way as an intelligent man who can distinguish eminent righteousness. Who is there, whether among old or young, or among mighty kings, who will not regard Kṛishṇa as honourable, or who will not reverence him? S'iśupāla treats this honour as unduly paid. But it having been unduly paid, he should act as is befitting."

S'iśupāla afterwards renews his vilifications of Kṛishṇa, in a long harangue, of which the following is a specimen (vv. 1433 ff.):

1433. *S'iśupālaḥ uvācha | vibhīshikābhir bahvībhir bhīshayan sarva-pārthivān | na vyapatrapase kasmād vriddhaḥ san kula-pāṁsanaḥ | yuktam etat tṛitīyāyām prakṛitau vartatā tvayā | vaktuṁ dharmād apetārthaṁ tvaṁ hi sarva-kurūttama[ḥ] | nāvi naur iva sambaddhā yathā 'ndho vā 'ndham anviyāt | tathā bhūtāḥ hi Kauravyāḥ yeshām Bhīshma tvam agranīḥ | Pūtanā-ghāta-pūrvāṇi karmāṇy asya viśeshataḥ | tvayā kīrtayatā 'smākam bhūyaḥ pravyathitam manaḥ | avaliptasya mūrkhasya Keśavaṁ stotuṁ ichhataḥ | katham Bhīshma na te jihvā śatadheyaṁ vidīryyate | yatra kutsā prayoktavyā Bhīshma bālatarair naraiḥ | tam imaṁ jñāna-vriddhaḥ san gopam saṁstotum ichhasi | yady anena hatā bālye śakuniś chitram atra kīm | tau vā 'śva-vṛishabhau Bhīshma yau na yuddha-viśāradau | chetanā-rahitaṁ kāshṭhaṁ yady anena nipātitam | pādena śakaṭam Bhīshma tatra kiṁ kṛitam adbhutam | valmīka-mātraḥ saptāhaṁ yady anena dhṛito 'chalaḥ | tadā Govardhano Bhīshma na tach chitram matam mama | bhuktam etena bahv annaṁ krīḍatā naga-mūrdhani | iti te Bhīshma śṛiṇvānāḥ paraṁ vismayam āgatāḥ | yasya chānena dharma-jña bhuktam annam balīyasaḥ | sa chānena hataḥ Kaṁsaḥ ity etan na mahādbhutam | na te śrutam idam Bhīshma nūnaṁ kathayatāṁ satām | yad vakshye tvām adharma-jñaṁ vākyaṁ Kuru-kulādhama | strīshu goshu na śastrāṇi pātayed brāhmaṇeshu cha | yasya chānnānī bhunjīta yasya cha syāt pratiśrayaḥ | iti santo 'nuśāsanti sajjanaṁ dharmiṇaḥ sadā | Bhīshma loke hi tat sarvaṁ vitathaṁ tvayi dṛiśyate | jñāna-vriddhaṁ cha*

vṛiddhaṁ cha bhūyāṁsaṁ Keśavam mama | ajānataḥ ivākhyāsi saṁstuvan Kauravādhama | go-ghnaḥ strī-ghnaś cha san Bhīshma tvad-vākyād yadi pūjyate | evam-bhūtaś cha yo Bhīshma kathaṁ saṁstavam arhati | . . .
1451. *Nūnam prakṛitir eshā te jaghanyā nātra saṁśayaḥ | ataḥ pāpīyasī chaishām Pāṇḍavānām apīshyate | yeshām archyatamaḥ Kṛishṇas tvaṁ cha yeshām pradarśakaḥ | dharmavāṁs tvam adharma-jnaḥ satām mārgād avaplutaḥ | ityādi |*

S'iśupāla answers Bhīshma: "How is it that thou, disgracing thy race, art not ashamed, old man as thou art, to terrify all the kings with many alarms? It is very fitting [forsooth] that thou who art now existing in the third condition,[204] shouldst utter things contrary to righteousness, seeing thou art the most eminent of all the Kurus! For as a boat is tied to a boat, or as one blind man follows another, so is it with the Kurus of whom thou, Bhīshma, art the leader. Our minds have frequently been vexed by thee when detailing his (Kṛishṇa's) slaughter of Pūtanā[205] and other feats. How is it, Bhīshma, that thy tongue, thou proud fool, is not split into a hundred pieces, when thou seekest to magnify Keśava? Thou who art ripe in knowledge, art eager to eulogize the cowherd who ought to be vilified even by the silliest of men! If in his childhood he slew S'akuni,[206] or the horse and bull, who had no skill in fighting, what is the wonder? If a waggon, an inanimate piece of wood, was upset by him with his foot,[207] what wonderful thing did he do? If the mountain Govardhana, a mere ant-hill, was held up by him for seven days,[208] I do not regard that as anything remarkable. Hearing that when playing on the hill-

[204] The commentator explains this phrase as follows: *Dve prakṛitī pariṇāminyau māyā tasyaṁ chit-prativimbas 'cha | tṛitīyā prakṛitis tv etad-ubhayādhyāsādhishṭhānaṁ nirviśeshaṁ vastu | tatra vartatā vartamānena*, etc. "Two conditions are changeable, viz. (1) illusion (*māyā*) and (2) the reflected image of thought (*chit-prativimba*) in it. The third condition is the basis of the erroneous ascription of the other two, substance without distinction," etc. I am indebted to Dr. R. Rost for an important suggestion regarding the combination of two of the words in this sentence. Dr. Rost informs me that in the text one MS. reads *kurūttamaḥ* and another *sarvaṁ kurūttama*.

[205] A female demon slain by Kṛisbṇa.—See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 506 (vol. iv., p. 276, of Dr. Hall's ed.).

[206] See the Udyoga-parvan 4409, where Pūtanā and S'akunī (there spelt with a long ī) are mentioned together as having been slain by Kṛishṇa in childhood.

[207] See Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 508 (vol. iv., p. 279, of Dr. Hall's ed.).

[208] See Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 526 (vol. iv., p. 315, of Dr. Hall's ed.).

top, he had eaten a great quantity of food, these people were very much astonished. And it is no great miracle, O Bhīshma, thou judge of duty, that he slew Kansa, the powerful king whose food he had eaten. Hast thou not heard virtuous men declaring this which I shall tell thee, who art ignorant of duty, Bhīshma, thou basest of the tribe of Kurus? 'Let no one smite with his weapons women,[209] cattle, or Brahmans, or him whose food he eats, or on whom he is dependent.' Such is the instruction which good and virtuous men always give to a virtuous [pupil]. All this, Bhīshma, is seen by all to be falsified in thee. Thou, basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Keśava as old in knowledge, and mature, and superior, as if I did not know him. If he, being a slayer of cattle, and of women, is, according to thy word, to be reverenced,—how, Bhīshma, can such a person merit encomium? . . . . 1451. Certainly this nature of thine is base, of this there is no doubt; and hence [the nature] of these Pāṇḍavas also is shown to be most wicked,—[these Pāṇḍavas] to whom Kṛishṇa is an object of the highest honour, and of whom thou art the virtuous preceptor,—thou, who art ignorant of duty, and hast gone astray from the path of good men!"

This speech excites the wrath of Bhīmasena (v. 1482), who, however, is restrained by Bhīshma from assaulting S'iśupāla, though the latter is anxious to fight him. Bhīshma then goes on (1494 ff.) to give Bhīmasena an account of S'iśupāla's infancy and early history. He had, it seems, been born with three eyes and four arms; and his parents, alarmed at his portentous appearance, were disposed to cast him out, but were prevented by a voice from the sky, which declared to them that the time fated for his death had not yet arrived. In answer to his mother's inquiry, the voice informed her that her son was doomed to die by the hands of the person who should take him into his lap, and by so doing should occasion his two superfluous arms to drop off, and his third eye to disappear. A part of this prediction was fulfilled when Kṛishṇa came and took him into his lap, and the infant got rid of his superfluous members.[210] On seeing this, his

[209] See above, pp. 152 f.

[210] On this story of S'iśupāla Lassen remarks (Indian Antiquities, i. p. 674 first ed.; p. 822 second ed.): "S'iśupāla in this case represents S'iva, and the conflict of the S'iva-worship with that of Vishṇu: for he was born with three eyes and four arms, and the legend attributes the falling off of his two superfluous arms and the dis-

mother begged a boon from Kṛishṇa, viz. that he would forgive Sís'upāla's offences. Kṛishṇa promises to pardon a hundred. Bhīshma then proceeds (v. 1518 ff.):

Evam esha nṛipaḥ pāpaḥ S'iśupālaḥ sumanda-dhīḥ | tvāṁ samāhvayate vīra Govinda-vara-darpitaḥ | Naishā Chedi-pater buddhir yayā tvā "hvayate 'chyutam | nūnam eṣha jagad-bhartuḥ Kṛishṇasyaiva viniśchayaḥ | ko hi mām Bhīmasenādya kshitāv arhati pārthivaḥ | kṣheptuṁ kāla-parītātmā yathaisha kula-pāṁsanaḥ | esha hy asya 'mahābāhus tejo 'ṁśaś cha Harer dhruvam | tam eva punar ādātum ichhaty uta tathā vibhuḥ | yenaisha Kuru-śārdūla śārdūlaḥ iva Chedi-rāṭ | garjaty atīva durbuddhiḥ sarvān asmān achintayan |

"Thus this wicked king S'iśupāla, slow of understanding, proud of the boon conferred by Govinda, challenges thee, O hero. This does not show wisdom in the lord of the Chedis, that he challenges thee who art Achyuta. For this is the fixed opinion of Kṛishṇa, the sustainer of the world, 'What king on earth, O Bhīmasena, ought to-day to revile me, deprived by destiny of his reason, like this degrader of his race?' For this large-armed (S'iśupāla) is certainly [an emanation of] the strength, and a portion, of Hari, which the pervading [deity] wishes to draw back again [into himself]; in consequence of which, O chief of the Kurus, this foolish king of the Chedis growls loudly, like a tiger, disregarding us all."

S'iśupāla here breaks in angrily (v. 1524 ff.), and asks why Kṛishṇa should be so praised to the exclusion of all other warlike kings. Bhīshma replies (1551), that he values not a straw all the other chiefs who were present. On hearing this, some of them became greatly incensed; and some cried out that Bhīshma should be killed or burned. Bhīshma replied that they might slay or burn him if they pleased, but that Kṛishṇa, the object of his reverence, would survive, and that

appearance of his frontal eye to the look and embrace of Kṛishṇa. This story is of especial importance for the purpose of determining the periods to which the different parts of the Mahābhārata belong. Kṛishṇa's deification belongs to the period after Buddha. In the attack upon Jarāsandha he is still exhibited principally as a hero, acts upon human motives, and performs actions unworthy of a god: but there are evident beginnings of his deification." The same author adds in a note on the same page (p. 823, second ed.): "S'iśupāla is probably an earlier name of S'iva, who is called 'Paśupati,' or lord, protector, of beasts. 'S'iśu' denotes the young of men and beasts, and 'pāla' protector. He had a second name 'Sunītha' (Sabhāp. v. 1410), which no doubt was the proper one."

any one who was desirous to incur speedy destruction should challenge him to fight. Siśupāla hereupon challenges Kṛishṇa; and the narrative proceeds:

(Verses 1561 ff.): *Tataḥ śrutvaiva Bhīshmasya Chedi-rāḍ uru-vikramaḥ | yuyutsur Vāsudevena Vāsudevam uvācha ha | āhvaye tvāṁ raṇaṁ gachha mayā sārdhaṁ Janārdana | yāvad adya nihanmi tvāṁ sahitaṁ sarva-Pāṇḍavaiḥ | saha tvayā hi me badhyāḥ sarvathā Kṛishṇa Pāṇḍavāḥ | nṛipatīn samatikramya y'air arājā tvam architaḥ | ye tvāṁ dāsam arājānam bālyād archanti durmatim | anarham arha-vat Kṛishṇa badhyās te iti me matiḥ | ity uktvā rāja-śārdūla [s?] tasthau garjann amarshaṇaḥ | evam ukte tataḥ Kṛishṇo mṛidu-pūrvam idaṁ vachaḥ | uvācha pārthivān sarvān sa samakshaṁ cha Pāṇḍavān | esha noḥ śatrur atyantam pārthivāḥ Sātvatī-sutaḥ | Sātvatānāṁ nṛiśaṁsātmā na hito 'napakāriṇām | Prāgjyotisha-puram yātān asmān jñātvā nṛiśaṁsa-kṛit | adahad Dvārakām esha svasrīyaḥ san narādhipāḥ | krīḍato Bhoja-rājasya esha Raivatake girau | hatvā baddhvā cha tān sarvān upāyāt sva-puram purā | aśvamedhe hayam medhyam utsṛishṭaṁ rakshibhir vṛitam | pitur me yajña-vighnārtham aharat pāpa-niśchayaḥ | Sauvīrān pratiyātāncha Babhror esha tapasvinaḥ | bhāryām abhyaharad mohād akāmā [m?] tām ito gatām | esha māyā-pratichhannaḥ Kārūshārthe tapasvinīm | jahāra Bhadrāṁ Vaiśālīm mātulasya nṛiśaṁsa-vat | pitṛi-svasuḥ kṛite duḥkhaṁ sumahad marshayāmy aham | dishṭyā hīdaṁ sarva-rājñāṁ sannidhāv adya vartate | paśyanti hi bhavanto 'dya mayy atīva vyatikramam | kṛitāni tu paroksham me yāni tāni nibodhata | imaṁ tv asya na śakshyāmi kshantum adya vyatikramam | avalepād badhārhasya samagre rāja-maṇḍale | Rukmiṇyām asya mūḍhasya prārthanā "sīd mumūrshataḥ | na cha tām prāptavān mūḍhaḥ śūdraḥ vedaśrutīm iva | evam-ādi tataḥ sarve sahitās te narādhipāḥ | Vāsudeva-vachaḥ śrutvā Chedi-rājaṁ vyagarhayan | tasya tad-vachanaṁ śrutvā Siśupālaḥ pratāpavān | jahāsa svanavaddhāsaṁ vākyaṁ chedam uvācha ha | mat-pūrvām Rukmiṇīṁ Kṛishṇa saṁsatsu parikīrtayan | viśeshataḥ pārthiveshu vrīḍāṁ na kurushe katham | manyamāno hi kaḥ satsu purushaḥ parikīrtayet | anya-pūrvāṁ striyaṁ jātu tvad-anyo Madhusūdana | kshama vā yadi te śraddhā mā vā Kṛishṇa mama kshama | kruddhād vā 'pi prasannād vā kiṁ me tvatto bhavishyati | tathā bruvataḥ evāsya bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ | manasā 'chintayach chakraṁ daitya-garva-nisūdanam | etāsminn eva kāle tu chakre hasta-gate sati | uvācha bhagavān uchchair vākyaṁ vākya-viśāradaḥ | śṛinvantu me mahīpālāḥ yenāitat*

kshamitam mayā | aparādha-śataṁ kshāmyam mātur asyaiva yāchane | dattam mayā yāchitaṁ cha tad vai pūrṇaṁ hi pārthivāḥ | adhunā badhayishyāmi paśyatāṁ vo mahīkshitam | evaṁ uktvā Yadu-śreshṭhaś Chedirājasya tat-kshaṇāt | vyapāharach chhiraḥ kruddhaś chakreṇāmitrakarshaṇaḥ | sa papāta mahābāhur vajrāhataḥ ivāchalaḥ |

"The king of the Chedis, mighty in valour, desirous to fight with Vāsudeva, after he had heard Bhīshma, then addressed the former: 'I challenge thee, approach to combat with me, Janārdana, till I slay thee with all the Pāṇḍavas. For together with thee, Kṛishṇa, I must utterly destroy the Pāṇḍavas, who, passing over kings, have honoured thee who art no king. They who, through folly, honour thee, a fool, who art a slave, and no king, and who art unworthy, as if thou wert worthy, [they, I say,] ought in my opinion to be slain.' Having so spoken, the tiger of kings stood growling and indignant. Kṛishṇa then addressed these mild words to all the kings and the Pāṇḍavas, in their presence: 'This son of Sātvatī, O princes, is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sātvatas, who have done him no wrong. This malignant man, a sister's son, knowing that we had set out for the city of the Prāgjyotishas, burned Dvārakā. While the king of the Bhojas was formerly amusing himself on the Revata mountain, he slew and captured them all, and then returned home. Bent upon wickedness, to interrupt my father's sacrifice, he carried off the horse intended as a victim, which had been let loose, attended by keepers. He in his infatuation carried off the wife of the devotee Babhru, who had set out to return to [the country of] the Sauvīras, who had gone hence, and who had no passion [for him]. Under a magical disguise, he, like a cruel wretch, carried off for the Kārusha the devout Bhadrā, daughter of Viśāla, [the daughter] of my maternal uncle. For the sake of my father's sister (S'iśupāla's mother), I submit to great vexation. Fortunately, this occurs to-day in presence of all the princes, for ye all behold the great transgression committed against me. As for the offences which have been done out of your sight, learn them from me. I shall not to-day be able to endure this transgression of this infatuated man, who, for his presumption, deserves to be slain in the full assembly of princes. He who is doomed to die, sought to gain Rukmiṇī, but the fool did not obtain her, as a Śūdra is excluded from the veda.' Hearing these and such other words of Vāsudeva,

all the princes together then reviled the king of the Chedis. But the mighty S'iśupāla, hearing these words, laughed a sonorous laugh, and thus spake: 'How is it, that thou art not ashamed, Kṛishṇa, thus in the assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukmiṇī, who was betrothed to me?[211] For what man but thou, Madhusūdana, after reflection, would mention among respectable persons a woman who had been betrothed to another? Forgive me, Kṛishṇa, if thou hast generosity, or refuse to forgive me. What shall happen to me from thee whether thou art well-pleased or angry?' As he thus spake, the divine Madhusūdana in his mind thought upon the discus, the humbler of the pride of the Daityas. The discus having come into his hand at that very time, the divine being, skilled in words, uttered aloud this word: 'Let the kings listen to me by whom this forgiveness has been practised. At the request of his mother, a hundred offences were to be pardoned. That request was granted by me, and it has been fulfilled, O kings. I shall now slay him, while you kings look on.' Having thus spoken, the chief of the Yadus, the vexer of his foes, incensed, instantly struck off the head of the king of the Chedis with his discus. The great-armed (warrior) fell like a mountain smitten by a thunder-bolt."[212]

[211] Rukmiṇī had been betrothed to S'iśupāla, as we are told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, v. 26, 1 ff. (Wilson, p. 573, first ed.; p. 69, vol. v. of Dr. Hall's ed.): *Bhīshmakaḥ Kuṇḍine rājā Vidarbha-vishaye 'bhavat | Rukmī tasyābhavat putro Rukmiṇī cha varāṅganā | Rukmiṇīṁ chakame Kṛishṇaḥ sā cha tāṁ chāru-hāsinī | na dadau yāchate chainām Rukmī dveshena chakriṇe | dadau cha S'iśupālāya Jarāsandha-prachoditaḥ | Bhīshmako Rukmiṇā sārddhaṁ Rukmiṇīm uru-vikramaḥ |* "Bhīshmaka was king in Kuṇḍina, in the country of the Vidarbhas. Rukmin was his son, and the beautiful Rukmiṇī (his daughter). Kṛishṇa loved Rukmiṇī, and the sweetly-smiling maid (loved) him, but Rukmin did not give her to the wielder of the discus, when he asked her; but urged by Jarāsandha, Bhīshmaka, mighty in valour, together with Rukmin, gave her to S'iśupāla." Kṛishṇa comes to witness the nuptials of his rival, and carries off the princess on the eve of the wedding. The story is told at greater length in the Harivaṁśa, sect. 117, vv. 6579 ff.; and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. sections 43 ff.

[212] See the sequel, vv. 1585–1588. The Vishṇu Purāṇa (Wilson's translation, p. 437, first ed.; vol. iv. p. 104, of Dr. Hall's ed.) tells that S'is'upāla had been in a former birth the Daitya Hiraṇyakaśipu, who was killed by Vishṇu in his man-lion incarnation. He afterwards became Rāvaṇa, who was slain by Rāma. In his character as S'iśupāla he evinced an intense hatred towards Vishṇu, "a portion of the supreme being, who had descended to lighten the burthens of the earth," (V. P. iv. 14, 14: *S'iśupālatvena bhagavato bhū-bhārāvatāraṇāya avatīrṇāṁśasya Puṇḍarīkanayanākhyasya upari dveshānubandham atitarāṁ chakāra |*) and was in consequence slain by him;

Duryodhana, the son of Dhṛitarāshṭra, and the principal leader of the Kurus, is represented as manifesting a similar disbelief of Kṛishṇa's divine character, or at least as maintaining a proud and contumacious resistance to his claims. In the Udyoga-parvan (vv. 2527 ff.), Sanjaya unfolds the divine nature of Kṛishṇa, "who," he says, "being distinct in nature, and self-subdued, is able, by a thought, to subject to himself the earth, the air, and the heaven" (*pṛithivīnchāntarīkshancha dyāṁ chaiva Purushottamaḥ | manasaiva visishṭātmā nayaty ātma-vaśaṁ vaśī*)| He then goes on to say, vv. 2529 ff.:

Ekato vā jagat kṛitsnam ekato vā Janārdanaḥ | sārato jagataḥ kṛitsnād atirikto Janārdanaḥ | bhasma kuryād jagad idam manasaiva Janārdanaḥ | na cha kṛitsnaṁ jagach chhaktam bhasmīkartuṁ Janārdanam | yataḥ satyaṁ yato dharmo yato hrīr ārjavaṁ yataḥ | tato bhavati Govindo yataḥ Kṛishṇas tato jayaḥ | pṛithivīṁ chāntarīkshancha divancha Purushottamaḥ | vicheshṭayati bhūtātmā krīḍann iva Janārdanaḥ | sa kṛitvā Pāṇḍavān satraṁ lokaṁ sammohayann iva | adharma-niratān mūḍhān dagdhum ichhati te sutān | kāla-chakraṁ jayach-chakraṁ yuga-chakrancha Keśavaḥ | ātma-yogena bhagavān parivartayate 'niśam | kālasya cha hi mṛityoścha jangama-sthāvarasya cha | īśate bhagavān ekaḥ satyam etad bravīmi te | īśann api mahāyogī sarvasya jagato Hariḥ | karmāṇy ārabhate kartuṁ kīnāśaḥ iva vardhanaḥ | tena vanchayate lokān māyāyogena Keśavaḥ | ye tam eva prapadyante tena muhyanti mānavāḥ | Dhṛitarāshṭraḥ uvācha | kathaṁ tvaṁ Mādhavaṁ vettha sarva-loka-maheśvaram | katham enaṁ na vedāhaṁ tad mamāchakshva Sanjaya | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | śriṇu rājan na te vidyā mama vidyā na hīyate | vidyā-hīno tamo-dhvasto nābhijānāti Keśavam | vidyayā tāta jānāmi triyugam Madhusūdanam | kartāram akṛitaṁ devam bhūtānām prabhavāpyayam | Dhṛitarāshṭraḥ

but as his thoughts were "constantly engrossed by the supreme being," S'iśupāla became united with him after death; for the lord gives "to those to whom he is favourable whatever they desire," and "bestows a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he slays in his displeasure." This is further explained in the next section, where we are told that Kṛishṇa as an object of hatred was ever present to S'iśupāla's thoughts, and that he was constantly uttering his names, and though this was done disrespectfully and in malediction, yet he at last beheld the deity in his true character when he was being slain by him, and that then all his passion and hatred ceased, and his sins were consumed by his divine adversary, with whom he became united. The attempt of S'iśupāla's brother, king of the S'ālvas (whose capital was Saubha), to revenge his death, his assault on Dvārakā, his desire to slay Kṛishṇa, and the destruction which he thereby drew upon himself, are narrated in the Vana-parvan, vv. 615–890.

uvācha | Gāvalgaṇe 'tra kā bhaktir yā te nityaṁ Jānardane | yathā tvam abhijānāsi iriyugam Madhusūdanam | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | māyāṁ na seve bhadraṁ te na vṛithā dharmam ācharе | śuddha-bhāvaṁ gato bhaktyā śāstrād vedmi Janārdanam | Dhṛitarāshṭraḥ uvācha | Duryodhana Hṛishīkeśam prapadyasva Janārdanam | āpto naḥ Sanjayas tāta śaraṇaṁ gachha Keśavam | Duryodhanaḥ uvācha | Bhagavān Devakī-putro lokāṁś ched nihanishyati | pravadann Arjune sakhyaṁ nāhaṁ gachhe 'dya Keśavam |

2529. "On the one side the whole world, on the other Janārdana,—in his essence Janārdana exceeds the whole world. He could by a thought reduce this world to ashes; but the whole world could not reduce him to ashes. Since he is truth, righteousness, modesty, rectitude,—therefore is he Govinda; since he is Kṛishṇa, he is therefore victory. The chief of males (or spirits), Janārdana, the soul of beings, imparts activity to the earth, air, and sky, as if in sport. He having made for the Pāṇḍavas a sacrifice, deluding, as it were, the world, wishes to burn up thy (Dhṛitarāshṭra's) infatuated and unrighteous sons. The divine Keśava by his own abstraction (*yoga*) makes the circles of time, of the world, and of the ages (*yugas*), continually to revolve. This divine being alone is lord of time, of death, and of things movable and immovable,—this I tell thee as a truth. Hari, the great contemplator, though the lord of the whole world, undertakes to perform works, like a poor peasant seeking gain. He deceives the world by this display of delusion whereby the men who seek him are bewildered. Dhṛitarāshṭra said: How dost thou know Mādhava, the great lord of the whole world? and how is it that I do not know him?—tell me that, Sanjaya. Sanjaya answered: Hear, O king, thou hast not knowledge; but to me knowledge is not wanting. He who is devoid of knowledge, and sunk in darkness, does not recognize Keśava. By knowledge I recognize Madhusūdana, who exists in the three ages (*yugas*), the maker, the unmade, the god, the source of beings, and the cause of their destruction. Dhṛitarāshṭra asks: O Gāvalgaṇi (Sanjaya), what is this devotion of thine to Janārdana, whereby thou recognizest him to exist in the three Yugas? Sanjaya answers: I do not pursue a delusion, bless thee, nor do I vainly practise righteousness. Having by devotion attained to purity, I know Janārdana from the scripture (*śāstra*). Dhṛitarāshṭra said: Duryodhana, do thou seek Hṛishīkeśa, Janārdana: Sanjaya is to us an authoritative teacher: resort to Keśava as thy

refuge. Duryodhana said: If the divine son of Devakī should destroy the worlds, I should not, declaring friendship for Arjuna, resort to-day to Keśava."

Duryodhana is hereupon reproved by his father and mother for his pride, self-will, and ambition, and is told by the latter that "when he has received his death-blow from Bhīmasena, he will remember the words of his father (*nihato Bhīmasenena smartāsi vachanam pituḥ*)." After some further conversation, Dhṛitarāshṭra asks to be further instructed about Kṛishṇa, when Sanjaya proceeds as follows (vv. 2560 ff.):

Sanjayaḥ uvācha | śrutam me Vāsudevasya nāma-nirvachanaṁ śubham | yāvat tatrābhijāne 'ham aprameyo hi Keśavaḥ | vasanāt sarva-bhūtānāṁ vasutvād deva-yonitaḥ | Vāsudevas tato vedyo vṛihatvād Vishṇur uchyate | maunād dhyānāch cha yogāchcha viddhi Bhārata Mādhavam | sarva-tattva-mayatvāch cha Madhuhā Madhusūdanaḥ | kṛishir bhū-vāchakaḥ śabdo ṇaścha nirvṛiti-vāchakaḥ | Vishṇus tad-bhāva-yogāchcha Kṛishṇo bhavati Sātvataḥ | puṇḍarīkam paraṁ dhāma nityam akshayam avyayam | tad-bhāvāt Puṇḍarīkāksho dasyu-trāsāj Janārdanaḥ | yataḥ sattvād na chyavate yach cha sattvād na hīyate | sattvataḥ Sāttvatas tasmād ārsha-bhād Vṛishabhekshaṇaḥ | na jāyate janitrā 'yam Ajas tasmād anīkajit | devānāṁ sva-prakāśatvād damād Dāmodaro vibhuḥ | harshāt sukhāt sukhaiśvaryād Hṛishīkeśatvam aśnute | bāhubhyām rodasī bibhrad mahā-bāhur iti smṛitaḥ | adho na kshīyate jātu yasmāt tasmād adhokshajaḥ | narāṇām ayanāch chāpi tato Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ | pūraṇāt sadanāch chāpi tato 'sau Purushottamaḥ | ṣaṭaś cha sataś chaiva sarvasya prabhavāpyayāt | sarvasya cha sadā jñānāt Sarvam etam prachakshate | satye pratishṭhitaḥ Kṛishṇaḥ satyam atra pratishṭhitam | satyāt satyancha Govindas tasmāt Satyo 'pi nāmataḥ | Vishṇur vikramaṇād devo jayanāj Jishṇur uchyate | śāśvatatvād Anantaścha Govindo vedanād gavām | atattvaṁ kurute tattvaṁ tena mohayate prajāḥ | evaṁvidho dharma-nityo bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ | āgantā hi mahābāhur ānṛiśaṁsyārtham achyutaḥ |

"Sanjaya says: Thou hast heard from me the auspicious explanation of Vāsudeva's names, as far as I understand the subject; for Keśava is immeasurable. He is to be known as Vāsudeva from his dwelling (*vasanāt*) in all beings, from his issuing as a Vasu from a divine womb. From his greatness (*vṛihatvāt*) he is called Vishṇu. From his silence, (*maunāt*) contemplation, and abstraction, do thou know him to be Mādhava. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is

Madhuhan, and Madhusūdana. The word kṛishi denotes 'earth,' and ṇa denotes 'cessation'; Vishṇu, from containing the nature of these things, is Kṛishṇa, the Sāttvata. Puṇḍarīka means the highest abode, eternal, unchangeable, undecaying; from his having that character he is Puṇḍarīkāksha. From terrifying the Dasyus he is Janārdana. Inasmuch as he does not fall from, or fail in, existence (*sattva*), therefore, from his existence, he is Sāttvata, and from his excellence (*ārshabhat*) he is Vṛishabhekshaṇa. As he is not generated by a father, he is Aja (the unborn), the victorious in battle. From the self-illumination of the gods, and from self-restraint (*dama*), the mighty being is Dāmodara. He obtains his character as Hṛishīkeśa from joy (*harsha*), pleasure, and the ease with which he rules. Sustaining the two worlds with his arms, he is called Mahābāhu (*great-armed*). Since he never sinks downwards (*adho na kshīyate*) he is Adhokshaja. From movement among men (*narāṇām*[213] *ayanat*) he is called Nārāyaṇa. From filling (*pūraṇāt*) and from abiding (*sadanāt*) he is Purushottama. Since he is the source and the destruction of everything (*sarvasya*) both non-existent and existent, and since he always knows all, they call him Sarva. Kṛishṇa is based on truth (*satye*), and truth is based on him, and Govinda is truer than truth, therefore he is also called Satya. The god is called Vishṇu from striding (*vikramaṇāt*), Jishṇu from conquering (*jayanāt*), Ananta from his eternity, and Govinda from the possession of cattle[214] (*vedanād gavām*). He makes the reality an unreality, and so deludes creatures. Of such a character, constant

[213] Perhaps the true reading is *nārāṇām*, "waters," as in the text of Manu, cited above, p. 31.

[214] Another explanation of this name is given in S'ānti-parvan, v. 13228 f.: *Nashṭāṁ cha dharaṇīm pūrvam avindaṁ vai guhāgatām | Govindaḥ iti tenāhaṁ devair vāgbhir abhisthṭutaḥ* | "And since I discovered the earth which had formerly been destroyed, and had sunk into the abyss, I was therefore lauded by the gods with praises as Govinda." And in the following verse, occurring in the description of the ocean, in the Ādi-parvan, v. 1216, the word Govinda is thus interpreted: *Gāṁ vindatā bhagavatā Govindenāmitaujasā | varāha-rūpiṇā chāntar vikshobhita-jalāvilam* | "[That ocean] which was rendered turbid when its waters were agitated within by the divine Govinda of illimitable power, who in the form of a boar found the earth [beneath its surface]." I notice in the same passage another verse (1215), which seems to show that, at the period when it was written, the Hindūs were acquainted with the cause of the tides, or at least with the influence of the moon upon the ocean: *Chandra-vṛiddhi-kshaya-vaśād udvṛittormi-samākulaṁ* | "[The ocean] tossed with waves which rise in obedience to the waxing and waning of the moon."

in righteousness, is the divine Madhusūdana. For the great-armed Achyuta (or unfalling deity) will come for the sake of innocence."

The following is another illustration of Duryodhana's enmity to Kṛishṇa, and of his scepticism in regard to the supernatural character of that personage, at the same time that it shows the writer's faith in the divine nature of his hero. It is related in the Udyoga-parvan that Kṛishṇa went to the Kurus, with the intention of mediating between them and the Pāṇḍus. While he was with them, Duryodhana plotted to confine him (v. 4368), but Vidura warns the plotter that his attempt would be vain, owing to the divine power of Kṛishṇa. On the conclusion of Vidura's speech, Kṛishṇa addresses himself to Duryodhana (4418 ff.):

Vidureṇaivam uktas tu Keśavaḥ śatru-pūga-hā | Duryodhanaṁ Dhārtarāshṭram abhyabhāshata vīryavān | eko 'ham iti yad mohād manyase māṁ Suyodhana | paribhūya sudurbuddhe grahītum māṁ chikīrshasi | ihaiva Pāṇḍavāḥ sarve tathaivāndhaka-vṛishṇayaḥ | ihādityāścha Rudrāś cha Vasavaś cha saharshibhiḥ | evam uktvā jahāsochchaiḥ Keśavaḥ para-vīra-hā | tasya saṁsmayataḥ S'aurer vidyud-rūpāḥ mahātmanaḥ | angushṭha-mātrās tridaśāḥ mumuchuḥ pāvakārchishaḥ | asya Brahmā lalāṭa-stho Rudro vakshasi chābhavat | loka-pālāḥ bhujeshv āsann Agnir āsyād ajāyata | Ādityāś chaiva Sādhyāś cha Vasavo 'thāśvināv api | Marutaś cha sahendreṇa Viśve devāś tathaiva cha | babhūvus chaika[215]*-rūpāṇi Yaksha-Gandharva-Rakshasām | prādurāstaṁ tathā dorbhyāṁ Sankarshaṇa-Dhananjayau | dakshiṇe 'thārjyuno dhanvī halī Rāmaś cha savyataḥ | Bhīmo Yudhishṭhiraś chaiva Mādrī-putrau cha pṛishṭhataḥ | Andhakāḥ Vṛishṇayaś chaiva Pradyumna-pramukhās tataḥ | agre babhūvuḥ Kṛishṇasya samudyata-mahāyudhāḥ | śankha-chakra-gadā-śakti-śārṅga-lāṅgala-nandakāḥ | adriśyantodyatāny eva sarva-praharaṇāni cha | nānā-bāhushu Kṛishṇasya dīpyamānāni sarvaśaḥ | ityādi.*

"Being thus addressed, the heroic Keśava, slayer of hostile bands, thus addressed Duryodhana, son of Dhṛitarāshṭra: 'Since, Suyodhana, thou, in thy delusion, regardest me as if I were alone, and, O fool, seekest to overcome and confine me, [know that] here are all the Pāṇḍavas, the Andhakas, and the Vṛishṇis, as well as the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus, together with the rishis.' Having thus spoken, Keśava, slayer of hostile heroes, laughed aloud. As the mighty de-

[215] Quere, may not *chaiva* be the proper reading?

scendant of Śūra [Kṛishṇa] smiled, the gods, wearing the appearance of lightning, of the size of a thumb, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahmā occupied his forehead, Rudra was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world appeared on his arms, and Agni sprang from his mouth. The Ādityas, too, and the Sādhyas, Vasus, Aśvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced, and also the forms of the Yakshas, Gandharvas, and Rākshasas. Sankarshaṇa and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, and Rāma holding a plough from his left, Yudhishṭhira and Bhīma, the sons of Mādrī, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vṛishṇis, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword, were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Kṛishṇa."

In the next passage, taken from the Karṇa-parvan also, Duryodhana, and other warriors on his side, put themselves on the same level as Kṛishṇa (except in one place, vv. 1625 ff.). It is there related (vv. 1265 ff.) that Karṇa promised to Duryodhana to encounter and slay Arjuna, or be slain by him. Karṇa says, however, that in some respects he is inferior to Arjuna; as, for instance, in not having such a charioteer as Arjuna had in Govinda (Kṛishṇa) (v. 1302: *Sārathis tasya Govindo mama tādṛiṅ na vidyate*); while in other respects he regards himself as having the advantage (v. 1304). As, then, Kṛishṇa, creator of the world, preserves the car of Arjuna (*Kṛishṇaś cha srashṭā jagato rathaṁ tam abhirakshati*[216]), if, in like manner, Śalya, king of the Madras, the ornament of the battle-field, who is equal to Śauri (Kṛishṇa) and, as well as Dāśārha, (Kṛishṇa) who knows a horse's heart, is skilled in horses, will act as his charioteer, Karṇa thinks the victory of Duryodhana's side will be certain (v. 1308: *Ayaṁ tu sadṛiśaḥ Śaureḥ Śalyaḥ samiti-śobhanaḥ | sārathyaṁ yadi me kuryād dhruvas te vijayo bhavet* | . . . . 1311: *Evam abhyadhikaḥ Pārthāt bhavishyāmi guṇair aham | Śalyo 'py abhyadhikaḥ Kṛishṇād Arjunād api chāpy aham | yathā 'śva-hṛidayaṁ veda Dāśārhaḥ para-*

[216] If the words *srashṭā jagataḥ*, "creator of the world," are not an interpolation, it is not easy to perceive how Karṇa could have regarded Kṛishṇa as his equal, as he would never have thought of calling Śalya, or any other of his brother warriors, the creator of the world.

vīra-hā | tathā S'alyo 'pi jānīte haya-jnānaṁ mahārathaḥ |) Duryodhana then goes to S'alya, and asks him to act as charioteer to Karṇa, saying that he (S'alya) was equal to Kṛishṇa, that there was no other person who could drive Karṇa but himself; and that Brahmā had fulfilled the same office to Mahādeva (v. 1328 f.: *Sārathyaṁ rathināṁ śreshṭha praṇayāt kartum arhasi | tvayi yantari Rādheyo vidvisho me vijeshyate | abhīshūṇāṁ hi Karṇasya grahītā 'nyo na vidyate | ṛite hi tvām mahābhāga Vāsudeva-samaṁ yudhi | sa pāhi sarvathā Karṇaṁ yathā Brahmā Maheśvaram |*). S'alya, however, is very much offended (v. 1354 f.) that a person of his dignity should be asked to undertake the office of charioteer, and boasts that he is superior to Karṇa, and could alone destroy their enemies. He points to his thick arms, which would smite like a thunderbolt, and asserts that he could by his own strength cleave asunder the earth, scatter the mountains, and dry up the seas (v. 1361: *Paśya pīnau mama bhujau vajra-saṁhananopamau | . .* 1363: *Dārayeyam mahīṁ kṛitsnāṁ vikireyaṁ cha parvatān | S'oshayeyaṁ samudrāṁś cha tejasā svena pārthiva |*). He will not brook to undertake the inferior office of driving a person who is his own inferior[217] (v. 1365: *Kasmād yunakshi sārathye nīchasyādhirathe raṇe | na mām adhuri rājendra niyoktuṁ tvam ihārhasi | na hi pāpīyasaḥ śreyān bhūtvā preshyatvam utsahe |*). He threatens, in consequence of the insult thus offered to him, to go home (v. 1375); and accordingly rises and goes, but is followed by Duryodhana, who endeavours to soothe him by saying that he did not regard Karṇa as superior to him (v. 1379: *Na Karṇo 'bhyadikas tvattaḥ*), but considered Karṇa to be superior to Arjuna; while the world regarded him (S'alya) as superior to Kṛishṇa, whom he excelled in strength, as well as in knowledge of horses and their dispositions, (v. 1384: *Manye chābhyadhikaṁ S'alya guṇaiḥ Karṇaṁ Dhananjayāt | bhavantaṁ Vāsudevāch cha loko 'yam iti manyate | Karṇo hy abhyadhikaḥ Pārthād astrair eva nararshabha | bhavān abhyadhikaḥ Kṛishṇād aśva-jnāne bale tathā | yathā 'śvahṛidayaṁ veda Vāsudevo mahāmanāḥ | dviguṇaṁ tvaṁ tathā vetsi Madrarājeśvarātmaja |*). S'alya is flattered by his being reckoned superior to Kṛishṇa, and agrees to act as charioteer to Karṇa, vv. 1387 ff.: *Yad mām bravīshi Gāndhāre*

[217] He regarded Karṇa as what he was generally supposed to be, a Sūta, or charioteer, by caste (*sūta-putrasya*, v. 1374).

madhye sainyasya Kaurava | viśishṭaṁ Devakīputrāt prītimāṉ asmy ahaṁ tvayi | esha sārathyam ātishṭhe Rādheyasya yaśasvinaḥ | yudhyataḥ Pāṉḍavāgryeṇa yathā tvaṁ vīra manyase | samayaś cha hi me vīra kaśchid Vaikartanam prati | utsṛijeyaṁ yathā-śraddham ahaṁ vācho 'sya sannidhau | Sanjayaḥ uvācha | tatheti rājan putras te saha Karṇena Bhārata | abravīd Madra-rājasya matam Bharata-sattama | "I am pleased with thee, Kaurava, since in the midst of the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karṇa when he fights with the chief of the Pāṉḍavas, as thou, hero, thinkest [I ought to do]. And now that I have entered into a certain agreement with Karṇa, let me candidly excuse to him the words I have used." Sañjaya proceeded: "Thy son (*i.e.* Duryodhana) having assented, declared to Karṇa the resolution of the king of the Madras (Śalya)."

Though he had thus gained his point, by persuading Śalya to act as charioteer to Karṇa, Duryodhana is nevertheless represented as proceeding, in the next three sections, the 33rd–35th, vv. 1391 ff., (which, for reasons to be afterwards assigned, I regard as probably interpolated,) to repeat to Śalya an ancient story, telling how Brahmā had formerly done duty as charioteer to Mahādeva in a war between the gods and Asuras. In this war the gods, it is related, were at first the victors (1394). The three sons of the Asura Tāraka thereupon performed severe austerities, which induced Brahmā to grant them a boon (1397). They asked that they might become indestructible by any being whatever, which, however, Brahmā declined to grant, as immortality, he said, was not an universal attribute (1399). They then asked that they should occupy three castles, and from thence move about the earth at will, and that after a thousand years these three castles should become united, and that they themselves should only be destructible by the deity who should be able to overthrow the castles with a single arrow (1402 ff.: *Vayam purāṉi trīṉy eva samāsthāya mahīm imām | vicharishyāmo loke 'smin . . . . tato varsha-sahasre tu sameshyāmaḥ parasparam | ekībhāvaṁ gamishyaṉti purāṉy etāni chānagha | samāgatāni chaitāni yo hanyād bhagavaṁs tadā | ekeshuṉā deva-varaḥ sa no mṛityur bhavishyati* |). Brahmā granted this boon, and the Asura Maya built them three castles, one of gold, in heaven; a second of silver, in the air; and a third of black iron, on

earth[218] (1406 ff.), which the three Asura kings above mentioned severally occupied, and where innumerable hosts of formidable demons were collected. Maya, by his magical power, gave them everything that any of them wished (1415): and Hari, the son of Tārakāksha, obtained as a boon from Brahmā that there should be a pond within their castle, into which, when any Asuras slain in battle were thrown, they should be resuscitated and become stronger than ever (1418 ff.). Armed with all these powers, the Asuras harassed the worlds, putting to flight the celestial hosts, and destroying the gardens of the gods, and the hermitages of the rishis (1421 ff.). Indra attacked the castles of the Asuras with his thunderbolts, but without effect (1427). He then went with the other gods to consult Brahmā about the means of overthrowing the titans (1429 ff.). Brahmā replied that the castles could only be destroyed by a single arrow, and that this could only be effected by Mahādeva (1434), to whom they should apply. The deities, then, headed by Brahmā himself, went to supplicate Mahādeva, who gives security amid alarms, the soul of all things, by whom the universe is pervaded, who, through particular austerities, knows the "yoga" and the "sānkhya" of himself, (or of spirit,) and whose spirit is always in subjection,—(they went to supplicate him) practising rites of austerity, repeating the eternal Veda, and uttering awful or fierce hymns, (1437 ff.: *Tapo-niyamam āsthāya gṛiṇanto brahma śāśvatam* | . . . . *tushṭuvur vāgbhir ugrābhir bhayeshv abhaya-daṁ nṛipa* | *sarvātmānam mahātmānāṁ yenāptaṁ sarvam ātmanā* | *tapo-viśeshair vividhair yogaṁ yo veda chātmanaḥ* | *yaḥ sānkhyam ātmano vetti yasya chātmā vaśe sadā* |). They beheld Mahādeva, to whom a variety of other honorific epithets are applied, such as "the essence of all beings, the unborn, the lord of the world" (1442: *sarva-bhūtamayaṁ dṛishṭvā taṁ ajaṁ jagataḥ patim*|). Mahādeva received them smiling, and invites them to state their wishes (1444). They then recite a number of his epithets (1445 ff.), and Brahmā replies on their behalf (1455 ff.) that he himself, who had obtained from Mahādeva his rank of Prajāpaṭi, had bestowed a boon on the Dānavas, that they had in consequence transgressed all bounds, and that now there was no one but Mahādeva who could destroy them,—which he was therefore implored to do. Mahādeva answers (1459) that he himself alone could not

[218] See above p. 203; and the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 378 ff.

destroy them, as they were strong, but that, with the aid of half his strength, they themselves would be able to conquer their enemies. They answered that they could not sustain half of his strength (*vibhartuṁ tava tejo 'rdhaṁ na śakshyāmaḥ*), but proposed that he should undertake the work, aided by half of their strength. To this Mahādeva consented, and became stronger than all the gods, and was thenceforward called Mahādeva, or "the great god," (*ardhaṁ ādāya sarveshāṁ tejasā 'bhyadhiko 'bhavat | sa tu devo balenāsīt sarvebhyo balavattaraḥ | Mahādevaḥ iti khyātas tataḥ prabhṛiti Śankaraḥ*). Mahādeva then (1468) desired the gods to provide him with a bow and arrows, and a chariot. The gods promised to provide a chariot which should be composed of all the forms of the universe (1469: *mūrtīḥ sarvāḥ samādhāya trailokyasya tatas tataḥ | rathaṁ te kalpayishyāmaḥ*). The composition of the car, formed by Viśvakarman and the gods, is then described at great length (vv. 1471–1492). Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni became different parts of Mahādeva's bow and arrow; the earth became his chariot, the mountain Mandara its axle; and the great river, the regions, the constellations, the Kṛita age, the serpent Vāsuki, the Himālaya and Vindhya mountains, plants, the sun and moon, day and night, various goddesses, duty, truth, the vashaṭkāra, the gāyatrī, etc., formed portions of the car, or of its appurtenances. Mahādeva's weapons and equipments are then specified (1495 ff.). At verse 1503 it is repeated that "Vishṇu, Agni, and Soma formed his arrow; for all the world," it is added, "is formed of Agni and Soma, and is said to be composed of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu is the soul of Mahādeva of boundless power.[219] Hence they could not abide the bow, or the contact of the bowstring of Hara. In that arrow the terrible god, dark-blue, and dusky in hue, clad in an antelope's skin, hurled forth the fire of wrath, of fierce fury, intolerable, and sprung from the rage of Bhṛigu and Angiras. . . . . 1507. He is the constant preserver of virtuous, and destroyer of wicked, men. The divine Sthāṇu (Mahādeva) shines forth distinguished by these inherent qualities, which are destructive, fearful in power, fearful in form, and rapid as thought. This whole universe, movable and immovable, existing contained in his members, shone forth, wonderful to behold." (*Ishuś chāpy abhavad Vishṇur Jvalanaḥ Somaḥ eva cha | Agnī-Somaṁ jagat kṛitsnaṁ Vaishṇavaṁ chochyate jagat | Vishṇuś chātmā bhagavato*

[219] Can these words be a Vaishṇava addition to the passage?

Bhavasyāmita-tejasaḥ | tasmād dhanur jyā-saṁsparśaṁ na vishehur Harasya te | tasmin śare tigma-manyum mumochāsahyam Īśvaraḥ | Bhṛigv-Angiro-manyu-bhavaṁ krodhāgnim atidussaham | sa nīla-lohito dhūmraḥ kṛittivāsāḥ bhayankaraḥ | . . . . 1507: *Nityaṁ trātā cha hantā cha dharmādharmāśritān narān | pramāthibhir bhīma-balair bhīma-rūpair manojavaiḥ | vibhāti bhagavān Sthāṇus tair evātma-guṇair vṛitaḥ | tasyāngāni samāśritya sthitaṁ viśvam idaṁ jagat | jangamājangamaṁ rājan śuśubhe 'dbhuta-darśanam |)*

Taking the arrow produced from Soma, Vishṇu, and Agni, Mahādeva mounted the car which had been made for him (1510 ff.). He then smilingly asked (1515) who was to be his charioteer. The gods answered that any one whom he should appoint would undertake that office. He then said that the god who was greater than he (*mattaḥ śreshṭhataro hi yaḥ*) should be made his charioteer. The gods next went to Brahmā, and asked him to appoint one (1520), expressing an opinion that he himself was the only person who was fit for the office (1526). Brahmā consented (1530 ff.). Mahādeva is again represented as mounting the car, with the arrow produced from Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni in his hand (1535). He then sets out,[220] and arrives at the triple castle of the Asuras (1551), when some of the Asuras are destroyed by the roaring of his bull (1553), and others come forth to battle. Mahādeva becomes insensate with rage. The three worlds tremble. The chariot begins to sink from the agitation of Soma, Agni, and Vishṇu in the arrow, when it is being fitted on the string, and from the movement of Brahmā and Mahādeva. Vishṇu then issues from a portion of the arrow (1556), takes the form of a bull, and raises up the chariot. Mahādeva again fits his arrow on the string (1562), and discharges it against the triple castle (1567), which falls to the ground, while the Asuras are burnt up and thrown by Mahādeva into the western ocean. The gods praise Mahādeva and depart (1572).

Duryodhana now (1575 ff.) makes his application of this legend by exhorting Śalya to follow Brahmā's example, and act as charioteer to

[220] In vv. 1545 ff. it is said that the rishis praised Mahādeva, and increased his strength (*rishayas tatra devīśaṁ stuvanto bahubhiḥ stavaiḥ | tejaś chāsmai vardhayanto rājann āsan punaḥ punaḥ*). This is a pure Vedic touch, the same power of imparting strength to the gods by their praises being occasionally asserted of the bards in the Rig-veda. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 91. In most of the texts there cited, however, it is perhaps only meant that the gods were gratified by the praises addressed to them.

Karṇa. Śalya, he adds, is superior to Kṛishṇa, Karṇa, and Arjuna, and as Karṇa resembled Mahādeva in fighting, so Śalya resembled Brahmā in guiding [a chariot], etc. To supply additional motives for compliance, he then (1581 ff.) goes on to tell Śalya another story about Paraśurāma performing austerity to propitiate Mahādeva and obtain celestial arms. Mahādeva appears to him, and tells him he shall obtain arms when he has qualified himself by purification to receive them. Paraśurāma renews his austerities and religious ceremonies (1591), and is at length appointed by Mahādeva to slay the Daityas who had been harassing the gods (1599). He successfully accomplishes this task (1806), and receives celestial arms from Mahādeva. Paraśurāma had, as Duryodhana goes on to say, taught the divine science of archery to Karṇa (1613), which proves that Karṇa is free from sin; and Karṇa is not, as Duryodhana believes, a Sūta or charioteer by birth, but a son of one of the gods, born in a Kshatriya family. For how could a doe give birth to a tiger resembling the sun (*katham āditya-sadṛiśam mṛigī vyāghraṁ janishyati* | 1617)? Duryodhana then recurs to the legend of Brahmā becoming Mahādeva's charioteer, and renews his exhortation to Śalya to perform the same office to Karṇa. Śalya appears now to waver in his determination, formerly expressed, to comply with Duryodhana's request, as he replies (1625) that he himself had often heard this story before; and that Kṛishṇa also had no doubt heard of it, as he knows the future and the past, and that he had for that reason consented to be the charioteer of Arjuna. And, Śalya adds, if Karṇa should slay Arjuna, Kṛishṇa would himself fight, and armed with the shell, discus, and club, burn up the whole of Duryodhana's army, and no prince would be able to stand before him among his opponents when he was incensed, (v. 1629 ff.: *Yadi hanyāch cha Kaunteyaṁ Sūta-putraḥ kathanchaṇa* | *dṛishṭvā Pārthaṁ hi nihataṁ svayaṁ yotsyati Keśavaḥ* | *śankha-chakra-gadā-pāṇir dhakshyate tava vāhinīm* | *na chāpi tasya kruddhasya Vārshṇeyasya mahātmanaḥ* | *sthāsyate pratyanīkeshu kaśchid atra nṛipas tava*). Duryodhana in reply expatiates on the eminent prowess of Karṇa, and of Śalya himself: (1643) *Tvam śalya-bhūtaḥ śatrūṇām avishahyaḥ parākrame* | *tatas tvam uchyase rājan Śalyaḥ ity ari-sūdana* | *tava bāhu-balam prāpya na śekuḥ sarva-Sātvatāḥ* | *tava bāhu-balād rājan kintu Kṛishṇo balādhikaḥ* | *yathā hi Kṛishṇena balaṁ dhāryaṁ vai Phālgune hate* | *tathā Karṇā-*

tyayībhāve tvayā dhāryam mahad balam | kimarthaṁ samare sainyaṁ Vāsudevo nyavārayet (sic) | *kimarthaṁ cha bhavān sainyaṁ na hanishyati Mārisha* | "Thou art a spear (*śalya*) to [pierce] thine enemies, irresistible in valour: hence, O king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called S'alya.[221] Feeling the power of thy arm, all the Sātvatas could not [resist]. But [it is said that] Kṛishṇa is superior in force to the strength of thy arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by Kṛishṇa, if Arjuna were killed; so is great strength to be put forth by thee, if Karṇa were slain. Why should Kṛishṇa withstand [our] army? and why shouldst not thou slay the [enemy's] host?" S'alya then answers (1648 ff.) in nearly the same words[222] which had formerly been assigned to him in vv. 1387-9: "I am pleased with thee, bestower of honour, since before the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karṇa," etc. This repetition of the same speech of S'alya at the close of the episode regarding Mahādeva's conquest of the Asuras with Brahmā for his charioteer, and Paraśurāma's acquisition of celestial weapons, renders it probable, as I have already said, that this episode has been subsequently interpolated. As S'alya had already consented, in vv. 1387 ff., to do duty as Karṇa's charioteer, it was quite unnecessary to detail at great length the legend of Brahmā and Mahādeva, which had been already briefly alluded to in verse 1330, and which is merely followed by a renewed expression of S'alya's willingness to comply with the request of Karṇa and Duryodhana.

IV. In various parts of the Mahābhārata Kṛishṇa and Arjuna are singularly represented as having formerly existed in the persons of two rishis, Nārāyaṇa and Nara,[223] who always lived and acted together. A

[221] In verse 1381 the same thing had been said in nearly the same words: *S'alya-bhūtas tu śatrūṇāṁ yasmāt tvam yudhi mānada | tasmāt S'alyo hi te nāma kathyate pṛithivī-tale* | The repetition of this idea is an additional argument in proof of the probable interpolation of the passage between v. 1389 and v. 1648.

[222] The only difference of reading in the two passages is, that in the first line of the later passage the words *agre sainyasya mānada*, "before the army, conferrer of honour," are substituted for *madhye sainyasya Kaurava*, "in the midst of the army, O Kaurava."

[223] In the Vāmana-purāṇa, sect. 6, quoted in Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 45*b*, it is stated that Dharma with a divine body was the heart-born son of Brahmā, that his (Dharma's) wife was Ahiṁsā, and that she bore to him Hari and Kṛishṇa, and Nara and Nārāyaṇa, of whom the two former were devoted to the practice of the Yoga

similar close union exists between the two heroes in the various transactions narrated in the great epic. Their earlier connexion will appear from the following passages,[224] in which, however, these two rishis are always represented as possessed of supernatural or divine powers.

It is related in the Vana-parvan (vv. 461 ff.) that Kṛishṇa, having gone with other friends of the Pāṇḍus to visit them after they had retired into the forest, expressed great indignation at the way in which they had been treated by Duryodhana and his party. Arjuna (one of the Pāṇḍus), with the view of pacifying Kṛishṇa, recounts (vv. 471 ff.) his marvellous deeds in former births, his austerities, his slaughter of the Daityas and Dānavas (478), his various forms (480), his three strides as the son of Aditi (484),[225] and his destruction of various enemies (487 ff.); and then proceeds thus (vv. 496 ff.):

Yugānte sarva-bhūtāni sankshipya Madhusūdana | ātmanaivātmasāt kṛitvā jagad āsīḥ parantapa | yugādau tava Vārshṇeya nābhi-padmād ajāyata | Brahmā charāchara-gurur yasyedaṁ sakalaṁ jagat | taṁ hantum udyatau ghorau Dānavau Madhu-kaiṭabhau | tayor vyatikramaṁ dṛishṭvā kruddhasya bhavato Hareḥ | lalāṭāj jātavān S'ambhuḥ śūla-pāṇis trilochanaḥ | itthaṁ tāv api deveśau tvach-chharīra-samudbhavau | tvan-niyoga-karāv etāv iti me Nārado 'bravīt | tathā Nārāyaṇa purā kratubhir bhūri-dakshiṇaiḥ | ishṭavāṁs tvam mahāsatraṁ Kṛishṇa Chaitrarathe vane | naivam pūrve nāpare vā karishyanti kṛitāni vā | yāni karmāṇi deva tvam bālaḥ eva mahābalaḥ | kṛitavāṇ Puṇḍarīkāksha Baladeva-sahāyavān | Kailāsa-bhavane chāpi brāhmaṇair nyavasaḥ saha | Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | evam uktvā mahātmānam ātmā Kṛishṇasya Pāṇḍavaḥ | tūshṇīm āsīt tataḥ Pārtham ity uvācha Janārdanaḥ | mamaiva tvaṁ tavaivāhaṁ ye madīyās tavaiva te | yas tvāṁ dveshṭi sa māṁ dveshṭi yas tvām anu sa mām anu | Naras tvam asi durdharsha Harir Nārāyaṇo hy aham | kāle lokam imam prāptau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛishī | ananyaḥ Pārtha mattas tvaṁ tvattaś chāhaṁ tathaiva cha | nāvayor antaram śakyaṁ veditum Bharatarshabha |

"'At the end of the mundane period (*yuga*), thou, O Madhusūdana,

(*Hṛidbhavo Brahmaṇo yo 'sau Dharmo divyavapuḥ sadā | tasya bhāryā tv Ahiṁsā tu tasyām ajanayat sutau | Hariṁ Kṛishnaṁ cha devarshe Nara-Nārāyaṇau tathā | yogābhyāsa-ratau nityaṁ Hari-Kṛishṇau babhūvatuḥ*).

[224] See also the extract from the Droṇa-parvan, translated above, p. 185.

[225] See above, p. 136.

vexer of thy foes, having caused all created things to collapse, and by thyself made them subject to thyself, wast the world. At the commencement of the yuga, O Vārshṇeya (Kṛishṇa), Brahmā, the chief of things movable and immovable, whose [is] all this world, sprang from the lotus issuing from thy navel. Two horrible Dānavas, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahādeva), wielding the trident, and three-eyed. Thus even those two lords of the gods (Brahmā and Mahādeva) are sprung from thy (Kṛishṇa's) body, and they execute thy commands,—this Nārada declared to me. So, too, O Kṛishṇa, Nārāyaṇa, thou didst formerly celebrate a great sacrifice in the Chaitraratha forest, with oblations and many gifts. The ancients [have] not [done], nor shall those who are to come do, the deeds which thou didst, Puṇḍarīkāksha, even when a child, mighty in power, accompanied by Baladeva. And thou didst dwell with the Brāhmans in the abode of Kailāsa.' Having thus addressed that great being, the Pāṇḍava (Arjuna, who was) the soul of Kṛishṇa, became silent. Then Janārdana (Kṛishṇa) thus addressed the son of Pṛithā: 'Thou art mine, and I am thine;[226] those who are mine are thine also. He who hates thee hates me; he who loves (*lit.* follows, or favours) thee loves me. Thou, invincible hero, art Nara, and I am Hari Nārāyaṇa: in due time we came into this world, the rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Thou, son of Pṛithā, are not different from me, nor, in like manner, I from thee; no distinction can be conceived between us.'"

Again, it is related in the Vana-parvan that, with the view of obtaining celestial weapons, Arjuna, at the suggestion of Indra (vv. 1513 ff.), went northward, to the top of the Himālaya, to see Mahādeva (vv. 1526 ff.) Arrived there, he performs austerity. The rishis, not knowing his object, are alarmed, and go to tell Mahādeva (vv. 1543 ff.), who assures them that there is no cause for apprehension, as Arjuna cherishes no ambitious designs. Mahādeva then takes his bow and arrows, and assuming the form of a Kirāta (barbarous mountaineer), approaches Arjuna (vv. 1551 ff.). At that moment a

[226] The mutual attachment of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, or Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, may therefore be quoted as an Indian parallel to the renowned friendships which are already proverbial in the western world, viz. those of David and Jonathan, Pylades and Orestes, Damon and Pythias.

Dānava, in the form of a boar, is meditating an attack upon Arjuna, who prepares to shoot him with his arrows. The Kirāta desires Arjuna to allow him to shoot the Dānava, as he had been the first to take aim; but Arjuna will not consent; and they both shoot together, and kill the boar. Arjuna addresses the Kirāta, and complains that he had acted in an unsportsmanlike manner (*na hy esho mṛigayā-dharmo yas tvayā 'dya kṛito mayi*), and that he should therefore kill him. The Kirāta replies that he had aimed first, and had killed the Dānava, and would kill Arjuna also. Mahādeva, in the form of the Kirāta, and Arjuna then fight together (vv. 1582 ff.) with a succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees, stones, etc., till at length Arjuna is squeezed by his opponent, and falls exhausted (v. 1613). He, however, revives, and worships his enemy, falling at his feet. Mahādeva expresses admiration of Arjuna's prowess, and promises to give him an irresistible weapon which he is fit to wield. The narrative then proceeds (vv. 1622 ff.): *Tato devam Mahādevaṁ Giriśaṁ śūlapāṇinam | dadarśa Phālgunas tatra saha devyā mahādyutim | sa jānubhyām mahīṁ gatvā śirasā praṇipatya cha | prasādayāmāsa Haram Pārthaḥ para-puranjayaḥ | Arjunaḥ uvācha | "Kapardin sarvadeveśa Bhaga-netra-nipātana | deva-deva Mahādeva nīla-grīva jaṭā-dhara | kāraṇānāncha paramaṁ jāne tvāṁ Tryambakaṁ vibhum | devānāncha gatiṁ deva tvat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | ajeyas tvam tribhir lokaiḥ sa-devāsura-mānushaiḥ | Śivāya Vishṇu-rūpāya Vishṇave Śiva-rūpiṇe | Dakshayajña-vināśāya Hari-Rudrāya vai namaḥ | lalāṭākshāya Sarvāya mīḍhushe śūlā-pāṇaye | pināka-goptre sūryāya mārjālīyāya vedhase | prasādaye tvām bhagavan sarva-bhūta-maheśvara | gaṇeśaṁ jagataḥ śambhuṁ loka-kāraṇa-kāraṇam | pradhāna-purushātītam paraṁ sūkshmataram Haram |*

"Then Phālguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Giriśa, bearer of the trident, resplendent, together with his goddess. Falling on the ground on his knees, and bowing his head, the son of Pṛithā, conqueror of hostile cities, propitiated Hara (Mahādeva) in these words: 'God with the spirally-braided hair, lord of all the gods, extinguisher of Bhaga's eyes, god of gods, Mahādeva (the great god), blue-necked, wearer of matted hair, I know thee to be of causes the supreme, Tryambaka, the mighty, the refuge of the gods. From thee this world has been produced. Thou art invincible by the three worlds, including the gods, Asuras, and men. Adoration be to Śiva in the

form of Vishṇu, to Vishṇu in the form of S'iva, to the destroyer of Daksha's sacrifice, to Hari-Rudra, to him with the frontal eye, to Sarva, the beneficent, the wielder of the trident, the bearer of the bow, the sun, the Mārjalīya,[227] the disposer. I propitiate thee, divine lord of all creatures, lord of troops, benefactor of the world, cause of the causes of the world (*i.e.* ultimate creator of the immediate creators), who transcendest Pradhāna and Purusha (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtile, Hara.'"

Mahādeva then embraces Arjuna, and says to him:

1637 ff.—*Devadevaḥ uvacha | Naras tvam pūrva-dehe vai Nārāyaṇa-sahāyavān | Badaryāṁ taptavān ugraṁ tapo varshāyutān bahūn | tvayi vā pāramaṁ tejo Vishṇau vā purushottame | yuvābhyām purushāgryābhyāṁ tejasā dhāryate jagat | S'akrābhisheke sumahad dhanur jalada-niḥsvanam | pragṛihya dānavāḥ śāstās tvayā Kṛishṇena cha prabho ityādi* | "Thou wast Nara in a former body, and with Nārāyaṇa for thy companion, didst perform dreadful austerity at Badari for many myriads of years. Either in thee is the highest power, or in Vishṇu the supreme Purusha. By you twain, the chief of men (or Purushas), through your power, the world is upheld. At the inauguration of S'akra (Indra), the Dānavas were chastized by thee and Kṛishṇa, when thou hadst grasped a great bow resounding like the clouds."

Mahādeva then offers Arjuna the choice of a boon. Arjuna asks the Pāśupata weapon (v. 1643), which Mahādeva gives him (v. 1650), though he cautions him against discharging it rashly, as it might destroy the whole world. Arjuna accordingly receives the weapon (v. 1656).

Again, in the Udyoga-parvan (vv. 1917 ff.) it is related that Bhīshma informed Duryodhana that on one occasion the gods of different classes came to Brahmā, and the narrative then proceeds (vv. 1920 ff.):

Namaskṛityopajagmus te loka-vṛiddham Pitāmaham | parivārya cha viśveśam paryāsata divaukasaḥ | teshām manaś cha tejaśchāpy ādadānāv ivaujasā | pūrva-devau vyatikrāntau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛishī | Vṛihaspatis

[227] This word is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon as a spot to the right of the altar, where the sacrificial vessels are cleansed. It is mentioned in Sāyaṇa's commentary on R. V. i, 1, 4: and (as Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out to me) it occurs in the Vāj. Sanh. v. 32, where the commentator defines it as the place where the (sacrificial) vessels are washed (*mārjalīyaḥ | tatra hi pātrāṇi prakshālyānte*).

tu paprachha Brahmāṇaṁ kāv imāv iti | bhavantaṁ nopatishṭhete tau naḥ śaṁsa Pitāmaha | Brahmā uvācha | yāv etau pṛithivīṁ dyāncha bhāsayantau tapasvinau | jvalantau rochamanau cha vyāpyāsītau (-nau?) mahābalau | Nara-Nārāyaṇāv etau lokāl lokaṁ samāsthitau | ūrjitau svena tapasā mahāsattva-parākramau | etau hi karmaṇā lokaṁ nandayāmāsatur dhruvam | dvidhā-bhūtau mahā-prajnau viddhi brahman parantapau | asurāṇāṁ vināśāya deva-gandharva-pūjitau | Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | jagāma Śakras tach chhrutvā yatra tau tepatas tapaḥ | sārdhaṁ devagaṇaiḥ sarvair Vṛihaspati-purogamaiḥ | tadā devāsure yuddhe bhaye jāte divaukasām | ayāchata mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇau varam | tāv abrutāṁ vṛiṇīshveti tadā Bharata-sattama | athaitāv abravīch chhakraḥ sahyaṁ naḥ kriyatām iti | tatas tau Śakrum abrūtāṁ karishyāvo yad ichhasi | tābhyāncha sahitaḥ Śakro vijigye daitya-dānavān | Naraḥ Indrasya saṅgrāme hatvā śatrūn parantapaḥ | Paulomān Kālakanjāṁścha sahasrāṇi śatāni cha | esha bhrānte rathe tishṭhan bhallenāpāharach chhiraḥ | Jambhasya grasamāṇasya tadā hy Arjunam āhave | esha pāre samudrasya Hiraṇyapuram ārujat | jitvāshashṭiṁ sahasrāṇi Nivātakavachān raṇe | esha devān sahendreṇa jitvā para-puranjayaḥ | atarpayad mahābāhur Arjuno Jātavedasam | Nārāyaṇas tathaivātra bhūyaśo 'nyān jaghāna ha | evam etau mahā-vīryau tau paśyata samāgatau | Vāsudevārjunau vīrau samavetau mahārathau | Nara-Nārāyaṇau devau pūrva-devāv iti śrutiḥ | ajeyau mānushe loke sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | esha Nārāyaṇaḥ Kṛishṇaḥ Phālgunaś cha Naraḥ smṛitaḥ | Nārāyaṇo Naraś chaiva sattvam ekaṁ dvidhā-kṛitam | etau hi karmaṇā lokān aśnuvāte 'kshayān dhruvān | tatra tatraiva jāyete yuddha-kāle punaḥ punaḥ | tasmāt karmaiva kartavyam iti hovācha Nāradaḥ | etad hi sarvam āchashṭa Vṛishṇi-chakrasya vedavit | śankha-chakra-gadā-hastam yadā drakshyasi Keśavam | paryādadāṇaṁ chāstrāṇi bhīma-dhanvānam Arjunam | sanātanau mahātmānau kṛishṇāv eka-rathe sthitau | Duryodhana tadā tāta smartāsi vachanam mama |

"Doing obeisance, the gods approached the Progenitor, the chief (or ancient) of the worlds; and encompassing, they sat around the lord of all. The two ancient and surpassing gods, the rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa, deprived them, as it were, of thought and of strength by their splendour. Vṛihaspati inquired of Brahmā, 'Tell us, O Progenitor, who these two are who do not approach thee.' Brahmā said: 'These devotees of mighty strength, burning and shining, who sit pervading

and illuminating the earth and the sky, these are Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who have travelled from world to world, strong by their own austerity, of great dignity and valour. These two have perpetually gladdened the world by their deeds. Know, O Priest, that these, destroyers of their foes, of great intelligence, adored of gods and Gandharvas, have become twain for the destruction of the Asuras.' Having heard this, Indra, accompanied by all the hosts of gods, headed by Vṛihaspati, went to the place where these two devotees were performing austerity. Alarm having been at that time excited among the celestials by a war between the gods and Asuras, he (Indra) begged of the great Nara and Nārāyaṇa a boon. They replied, 'Choose.' Then Indra said, 'Let us be delivered.' They answered Indra, 'We will do what thou desirest.' And with their assistance Indra conquered the Daityas and Dānavas. Nara, the vexer of foes, having slain in battle the enemies of Indra, thousands and hundreds of Paulomas and Kālakanjas,—he, standing in a whirling chariot, cut off the head of Jambha,[228] who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle. He demolished Hiraṇyapura (or the city of gold), on the other side of the ocean, having slain in battle sixty thousand Nivātakavachas. The large-armed Arjuna, conqueror of hostile cities, having, along with Indra, overcome the gods, satiated Jātavedas (Agni,) [with his oblations]. In like manner Nārāyaṇa slew many others. Thus behold those twain arrived—those twain who are of so great strength, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, united together, riders on great cars, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the deities, the ancient deities, as it is reported, invincible in the world of mortals even by Indra and the other gods and Asuras. This Nārāyaṇa is Kṛishṇa, and Nara is called Phālguna (Arjuna). Nārāyaṇa and Nara are one being, divided into twain. These two through their works pervade the undecaying and perpetual worlds. They are born at different places at the time of battle again and again. Wherefore Nārada said that works are to be performed. All this he (Nārada), who knew the Veda said to the army of the Vṛishṇis. When thou shalt see Keśava (Kṛishṇa) with his shell, discus and club, and Arjuna with the dreadful bow, assuming his arms, these two eternal and glorious beings, of dark complexion, mounted on one car,—then, dear Duryodhana, thou shalt remember my words." (Compare the same warning given in p. 218.)

[228] The name of a demon. It will occur again below.

It is narrated in another part of the same Udyoga-parvan (vv. 3459–3488) that, in order to persuade the Kurus to adopt moderate counsels by showing the great power of Arjuna and Kṛishṇa, Paraśu-rāma told them another story about the two rishis Nara and Nārāyaṇa. There was formerly, he says, an universal sovereign named Dambhod-bhava, who had an overweening conceit of his own prowess. Being told by his independent Brāhmans that there were two ascetics whom he could not match, viz. Nara and Nārāyaṇa, he proceeded with his army to the mountain Gandhamādana, where he found the emaciated saints, and challenged them to fight. They tried to put him off by saying that they were divested of all earthly passions, and lived in an atmosphere of peace. Dambhodbhava, however, insisted on fighting, when Nara took a handful of straws, and defied him. With these arms he neutralized all the arrows of Dambhodbhava's host, and as the straws whitened all the air, and penetrated into the eyes, ears, and noses of the assailants, Dambhodbhava was soon forced to fall at Nara's feet, and sue for peace. Being admonished by his conqueror to be more humble in future, he departed homeward, and ever after led a righteous life.

The next passage on the same subject is from the Droṇa-parvan, vv. 419 ff.:

Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā Kṛishṇo 'py ātmā Kirīṭinaḥ | Arjune vijayo nityaṁ Kṛishṇe kīrtiścha śāśvatī | sarveshv api cha lokeshu Bībhatsur aparājitaḥ | prādhānyenaiva bhūyishṭhaṃ ameyāḥ Keśave guṇāḥ | mohād Duryodhano Kṛishṇaṁ yo na vettīha Keśavam | mohito daiva-yogena mṛityu-pāśa-puraskṛitaḥ | na veda Kṛishṇaṁ Dāśārham Arjunaṁ chaiva Pāṇḍavam | pūrva-devau mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | ekāt-mānau dvidhā-bhūtau dṛiśyete mānushair bhuvi | manasā 'pi hi durdhar-shau senām etāṁ yaśasvinau | nāśayetām ihechhantau mānushatvāch cha nechhataḥ |

"Arjuna is the soul of Keśava (Kṛishṇa), and Kṛishṇa too is the soul of Kirīṭin (Arjuna). Victory abides perpetually with Arjuna, and eternal renown with Kṛishṇa. And even in all worlds Arjuna is unconquered. Through his pre-eminence there are infinite virtues in abundance in Keśava. [The reason why] Duryodhana, through infatuation, does not know Kṛishṇa, is that, deluded by destiny, and involved in the bonds of death, he does not recognize Kṛishṇa the

Dāśārha, and Arjuna the Pāṇḍava. The former gods, the two mighty ones, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, though, in reality, one in nature, are by men on earth seen separated into two. These illustrious [beings], who are invincible even in imagination, could, if they desired, destroy this army, but from their humanity they do not desire it."

Again, in the Bhīshma-parvan, vv. 2932 ff., Bhīshma exhorts Duryodhana to come to terms with the Pāṇḍavas, who, he says, are invincible, in consequence of Kṛishṇa's protection. To illustrate Kṛishṇa's divine greatness, Bhīshma goes on to tell a story of his being celebrated by Brahmā in a hymn (2944 ff.), and entreated to become incarnate in the tribe of the Yadus, for the establishment of righteousness, the destruction of the Daityas, and the preservation of the world (2964 f.). Vishṇu assents to Brahmā's request, and disappears. Being then asked by the attendant gods and rishis who it was that he had just worshipped, Brahmā replies as follows (2978 ff.):

Yat tat param bhavishyancha bhavitā yachha yat param | bhūtātmā yaḥ prabhuś chaiva Brahma yach cha paraṁ padam | tenāsmi kṛita-saṁvādaḥ prasannena surarshabhāḥ | jagato 'nugrahārthāya yāchito me jagat-patiḥ | "mānushaṁ lokam ātishṭha Vāsudevaḥ iti śrutaḥ | asurāṇām badhārthāya sambhavasva mahītale | sangrāme nihatāḥ ye te daitya-dānava-rākshasāḥ | te ime nṛishu sambhūtāḥ ghora-rūpāḥ mahābalāḥ | teshām badhārtham bhagavān Nareṇa sahito balī | mānushīm yonim āsthāya charishyasi mahī-tale" | Nara-Nārāyaṇau tau tu purāṇāv ṛishi-sattamau | ajeyau hi raṇe yau tau sametair amarair api | sahitau mānushe loke sambhūtāv amita-dyutī | mūḍhās te tau na jānanti Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛishī | yasyāham ātmajo Brahmā sarvasya jagataḥ patiḥ | Vāsudevo 'nuneyo vaḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | tathā manushyo 'yam iti kadāchit sura-sattamāḥ | nāvajneyo mahāvīryaḥ śankha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | etat paramakaṁ guhyam etat paramakam padam | etat paramakam Brahma etāt paramakaṁ yaśaḥ | etad aksharam avyaktam etach chhāśvatam eva cha | etat Purusha-sanjno vai gīyate jnāyate na cha | etat paramakaṁ tejaḥ etat paramakaṁ sukham | etat paramakaṁ satyaṁ kīrtitaṁ Viśvakarmaṇā | tasmāt surāsuraiḥ sarvaiḥ sendraiś chāmita-vikramaḥ | navajneyo Vāsudevo mānusho 'yam iti prabho | yaś cha mānusha-mātro 'yam iti brūyāt sa manda-dhīḥ | Hṛishīkeśam avajnānāt tam āhuḥ purushādhamam | taṁ yoginam mahātmānam pravishṭam mānushīṁ tanum | yo 'vamanyed Vāsudevaṁ tam āhus tāmasaṁ janāḥ | devaṁ charācharātmā-

naṁ śrīvatsāṅkaṁ suvarchasam | padma-nābhaṁ na jānāti tam āhus tāmasaṁ janāḥ | kirīṭa-kaustubha-dharam mitrāṇām abhayaṅkaram | avajānan mahātmānaṁ ghore tamasi majjati | . . . 3002: Vārito 'si purā tāta munibhir bhāvitātmabhiḥ | mā gachha saṁyugaṁ tena Vāsudevena dhanvinā | Pāṇḍavaiḥ sārdham iti yat tat tvam mohād na budhyase | manye tvāṁ Rākshasaṁ krūraṁ tathā chāsi tamo-vṛitaḥ | tasmād dvishasi Govindaṁ Pāṇḍavaṅcha Dhananjayam | Nara-Nārāyaṇav devau ko 'nyo dvishyād hi mānavaḥ |

"That being who is supreme, who is to be, who shall continue to be supreme, who is the soul of beings, and the lord, and who is Brahma, the supreme existence,—it is with him, propitious, that I have been conversing, O eminent deities. The lord of the world was entreated by me [in these words] to show favour to the world: 'Do thou, celebrated as Vāsudeva, appear in the world of men: be born on earth for the slaughter of the Asuras. The Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākshasas who have been slain by thee in battle, they are these who have been born among men, horrible in form and great in might. To slay them, thou, the divine and mighty being, accompanied by Nara, having entered a human womb, wilt act upon earth.' Those ancient and most excellent of rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are invincible in battle even by the united immortals, and who are of boundless splendour, have been born together in the world of men. Those fools do not know these rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. He of whom I, Brahmā, the master of the whole world, am the son, that Vāsudeva, the lord of all the worlds, is to be propitiated by you. Never, O most excellent deities, is the potent bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club, to be slighted as a mere man. This Being is the highest mystery, this the highest existence, this the highest Brahma, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscernible, the eternal. This Being which is called Purusha is hymned and is not known. This Being is celebrated by Viśvakarman as the highest power, as the highest joy, and as the highest truth. Wherefore Vāsudeva of boundless might is not to be contemned by the deities, including Indra, or by the Asuras, as a [mere] man. Whoever says that he is a mere man is dull of comprehension: from his contempt of Hṛishīkeśa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudeva, that great contemplator who has entered a human body,—men call that person

one full of darkness. Whoever is ignorant of the glorious god whose self is the world, whose mark is the śrīvatsa, from whose navel sprang the lotus,—men call that person a man full of darkness. Despising that great being who wears the diadem and jewel (*kaustubha*), who relieves his friends from fear, a man is plunged in horrible darkness."[229]

Bhīshma then says to Duryodhana (v. 3302): "Thou wast formerly, my son, prohibited by the contemplative munis [who said]: 'Engage not in battle with that archer Vāsudeva and the Pāṇḍavas.' Since thou, through infatuation, regardest not this [prohibition], I look upon thee as a cruel Rākshasa, and thou art enveloped in darkness. It is for this reason that thou hatest Govinda (Kṛishṇa) and the Pāṇḍava Dhananjaya (Arjuna). For what other man could hate the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa?"

The next passage is from the Śānti-parvan, where Kṛishṇa, after describing many of his own other forms and functions, is introduced as saying (vv. 13265 ff.):

Purā 'ham ātmajaḥ Pārtha prathitaḥ kāraṇāntare | Dharmasya Kuru-śārdūla tato 'haṁ Dharmajaḥ smṛitaḥ | Nara-Nārāyaṇau pūrvaṁ tapas tepatur avyayam | dharma-yānaṁ samārūḍhau parvate Gandhamādane | tat-kāla-samaye chaiva Daksha-yajno babhūva ha | na chaivākalpayad bhāgaṁ Daksho Rudrasya Bhārata | tato Dadhīchi-vachanād Daksha-yajnam apāharat | sasarja śūlaṁ kopena prajvalantam muhur muhuḥ | tach chhūlam bhasmasāt kṛitvā Daksha-yajnaṁ sa-vistaram | āvayoḥ sahasā "gachhad Vadary-āśramam antikāt | vegena mahatā Pārtha patad Nārāyaṇorasi | tatas tat-tejasā "vishṭāḥ keśāḥ Nārāyaṇasya ha | babhūvur munjavarṇās tu tato 'ham munja-keśavān | tachcha śūlaṁ vinirdhūtaṁ huṁkāreṇa mahātmanā | jagāma Śankara-karaṁ Nārāyaṇa-samāhatam | atha Rudraḥ upādhāvat tāv ṛishī tapasā 'nvitau | tataḥ enaṁ samudhbūtaṁ kaṇṭhe jagrāha pāṇinā | Nārāyaṇaḥ sa viśvātmā tenāsya śiti-kaṇṭhatā | atha Rudra-vighātārtham ishīkāṁ Naraḥ uddharat | mantraiś cha saṁyuyojāśu so 'bhavat paraśur mahān | kshiptaś cha sahasā tena khaṇḍanam prāptavāṁs tadā | tato 'haṁ ['yaṁ?] Khaṇḍa-paraśuḥ smṛitaḥ paraśukhaṇḍanāt | . . . . 13278. *tayoḥ saṁlagnayor yuddhe Rudra-Nārāyaṇātmanoḥ | udvignāḥ sahasā kṛitsnāḥ sarva-lokās tadā 'bhavan | nāgṛihṇāt Pāvakaḥ śubhram makheshu suhutaṁ haviḥ |*

[229] This passage seems to have a polemical aspect, as if aimed at some contemporaries of the author, who did not assign so high a dignity to Kṛishṇa.

vedāḥ na pratibhānti sma ṛishīṇām bhāvitātmanām | devān rajas tamaś chaiva samāviviśitus tadā | vasudhā sanchakampe cha nabhaś cha vipaphāla ha | nishprabhāṇi cha tejāṁsi Brahmā chaivāsana-chyutaḥ | agāch chhoshaṁ samudraś cha Himavāṁś cha vyaśīryata | tasminn eva samutpanne nimitte Pāṇḍunandana | Brahmā vṛito deva-gaṇair ṛishibhiś cha mahātmabhiḥ | ājagāmāśubhaṁ deśaṁ yatra yuddham avartata | so 'ñjali-pragraho bhūtvā chatur-vaktro nirukta-gaḥ | uvācha vachanaṁ Rudraṁ "lokānām astu vai śivam | nyasyāyudhāni viśveśa jagato hita-kāmyayā | yad aksharam athāvyaktam īśaṁ lokasya bhāvanam | kūṭasthaṁ kartṛi nirdvandvam akarteti cha yaṁ viduḥ | vyakti-bhāva-gatasyāsya ekā mūrtir iyaṁ śubhā | Naro Nārāyaṇaś chaiva jātau Dharma-kulodvahau | tapasā mahatā yuktau deva-śreshṭhau mahā-vratau | aham prasāda-jas tasya kutaśchit kāraṇāntare | tvaṁ chaiva krodha-jas tāta pūrva-sarge sanātanaḥ | mayā cha sārdhaṁ varadaṁ vibudhaiś cha maharshibhiḥ | prasādayāśu lokānāṁ śāntir bhavatu mā chiram" | Brahmaṇā tv evam uktas tu Rudraḥ krodhāgnim utsṛijan | prasādayāmāsa tato devaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ prabhum | śaraṇyaṁ cha jagāmādyaṁ vareṇyaṁ varadam prabhum | tato 'tha varado devo jita-krodho jitendriyaḥ | prītimān abhavat tatra Rudreṇa saha sangataḥ | ṛishibhir Brahmaṇā chaiva vibudhaiś cha supūjitaḥ | uvācha devam Īśānam īśaḥ sa jagato Hariḥ | "yas tvāṁ vetti sa māṁ vetti yas tvām anu sa mām anu | nāvayor antaraṁ kinchid mā te bhūd buddhir anyathā | adya-prabhṛiti śrīvatsaḥ śūlānko me bhavatv ayam | mama pāṇy-ankitaś chāpi śrīkaṇṭhas tvam bhavishyasi" | evaṁ lakshaṇam utpādya paraspara-kṛitaṁ tadā | sakhyaṁ chaivātulaṁ kṛitvā Rudreṇa sahitāv ṛishī | tapas tepatur avyagrau visṛijya tridivaukasaḥ | esha te kathitaḥ Pārtha Nārāyaṇa-jayo mṛidhe | nāmāni chaiva guhyāni niruktāni cha Bhārata | ṛishibhiḥ kathitānīha yāni sankīrtitānī te | evam bahu-vidhaiḥ rūpaiś charāmīha vasundharām | Brahma-lokancha Kaunteya golokancha sanātanam | mayā tvaṁ rakshito yuddhe mahāntam prāptavān jayam | yas tu te so 'grato yāti yuddhe sampraty upasthite | taṁ viddhi Rudraṁ Kaunteya deva-devaṁ kapardinam | kālaḥ sa eva 'kathitaḥ krodhajeti mayā tava | nihatās tena vai pūrvaṁ hatavān asi yān ripūn | aprameya-prabhāvaṁ taṁ deva-devam Umā-patim | namasva devam prayato viśveśam Haram akshayam | ityādi |

13265. "Formerly, son of Pṛithā, most excellent of the Kurus, I was celebrated on another occasion as the son of Dharma: and hence I was

called Dharmaja. In former times Nara and Nārāyaṇa, mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance, on the mountain Gandhamādana. At that conjuncture of time, the sacrifice of Daksha took place. Daksha did not then divide any share for Rudra, who in consequence, at the suggestion of Dadhīchi, swept away the sacrifice of Daksha, and in his anger launched the trident blazing forth repeatedly. That trident, after reducing to ashes the sacrifice of Daksha with all its appurtenances, suddenly approached our hermitage at Badari, and fell with great impetus on the breast of Nārāyaṇa. The hair of Nārāyaṇa, penetrated by its glow, became of the colour of grass (*munja*): from which I am called Munjakeśavat. The trident being repelled by the great being with a yell went back into the hand of Śankara, when struck by Nārāyaṇa. Rudra then ran up to those austere rishis, when Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, with his hand seized him by the throat, when he had thus sprung up: hence his (Śiva's) name of Śitikaṇṭha. Nara next raised a straw for the slaughter of Rudra, and applied to it sacred texts, whereby it speedily became a huge axe. Hastily hurled by him, the axe (*paraśu*) became shattered into fragments (*khaṇḍana*), from which shattering of the axe, he is called Khaṇḍaparaśu." Arjuna here interposes to ask who was victorious in this conflict;[230] when Kṛishṇa proceeds: 13278. "When Rudra and Nārāyaṇa had become engaged in battle, all the worlds were instantly distressed; the fire did not receive the shining butter offered in the sacrifice; the vedas were not revealed to the contemplative rishis; [the qualities of] passion and darkness invaded the gods: the earth trembled, the sky became split; the luminaries lost their light; Brahmā fell from his seat; the ocean became dried up, and the Himavat wasted. When this prodigy had arisen, Brahmā, surrounded by the host of gods, and the magnanimous rishis, came to that disastrous place where the battle was raging. The four-faced god (Brahmā), the penetrator of mysteries, with joined hands, addressed these words to Rudra: 'Let the welfare of the worlds be [consulted]; put down thy weapons, lord of all, from goodwill to the universe. This is one auspicious form of him, now in the state of manifestation,—of him whom [sages] know as the undecaying, undiscernible [essence], the lord, the creator of the world, the supreme, the doer, unaffected by pleasure or pain, and not the doer,—[this I say is

[230] See above, pp. 176 f.

one form of him, viz.], Nara and Nārāyaṇa, born in the race of Dharma, distinguished by intense austerity, eminent gods, great devotees. I was once on another occasion born as the offspring of his good pleasure, and in a former creation thou didst spring from his anger,[231] an everlasting [being]. Together with me and the gods and rishis, do thou speedily propitiate this bestower of boons; let the worlds have tranquillity without delay.' Being thus addressed by Brahmā, Rudra, abandoning the fire of anger, then propitiated the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord; and the god sought as his refuge the primeval, most excellent, boon-bestowing lord. Then the boon-bestowing god, who had conquered anger and overcome his senses, meeting Rudra, became gratified. Being worshipped by the rishis, by Brahmā, and by the gods, Hari, the lord of the world, addressed the god Īśāna (Mahādeva): 'He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (*lit.* favours) thee loves me.[232] There is no distinction between us: do not thou entertain any other idea. From this day forward let this śrīvatsa of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the śrīkaṇṭha marked upon my hand.' Having thus created a mark devised by each for the other, and having joined an incomparable friendship with Rudra, the two rishis practised austerity undisturbed, after dismissing the gods. This, son of Pṛithā, which I have told thee, was the victory of Nārāyaṇa in battle: and [my] mysterious and unexplained names, too,—those which are celebrated by the rishis, have been declared to thee. In this manner do I frequent this earth and the world of Brahmā, and the everlasting Goloka, in manifold forms. By me thou hast been preserved in battle, and hast gained a great victory. But know, son of Kunti, that he who goes before thee in the conflict which has now arrived, is Rudra, the god of gods, with spirally-braided hair. He, Time, has been declared by me to thee to be the offspring of my anger. The enemies whom thou formerly slewest were slain by him. Devoutly reverence him the god of gods, the lord of Umā, of boundless power, Hara, the undecaying lord of all."

Again, in the Śānti-parvan, Vaiśampāyana tells Janamejaya how Nārada, after returning from Śveta Dvīpa, saw the two saints, Nara and Nārāyaṇa (v. 13337):

[231] See verses 13140 and 13145 of the Śānti-parvan, quoted below.

[232] A similar expression has already occurred above, p. 230.

Nipapāta cha khāt tūrṇaṁ viśālāṁ Vadarīm anu | tataḥ sa dadṛiśe devau purāṇāv ṛishi-sattamau | tapaś charantau sumahad ātma-nishṭhau mahā-vratau | tejasā 'bhyadhikau sūryāt sarva-loka-virochanāt | śrīvatsa-lakshaṇau pūjyau jaṭā-maṇḍala-dhāriṇau | jāla-pāda-bhujau tau tu pādayos chakra-lakshaṇau | vyūḍhoraskau dīrgha-bhujau tathā mushka-chatu-shkinau | shashṭi-dantāv ashṭa-daṁshṭrau meghaugha-sadṛiśa-svanau | svāsyau pṛithulalāṭau cha subhrū su-hanu-nāsikau | ūtapatreṇa sadṛiśe śirasī devayos tayoḥ | evaṁ-lakshaṇa-sampannau mahā-purusha-sanjnitau | tau dṛishṭvā Nārado hṛishṭas tābhyaṁ cha pratipūjitaḥ | svāgatenābhi-bhāshyātha pṛishṭaś chānāmayaṁ tathā | babhūvāntargata-matir nirīkshya purushottamau |

"He descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent rishis, performing severe penance, self-sustained, great devotees, in splendour surpassing the sun which illuminates all the worlds, bearing the śrīvatsa mark, adorable, wearing a circle of matted hair, web-footed and web-armed, with the mark of the discus on their feet, broad-chested, long-armed, with four testicles, sixty teeth and eight grinders, with voices sonorous as a host of clouds, with beautiful countenances, broad foreheads, handsome eyebrows, chins, and noses. The heads of those two gods resembled umbrellas. Beholding them, distinguished by such marks, and named the two great males, Nārada rejoicing, and saluted by them in return, welcomed, and questioned in regard to his health, became absorbed in reflection, beholding those highest of persons." He then recollected to have previously seen them in the Śveta Dvīpa. Nara and Nārāyaṇa next ask him if he had seen in the Śveta Dvīpa the supreme Spirit, their own highest substance (*āvayoḥ prakṛitiḥ parā*). He replies that he had; and that now when he beheld them he beheld Him, as they were distinguished by all the same marks, in a manifested form, as Hari possessed in an invisible manner; and that he had on that occasion beheld them at the side of the deity (vv. 13351 ff.: *Adyāpi chainam paśyāmi yuvāṁ paśyan sanātanau | yair lakshaṇair upetaḥ sa Harir avyakta-rūpa-dhṛik | tair lakshaṇair upetau hi vyakta-rūpa-dharau yuvām | dṛishṭau yuvām mayā tatra tasya devasya pārśvataḥ*). Some further conversation ensues; and it is then related (v. 13397 f.) that Nārada remained a thousand years of the gods in their hermitage, worshipping the deity, and Nara and Nārāyaṇa.

V. In the following passage (which is commented upon by Lassen in his Indian Antiquities, 1st ed., i. 621 f., and note, p. 622; 2nd ed., pp. 768 ff.[233]) Kṛishṇa is represented as possessed of extraordinary prowess and superhuman powers; but he is not, unless it be in one or two places, represented as the supreme deity.

To show how little prospect the Kurus had of vanquishing the Pāṇḍus, aided as the latter were by Kṛishṇa, Dhṛitarāshṭra gives an account of the exploits of the Yādava chief:

[233] His remarks are as follows:—"The history of Kṛishṇa in the Mahābhārata does not describe his juvenile life with the cowherds, and his numerous adventures with their wives, which at a later period were especially noticed and celebrated. On the other hand, victories over many kings and tribes are attributed to him, which possess no historical value, and are only important in so far as they represent him as a hero, and indicate that the Yādavas waged frequent wars with the tribes of ancient India. In a short enumeration of his feats (the passage quoted in the text) he is named Govinda, or the proprietor of cows, and it said of him that he grew up among the herds. None of the stories regarding him and the cowherds' wives are here mentioned; but another is introduced which describes him as a protector of the herds, inasmuch as he strangled with his arms a Dānava which in the form of a bull slaughtered the cattle. His proper and oldest name as the son of Nanda was probably Govinda. There must also have been stories about him in which he was represented as a leader of cowherds, for according to the Mahābhārata he supplied to Duryodhana (by whom he had been solicited to assist him in the great battle) thousands of cowherds, who are called the gopas of Nārāyaṇa. These take no share in the battle, and are very seldom mentioned.—See Udyoga-parvan, v. 130 ff.; and Droṇa-parvan, vv. 3255 ff., where the Nārāyaṇas, the cowherds, are spoken of along with the Kāmbojas, etc., as having been conquered by Karṇa, etc. (*Nārāyaṇaś cha gopālāḥ Kāmbojānāncha ye gaṇāḥ | Karṇena vijitāḥ |*)

The Nārāyaṇas are also mentioned in the Droṇap. 752 and 759 (see Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v.*).

Kṛishṇa, when applied to by Duryodhana, as well as by Arjuna, for aid in the impending conflict, promises succour to them both, but allows Arjuna the first choice:

Udyoga-parvan, vv. 147 ff.—*Mat-saṁhanana-tulyānāṁ* gopānām arbudam mahat | Nārāyaṇāḥ iti khyātāḥ sarve saṅgrāma-yodhinaḥ | te vā yudhi durādharshāḥ bhavantv ekasya sainikāḥ | ayudhyamānaḥ saṅgrāme nyastaśastro 'ham ekataḥ | ābhyām anyataram Pārtha yat te hṛidyataram matam | tad vṛiṇītām bhavān agre pravāryas tvaṁ hi dharmataḥ |* "Let one of you either take those invincible soldiers, the great hundred millions of herdsmen called Nārāyaṇas, whose bodies are equal to my own, and who are all fighting men; or let him take, on the other hand, myself who do not engage in battle, and have laid aside my weapons. Do thou, son of Pṛithā, first choose the one of these two things which is most acceptable to thee; for thou art justly entitled to the preference."

Arjuna selects Kṛishṇa himself, "the unborn Nārāyaṇa, destroyer of his foes, who had been at his will born among men" (*Nārāyaṇam, amitraghnaṁ kāmāj jātam ajaṁ nṛishu*), though he was not to fight. Duryodhana chose the army of warriors.

* The word *saṁhanana* occurs also in the Droṇa-parvan, v. 147.

Droṇa-parvan, 382.—*Dhṛitarāshṭraḥ uvācha | śṛiṇu divyāni karmāṇi Vāsudevasya Sanjaya | kṛitavān yāni Govindo yathā nānyaḥ pumān kvachit | saṁvardhatā gopa-kule bālenaiva mahātmanā | vikhyāpitam balam bāhvos trishu lokeshu Sanjaya | Uchchhaiḥśravas-tulya-balaṁ vāyu-vega-samaṁ jave | jaghāna Haya-rājānaṁ Yamunā-vana-vāsinam | Dānavaṁ ghora-karmāṇaṁ gavām mṛityum upasthitam | vṛiṣha-rūpa-dharam bālye bhujābhyāṁ nijaghāna ha | Pralambhaṁ Nirakaṁ Jambham Pīṭhaṁ vā 'pi mahāsuram | Muraṁ chāmara-sankāśam abadhīt pushkarekshaṇaḥ | tathā Kaṁso mahātejāḥ Jarāsandhena pālitaḥ | vikrameṇaiva Kṛishṇena saguṇaḥ pātito raṇe | Sunāmā raṇa-vikrāntaḥ samagrākshauhiṇī-patiḥ | Bhoja-rājasya madhya-stho bhrātā Kaṁsasya vīryavān | Baladeva-dvitīyena Kṛishṇenāmitra-ghātinā | tarasvī samare daghdaḥ sasainyaḥ Śūrasena-rāṭ | Durvāsāḥ nāma viprarshis tathā paramakopanaḥ | ārādhitaḥ sadāreṇa sa chāsmai pradadau varān | tathā Gāndhārarājasya sutāṁ vīraḥ svayaṁvare | nirjitya pṛithivī-pālān āvahat pushkarekshaṇaḥ | amṛishyamāṇāḥ rājāno yasya jātyāḥ hayāḥ iva | rathe vaivāhike yuktāḥ pratodena kṛita-vraṇāḥ | Jarāsandham mahābāhum upāyena Janārdanaḥ | pareṇa ghātayāmāsa samagrākshauhiṇī-patim | Chedirājāncha vikrāntaṁ rāja-senā-patim balī | arghe vivadamānancha jaghāna paśu-vat tadā | Saubhaṁ daitya-puraṁ svasthaṁ Śālva-guptaṁ durāsadam | samudra-kukshau vikramya pātayāmāsa Mādhavaḥ | . . . . . v. 400: Praviśya makarāvāsaṁ yādobhir abhisaṁvṛitam | jigāya Varuṇaṁ sankhye salilāntargatam purā | yudhi Panchajanaṁ hatvā pātāla-tala-vāsinam | pānchajanyaṁ Hṛishīkeśo divyāṁ śankham avāptavān | Khāṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayitvā Hutāśanam | āgneyam astraṁ durdharshaṁ chakraṁ lebhe mahābalaḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhya trāsayitvā 'marāvatīm | Mahendra-bhavanād vīraḥ pārijātam upānayat | tachcha marshitavān Śakro jānaṁs tasya parākramam | rājñāṁ chāpy ajitaṁ kanchit Kṛishneneha na śuśruma | yachcha tad mahad āścharyaṁ sabhāyām mama Sanjaya | kṛitavān Puṇḍarīkākshaḥ kas tad-anya ihārhati | labdhabhaktyā prasanno 'ham adrākshaṁ Kṛishṇam īśvaram | tad me suviditaṁ sarvam pratyaksham iva chāgaman | nāntaṁ vikrama-yuktasya buddhyā yuktasya vā punaḥ | karmaṇā śakyate gantuṁ Hṛishīkeśasya Sanjaya | tathā Gadaś cha Śambaścha Pradyumno 'tha Vidūrathaḥ | . . . . . 410: Ete 'nye balavantaś cha Vṛishṇi-vīrāḥ prahāriṇaḥ | kathanchit Pāṇḍavānīkaṁ śrayeyuḥ samare sthitāḥ | āhūtāḥ Vṛishṇi-vīreṇa Keśavena mahātmānā | tataḥ śaṁśayitaṁ sarvam bhaved iti matir mama | nāgāyuta-*

balo vīraḥ Kailāsa-śikharopamaḥ | vapa-mālī halī Rāmas tatra yatra Janārdanaḥ | yam āhuḥ sarva-pitaraṁ Vāsudevaṁ dvijātayaḥ | api vā hy esha Pāṇḍūnāṁ yotsyate 'rthāya Sanjaya | sa yadā tāta sannahyet Pāṇḍavārthāya Sanjaya | na tadā pratisaṁyoddhā bhavitā tasya kaśchana | yadi sma Kuravaḥ sarve jayeyur nāma Pāṇḍavān | Vārshṇeyo 'rthāya teshāṁ vai gṛihṇīyāt śastram uttamam | tataḥ sarvān saravyāghro hatvā narapatīn raṇe | Kauravāṁś cha mahābāhuḥ Kuntyai dadyāt sa medinīm | yasya yantā Hṛishīkeśo yoddhā yasya Dhananjayaḥ | rathasya tasya kaḥ sankhye pratyanīko bhaved rathaḥ | na kenachid upāyena Kurūṇāṁ driśyate jayaḥ | tasmād me sarvam ākhakshva yathā yuddham avartata | [234]

"Dhṛitarāshṭra says: Hear, Sanjaya, the divine acts of Kṛishṇa, which Govinda performed, such as no other person [ever did]. While he was growing up as a high-souled boy in the tribe of cowherds, the force of his arms was rendered famous by him in the three worlds. He slew the king of the Hayas [horses], dwelling in the woods of the Yamunā, equal to Ucchaiḥśravas (the horse of Indra) in strength, and to the wind in speed. In his childhood he destroyed with his arms the Dānava, a doer of direful deeds, who arose, as it were, the Death of cattle, bearing the form of a bull. The lotus-eyed [hero] slew Pralambha, Naraka, Jambha and Pīṭha, the great Asura, and Mura, resembling the immortals. So, too, Kansa, of great force, supported by Jarāsandha, was, with his hosts, overthrown in battle by Kṛishṇa, through his valour. Sunāman, valiant in fight, the lord of a complete army, the brother of Kansa, who interposed for the king of the Bhojas, the bold and heroic prince of the Śūrasenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle by Kṛishṇa, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarāma. And a Brāhman rishi called Ṛurvāsas, extremely irascible, was worshipped by him (Kṛishṇa), together with his wife, and bestowed on him boons.[235] So, too, the lotus-eyed hero, having conquered the princes, carried off the daughter of the king of the Gāndhāras at the Swayamvara:[236] and the princes, being unable to endure him, were

[234] Towards the close of Dhṛitarāshṭra's speech the following verse of a proverbial character occurs:—v. 429: *Pakvānāṁ hi badhe Sūta vajrāyante tṛiṇāny api* | "When men are ripe for destruction, even straws smite like thunderbolts."

[235] See the Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 7402 ff., referred to above, p. 196.

[236] Lassen, Ind. Alt. i., 622, first edition (p. 769, second edition), note, thinks this story has probably some foundation in fact, and adds that Nagnajit, king of the Gāndhāras, is mentioned in the Ait. Br., vii. 34. See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 46, and the second volume of this work, p. 353.

yoked like highbred horses to the bridal car, and wounded with the goad. Janārdana, by a clever device, caused Jarāsandha, the large-armed, lord of a complete army, to be slain.[237] This hero also slaughtered like a beast the king of the Chedis (see above, p. 215), the valiant lord of a royal army, who quarrelled regarding the offering [made to Kṛishṇa]. Assailing Saubha, the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) city of the Daityas, on the shore of the ocean, protected by the Sālva (king), and difficult to destroy, Mādhava overthrew it." [Then follows a list of numerous tribes, Angas, Bangas, etc., etc., conquered by Kṛishṇa.] . . . . . v. 400: "Entering of old the ocean, filled with marine monsters, he overcame in battle Varuṇa, who had sunk within the waters. Having slain in battle Panchajana dwelling in Pātāla, Hṛishīkeśa obtained the divine shell Pānchajanya. Having, along with Pārtha (the son of Pṛithā, Arjuna), propitiated Agni in Khāṇḍava, this mighty being acquired the irresistible fiery weapon, the discus.[238] Mounted on Garuḍa, and terrifying Amarāvatī (the city of Indra), this hero brought back the pārijāta from the abode of the elder Indra.[239] And to this Śakra submitted, knowing his prowess. And we have not heard of any of the kings who has not been conquered by Kṛishṇa. Then who but Puṇḍarīkāksha could have performed that very wonderful act which he did in my assembly? Through the faith which I had attained, I beheld Kṛishṇa, the lord, with delight; of all that I was well assured, and I obtained as it were a distinct vision. No one can by act attain to the limit of Hṛishīkeśa who is distinguished by valour as well as by wisdom. And Gada also, and Sāmba, and Pradyumna, and Vidūratha, [here follows a list of other warriors] these, and other powerful martial heroes of the Vṛishṇi tribe, summoned by the great Vṛishṇi hero, Keśava, will join in some way the host of the Pāṇḍavas, and stand up in the battle. Hence, in my opinion, everything will be doubtful. Wherever Janārdana is, there is also the hero Rāma, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailāsa, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough. Or Vāsudeva, he whom the Brahmans call the universal father, will fight for

[237] See the story as told in the Sabhā-parvan, vv. 848 ff.

[238] Compare note 189, p. 191; and see Ādi-parvan, v. 8196, where the story is told.

[239] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 585 ff. (vol. v., pp. 97 ff., of Dr. Hall's ed.).

the Pāṇḍavas. When he shall arm [for battle] on their behalf, no one shall then stand up to encounter him. Even if all the Kurus were to overcome the Pāṇḍavas, Vārshṇeya (Kṛishṇa) would on behalf of the latter seize his pre-eminent weapon; and having then slain all the princes and the Kauravas in battle, this great-armed and tiger-like man (*lit.* man-tiger) would bestow the earth on Kuntī. What chariot can stand in the conflict against that chariot of which Hṛishīkeśa is the driver, and on which Dhananjaya (Arjuna) fights? By no contrivance does the victory of the Kurus appear [to be possible]. Give me therefore a full account of the way in which the battle proceeded."

Then follow the verses which have been already quoted above in p. 235, *Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā*, "Arjuna is the soul of Keśava," etc.

Another account of Kṛishṇa's exploits is given in the Udyoga-parvan. It is there related that Sanjaya had been sent on an embassy to the Pāṇḍus, and that on his return he reported to the chiefs of the Kurus the defiant answer which Arjuna had given. The latter chief prophesied that Duryodhana would certainly repent having engaged in conflict with himself and Kṛishṇa (vv. 1863 ff.) He then enlarges as follows on the prowess of Kṛishṇa (vv. 1875 ff.):

Pūrvāhṇe māṁ kṛita-japyaṁ kadāchid viprah provāchodakānte manojnam | kartavyaṁ te dushkaraṁ karma Pārtha yodhavyaṁ te śatrubhiḥ Savyasāchin | Indro vā te harimān vajra-hastaḥ purastād yātu samare 'rīn vinighnan | Sugrīva-yuktena rathena vā te paśchāt Kṛishṇo rakshatu Vāsudevaḥ | vavre chāhaṁ vajra-hastād Mahendrād asmin yuddhe Vāsudevaṁ sahāyam | sa me labdho dasyu-badhāya Kṛishṇo manye chaitad vihitaṁ daivatair me | sa bāhubhyāṁ sāgaram uttitīrshed mahodadhiṁ salilasyāprameyam | tejasvinaṁ Kṛishṇam atyanta-śūraṁ yuddhena yo Vāsudevaṁ jigīshet | giriṁ sa ichhet tu talena bhettuṁ śilochayaṁ śvetam atipramāṇam | tasyaiva pāṇiḥ sa-nakho viśīryed na chāpi kinchit sa gires tu kuryāt | agniṁ samiddhaṁ śamayed bhujābhyāṁ chandrancha sūryanṁcha nivārayeta | hared devānāṁ amṛitam prasahya yuddhena yo Vāsudevaṁ jigīshet | yo Rukmiṇīm eka-rathena Bhojān utsādya rājnaḥ samare prasahya | uvāha bhāryāṁ yaśasā jvalantīṁ yasyāṁ jajne Raukmineyo mahātmā | ayaṁ Gāndhārāṁs tarasā sampramathya jitvā putrān Nagnajitaḥ samagrān | baddham mumocha vinadantam prasahya Sudarśanaṁ vai devatānāṁ lalāmam | ayaṁ kapāṭena jaghāna Pāṇḍyaṁ tathā

Kalingān Dantakūre mamarda | anena dagdhā varsha-pūgān anāthā Vārāṇasī nagarī sambabhūva | ayaṁ sma yuddhe manyate 'nyair ajeyaṁ tam Ekalavyaṁ nāma Nishāda-rājam | vegeneva śailam abhihatya Jambhaḥ śete sa Kṛishṇena hataḥ parāsuḥ | tathograsenasya sutaṁ sudushṭam Vṛishṇy-Andhakānām madhya-gataṁ sabhā-stham | apātayad Baladeva-dvitīyo hatvā dadau chograsenāya rājyam | ayaṁ Saubhaṁ yodhayāmāsa svastham vibhīshaṇam māyayā Śālva-rājam | Saubha-dvāri pratyagṛihṇāt śataghnīṁ dorbhyāṁ kaḥ enaṁ visaheta martyaḥ | Prāgjyotishaṁ nāma babhūva durgam puraṁ ghoram Asurāṇām asahyam | mahābalo Narakas tatra Bhaumo jahārādityāḥ maṇi-kuṇḍale śubhe | na taṁ devāḥ saha Śakreṇa śekuḥ samāgatāḥ yudhi mṛityor abhītāḥ | dṛishṭvā cha taṁ vikramaṁ Keśavasya balaṁ tathaivāstram avāraṇīyam | jānanto 'sya prakṛitiṁ Keśavasya nyayojayan dasyu-badhāya Kṛishṇam | sa tat karma pratiśuśrāva dushkaram aiśvaryavān siddhishu Vāsudevaḥ | nirmochane shaṭ sahasrāṇi hatvā sanchhidya pāśān sahasā kshurāntān | Muraṁ hatvā vinihatyaugha-raksho nirmochanaṁ chāpi jagāma vīraḥ | tatraiva tenāsya babhūva yuddham mahābalenātibalasya Vishṇoḥ | śete sa Kṛishṇena hataḥ parāsur vāteneva mathitaḥ karṇikāraḥ | āhṛitya Kṛishṇo maṇi-kuṇḍale te hatvā cha Bhaumaṁ Narakam Muranchа | śriyā vṛito yaśasā chaiva vidvān pratyājagāmāpratima-prabhāvaḥ | asmai varān adadaṁs tatra devāḥ dṛishṭvā bhīmaṁ karma kṛitaṁ raṇe tat | "śramaś cha te yudhyamānasya na syād ākāśe chāpsu cha te kramaḥ syāt | śastrāṇi gātre na cha te kramerann" ity eva Kṛishṇaś cha tataḥ kṛitārthaḥ | evaṁ-rūpe Vāsudeve 'prameye mahābale guṇa-sampat sadaiva | tam asahyaṁ Vishṇum ananta-vīryam āśaṁśate Dhārtarāshṭro vijetum |

"Once, in the forenoon, when I had muttered my prayers, and concluded my ablutions, a Brahman addressed to me these pleasant words: 'Son of Pṛithā, thou hast a difficult work to do; thou hast to fight with thine enemies, O Savyasāchin (a name of Arjuna). Shall Indra with his steeds, and wielding the thunderbolt, go before thee in battle, smiting thy foes, or shall Kṛishṇa, the son of Vasudeva, with his car, to which Sugrīva (one of Kṛishṇa's horses) is yoked, protect thee from behind?' I elected to have in the combat Vāsudeva for an ally, rather than Mahendra, wielding the thunderbolt. Kṛishṇa was obtained by me as a helper in slaying the Dasyus, and I think that this was effected for me by the gods. That man will try to stretch over the ocean, the immeasurable receptacle of waters, with his arms, who thinks to conquer

in battle the glorious and eminently heroic Kṛishṇa. If any one should attempt to split with his hand the white mountain (viz. Kailāsa), a vast pile of rocks, his hand and nails would be worn away, and he could produce no effect upon the mountain. That man would extinguish blazing fire with his arms, would stop the moon and sun, would daringly plunder the ambrosia of the gods, who should think to conquer Vāsudeva in battle,—[Vāsudeva] who having boldly destroyed in battle the Bhoja kings, carried off on the same car with himself Rukmiṇī his bride, shining in renown, of whom the great Raukmiṇeya was born. He (Kṛishṇa) having by his prowess destroyed the Gāndhāras, having conquered all the sons of Nagnajit, forcibly released [king] Sudarśana, renowned even among the gods, who had been bound [by the sons of Nagnajit], and was making an outcry.[240] He slew Pāṇḍya with the fragment of a door, and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakūra. Through him the city of Benares, which had been burnt, and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence. He regarded Ekalavya the king of the Nishādas as invincible by others in battle, [but slew him], having smitten him furiously with a rock. Jambha sleeps, bereft of life by Kṛishṇa.[241] Seconded by Baladeva, he also prostrated [Sunāman] the wicked son of Ugrasena standing in the midst of the assembly of the Vṛishṇis and Andhakas, and having slain him, gave the kingdom to Ugrasena. He conquered the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) [city of] Saubha, and the king of the Śālvas, terrible from his magical powers, and arrested with his arms at the gate of Saubha the weapon Śataghnī:[242] what mortal can assail him? There was an im-

[240] One of the commentators says that Sudarśana was a certain king, and explains *devatānāṁ lalāmam* by *devatānām madhye praśastam*, "approved among the gods." Another commentator says *lalāmam=śiromaṇim*, "a head-jewel or ornament." The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 34, 8 ff., tells a story of a Vidyādhara also named Sudarśana, who in consequence of a curse had been changed into a serpent, but who renewed his former shape on being touched by Kṛishṇa's foot.

[241] The construction and sense of this verse are not very clear.

[242] A weapon generally supposed to be a species of firearms, or a rocket, but also described as a stone set round with iron spikes.—Wilson's Dictionary. See also Williams's Sanskrit English Dictionary, *s.v.*, and the end of note 189, page 191, above. A double account is given of the destruction of the flying (*kāmaga*) city of Saubha and of its king in the Vana-parvan. The story is first of all briefly given in vv. 615–635; and afterwards very diffusely in vv. 636–889. Kṛishṇa splits the city with his discus Sudarśana (v. 883), and kills the king of the Śālvas himself (v. 885).—See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, p. 615, first ed., p. 761, second ed.

pregnable, formidable, and unassailable castle of the Asuras, called Prāgjyotisha. Thither the powerful Naraka son of the Earth had carried off the beautiful jewelled earrings of Aditi.[243] The assembled gods aided by Indra, fearless of death, could not [overcome] him in battle. But perceiving the valour, the strength, and the irresistible weapons of Keśava, and knowing his nature, they appointed him (Kṛishṇa) to slay the Dasyu. Vāsudeva, possessing divine power in his magical endowments (*aiśvaryavān siddhishu*), undertook that difficult task. Having in the city Nirmochana slain six thousand [Asuras], and having violently cut asunder the nooses sharp as razors,[244] having slain Mura and the Rākshasa Ogha, he proceeded to Nirmochana.[245] There Vishṇu of surpassing strength had a fight with the powerful foe; who, smitten by Kṛishṇa, sleeps lifeless, like a karnikāra[246] tree overthrown by the wind. Having captured the jewelled earrings and slain Naraka, son of the Earth, and Mura, the wise Kṛishṇa of incomparable power, returned surrounded by splendour and renown. Then the gods having seen that terrible work which he had achieved in battle, conferred upon him these boons: 'Let no fatigue oppress thee when thou art fighting; let thy step traverse the sky and the waters; and let no weapons make any impression on thy body.' With these boons Kṛishṇa was satisfied. In Vāsudeva, who is of such a character, immeasurable, and of mighty strength, there is always an abundance of virtues. It is this irresistible Vishṇu, of infinite power, whom the son of Dhṛitarāshṭra hopes to overcome."

[243] The story of this demon is told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.—See Wilson's translation, pp. 581 ff., or vol. v., pp. 87 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.

[244] These nooses are also mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's translation, as in the last note) and in the Harivaṁśa, v. 6833. See Langlois's note to his French translation, p. 521, in which he refers to the Asiatic Researches, vol. xiii., p. 278 ff. In that article an account is given of the Phānsigars or Thugs, who murder their victims by throwing a noose. The writer refers in illustration to the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 29, 9 (Schlegel's edition), where three kinds of nooses are mentioned, the *dharma-pāśa*, the *kāla-pāśa*, and the *Vāruṇa-pāśa*. In the Vana-parvan, 879, the epithet *kshurānta*, sharp as a razor, is applied to Kṛishṇa's discus.

[245] See verse 4407 of this same parvan; *Nirmochane shaṭsahasrāḥ pāśair baddhāḥ mahāsurāḥ* | This line evidently contains an allusion to the same story as is referred to in the text; and from a comparison of both passages I infer that Nirmochana is the name of a place. Böhtlingk and Roth *s v.* do not recognize this signification.

[246] Pterospermum acerifolium.

It will be noticed that Kṛishṇa is here represented as receiving various boons from the gods. It would appear, therefore, as if the author of this passage could not consistently have regarded him as one with the supreme deity.

The following passage from the Vana-parvan describes Kṛishṇa as a great devotee, as a performer of sacrifices, as a destroyer of hostile men and demons (referring to some of the legends already alluded to); and also in some places identifies him with the supreme spirit. Kṛishṇa, we are told, had gone with some of his clansmen to visit the Pāṇḍavas in the forest; and as he showed himself greatly incensed at the conduct of the Kurus, Arjuna, to appease him, related (needlessly, one would think, if he was regarded as the Supreme Deity) his exploits in former births (vv. 471 ff.): *Arjunaḥ uvācha | Daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi yatra Sāyangṛiho muniḥ | vyacharas tvam purā Kṛishṇa parvate Gandhamādane | daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi daśa-varsha-śatāni cha | pushkareshv avasaḥ Kṛishṇa tvam apo bhakshayan purā | ūrdhva-bāhur viśālāyāṁ Vadaryam Madhusūdana | atishṭhaḥ eka-pādena vāyu-bhakshaḥ śatam samāḥ | avakṛishṭottarāsangaḥ kṛiśo dhamaṇi-santataḥ | āsīḥ Kṛishṇa Sarasvatyāṁ satre dvādaśa-vārshike | Prabhāsam apy athāsādya tīrtham puṇya-janochitam | tathā Kṛishṇa mahātejāḥ divyaṁ varsha-sahasrikam* (sic) | *atishṭhas tvam yathaikena pādena niyama-sthitaḥ | loka-pravṛitti-hetos tvam iti Vyāso mamābravīt | kshetra-jnaḥ sarva-bhūtānām ādir antaś cha Keśava | nidhānam tapasāṁ Kṛishṇa yajnas tvaṁ cha sanātanaḥ | nihatya Narakam Bhaumam āhṛitya maṇi-kuṇḍale | prathamotpāditaṁ Kṛishṇa medhyam aśvam avāsṛijaḥ | kṛitvā tat karma lokānām ṛishabhaḥ sarva-loka-jit | abadhīs tvāṁ raṇe sarvān sametān daitya-dānavān | tataḥ sarveśvaratvaṁ cha sampradāya S'achī-pateḥ | mānusheshu mahābāho prādurbhūto 'si Keśava | sa tvaṁ Nārāyaṇo bhūtvā Harir āsīḥ parantapa | Brahmā Somaś cha Sūryaś cha Dharmo Dhātā Yamo 'nalaḥ | Vāyur Vaiśravaṇo Rudraḥ kālaḥ kham pṛithivī diśaḥ | ajaś charāchara-guruḥ śrashṭā tvam purushottama | parāyaṇaṁ devam ūrjhvaṁ kratubhir Madhusūdana | ayajo bhūri-tejāḥ vai Kṛishṇa Chaitrarathe vane | śataṁ śata-sahasrāṇi suvarṇasya Janārdana | ekaikasmiṁs tadā yajne paripūrṇāni bhāgasaḥ | . . . . Sāditāḥ Mauravāḥ pāśāḥ Nisunda-Narakau hatau | kṛitaḥ kshemaḥ punaḥ panthāḥ puram Prāg-jyotisham prati | Jārūthyām Āhvṛitiḥ Krāthaḥ S'iśupālo janaiḥ saha | Jarāsandhaś cha S'aivyaś cha S'atadhanvā cha nirjitaḥ | tathā Parjanya-*

ghoshena rathenāditya-varchasā | avāpsīr mahishīm bhojyāñ rane nirjitya Rukminam | Indrayumno hataḥ kopād Yavanaś cha Kaserumān | hataḥ Saubha-patiḥ Śālvas tvayā Saubhañ cha pātitam | Irāvatyāñ hato Bhojaḥ Kārtavīrya-samo yudhi | Gopatis Tālaketuś cha tvayā vinihatāv ubhau | tāñ cha Bhogavatīm punyām Ṛishikāñ tāñ Janārdana | Dvārakām ātmasāt kṛitvā samudrañ gamayishyasi | na krodho na cha mātsaryañ nānṛitam Madhusūdana | tvayi tishṭhati Dāśārha na nṛiśaṁsyañ kuto 'nṛijuḥ | āsīnañ chaitya-madhye tvāñ dīpyamānañ sva-tejasā | āgamya rishayaḥ sarve 'yāchantābhayam Achyuta |

Vana-parvan, 471. "Formerly, Kṛishṇa, thou didst roam for ten thousand years on the mountain Gandhamādan, where the muni Sāyangṛiha was. Formerly thou didst dwell ten thousand and ten hundred years in ponds, subsisting upon water. Thou didst stand on the spacious Badari a hundred years with thy arms aloft, on one foot, subsisting on air, with thy outer garment thrown off, emaciated, with thy veins swollen. Going also to Prabhāsa, a sacred spot fit for holy men, thou stoodest glorious, Kṛishṇa, for a thousand years of the gods, on one foot, practising self-restraint, for the benefit of the world,—this Vyāsa declared to me. Thou, Keśava, art the spirit residing in men's bodies, the beginning and the end of all existences, the receptacle of austerities, and the eternal sacrifice. Having slain Naraka, the son of the Earth, and having carried off the jewelled earrings, thou didst let loose the first-produced sacrificial horse. Having performed that rite, chief of the worlds, and conqueror of all worlds, thou didst slay in battle all the assembled Daityas and Dānavas. And then, having conferred the lordship of the universe on Indra, thou, O great-armed, didst become manifested among mankind. Thou, being Nārāyaṇa, wert Hari, O vexer of thy foes. Thou, O Purushottama (or chief of Spirits, or Males), art Brahmā, Soma, Sūrya, Dharma, Dhātṛi, Yama, Anala (Fire), Vāyu, Kuvera, Rudra, Time, Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the creator. Thou, Madhusūdana, Kṛishṇa, of great glory, didst with sacrifices worship the supreme, high, god in the forest of Chaitraratha. A hundred times a hundred thousands of gold were then severally told out in full tale at each sacrifice." [Here follow the verses quoted above, p. 136, beginning *Aditer api putratvam*, and ending *nihatāḥ śataśo 'surāḥ*]. The nooses of Muru were destroyed; Nisunda and

Naraka were slain; the way to the city Prāgjyotisha was again rendered safe. On the Jāruthī Āhvṛiti, Krātha, Śiśupāla with his men, Jarāsandha, Śaivya and Śatadhanvan[247] were conquered. So, too, having vanquished Rukmin in battle with thy car, resounding like Parjanya, and gleaming like the sun, thou didst obtain thy queen to be the object of thy love. (See above, p. 215.) Indradyumna was slain by thee in thy wrath, and the Yavanâ Kaserumat, and Śālva, the lord of Saubha; and Saubha was thrown down. Bhoja, equal to Kārtavīrya[248] in battle, was slain by thee on the Irāvatī, as well as both Gopati and Tālaketu. And having subdued to thyself Dvārakā, thou wilt cause the holy Bhogavatī and the Ṛishikā to flow to the ocean. Neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty, abides in thee, Dāśārha (Kṛishṇa): how then canst thou be deceitful? The rishis came to thee, [Achyuta,] whilst thou wast sitting in the midst of the Chaitya (sacrificial ground), resplendent with thy own brightness, and begged of thee security. [Then follow some lines which have been quoted above, p. 229, beginning *Yugânte sarva-bhūtâni sankshipya*, etc.]

VI. Although, as we have already seen from various passages of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, Kṛishṇa is generally identified with Vishṇu, and Vishṇu with Brahma, or the supreme deity, yet in a text quoted above (p. 49) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, Kṛishṇa is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead. The same is the case in another passage in the first section of the same tenth book of the Bhāgavata. The king there says to Śuka that he has heard from him the history of the kings of the solar and lunar races, and among them of Yadu. He then asks the sage to relate the achievements of Vishṇu, the creator and soul of all things, who became partially incarnate (*tatrâṁśenâvatīrṇasya Vishṇor vīryâṇi śaṁsa naḥ | avatīrya Yador vaṁśe bhagavân bhūta-bhâvanaḥ | kṛitavân yâni viśvâtmâ tâni no vada vistarât*). Śuka in reply goes on to relate that the earth being afflicted by Daityas in the shape of proud princes, had, in the form of a cow, preferred her complaint to Brahmā, who had consequently gone with the other gods to supplicate the help of Vishṇu. Brahmā hears a voice in the sky:

[247] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 428 ff. (vol. iv. pp. 80 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.)
[248] See the first volume of this work, pp. 450 ff.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. i. 21 ff.—*Girāṁ samādhau gagane samīritāṁ niśamya Vedhās tridaśān uvācha ha* | *gām paurushīm me śṛiṇutāmarāḥ punar vidhīyatām āśu tathaiva māchiram* | *puraiva puṁsā* (*Īśvareṇa*, Comm.) *'vadhṛito dharā-jvaro bhavadbhir aṁśair Yadushūpajanyatām* | *sa yāvad urvyāḥ bharam īśvareśvaraḥ sva-kāla-śaktyā kshapayaṁś chared bhuvi* | *Vasudeva-gṛihe sākshād bhagavān Purushaḥ paraḥ* | *janishyate tat-priyārthaṁ sambhavantu sura-striyaḥ* | *Vāsudeva-kalā 'nantaḥ sahasra-vadanaḥ svarāṭ* | *agrato bhavitā devo Hareḥ priya-chikīrshayā* | *Vishṇor māyā bhagavatī yayā sammohitaṁ jagat* | *ādishṭā prabhuṇā 'ṁśena kāryārthe sambhavishyati* |

"Having, while in a state of contemplation, heard a voice uttered in the sky, Vedhas (Brahmā) said to the gods: 'Hear from me, immortals, the voice of Purusha, and then speedily act so [as it enjoins]. The distress of the earth was already understood by Purusha. Do you, in portions of yourselves, be born among the Yadus, whilst he, the god of gods, walks upon the earth, removing her burthen by his destructive power. The supreme divine Purusha shall be born in his own person (*sākshāt*) in the house of Vasudeva. To please him, let the wives of the gods be born. The infinite, thousand-faced, self-resplendent deity shall first become a portion of Vāsudeva, in order to gratify Hari. The divine Delusion of Vishṇu, by which the world is deceived, being commanded by the lord, shall be born in a portion of herself to effect the desired objects."

In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, also, the incarnation of Vishṇu is spoken of as that of a part, or even a part of a part. At the commencement of the fifth book of that work the following lines occur:

Nṛipānāṁ kathitaḥ sarvo bhavatā vaṁśa-vistaraḥ | *Vaṁśānucharitaṁ chaiva yathāvad anuvarṇitam* | *Aṁśāvatāro brahmarshe yo 'yaṁ Yadu-kulodbhavaḥ* | *Vishṇos taṁ vistareṇāhaṁ śrotum ichchhāmy aśeshataḥ* | *Chakāra yāni karmāṇi bhagavān Purushottamaḥ* | *Aṁśāṁśenāvatīryor-vyāṁ tatra tāni mune vada* | *Parāśaraḥ uvācha* | *Maitreya śrūyatām etad yat pṛishṭo 'ham iha tvayā* | *Vishṇor aṁśāṁśa-sambhūti-charitaṁ jagato hitam* |

"You have related to me the complete genealogy of the kings, and also the entire history of the races. I now wish, divine sage, to hear in full detail the particulars of the incarnation of a portion of Vishṇu which took place in the tribe of the Yadus. Tell me, Muni, what acts

the divine Purushottama performed when he descended to the earth in a portion of a portion [of himself]. Parāśara replies: 'Hear, Maitreya, that which you have asked me, the history, beneficial to the world, of the birth of a portion of a portion of Vishṇu.'"

The sage proceeds to relate (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 493–497; pp. 249 ff. of the 4th vol. of Dr. Hall's ed.) how the earth had complained to Brahmā and the other gods that the Asura Kālanemi had revived in Kansa, and other demons also had been born as princes; so that she had to bear upon her surface many hosts of strong and haughty Daitya chiefs wearing celestial forms; and that she could not support the load. (V.P. v. 1. 12. *Etasminn eva kāle tu bhūri-bhārāvapīḍitā | jagāma dharaṇī Merau samāje tridivaukasām | . . . . . 25 | akshauhiṇyo hi bahulāḥ divya-mūrti-dhṛitāṁ surāḥ | mahābalānāṁ dṛiptānāṁ daityendrāṇām mamopari | tad-bhūri-bhāra-pīḍārtā na śaknomy amareśvarāḥ | vibhartum ātmanā "tmānam iti vijñāpayāmi vaḥ | kriyatāṁ tat mahābhāgāḥ mama bhārāvatāraṇam | yathā rasātalaṁ nāhaṁ gachheyam ativihvalā).*[249] Brahmā proposed that they should

[249] The Greek writers, too, speak of the earth being burthened, but from a different cause, viz. with the load of men, and that Jupiter brought about the Trojan war for her relief. In the Helena of Euripides, vv. 38 ff., it is said: Πόλεμον γὰρ ἐισήνεγκεν Ἑλλήνων χθονὶ Καὶ Φρυξὶ δυστήνοισιν, ὡς ὄχλου βροτῶν Πλήθους τε κουφίσειε μητέρα χθόνα, Γνωτόν τε θείη τὸν κράτιστον Ἑλλάδος. "For he brought on a war between the land of the Greeks and the unhappy Phrygians, that he might relieve mother Earth of the crowd and multitude of mortals, and make known the bravest man in Greece."

Similarly in the Orestes of the same author, vv. 1639 ff., it is said: Ἐπεὶ θεοὶ τῷ τῆσδε καλλιστεύματι Ἕλληνας εἰς ἓν καὶ Φρύγας συνήγαγον, θανάτους τ' ἔθηκαν, ὡς ἀπαντλοῖεν χθονὸς Ὕβρισμα θνητῶν ἀφθόνου πληρώματος. "Since the gods by means of her beauty brought the Greeks and Phrygians into conflict, and occasioned deaths, in order that they might remove from the Earth the grievance of being superabundantly replenished with mortals."

And in the Scholia Minora on the Iliad, i. 5 (quoted in Heyne's Homer, Oxford, 1821), we read: Ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ ἱστορίας τινὸς ἔιπον εἰρηκέναι τὸν Ὅμηρον· φασὶ γὰρ τὴν γῆν βαρουμένην ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πολυπληθείας, μηδεμιᾶς ἀνθρώπων ὄυσης εὐσεβείας, αἰτῆσαι τὸν Δία κὸυφισθῆναι τοῦ ἄχθους. Τὸν δὲ Δία, πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθὺς ποιῆσαι τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν πόλεμον, δι' οὗ πολλοὺς πάνυ ἀπωλέσεν. ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν συμβούλῳ τῷ Μώμῳ ἐχρήσατο, ἣν Διὸς βουλὴν Ὁμηρός φησιν. ἐπειδὴ οἷός τε ἦν κεραυνοῖς ἢ κατακλυσμοῖς πάντας διαφθεῖραι, τοῦτο τοῦ Μώμου κωλύσαντος, ὑποθεμένου δὲ αὐτῷ γνώμας δύο, τὴν Θέτιδος θνητογαμίαν, καὶ θυγατρὸς καλὴν γένναν, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πόλεμος Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις ἐγένετο, οὕτω συμβῆναι κουφισθῆναι τὴν γῆν, πολλῶν ἀναιρεθέντων. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Στασίνῳ τῷ τὰ Κύπρια πεποιηκότι, εἰπόντι οὕτως· Ἦν ὅτε μυρία φῦλα κατὰ χθόνα πλαζόμενα Βαθυστέρνου

resort to Vishṇu, "who is the spirit of all, and of whom the universe consists," and "who constantly, for the sake of earth, descends in a very small portion of his essence, to establish righteousness below" (v. 32. *sarvadaiva jagaty-arthe sa sarvātmā jaganmayaḥ | svalpāṁśenāvatīryorvyāṁ dharmasya kurute sthitim*). The gods accordingly went to the milky sea, and lauded Vishṇu in a long hymn. Vishṇu was gratified by their praises, desired them to state their wishes, and assured them that these should be accomplished. Brahmā renewed his praises; and we are then told what happened when they were concluded:

58. *Evaṁ saṁstūyamānas tu bhagavān parameśvaraḥ | Ujjahārātmanaḥ keśau sita-kṛishṇau mahāmune | Uvācha cha surān etau mat-keśāu vasudhā-tale | Avatīrya bhuvo bhāra-kleśa-hāniṁ karishyataḥ | Surāścha sakalāḥ svāṁśair avatīrya mahītale*[250] *| Kurvantu yuddham unmattaiḥ pūrvotpannair mahāsuraiḥ | Tataḥ kshayam aśeshās te Daiteyāḥ dharaṇītale | Prayāsyanti na sandeho mad-dṛik-pāta-vichūrṇitāḥ | Vasudevasya yā patnī Devakī devatopamā | Tasyāyam ashṭamo garbho*[251] *mat-keśo bhavitā surāḥ | Avatīrya cha tatrāyaṁ*[252] *Kaṁsam ghātayitā bhuvi |*

πλάτος αἴης. Ζεὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε, καὶ ἐν πυκιναῖς πραπίδεσσι Σύνθετο κουφίσαι ἀνθρώπων καμβώτορα γαῖαν, Ῥιπίσας πολέμου μεγάλην ἔριν Ἰλιάκοιο· Ὄφρα κενώσειεν θανάτῳ βάρος· οἱ δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ Ἥρωες κτείνοντο. Διὸς δὲ τελείετο βουλή.

"Others have declared that Homer used the expression (Διὸς δὲ τελείετο βουλή) 'And the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled') in consequence of a certain history. For they relate that the Earth, being weighed down by the multitude of men, among whom there was no piety, prayed to Zeus to be relieved of the burthen; and that he had first caused the Theban war, whereby he destroyed very many. Afterwards he employed Momus as his counsellor, (an act) which Homer calls 'Zeus's consultation.' When he could have destroyed the whole of mankind by his thunderbolts or by deluges, but was dissuaded from doing so by Momus, who suggested two plans, the marriage of Thetis to a mortal, and the generation of a beautiful daughter, in consequence of which two events a war was occasioned between the Greeks and Barbarians,—it thus came to pass that the Earth was lightened, many being slain. The history is found in Stasinus, who composed the Cypria, and who speaks as follows: 'There was a time when myriads of races wandered over the Earth, on the breadth of the deep-bosomed land. But Zeus, beholding, pitied her, and in his wise mind resolved to relieve the all-nurturing Earth of [the load of] men, by exciting the great strife of the Ilian war, in order that by slaughter he might clear away the burthen: and the heroes were slain in the Troad. And the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled.'" See also above, p. 215, note 212; and Dronap., 2051 f.

[250] Another MS. reads *mahītalam*.

[251] Another MS. reads *esha garbho 'shṭamas tasyāḥ*.

[252] Another MS. reads *tatrāham*.

Kālanemiṁ samudbhūtam ityuktvā 'ntardadhe Hariḥ | Adṛiśyāya tatas tasmai praṇipatya mahāmune | Meru-pṛishṭham surāḥ jagmur avateruś cha bhūtale |

"Being thus lauded, the divine Parameśvara plucked out two of his own hairs, a white and a black, and said to the deities, 'These two hairs of mine, descending to the earth, shall remove her burthen and sufferings. And let all the deities, descending in portions of themselves to the earth, fight against those mad Asuras who were formerly born. Then all these sons of Diti (the Asuras) shall no doubt perish, being annihilated by the glances of my eyes. This my hair, gods, shall become the eighth child of Devakī, the wife of Vasudeva who (Devakī) resembles the goddesses. And this [hair] descending there, shall destroy Kaṁsa, the Kālanemi who has been born.' Having thus spoken, Hari disappeared. Having then bowed down to him the unseen, the gods went to the top of Meru, and descended on the earth."

The following are the remarks which Ratnagarbha, one of the commentators on the Vishṇu Purāṇa, makes on the first of the preceding passages (p. 254), and which have reference to the sequel also:

"Chakāra" iti | tatra Kṛishṇāvatāre ati-parichchhinna-manushyākāra-līlā-vigraheṇāvirbhāvād aṁśāṁśena ity uktam upachārāt | na tu śakti-hrāseṇa Kṛishṇādy-avatāreshv api viśva-rūpa-darśana-sarvaiśvaryādy-ukteḥ | Nanu aṁśino 'ṁśoddhāreṇa śakty-ādi-hrāsas tathā 'ṁśasyāpi tad-apekshya alpa-śaktitvādikaṁ dhānya-rāśy-ādi-vibhāgaḥ iva prasajyeta iti ched na | prakāśa-svarūpe tad-abhāvāt | pradīpasya hi tan-mūlaka-dīpāntarasya vā upādhi-bhede 'pi śakty-ādi-sāmya-darśanāt "pūrṇam adaḥ pūrṇam idam pūrṇāt pūrṇaṁ udachyate | pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam evāvaśishyate" iti śruteḥ | "param Brahma narākṛiti gūḍham param Brahma manushya-lingaṁ Kṛishṇas tu bhagavān svayam" ityādi vākyebhyaś cha | yas tu "mat-keśau vasudhā-tale" ity-ādāv "ayaṁ Kaṁsaṁ ghātayitā" ity atra keśa-vyapadeśaḥ sa Brahmaṇaḥ paripūrṇasya bhū-bhāra-haraṇa-rūpaṁ kāryam aty-alpa-yantra-sādhyam iti khyāpayituṁ na tu keśayoḥ Rāma-Kṛishṇatvaṁ vaktum | jaḍayoḥ keśayos tad-dehakshetrajnatvābhāvena tat-kāryaṁ kartum aśaktatvāt | keśātmaka-māyayodbhava-Rāma-Kṛishṇa-dehāv ādiśya [āviśya?] bhagavān eva tat tat karishyati iti ched om iti brūmaḥ phalato 'viśeshāt "kṛishṇāshṭamyām aham niśi" iti svayam evoktatvāch cha ity alaṁ vistareṇa |

"Purushottama is here figuratively said to have become incarnate with a portion of a portion of himself, because in the Kṛishṇa incarnation he was manifested in a merely sportive body in the very circumscribed form of a man, and not because of any diminution of his power, since even in the Kṛishṇa and other incarnations he is said to have shown himself in every possible form, and to have possessed all divine power, and so forth. But is it not the case that if a portion is taken from a whole composed of parts, there is a decrease of power, etc. [in that whole], and that thus an inferiority of power will attach to the portion relatively to the whole, just as when a heap of grain, or any other such whole, is divided? I answer, No; since such a diminution does not occur in him whose nature is light; for though there is a seeming difference in the individuality of one lamp, and of another lamp derived from it, yet an equality of power is perceived in each; agreeably to the text from the Veda (the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 1, p. 1094= Bṛih. Āraṇyaka Upan. beginning of adhyāya 7, p. 948 of ed. in Bibliotheca Ind.), 'That is full, and this is full; a full arises out of a full: if a full be taken from a full, a full remains;'[253] and also agreeably to such texts as this, 'The supreme Brahma with the form, and with the characteristics, of a man, is a great mystery; but Kṛishṇa is the lord himself.' And the employment of the term 'hairs' in the words, 'My hairs shall descend to the earth,' and 'This hair shall slay Kansa,' etc., is intended to signify that the task of removing the earth's burthen was such as Brahma in all his plenitude could effect by a very slight instrumentality, and not to assert that the two hairs were identical with [Bala]rāma and Kṛishṇa: for two insensible hairs, not being conscious spirits animating the bodies of those two persons, could not fulfil their task. If it be said that the lord occupying the bodies of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, which were produced by the magical operation of the hairs, will do so and so, we reply, 'Yes, for there is no difference in the result, and because he himself said, 'I [shall be born] on the

[253] See Dr. Roer's translation of this verse, with his explanatory note at p. 247 of the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. ii., part iii. The Commentary on the verse in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 1157 of Weber's edition, may also be consulted. The Atharva-veda has the following verse; x. 8, 29: *Pūrṇat pūrṇam udachati pūrṇam pūrṇena sichyate | uto tad adya vidyāma yatas tat parishichyate* | "He takes a full from a full: the full is sprinkled with the full: and may we to-day know that from which that is sprinkled."

eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon.' But there is no occasion for further prolixity."[254]

The passage which follows is from another commentary on the same text:[255]

Ujjahāra | utpāṭitavān | ayam bhāvaḥ | mama dushkaraṁ ched yushmābhiḥ sāhāyyaṁ kāryaṁ syāt | na tv etad asti bhū-bhārāpaharaṇādau mahaty api kārye mat-keśa-mātrasyaiva samarthatvād iti | na tu keśamātrāvatāraḥ iti mantavyam | "mad-dṛik-pāta-vichūrṇitaḥ" "kṛishṇāshṭamyām aham utpatsyāmi" ityādishu sākshāt svāvatāratvokteḥ | sita-kṛishṇa-keśoddhāraṇaṁ cha śobhārtham eva | "*Ujjahāra* means that he 'plucked out' the hairs. The sense is as follows: 'It would be a difficult matter if aid had to be rendered to me by you: but the same is not the case in regard to the task, though a great one, of removing the load of the earth, etc., since my hairs alone are equal to it.' But it is not to be supposed that there was nothing beyond an incarnation of the mere hairs; for his own incarnation is distinctly asserted in the words 'annihilated by the glance of my eye,' 'I shall be born on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon,' etc., etc. The mention of his plucking out white and black hairs is for the purpose of ornament."[256]

The same story about the production of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa from two hairs is also told in the Mahābhārata, Ādi-parvan, 7306 ff.:

Tair eva sārdhaṁ tu tataḥ sa devo jagāma Nārāyaṇam aprameyam | anantam avyaktam ajam purāṇaṁ sanātanaṁ viśvam ananta-rūpam | sa chāpi tad vyadadhāt sarvam eva tataḥ sarve sambabhūvur dharaṇyām | sa chāpi keśau Harir udvavarha śuklam ekam aparaṁ chāpi kṛishṇam | tau chāpi keśau niviśetāṁ Yadūnāṁ kule striyau Devakīṁ Rohiṇīṁ cha | tayor eko Baladevo babhūva yo 'sau śvetas tasya devasya keśaḥ | Kṛishṇo dvitīyaḥ Keśavaḥ sambabhūva keśo yo 'sau varṇataḥ kṛishṇaḥ uktaḥ |

"Along with them (viz. four preceding Indras and a fifth deity sprung from Indra) the god (Indra) went to Nārāyaṇa, immeasurable, infinite, undiscernible, unborn, primeval, everlasting, universal, endless

[254] The preceding copy of the text, and commentary on the text, from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, have been kindly copied, and carefully collated, for me by Professor Monier Williams.

[255] I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker for copying this passage for me.

[256] See Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, viz. in p. 492, and in p. 497 (pp. 247 and 258, vol. v., of Dr. Hall's ed.).

in his forms; and he fulfilled all [that they desired]. Then they were all born on earth. Hari also plucked out two hairs, one white and the other black. These two hairs entered into two women of the tribe of the Yadus, Devakī and Rohiṇī. One of them, the white hair of the god, became Baladeva; while the second hair (*keśa*), which was called black (*kṛishṇa*) in colour, became Kṛishṇa, Keśava."

The following remarks are made on this passage by Nīlakaṇṭha, one of the commentators on the Mahābhārata:

Atra keśāv eva reto-rūpau Pāṇḍavānām iva Rāma-Kṛishṇayor api prakaraṇa-sangaty-arthaṁ sākshād deva-retasaḥ utpatter avaktavyatvāt[257] | *ataḥ eva Devakyāṁ Rohiṇyāncha sākshāt keśa-praveśaḥ uchyate na tu Vasudeve* | *tathā sati tu "devānāṁ reto varshaṁ varshasya retaḥ oshadhayaḥ" ityādi-śrauta-pranādyā 'smad-ādi-vat tayor api vyavadhānena deva-prabhavatvaṁ syāt* | *tathā cha "etan nānā-'vatārāṇāṁ nidhānaṁ vījam avyayam" iti bhagavataḥ sākshād matsyādy-avatāravījatvam uchyamānaṁ virudhyeta* | *apicha keśa-retasor deha-jatve samāne 'pi retaḥ-prabhavatve 'rvāksrotastvena manushyatvam putratvaṁ cha syāt*| *tathā cha "Kṛishṇas tu bhagavān svayam" iti śrīmad-bhāgavatoktiḥ sangachhate* | *na cha keśoddhāraṇāt Kṛishṇasyāpy aṁśatvam pratīyate iti vāchyam* | *keśasya dehāvayavatvābhāvāt* | *tasmād Namuchi-badhe kartavye yathā apām phene vajrasya praveśaḥ evaṁ Devakī-Rohiṇyor jaṭhare praveśe kartavye keśadvayena dvāra-bhūtena bhagavataḥ kārtsnyena eva āvirbhāvaḥ eshṭavyaḥ iti yuktam* |

"Here the two hairs are of the nature of seed productive of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, just as in the case of the Pāṇḍavas, [and this expression is employed] for the sake of conformity to what had preceded, since it is manifest that one cannot speak of production from the seed of a god. For this reason it is distinctly said that the hairs entered into Devakī and Rohiṇī [the mothers], and not into Vasudeva [the father]. But such being the case, according to the process of derivation described in the Veda, that 'rain is the seed of the gods, and plants are the seed of rain,' etc., these two persons also (Balarāma and Kṛishṇa) will be mediately the offspring of the deity, just as is the case with ourselves and other beings. And thus—since 'this substance of the different incarnations is an undecaying seed,'[258]—it would be opposed to that

[257] The MS. in the E. I. Office Library reads *avas'ya-vaktavyatvāt* |

[258] I put these words between inverted commas, as they appear to be a metrical quotation, though I am not aware whence it is derived.

declaration to predicate of the deity that he is literally the seed of the fish, and other incarnations. Further, although hairs and seed spring equally from the body,' yet in the case of production from seed, humanity and sonship will arise, after the manner of the inferior animals. And thus the saying of the Bhāgavata, that 'Kṛishṇa is the Lord himself,' is not contradicted. And it must not be said that from a hair being plucked out, Kṛishṇa also is shown to be only a portion [of the deity]; for a hair is not a part of the body. Wherefore, just as, when [the demon] Namuchi was to be slain, the thunderbolt [of Indra] entered into the foam of the waters,[259] so when an entrance

[259] I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me the legend to which reference is here made, viz. that mentioned in R.V. viii. 14, 13: *Apām phenena Namucheḥ śiraḥ Indrodavartayaḥ | viśvāḥ yad ajayaḥ spṛidhaḥ |* "Thou, Indra, didst strike off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters, when thou didst vanquish all opponents." On this Sāyaṇa tells the following story: *Purā kila Indro 'surān jitvā Namuchim asuraṁ grahītuṁ na śaśāka | sa cha yudhyamānas tenāsurena jagṛihe | sa cha gṛihītam Indram evam avochat "tvāṁ visṛijāmi rātrāv ahni cha śushkenārdreṇa chāyudhena yadi māṁ na himsīr" iti | sa Indras tena visṛishṭaḥ sann ahorātrayoḥ sandhau s'ushkārdra-vilakshaṇena phenena tasya s'iras chichcheda | ayam artho 'syām pratipādyate | He Indra apām phenena vajrībhūtena Namucher Asurasya śiraḥ udavartayaḥ |* "Formerly Indra having conquered the Asuras, was unable to seize the Asura Namuchi; and fighting, was seized by the Asura. The latter said to Indra, whom he had seized: 'I release thee if thou wilt not smite me by night, or by day, with a dry or a wet weapon.' Indra, being released by him, cut off his head at the junction of day and night with foam, which is different both from dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse." See also S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii 7, 3, 1 ff., quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 94; and also Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 1, 6 f.: *Indro Vṛitraṁ hatvā asurān parābhāvya Namuchim āsuraṁ na alabhata | taṁ S'achyā 'grihṇāt | tau samalabhetām | so 'smād abhiśunataro 'bhavat | so 'bravīt "sandhāṁ sandadhāvahai | atha tvā vaḥ (ava ?) srakshyāmi | na mā s'ushkeṇa na ārdreṇa hanāḥ na divā na naktam" iti | sa etam apām phenam asinchat | na vai esha śushko na ārdraḥ | vyushṭā āsīd anuditaḥ sūryaḥ | na vai etad divā na naktam | tasya etasmin loke apām phenena śiraḥ udavartayat |* "Indra, after having slain Vṛitra and defeated the Asuras, could not catch Namuchi, who was one of that race. He (Namuchi) captured him (Indra) with S'achi [or by force]. These two laid hold of each other. The one (Namuchi) was stronger than the other (Indra). He (Namuchi) said: 'Let us make an agreement; then I shall let thee go. Promise that thou wilt smite me neither with dry nor wet, neither by day nor by night.' He (Indra) anointed (the thunderbolt) with this foam of the waters, which was neither dry nor wet. It was twilight,—the sun not risen; neither day nor night. He smote off his head with the foam of the waters." The story is also told in the Indra-vijaya (published by Holtzmann), vv. 185 ff.; Mahābhārata, Udyoga-parvan, vv. 320 ff.

This story of Indra destroying Namuchi with foam is again told in the Mahābhārata, S'alya-parvan (vv. 2434 ff.): *Namuchir Vāsavād bhītaḥ sūrya-raśmiṁ samāvisat | tenendraḥ sakhyam akarot samayanchedam abravīt | "na chārdreṇa na śushkeṇa na*

was to be made into the wombs of Devakī and Rohiṉī, the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude is to be understood as effected through the medium of the two hairs."

I add an interesting passage from the Vishṉu Purāṉa, i. 22, 36 ff., where Vishṉu is first of all placed on a level with Brahmā and S'iva; but afterwards declared to be the highest form of Brahma:

36. *Dve rūpe Brahmaṉas tasya mūrtam̃ chāmūrtam̃ eva cha | ksharākshara-svarūpe te sarva-bhūteshv avasthite |* 37. *aksharam paramam Brahma ksharam̃ sarvam idam̃ jagat |* 38. *eka-deśa-sthitasyāgner jyotsnā vistāriṉī yathā | parasya Brahmaṉaḥ śaktis tathedam akhilam̃ jagat |* 39. *tatrāthāsanna-dūratvād bahutva-svalpatāmayaḥ | jyotsnā-bhedo 'sti tachchhaktes tadvad Maitreya vidyate |* 40. *Brahma-Vishṉu-S'ivāḥ brahman pradhānāḥ Brahma-śaktayaḥ | tataś cha devāḥ Maitreya nyūnāḥ Yakshādayas tataḥ |* 41. *Tato manushyāḥ paśavo mṛiga-pakshi-sarīsṛipāḥ | nyūnāḥ nyūnatarāś chaiva vṛiksha-gulmādayas tataḥ | tad etad akshayam̃ nityam̃ jagad muni-varākhilam | āvirbhāva-tirobhāva-janma-nāśa-vikalpavat |* 42. *Sarva-śaktimayo Vishṉuḥ svarūpam Brahmaṉaḥ param | mūrtam̃ yad yogibhiḥ pūrvam̃ yogārambheshu chintyate |* 43. *sālambano mahāyogaḥ savījo yatra sam̃sthitaḥ | manasy avyāhate samyag yunjatām̃ jāyate mune |* 44. *sa paraḥ sarva-śaktīnām Brahmaṉaḥ samanantaraḥ | mūrta-brahma mahābhāga sarva-brahmamayo Hariḥ |* 45. *tatra sarvam idam protam otam̃ chaivākhilam̃ jagat | tato jagat jagat tasmin sa jagach chākhilam mune |* 46. *ksharāksharamayo Vishṉur bibharty akhilam īśvaraḥ | purushāvyākṛitamayam bhūshaṉāstra-svarūpavat |*

rātrau nāpi chāhani | badhishyāmy asura-śreshṭha sakhe satyena te śape" | evam̃ sa kṛitvā samayam̃ dṛishṭvā nīhāram īśvaraḥ | chichhedāsya śiro rājann apām phenena Vāsavaḥ | tach chhiro Namucheś chhinnam̃ pṛishṭhataḥ S'akram anviyāt | bho mitrahana pāpeti bruvāṉam̃ S'akram antikāt | evam̃ sa śirasā tena chodyamānaḥ punaḥ punaḥ | Pitāmahāya santaptaḥ etam artham̃ nyavedayat | tam abravīt loka-gurur aruṉāyām̃ yathāvidhi | ishṭvopaspṛiśa devendra tīrthe pāpa-bhayāpahe | "Namuchi being afraid of Indra, entered into a ray of the sun. Indra formed a friendship with him, and uttered this agreement: 'I shall neither slay thee with wet nor with dry, neither in the night nor in the day; I swear in truth to thee, my friend, thou most eminent of Asuras.' Having made this agreement, the lord Vāsava (Indra), beholding a fog, [when it was neither night nor day], cut off his head with the foam of the waters [which was neither wet nor dry]. That head of Namuchi, after being cut off, followed close after Indra, calling out, 'O wicked slayer of thy friend.' Being thus again and again pressed by the head, and being distressed, he [Indra] represented the matter to Pitāmaha (Brahmā). The lord (or teacher) of the world (Brahmā) said to him: 'Having sacrificed, touch [the waters] in the Aruṉā, that sacred spot, which removes sin and fear,'" etc.

"Of that Brahma there are two conditions, one possessed of form, the other formless. These decaying and undecaying states exist in all creatures. The undecaying is the highest Brahma; the decaying is this entire universe. Just as light is diffused from a fire which is confined to one spot, so is this whole universe the [diffused] energy of the supreme Brahma. And as light shows a difference, greater or less, according to its nearness or distance from the fire, so is there a variation in the energy of Brahma. Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva are his chief energies. The deities are inferior to them; the Yakshas, etc., to the deities; men, cattle, wild animals, birds and reptiles to the Yakshas, etc.; and trees and plants are the lowest of all [these energies]. This entire universe, which, O most excellent Muni, is subject to appearance and disappearance, to production, to destruction, and to change, is yet undecaying and eternal. Vishṇu, containing all the energies, is the highest form of Brahma, which, at the commencement of their abstraction, is contemplated by Yogins as invested with shape. Directed to him, the great union (*mahāyoga*) with its basis, and its germs, is produced in the undistracted minds of the devotees. Hari (Vishṇu) is the highest and most immediate of all the energies of Brahma, the embodied Brahma, formed of the whole of Brahma. On him this entire universe is woven and interwoven: from him is the world, and the world is in him; and he is the whole universe. Vishṇu, the lord, consisting of what is perishable as well as what is imperishable, sustains everything, both Purusha and Prakṛiti, in the form of his ornaments and weapons." [The writer goes on to explain what is meant by the last clause. Vishṇu bears or wears Purusha as the Kaustubha gem, Prakṛiti as the Śrīvatsa, etc. See Wilson's translation, vol. ii. p. 94 of Dr. Hall's ed.]

In the earlier part of the same section (Wilson, vol. ii., pp. 86 f.) it is said that all kings, whether of men, gods, Daityas, Dānavas, or Rākshasas, are portions of Vishṇu.

VII. In several of the passages which have been already cited in the preceding pages, Vishṇu has been identified with the supreme spirit (see above, pp. 38, 50, 181). I shall now proceed to adduce some others of the same kind from the Mahābhārata. In the Śānti-parvan, vv. 1500 ff. Yudhishṭhira says to Kṛishṇa:

Tava Kṛishṇa prasādena nayena cha balena cha | buddhyā cha Yadu-śārdūla tathā vikramaṇena cha | punaḥ prāptam idaṁ rājyam pitṛi-

paitāmaham mayā | namas te Puṇḍarīkaksha punaḥ punar arindama | tvām ekam āhuḥ Purushaṁ tvām āhuḥ Sāttvatāṁ gatim | nāmabhis tvām bahuvidhaiḥ stuvanti prayatāḥ dvijāḥ | viśvakarman namas te 'stu viśvātman viśva-sambhava | Vishṇo jishṇo Hare Kṛishṇa Vaikuṇṭha Purushottama | Adityāḥ saptadhā tvaṁ tu purāṇe garbhatāṁ gataḥ | Pṛiśnigarbhas tvam evaikas triyugaṁ tvāṁ vadanty api | Suchisravāḥ Hṛishīkeśo ghṛitāchir haṁsaḥ uchyase | trichakshuḥ Sambhur ekas tvaṁ vibhur Dāmodaro 'pi cha | Varāho 'gnir vṛihadbhānur vṛishabhas Tārkshyalakshaṇaḥ | . . . . 1514. *Yonis tvam asya pralayaścha Kṛishṇa tvam evedaṁ sṛijasi viśvam agre | viśvanchedaṁ tvad-vaśe viśvayone namo 'stu te śārṇga-chakrāsi-pāṇe |*

"By thy favour, Kṛishṇa, chief of the Yadus, and policy, and power, and understanding, and valour, I have recovered this kingdom of my father and grandfathers. Adoration be to thee, lotus-eyed, subduer of thy foes, again and again. Thee alone men call Purusha: thee alone they call the refuge of the Sātvats. Devout twice-born men laud thee by names of various kinds. Glory be to thee, thou maker of all, thou soul of all, thou source of all, Vishṇu, conqueror, Hari, Kṛishṇa, Vaikuṇṭha, chief of spirits (or males). Of old thou didst become the sevenfold offspring of Aditi.[260] Thou alone art Pṛiśnigarbha: they also call thee [him who exists in] the three ages (*yugas*). Thou art called Suchiśravas, Hṛishīkeśa, Ghṛitāchi, and Hansa. Thou alone art the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahādeva) and Dāmodara, the pervading, the Boar, Agni, Vṛihadbhānu,[261] the Bull, he whose sign is Tārkshya (Garuḍa)." A long list of other titles then follows, concluding with these words: "Thou art the source and the destruction of this universe, Kṛishṇa: it is thou who createst it in the beginning, and it is all in thy power, thou source of all things: glory be to thee who wieldest the bow, the discus, and the sword."

A little further on, at vv. 1604 ff., a long hymn of Bhīshma to Kṛishṇa is given, in which the following lines occur:

1609 | *Yasmin viśvāni bhūtāni tishṭhanti cha viśanti cha | guṇabhūtāni bhūteśe sūtre maṇi-gaṇāḥ iva | yasmin nitye tate tantau dṛidhe srag iva tishṭhati | sad-asad grathitaṁ viśvaṁ viśvāṅge viśva-karmaṇi |*

[260] This, I suppose, refers to the Ādityas being in the Veda spoken of as only seven in number. See above, pp. 114 ff.

[261] A name of Agni.

Harim̃ sahasra-śirasam̃ sahasrā-charaṇekshaṇam | sahasra-bāhu-mukuṭam̃ sahasra-vadanojjvalam | prāhur Nārāyaṇam̃ devam̃ yam̃ viśvasya parāyaṇam | anīyasām anīyāmsam̃ sthavishṭham̃ cha sthavīyasām | garīyasam̃ garishṭham cha śreshṭham̃ cha śreyasām api | yam̃ vākeshv anuvākeshu nishatsūpanishatsu cha | gṛiṇanti satya-karmāṇam̃ satyam̃ satyeshu sāmasu | ityādi | . . . . . 1616. Sarvātmā sarva-vit sarvaḥ sarvajnaḥ sarva-bhāvanaḥ | yam̃ devam̃ Devakī devī Vasudevād ajījanat | Bhaumasya Brahmaṇo guptyai dīptam̃ Agnim ivāraṇiḥ | . . . . 1622. Yasmin lokāḥ sphurantīme jale śakunayo yathā |

"In whom, the lord of beings, all beings, existing as his qualities, abide and enter, like gems [strung] upon a thread: upon whom, the universal-membered artificer of all things, extended as a strong and eternal thread, the universe, existent and non-existent, abides, arranged, like a chaplet; Hari, the thousand-headed, thousand-footed, thousand-eyed, with a thousand arms and diadems, resplendent with a thousand faces, whom they call Nārāyaṇa, the god who transcends all, the minutest of the minute, the vastest of the vast, the greatest of the great, the most eminent of the eminent, whom, true, and true in act, they celebrate in 'vākas,' 'anuvākas,' in 'nishads,'[262] and in 'upanishads,' and in true 'sāma'-hymns, . . . 1616. the soul of all, the omniscient, the all, the all-knowing, the producer of all, the god whom the goddess Devakī bore to Vasudeva, for the preservation of the terrestrial deity (*i.e.* the Vedas, Brāhmans and sacrifices, Comm.) as Araṇi (the wood used for kindling fire),[263] produced the flaming Agni. . . . . 1622. In whom these worlds flutter, like birds in water," etc.

[262] This is the only place in which I have ever met with this word. I am unable to say whether Indian literature contains any such writings as 'nishads,' or whether the term is a purely fictitious one, invented by the author of this passage to denote a principal and original set of writings to which the Upanishads may have formed, in his idea, a secondary and supplemental class, as the Upapurānas do to the Purānas. Nīlakaṇṭha, one of the commentators (whether conjecturally, or on good grounds, I cannot say), explains nishatsu as meaning karmāngādy-avabaddha-devatādi-jnāna-vākyeshu, "works treating of the knowledge of the deities, etc., connected with the ceremonial part of the Veda," etc. The Upanishads "reveal the knowledge of soul alone" (kevalātma-jnāpaka-vākyeshu). Vākas, according to the same authority, "make known ceremonies generally" (sāmānyataḥ karma-prakāśakeshu); while anuvākas are "texts of the Brāhmaṇas, explanatory of the sense of the mantras, or Vedic hymns" (mantrārtha-vivaraṇa-bhūteshu brahmaṇa-vākyeshu).

[263] See the 5th vol. of this work, pp. 208 ff.

In the following passage, also from the Śānti-parvan, Kṛishṇa identifies himself with the supreme Spirit, and represents Brahmā and Mahādeva as having proceeded from him. In it the writer likewise endeavours to explain away the effect of certain texts in other parts of the poem (see above, pp. 185–204), in which Kṛishṇa is related to have worshipped Mahādeva, and which were no doubt felt to be inconsistent with the supreme deity of the former. The difficulty is attempted to be overcome by the explanation that in worshipping Rudra, he was only worshipping himself. In the verses 13133 ff. Arjuna asks Kṛishṇa to interpret the different appellations which had been applied to him in the Vedas and Purāṇas; and this Kṛishṇa accordingly proceeds to do, remarking by the way that Arjuna had been of old declared to be his own half[264] (*tvaṁ hi me 'rdhaṁ smritaḥ purā*). Nārāyaṇa (*i.e.* Vishṇu), he says, was the source of all things, and from him Brahmā and Śiva were produced; the one from his good pleasure, the other from his anger (13140. *Yasya prasādajo Brahmā Rudraścha krodha-sambhavaḥ*). He then goes on (13144): *Brāhme rātri-kshaye prāpte tasya hy amita-tejasaḥ | prasādāt prādurabhavat padmam padma-nibhekshaṇa | tato Brahmā samabhavat sa tasyaiva prasādajaḥ | ahnaḥ kshaye lalāṭāchcha suto devasya vai tathā | krodhāvishṭasya sanjajne Rudraḥ saṁhāra-kārakaḥ | etau dvau vibudha-śreshṭhau prasāda-krodha-jāv ubhau | tad-ādeśita-panthānau sṛishṭi-saṁhāra-kārakau | nimitta-mātram tāv atra sarva-prāṇi-vara-pradau | kapardī jaṭilo muṇḍaḥ śmaśāna-gṛiha-sevakaḥ | ugra-vrata-dharo Rudro yogī parama-dāruṇaḥ | Daksha-kratu-haraśchaiva Bhaga-netra-haras tathā | Nārāyaṇātmako jneyaḥ Pāṇḍaveya yuge yuge | tasmin hi pūjyamāne vai deva-deve Maheśvare | sampūjito bhavet Pārtha devo Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ | aham ātmā hi lokānām viśveshām Pāṇḍu-nandana |* 13152. *tasmād ātmānam evāgre Rudrāṁ sampūjayāmy aham | yady ahaṁ nārchayeyaṁ vai Īśānāṁ varadaṁ Śivam | ātmānaṁ nārchayet kaśchid iti me bhāvitātmanaḥ | mayā pramāṇaṁ hi kṛitaṁ lokaḥ samanuvartate | pramāṇāni hi pūjyāni tatas tam pūjayāmy aham | yas taṁ vetti sa māṁ vetti yo 'nu taṁ sa hi mām anu | Rudro Nārāyaṇaś chaiva sattvam ekaṁ dvidhākṛitaṁ | loke charati Kaunteya vyakti-sthaṁ sarva-karmasu | na hi me kenachid deyo varaḥ Pāṇḍava-nandana | iti sanchintya manasā purāṇam Rudram īśvaram | putrārtham ārādhitavān aham ātmānam ātmanā | na hi Vishṇuḥ*

[264] See the other passages about their identity, or intimate union, above, pp. 228 ff.

praṇamati kasmaichit vibudhāya cha | ṛite ātmānam eveti tato Rudram bhajāmy aham | sabrahmakāḥ sarudrāścha sendrāḥ devāḥ saharshibhiḥ | archayanti sura-śreshṭhaṁ devaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ Harim | bhavishyatāṁ vartatāncha bhūtānānchaiva Bhārata | sarveshām agraṇīr Vishṇuḥ sevyaḥ pūjyaścha nityaśaḥ ityādi |

"When the end of Brahmā's night had arrived, there sprang from the good pleasure of that being of boundless power a lotus, O thou whose eyes are like a lotus. From it was produced Brahmā, who was the offspring of his (Vishṇu's) good pleasure; and at the end of the day Rudra the destroyer was born from the forehead of the god when he was possessed with anger. These two eminent gods, produced [the one] from his good pleasure, [the other] from his anger,[265] have their

[265] I quote the following from the Maitrī Upanishad, 5th Prapāṭhaka: *Tamo vai idam agre āsīd ekam | tat pare syāt | tat tat pareṇa īritaṁ vishamatvam prayāti | etad rūpaṁ vai rajaḥ | tad rajaḥ khalv īritaṁ vishamatvam prayāti | etad vai sattvasya rūpam | tat sattvam eva īritaṁ rasaḥ samprāsravat | so 'mśo 'yaṁ yaś chetā-mātraḥ pratipurushaḥ khetrajñaḥ sankalpādhyavasāyābhimāna-lingaḥ | Prajāpatir Viśvā ity asya prāg uktāḥ etās tanavaḥ | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya tāmaso 'mśo 'sau sa brahmachāriṇo yo 'yaṁ Rudraḥ | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya rājaso 'mśo 'sau sa brahmachāriṇo yo 'yam Brahmā | atha yo ha khalu vāva asya sāttviko 'mśo 'sau sa brahmachāriṇo yo 'yaṁ Vishṇuḥ | sa vai esha ekas tridhā bhūto 'shṭadhā ekādaśadhā dvādaśadhā aparimitadhā vā udbhūtaḥ udbhūtatvād bhūtam bhūteshu charati pravishṭaḥ sa bhūtānām adhipatir babhūva | ity asā ātmā antar bahiś cha antar bahiś cha |* This passage is translated as follows by Professor Cowell: "Verily this was at the first darkness alone; it abode in the Supreme; then, being set in motion by the Supreme, it passes into inequality. This condition becomes activity (*rajas*): this activity, being set in motion, passes into inequality. This becomes the condition of Goodness. This goodness alone was set in motion; and Flavour flowed forth. This is a portion [of the Soul] which is only measured by the Soul, reflected in each individual, cognizant of the body, and possessing as its signs volition, ascertainment, and consciousness. Prajāpati, Viśwā—these and the like, before mentioned, are its forms. As for its darkness-characterized" [*tāmasaḥ*] "portion, that, O ye students, is the same as Rudra; as for its activity-characterized" [*rājasaḥ*] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Brahman; and as for its goodness-characterized" [*sāttvikaḥ*] "portion, that, O students, is the same as Vishṇu. He truly is one, existing as threefold, as eightfold, as elevenfold, as twelvefold, as infinite fold; he is manifested everywhere; and, from being thus manifested, he is the Being; he enters and pervades all beings, he is the lord of beings. Thus he, the Soul, is within and without, within and without."

In the Vāyu-purāṇa, sect. 66, as quoted by Professor Aufrecht in his "Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum," p. 56*b*, it is declared by Sūta that there is but one God, who assumed three forms (*rājasī, sāttvikī, tāmasī tanūs*) for the creation, preservation, and destruction of the world. In the Devā-Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book i., sect. 4, v. 46, quoted in the same Catalogue, p. 80a, Nārada tells Vyāsa that Vishṇu had once spoken to Brahmā as follows: *Srashṭā tvam pālakaś chāhaṁ Haraḥ saṁhāra-kārakaḥ |*

courses prescribed by him, [and are] the accomplishers [respectively] of creation and destruction. In this, these bestowers of boons on all creatures are merely instrumental causes. Rudra, with braided hair and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very terrible, he who swept away Daksha's sacrifice, and put out Bhaga's eyes, is to be understood by thee to possess in every age the nature of Nārāyaṇa. For when that god of gods Maheśvara is worshipped, then, son of Pṛithā, the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord, will also be worshipped. I am the soul of all the worlds. 13152. It was therefore myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worship Īśāna, the boon-bestowing S'iva, no one would worship myself [or the Soul]—this is [the reflection made] by me who am contemplative in spirit. An authoritative example is set by me [which] the world follows.[266] Authoritative examples are to be reverenced: hence I reverence him (S'iva). He who knows him knows me; he who loves him loves me.[267] Rudra and Ṇārāyaṇa, one essence, divided into two, operate in the world, in a manifested form, in all acts. Reflecting in my mind that no boon could be conferred upon me by any one, I [yet] adored the ancient Rudra, the lord, [that is] I, with myself adored myself, to obtain a son (see p. 195). For Vishṇu does not do homage to any god, excepting himself: hence I [in this sense] worship Rudra. The gods, including Brahmā, Rudra, and Indra, together with the rishis, worship the god Nārāyaṇa, Hari, the most eminent of the deities. Vishṇu the chief of all who shall be, are, or have been, is to be served and worshipped continually."

In the following passage (Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 6295 ff.), some

kṛitaḥ keneti sa tarkaḥ kriyate veda-pāragaiḥ | 47 | *Jagat-sanjanane śaktis tvayi vartati rājasī* | *sāttvikī mayi Rudre cha tāmasī parikīrtitā* | 48 | *tayā virahitas tvaṁ tu na hy etat karaṇe prabhuḥ* | *nāham pālayituṁ śaktaḥ saṁhartuṁ nāpi S'ankaraḥ* | 49 | *tad-adhīnāḥ vayaṁ sarve vartāmaḥ satataṁ vibho* | 46. "The question by what thou art made the creator, I the preserver, and Hara the destroyer, is proposed by those who have studied the Veda. 47. In thee there exists a passionate [or 'active,' as Professor Cowell translates *rājasī*] energy, [which operates] in the production of the world, in me there is declared to be a pure [*sāttvikī*], and in Rudra a dark [*tāmasī*], energy. 48. If we were destitute of these several energies, thou wouldest be unable to create, or I to preserve, or S'ankara to destroy. 49. We are continually dependent upon these our [respective energies]."

[266] See above, p. 53, the quotation from the Bhagavad-gīta, iii. 21 ff.

[267] Compare a similar sentiment in p. 230.

parts of which may be later interpolations, Kṛishṇa is described as performing a ceremony to obtain a son, at the same time that he is represented as the supreme deity. Bhīshma, at the request of Yudhishṭhira, tells him a story illustrative of the glory of Kṛishṇa. He states that Kṛishṇa had performed a ceremonial (*vrata*) of twelve years' duration (6397), which many rishis came to witness. In presence of these rishis flame issued from the mouth of Kṛishṇa, which set on fire the mountain where he was, and burnt up everything on it; and having done so, came back, and submissively touched his feet. The mountain was afterwards restored to its natural condition. Seeing the rishis astonished at this display, Kṛishṇa asks the cause of their surprise. They request that he who is the creator and destroyer of all things will explain to them the phenomenon which they have just witnessed. He replies that this was the power (*tejas*) of Vishṇu which had issued from his mouth. He had come, he informs them, to this mountain to perform a ceremony with the view of obtaining a son like himself (6320); and the soul residing in his body had become fire, and blazed forth, and had gone to see the parent of the world, when Mahādeva had declared that a son should be created for him out of the half of his power (*tejas*). Kṛishṇa next calls on the rishis to tell him any wonders they had seen or heard of in heaven or on earth. The rishis then, after celebrating Kṛishṇa's praises, appoint Nārada to describe the wonders which had been witnessed by the rishis on the Himālaya mountain, when they had gone thither on a pilgrimage to the holy places. Nārada accordingly proceeds to give an account of a long conversation which had taken place between Mahādeva and his wife Umā or Pārvatī, the daughter of the Himālaya. Mahādeva, it appears, had been performing austerity (*tapas*, vv. 6340, 6348) on that mountain, where he was surrounded by his attendant demons (Bhūtas) and by the nymphs (Apsarases), etc., etc. While he was sitting in that delightful region, clothed in tigers' and lions' skins, with a serpent for his sacrificial cord (6355 f.), his wife Umā comes up, clothed in the same style as her husband, with her attendant demonesses (*Bhūta-strī-gaṇa*), and playfully puts her hands over his eyes. The effects of this act are tremendous. Suddenly the world becomes darkened, lifeless, and destitute of oblations and vashaṭkāras, etc. This gloom, however, is as suddenly dispelled by a great flame

which bursts from Mahādeva's forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed (6367). By the fire of this eye the mountain was scorched and everything upon it consumed. Umā hereupon stands in a submissive attitude before her lord, when in a moment her parent, the Himālaya, is restored to his former condition. A long conversation then ensues between Mahādeva and Umā. The latter inquires why Mahādeva's third eye had been formed (6379), and puts a number of questions about himself, and the various duties of men (6412 ff.), all of which he answers. Mahādeva next, in his turn, asks Umā to describe the duties of women. She says she will consult the rivers in regard to the question. The Gangā replies on their behalf that Umā herself should furnish the answer, which, as Bhīshma tells us, she accordingly does (6780 ff.). Bhīshma then informs us (v. 6804) that, at the close of Umā's discourse, Mahādeva dismissed his attendant demons, with the rivers, nymphs, and celestial choristers (Gandharvas). We might have expected here that Nārada (who had hitherto been the narrator of what was done and said on the Himālaya) would have finished his account of all that occurred there, without the introduction of the other interlocutor; but, as I have said, he is interrupted by Bhīshma at v. 6804, and afterwards introduced again at v. 6870. Whatever may be the reason, we are first told by Bhīshma (v. 6804) that the rishis now requested Mahādeva to describe to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa). At the close of Mahādeva's discourse, Nārada is again abruptly introduced (6870), and relates that a great sound of thunder accompanied with lightning was then heard, and the sky became covered with thick clouds and veiled in darkness. Mahādeva and his attendant demons were now no longer visible to the munis. (The departure of the demons and the other classes of beings had, however, been previously told in v. 6804.) The darkness then suddenly clears away. Nārada next observes to Kṛishṇa (6875) that he was the eternal being, one with Brahma, about whom they had been instructed on the mountain. At the close of Nārada's discourse, the rishis express their devotion to Kṛishṇa (6879 ff.), and say that as he knew all things, he had no occasion to ask them for any information such as had been given at his request. They end by giving him what, after this avowal of his omniscience, was (one would have thought) a needless assurance, that he

should have a son like himself. Bhīshma then relates that, after completing the rite on which he had been engaged, Kṛishṇa returned to Dvārakā, where a son was born to him (6889), and goes on to expatiate yet further on his divine character. Yudhishṭhira, however, is still unsatisfied, and inquires as follows (6937 ff.):

Kim ekam daivataṁ loke kiṁ vā py ekam parāyaṇam | kaṁ stuvantaḥ kam archantaḥ prāpnuyur mānavāḥ śubham | kó dharmaḥ sarva-dharmāṇam bhavataḥ paramo mataḥ | kiṁ japan muchyate jantur janma-saṁsāra-bandhanāt | Bhīshmaḥ uvācha | Jagat-prabhuṁ deva-devaṁ anantam purushottamam | stuvan nāma-sahasreṇa purushaḥ satatotthitaḥ | tam eva chārchayan nityam bhaktyā purusham avyayam | dhyāyan stuvan namasyaṁścha yajamānas tam eva cha | an-ādi-nidhanaṁ Vishnuṁ sarva-loka-maheśvaram | lokādhyakshaṁ stuvan nityaṁ sarva-duḥkhātigo bhavet | brahmaṇyaṁ sarva-dharma-jnaṁ lokānāṁ kīrti-vardhanan | loka-nātham mahad bhūtaṁ sarva-bhūta-bhavodbhavam | esha me sarva-dharmāṇāṁ dharmo 'dhikatamo mataḥ | . . . . 6946. Yataḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhavanty ādi-yugāgame | yasmiṁścha pralayaṁ yānti punar eva yuga-kshaye | tasya loka-pradhānasya jagannāthasya bhūpate | Vishṇor nāma-sahasram me śṛiṇu pāpa-bhayāpaham |

"What is the one deity in the world, or what is the one highest object? By lauding and worshipping whom can men attain to felicity? What duty is regarded by you as the highest of all duties? By muttering what, is a creature freed from the bonds of birth and of the world? Bhīshma answers: A man, rising continually, and lauding with his thousand names the supreme infinite Purusha, the lord of the world, the god of gods, worshipping perpetually with devotion this undecaying Purusha, contemplating, praising, reverencing, and adoring him, Vishṇu, without beginning or end, the great lord of all the worlds, lauding continually the ruler of the worlds, who (the ruler) is devout, skilled in all duty, the augmenter of the renown of the worlds, the lord of the world, the great being, the source of the existence of all beings, [doing all this, a man] will overpass all grief. This is regarded by me as the greatest of all duties. . . . v. 6946. Hear, king, from me the sin-and-fear-removing thousand names of this Vishṇu, chief of the world, lord of the world, from whom all creatures spring on the arrival of the commencing yuga, and in whom again they are absorbed at the end of the yuga."

These thousand names of Vishṇu are then detailed, among which the following occur, all, or most of them, ordinarily appellations of Mahādeva, viz. Sarva, Śarva, Śiva, Sthāṇu (v. 6953), Īśāna (v. 6957), Rudra (v. 6962).

Again, we are informed in the Anuśāsana-parvan, that the rishis requested Mahādeva to expound to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa), which he accordingly does in vv. 6806 ff.:

Pitāmahād api varaḥ śāśvataḥ Purusho Hariḥ | Kṛishṇo jāmbūnadābhāso vyabhre sūryaḥ ivoditaḥ | daśa-bāhur mahātejāḥ devatāri-nisūdanaḥ | śrīvatsānko Hṛishīkeśaḥ sarva-daivata-pūjitaḥ | Brahmā tasyodara-bhavas tathā chāhaṁ śiro-bhavaḥ | śiroruhebhyo jyotīṁshi romabhyaścha surāsuraḥ | ṛishayo deha-sambhūtās tathā lokāś cha śāśvatāḥ | Pitāmahagṛihaṁ sākshāt sarva-deva-gṛihaṁ cha saḥ | so 'syāḥ pṛithivyāḥ kṛitsnāyāḥ srashṭā tribhuvaneśvaraḥ | saṁhartā chaiva bhūtānāṁ sthāvarasya charasya cha | sa hi deva-varaḥ sākshād deva-nāthaḥ parantapaḥ | sarvajnaḥ sa hi saṁślishṭaḥ sarvagaḥ sarvato-mukhaḥ | paramātmā hṛishīkeśaḥ sarvavyāpī maheśvarah | na tasmāt paramam bhūtaṁ trishu lokeshu kinchana | sanātano vai Madhuhā Govindaḥ iti viśrutaḥ | sa sarvān pārthivān sankhye ghātayishyati mānadaḥ | sura-kāryārtham utpanno mānushaṁ vapur āsthitaḥ | na hi deva-gaṇāḥ śaktās Trivikrama-vināḳṛitāḥ | bhuvane deva-kāryāṇi kartuṁ nāyaka-varjitāḥ | nāyakaḥ sarvabhūtānāṁ sarva-bhūta-namaskṛitaḥ | etasya deva-nāthasya deva-kāryaratasya cha | brahma-bhūtasya satataṁ devarshi-śaraṇasya cha | Brahmā vasati garbhasthaḥ śarīre mukha-saṁsthitaḥ | sarvāḥ sukhaṁ saṁśritāś cha śarīre tasya devatāḥ | sa devaḥ puṇḍarīkākshaḥ śrīgarbhaḥ śrī-sahoshitaḥ | ityādi | . . . 6827. bhavārtham iha devānām buddhyā paramayā yutaḥ | prājāpatye śubhe mārge Mānave dharma-saṁhite | samutpatsyati Govindo Manor vaṁśe mahātmanaḥ | . . . . v. 6835. teshaṁ vikhyāta-vīryāṇāṁ chāritra-guṇaśālinām | yajvanāṁ suviśuddhānāṁ vaṁśe brāhmaṇa-sammate[268] *| sa Śūraḥ kshatriya-śreshṭho mahāvīryo mahāyaśāḥ | svavaṁśa-vistara-karaṁ janayishyati mānadaḥ | Vasudevaḥ iti khyātam putram Ānakadundubhim | tasya putraś chaturbāhur Vāsudevo bhavishyati | dātā brāhmaṇa-satkartā brahmabhūto dvija-priyaḥ | . . . . 6842. Tam bhavantaḥ samāsādya vāṇ-mālyair arhaṇair varaiḥ | archayantu yathānyāyam Brahmāṇam iva śāśvatam | yo hi māṁ drashṭum ichheta Brahmāṇancha pitāmaham | drashṭavyas tena bhagavān Vāsu-*

[268] Quere, *Brāhmaṇa-sammite*, "equal to Brahmans"?

devaḥ pratāpavān | dṛishṭe tasminn ahaṁ dṛishṭo na me 'trāsti vichāraṇā|
pitāmaho vā deveśaḥ iti vitta tapodhanāḥ |

"Superior even to Pitāmaha (Brahmā) is Hari, the eternal Purusha, Kṛishṇa, brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the śrīvatsa, Hṛishīkeśa, adored by all the gods. Brahmā is sprung from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair of his head, the gods and Asuras from the hairs of his body, and the rishis, as well as the everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitāmaha, and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the movable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities, the vexer of his foes. He is omniscient, intimately united [with all things], omnipresent, facing in every direction, the supreme Spirit, Hṛishīkeśa, all-pervading, the mighty lord. There is no being superior to him in the three worlds. The slayer of Madhu is eternal, renowned as Govinda. He, the conferrer of honour, born to fulfil the purposes of the gods, and assuming a human body, will slay all the kings in battle. For all the hosts of the gods, destitute of Trivikrama (the god who strode thrice), are unable to effect the purposes of the gods, devoid of a leader. He is the leader of all creatures, and worshipped by all creatures. Of this lord of the gods, devoted to the purposes of the gods, who is Brahma, and is the constant refuge of gods and rishis, Brahmā dwells within the body, abiding in his face, and all the gods are easily sheltered in his body. This god is the lotus-eyed, the producer of Śrī, dwelling together with Śrī. . . . 6827. For the welfare of the gods, Govinda shall arise in the family of the great Manu, possessed of eminent intelligence, and [walking] in the excellent path of the Prajāpati Manu, characterized by righteousness." [Govinda's ancestors are then detailed.] 6835. "In this family, esteemed by Brahmans, of men renowned for valour, distinguished by good conduct and excellent qualities, priests, most pure, this Śūra, the most eminent of Kshatriyas, heroic, renowned, conferring honour, shall beget a son Ānakadundubhi,[269] the prolonger of his race, known as Vasudeva. To him shall be born a four-armed son, Vāsudeva, liberal, a

[269] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 436 = vol. iv., p. 101, of Dr. Hall's ed.

benefactor of Brāhmans, one with Brahma, a lover of Brāhmans. . . . 6842. You (the gods) should, as is fit, worship this deity, like the eternal Brahmā, approaching him with reverential and excellent garlands of praise. For the divine and glorious Vāsudeva should be beheld by him who desires to see me and Brahmā the Parent. In regard to this I have no hesitation, that when he is seen I am seen, or the Parent (Brahmā), the lord of the gods: know this, ye whose wealth is austerity."

Further on in the same Anuśāsana-parvan (7356 ff.), it is related that Bhīshma, when called on by Yudhishṭhira to inform him what are the benefits resulting from reverence rendered to Brāhmans, refers him to Kṛishṇa, whose divine greatness he then proceeds to set forth as follows (vv. 7360 ff.):

Kṛishṇaḥ pṛithvīm asṛijat khaṁ divancha Kṛishṇasya dehād medinī sambabhūva | varāho 'yam bhīma-balaḥ purāṇaḥ sa parvatān vyasṛijad vai diśaścha | asya chādho 'thāntarīkshaṁ divancha diśaś chatasro vidiśaś chatasraḥ | sṛishṭis tathaiveyam anuprasūtā sa nirmame viśvam idam purāṇam | asya nābhyām pushkaraṁ samprasūtaṁ yatropannaḥ svayam evāmitaujaḥ | yena chhinnaṁ yat tamaḥ Pārtha ghoraṁ yat tat tishṭhaty arṇavaṁ tarjayānam | . . . . 7388. *Vāyur bhūtvā vikshipate sa viśvam agnir bhūtvā dahate viśva-rūpaḥ | āpo bhūtvā majjayate sa sarvam Brahmā bhūtvā sṛijate sarva-sanghān | vedyancha yad vedayate cha vedyaṁ vidhiścha yaś chāśrayate vidheyam | dharme cha vede cha bale cha sarvaṁ charācharaṁ Keśavaṁ tvam pratīhi | jyotir-bhūtaḥ paramo 'sau purastāt prakāśate yat prabhayā viśva-rūpaḥ | apaḥ sṛishṭvā sarva-bhūtātma-yoniḥ purā 'karot sarvam evātha viśvam ityādi |*

"Kṛishṇa created the earth, the air, and the sky; from Kṛishṇa's body the earth was produced. He is the ancient boar of fearful strength; he created the mountains and the regions. Beneath him are the atmosphere and the heaven, the four regions, and the four intermediate regions: and [from him] this creation sprang forth: he formed this ancient universe. In his navel a lotus grew up, where he himself [in the form of Brahmā] was born of boundless power. By him the dreadful darkness was pierced, that threatening ocean which abides. . . 7388. Becoming Vāyu, he dissipates this universe; becoming Fire, he burns it, universal in his forms; becoming Water, he drowns all things; becoming Brahmā, he creates all the hosts [of beings]. He is

whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known: he is the rule for performance, and he who exists in that which is to be performed. Believe that Keśava [abides] in righteousness, in the Veda, in strength, and that he is the whole world, movable and immovable. Since he, the supreme, being by nature luminous, shines from the beginning, in every form of splendour, this soul and source of all beings, having created the waters, formed of old this entire universe." Kṛishṇa then (vv. 7402 ff.) proceeds to set forth the benefits of reverence to Brahmans, who he says (7412 f.) could reduce this world to ashes, and create new ones, and rulers of worlds, (*bhasma kuryur jagad idaṁ kruddhāḥ pratyaksha-darśinaḥ | anyān api sṛijeyuś cha lokān lokeśvarāṁs 'tathā*) and illustrates his opinion of their importance by the results of his own experience regarding Durvāsas (see above, p. 196). He afterwards goes on, in the passage which I have already cited in pp. 197 ff., to return the compliment paid to him by Mahādeva, by celebrating the greatness of that deity; and in the course of his description he makes nearly as explicit an avowal of the supreme divinity of the other god, as the latter has made in regard to him in the text (Anuśāsana-parvan, 6806 ff.) which has just been adduced in p. 273 f.

In the Āśvamedhika-parvan it is related, vv. 1536 ff., that when Kṛishṇa had left the city of the Pāṇḍus, and was journeying to Dvārakā, he fell in with the muni Uttanga, who asked him whether he had reconciled the Kurus and Pāṇḍus with one another. Kṛishṇa replied (1559) that he had made the attempt to do so, but without success, and that the Kurus had perished in consequence. On hearing this Uttanga becomes greatly incensed, and threatens to curse Kṛishṇa because he had not rescued the Kurus, although he was perfectly able to do so. To pacify the muni's wrath, Kṛishṇa offers to explain the circumstances, and to unfold the mystery of his own nature; which he accordingly does in vv. 1564 ff.:

Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | tamo rajaś cha sattvaṁ cha viddhi bhāvān mad-āśrayān | tathā Rudrān Vasūn vā 'pi viddhi mat-prabhavān dvija | mayi sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarva-bhūteshu chāpy aham | sthitaḥ ityādi | . . . .

1567. *Sad asachchaiva yat prāhur avyaktam vyaktam eva cha | aksharaṁ cha ksharanchaiva sarvam etad mad-ātmakam | ye chāśrameshu vai dharmāś chaturdhā viditāḥ mune | vaidikani chā sarvāṇi viddhi sarvam mad-ātma-

kam | asachcha sad-asachchaiva yad viśvaṁ sad-asat-param | mattaḥ parataraṁ nāsti deva-devāt sanātanāt | oṁkāra-pramukhān vedān viddhi māṁ tvam Bhṛigūdvaha | yūpaṁ somaṁ charuṁ homaṁ tridaśāpyāyanam makhe | hotāram api havyaṁcha viddhi mām Bhṛigu-nandana | adhvaryuḥ kalpakasyāpi haviḥ parama-saṁskṛitam | udgātā chāpi māṁ stauti gīta-ghoshair mahādhvare | mrāyaśchitteshu mām brahman śānti-mangala-vāchakāḥ | stuvanti viśvakarmāṇaṁ satataṁ dvija-sattama | mama viddhi sutaṁ dharmam agrajaṁ dvija-sattama | mānasaṁ dayitaṁ vipra sarva-bhūta-dayātmakam | tatrāhaṁ vartamānaiścha nirvṛittaiśchaiva māna-vaiḥ | bahvīḥ saṁsaramāṇo vai yonīr vartāmi sattama | dharma-saṁraksh-aṇārthāya dharma-saṁsthāpanāya cha | tais tair veśaiś cha rūpaiś cha trishu lokeshu Bhārgava | ahaṁ Vishṇur aham Brahmā S'akro 'tha pra-bhavāvyayaḥ (āpyayaḥ?)[270] *| bhūta-grāmasya sarvasya srashṭā saṁhāraḥ eva cha | adharme vartamānānāṁ sarveshām aham achyutaḥ | dharmasya setum badhnāmi chalite chalite yuge | tās tāḥ yonīḥ praviśyāham prajānāṁ hitakāmyayā | yadā tv ahaṁ deva-yonau vartāmi Bhṛigu-nandana | tadā 'haṁ deva-vat sarvam ācharāmi na saṁśayaḥ | . . . .* 1582. *Mānushye vartamāne tu kṛipaṇaṁ yāchitāḥ mayā | na cha te jāta-sammohāḥ vacho 'gṛihṇanta mohitāḥ | bhayancha mahad uddiśya trāsitāḥ Kuravo mayā | kruddhena bhūtvā cha punar yathāvad anudarśitāḥ | te 'dharmeṇeha saṁyuktāḥ parītāḥ kāla-dharmaṇā | dharmeṇa nihatāḥ yuddhe gatāḥ svargaṁ na saṁśayaḥ | . . . . Uttangaḥ uvācha | abhijānāmi jagataḥ kartāraṁ tvāṁ Janārdana |*

"Know that the qualities of darkness (*tamas*), passion (*rajas*), and goodness (*sattva*) have their abode in me. Know also that both the Rudras and Vasus are sprung from me. All beings reside in me, and I in all beings, etc. . . . . 1567 ff.: That which men call entity and non-entity, the unmanifested and the manifested, the undecaying and the decaying,—all this consists of my essence. And know, O muni, that the fourfold duties which are recognized as belonging to the [four] conditions of life, as well as all the Vedic [ordinances], partake of my essence. As regards non-entity, and that which is both entity and non-entity, and that which transcends both entity and non-entity, —know that [of all this] there is nothing which transcends me, the eternal god of gods. Know, descendant of Bhṛigu, that I am the Vedas which are introduced by the oṁkāra, [that I am], the sacrificial post,

[270] See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under *apyaya*; and Udyoga-parvan, v. 2569.

the soma, the charu, the homa, which satiates the immortals, tridaśā-pyāyana in the sacrifice. Know that I am both the hotṛi (priest), and the havya (oblation). [I am] also the adhvaryu of the ceremony, and the highly purified butter. The udgātṛi celebrates me with sounds of hymns at the great sacrifice. And at the rites of atonement, the priests who utter propitiatory and auspicious texts continually, O excellent Brahmaṇ, praise me, the architect of all. Know that Dharma (Righteousness) is my beloved first-born mental son, whose nature is to have compassion on all creatures. There I exist among men, both present and past, passing through many varieties of mundane existence, in different disguises and forms, in the three worlds, for the preservation and establishment of righteousness. I am Vishṇu, Brahmā, Indra, and the source as well as destruction [of things], the creator and the annihilator of the whole aggregate of existences. When all men live in unrighteousness, I, the unfalling, build up the bulwark of righteousness, as the ages pass away, entering into various wombs, from a desire to promote the good of creatures. Whenever I assume a divine birth, I act in every respect agreeably to my character of a god." . . . (He adds that he acts agreeably to all the other natures which he assumes.) 1582. "But during the existence of my mortal condition, though they (the Kurus) were humbly entreated by me, they, through delusion, were not touched, and did not listen to my words. Though terrified by me, when I was incensed, with great alarms, and again fittingly admonished, they, influenced by unrighteousness, and overcome by fate, have been righteously slain in battle, and have undoubtedly gone to heaven."[271] On hearing this reply of Kṛishṇa, the sage Uttanga breaks out: "I recognize thee, Janārdana, as the creator of the world," etc. Kṛishṇa then shows him his divine form.

[271] See Mahābhārata, Śānti-parvan, v. 3655 ff., where Indra says: *Āhave tu hataṁ śūraṁ na śocheta kathanchana | aśochyo hi hataḥ śūraḥ svarga-loke mahīyate | na hy annaṁ nodakaṁ tasya na snānaṁ nāpy aśauchakam | hatasya kartum ichhanti tasya lokān śṛiṇushva me | varāpsaraḥ-sahasrāṇi śūram āyodhane hatam | tvaramāṇā 'bhidhāvanti "mama bhartā bhaved" iti |* "Let no one ever lament a hero slain in battle. A hero slain is not to be lamented, for he is exalted in heaven. Men do not desire to offer to him food or water, or perform ablutions, or [contract?] impurity [on his account]. Hear from me the worlds to which he goes. Thousands of beautiful nymphs (*apsarases*) run quickly up to the hero who has been slain in combat, saying to him, 'be my husband.'" Professor Weber refers to this passage, Indische Studien, i. 398, note, and notices the parallel it forms to similar representa-

VIII. In the preceding pages, various passages have been adduced in which the supremacy of Mahādeva and his identity with the soul of the universe have been asserted (pp. 185 f., 194, 196), and other texts have been quoted in which the same rank and character are assigned to Vishṇu (pp. 263 ff.). The reader will likewise have noticed that in some places also (pp. 241, 268), an attempt is made, by alleging the essential oneness of the two deities, to reconcile their conflicting claims.[272] Another passage of this description occurs in the Harivaṁśa, vv. 10660 ff. It had been related in the preceding section that Śiva had come to the assistance of Bāṇa and the Dānavas in

tions about Hūris in the Coran. So also in vv. 3591 ff., it is said: *Abhīto vikiran śatrūn pratigṛihya śarāṁś tathā | na tasmāt tridaśāḥ śreyo bhuvi paśyanti kinchana | tasya śastrāṇi yāvanti tvacham bhindanti saṁyuge | tāvataḥ so 'śnute lokān sarva-kāma-duho 'kshayān | yad asya rudhiraṁ gātrād āhave sampravartate | saha tenaiva pāpena sarva-pāpaiḥ pramuchyate |* "The gods see nothing on earth superior to the man who, fearless, scattering his foes, receives arrows in his body. As many weapons as pierce him in the fray, so many worlds yielding all enjoyments does he enjoy. With the blood which flows from his body, and through that misery so endured, he is freed from all his sins." Much more follows in praise of valour and reprehension of timidity. In vv. 3626 ff. a battle is compared to a sacrifice, and their corresponding parts described. In vv. 3666 ff. we are told that King Janaka showed his warriors the shining heavens, filled with Gandharvas' daughters, and yielding all manner of delights, destined for the courageous (*abhīrūṇām ime lokāḥ bhāsvanto hy anta paśyata | pūrṇāḥ gandharva-kanyābhiḥ sarva-kāma-duho 'kshayāḥ*); and the hells prepared for such as fled from battle. In the same way Kṛishṇa says to Jarāsandha (Sabhā-parvan, v. 869): *Ko hi jānann abhijanam ātmavān kshatriyo nṛipaḥ | nāviśat svargam atulaṁ raṇānantaram avyayam | svargaṁ hy eva samāsthāya raṇa-yajneshu dīkshitāḥ | jayanti kshatriyāḥ lokāṁs tad viddhi manujarshabha | svarga-yonir mahad brahma svarga-yonir mahad yaśaḥ | svarga-yonis tapo yuddhe mṛityuḥ so 'vyabhichāravān |* "For what Kshatriya king, who was wise, and appreciated his own noble birth, has not, after the battle, entered into an incomparable and undecaying paradise? Know, chief of men, that Kshatriyas, consecrated in the sacrifice of battle, attain to paradise and conquer the worlds. Great scriptural knowledge is the source of paradise, and so is great renown; austerity (*tapas*) in fight, too, is the source of paradise; such a death never fails of its reward." See also R.V. x. 154, 3, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 310.

[272] Compare Vāyu Purāṇa, as quoted in Aufrecht's Catalogue, p. 56, col. 2 (partly referred to above, p. 267, note); Varāhap., ibid., p. 58, col. 2, note 2, and p. 59, col. 2; Devībhāg., ibid., p. 81*a*; also Padmap., ibid., p. 16, note 1. The last text is as follows: Kṛishṇa speaks: *S'aivāḥ Saurāś cha Gāṇeśāḥ Vaishṇavāḥ S'akti-pūjakāḥ | mām eva prāpnuvantīha sarvāpaḥ sāgaraṁ yathā | eko hi panchadhā jātaḥ svarūpair nāmabhiḥ kila | Devadatto yathā kaśchit putrādy-āhvāna-nāmabhiḥ |* "The worshippers of S'iva, Sūra (the Sun), Gaṇeśa, Vishṇu and S'akti, come to me, as all streams flow to the ocean. For, though one, I am born with fivefold forms and names, just as the man Devadatta when called [is addressed] by the appellations of 'son,' etc."

their conflict with Kṛishṇa (v. 10587 f.), when a terrible combat ensues between the latter and S'iva, which causes the earth to tremble, and throws the whole universe into disorder (v. 10601 f.). S'iva is at length paralyzed by a weapon of his adversary called jṛimbhana, which causes him to yawn incessantly (v. 10632 f.). The earth is distressed (v. 10641 ff.) and appeals to Brahmā for assistance. Brahmā (v. 10647) remonstrates with S'iva against his conflict with Kṛishṇa, who, he says, is in reality one with himself. S'iva perceiving by yoga (mental union with the object contemplated) the truth of what Brahmā had stated, says to Brahmā that he will no longer fight against Kṛishṇa, and the two combatants embrace (v. 10648 ff.). Brahmā then says to the sage Mārkaṇḍeya (v. 10656 ff.) that he had formerly, in a dream, seen the two deities on the northern side of the mountain Mandara, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (S'iva) in the form of Hari (Vishṇu) with the shell, discus, and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Garuḍa, and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger's skin, and mounted on a bull; and he asks the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to explain this phenomenon which had occasioned him great astonishment. Mārkaṇḍeya replies (vv. 10660 ff.):

Mārkaṇḍeyaḥ uvācha | S'ivāya Vishṇu-rūpāya Vishṇave S'iva-rūpiṇe[273] *| athāntaraṁ na paśyāmi tena te diśataḥ*[274] *śivam | an-ādi-madhya-nidhanam etad akṣharam avyayam | tad eva te pravakshyāmi rūpam Hari-Harātmakam | yo vai Vishṇuḥ sa vai Rudro yo Rudraḥ sa Pitāmahaḥ | ekā mūrtis trayo devāḥ Rudra-Vishṇu-Piṭāmahāḥ | varadāḥ loka-kartāro loka-nāthāḥ svayambhuvaḥ | ardha-nārīśvarāś te tu vrataṁ tīvraṁ samāśritāḥ | yathā jale jalaṁ kshiptaṁ jalam eva tu tad bhavet | Rudraṁ Vishṇuḥ pravishṭas tathā Rudramayo bhavet | agnim agniḥ pravishṭas tu agnir eva yathā bhavet | tathā Vishṇum pravishṭas tu Rudro Vishṇumayo bhavet | Rudram agnimayaṁ vidyād Vishṇuḥ somātmakaḥ smṛitaḥ | agnīshomātmakaṁ chaiva jagat sthāvara-jangamam | kartārau chāpahartārau sthāvarasya charasya cha | jagataḥ śubha-kartārau prabhū Vishṇu-Maheśvarau | kartṛi-kāraṇa-kartārau kartṛi-kāraṇa-kārakau | bhūta-bhavya-bhavau devau Nārāyaṇa-Maheśvarau | etau tau cha prakṛitārāv etau tau cha prabhāmayau | jagataḥ pālakāv etāv etau sṛishṭikarau smṛitau | ete chaiva pravarshanti bhānti vānti sṛijanti cha | etat*

[273] See the same words above, p. 231.

[274] The MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads *darśitaḥ*.

parataraṁ guhyaṁ kathitaṁ te Pitāmaha | yaś chainam paṭhate nityaṁ yaś chainaṁ śriṇuyād naraḥ | prāpnoti paramaṁ sthānaṁ Rudra-Vishṇu-prasāda-jam | devau Hari-Harau stoshye Brahmaṇā saha sangatau | etau cha paramau devau jagataḥ prabhavāpyayau | Rudrasya paramo Vishṇur Vishṇoścha paramaḥ S'ivaḥ | ekaḥ eva dvidhā-bhūto loke charati nityaśaḥ | na vinā S'ankaraṁ Vishṇur na vinā Keśavaṁ S'ivaḥ | tasmād ekatvam āyātau Rudropendrau tu tau purā | ityādi.

"When thou showest me this auspicious [vision], I perceive thereby no difference between S'iva who exists in the form of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu who exists in the form of S'iva. I shall declare to thee that form composed of Hari and Hara (Vishṇu and Mahādeva) combined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable, undecaying. He who is Vishṇu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitāmaha (Brahmā): the substance (*mūrti*) is one, the gods are three, Rudra, Vishṇu, and Pitāmaha. Bestowers of boons, creators of the world, sovereigns of the world, self-existent, they are the half-female lords, and have performed austere rites. Just as water thrown into water can be nothing else than water, so Vishṇu entering into Rudra must possess the nature of Rudra. And just as fire entering into fire can be nothing else but fire, so Rudra entering into Vishṇu must possess the nature of Vishṇu. Let Rudra be understood to possess the nature of Agni; Vishṇu is declared to possess the nature of Soma (the Moon); and the world, movable and immovable, possesses the nature of Agni and Soma.[275] The lords, Vishṇu and Maheśvara, are the makers and destroyers of things movable and immovable, and the benefactors of the world. The gods Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara are the [first] makers of the cause, and of [the secondary] maker, the [first] causers of the cause, and of the [secondary] makers, existing in the past, future, and present. And these two are the revealers, they possess a luminous essence, they are declared to be the preservers of the world, and the creators. They rain, they shine, they blow, and they create. This which I have told thee, Pitāmaha, is the highest mystery. The man who continually repeats it, and hears it, obtains the highest abode, granted by the grace of Rudra and Vishṇu. I shall laud the gods Hari and Hara, associated with Brahmā; and these two are the supreme deities, the originators and destroyers of the

[275] See above, pp. 204 and 225.

world. Vishṇu, the highest [manifestation] of Rudra, and Śiva, the highest [manifestation] of Vishṇu,—this [god] one only, though divided into twain, moves continually in the world. Vishṇu does not [exist] without Śankara, nor Śiva without Keśava; hence these two, Rudra and Upendra (Vishṇu), have formerly attained to oneness," etc.

Then follows a hymn to the double deity.

The various representations of Kṛishṇa given in the different sets of passages above cited possess a certain interest in themselves, even independently of the light which they may be considered to throw on the process by which his deification was effected. Among the texts adduced from the Mahābhārata there are some (see pp. 185 ff.) in which he is distinctly subordinated to Mahādeva, of whom he is exhibited as a worshipper, and from whom, as well as from his wife Umā, he is stated to have received a variety of boons. Even in these passages, however, a superhuman character is ascribed to Kṛishṇa.

A second class of texts has been brought forward in pp. 205 ff., in which his superiority is represented to have been denied by Śiśupāla, Duryodhana, Karṇa, and Śalya. Of course we are not to imagine that any claim to a superhuman character was ever advanced on behalf of the Yādava hero in his lifetime, either by himself or his friends. These narrative passages, therefore, in which his divine dignity is denied by his enemies, and asserted by his partisans, as well as vindicated by the miraculous exploits which are attributed to him, are nothing more than poetical fictions (possibly of a polemical import) put forward at a period when his godhead had come to be recognized by the Vaishṇavas, though perhaps doubted or disputed by other sects. Such a resistance to the pretensions set up on Kṛishṇa's behalf may be indicated in the verses I have quoted in p. 237 f., where all who regard him as a mere man are stigmatized as being under the dominion of the quality of darkness.

In the third class of passages, quoted in pp. 243 ff., where the achievements of Kṛishṇa are described with a supernatural colouring, it seems not unreasonable to recognize a basis of simpler legend (if not of actual history)[276] underlying the miraculous narrative, and to trace a reference to a variety of warlike adventures in which the Yādava chief contended as a mere man with the warriors of other tribes. The supernatural powers which are here ascribed to him are not in their

[276] See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 615; in second ed., p. 762.

character essentially different from those which are attributed to his enemies, who, it will be observed, are in like manner represented as endowed with superhuman faculties; while Kṛishṇa himself is in various places described as being indebted to the gods for his weapons, or for other advantages (see the Droṇa-parvan, v. 402, and the Ādi-parvan, v. 8196, quoted or referred to in pp. 244 ff., and the Udyoga-parvan, quoted in p. 247).

The identification of Arjuna and Kṛishṇa with the saints Nara and Nārāyaṇa (pp. 228 ff.)[277] is curious; but I am unable to conjecture whether it may have originated in a previously existing legend respecting two rishis of that name (the one of whom, as bearing the same name which was ultimately applied to Vishṇu and Kṛishṇa, was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Kṛishṇa,—when Arjuna, the bosom friend of the latter, would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Nārāyaṇa); or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna.

In the passages above adverted to, where Kṛishṇa is subordinated to Mahādeva, the latter is identified with the supreme Deity (see pp. 185 ff., 194). In another set of texts, however (pp. 230, 264 ff.), Kṛishṇa, as Vishṇu, is asserted to be one with the supreme God,[278] while Mahādeva is represented as springing from, and dependent on, Vishṇu. But here and elsewhere, as we have already seen, an attempt is made to reconcile the claims of the two rival deities by affirming their identity (pp. 241, 268). How are we to explain this circumstance, that in one place Mahādeva is extolled at the expense of Kṛishṇa, and that in another place Kṛishṇa is exalted above Mahādeva? Must we assume the one set of passages to be older

[277] In Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word *Nārāyaṇa* is explained as the "son of man," and as a patronymic of the personified Purusha, the rishi of the Purusha-sūkta (R.V., x. 90). *Nara* is in the same work interpreted as the "primeval man."

[278] Even in the parts of the Vishṇu Purāṇa and Mahābhārata (see pp. 49 and 253 ff.), where Kṛishṇa is represented as a partial incarnation of the godhead, there does not appear to be any intention to question the plenitude of his divine nature. Compare the 27th with the 34th and following verses of the 33rd section of the 10th Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quoted in p. 49.

than the other, or are we to suppose them to be contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, and to have been inserted in the Mahābhārata by different classes of sectaries in order to give a sort of catholicity to the great epic, by making it a storehouse in which the votaries of all the different deities might find something to satisfy their various tendencies?

Though deeper study might lead to a different conclusion, it does not, I think, result from a superficial comparison of the principal passages which I have quoted relative to Mahādeva, with those which have reference to Kṛishṇa, that the one class bears in its general complexion the impress of any greater antiquity than the other. Both, in their present form at least, appear to belong to the same age, as we find in both the same tendency to identify the god who is the object of adoration with the supreme Soul. The passages relating to both gods, as they now stand, would therefore seem to be the products of a sectarian spirit, and to have been introduced into the poem by the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas for the purpose of upholding the honour of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Kṛishṇa plays throughout so prominent a part, and which in its existing form is so largely devoted to his glorification, should at the same time contain so many passages which formally extol the greatness, and still more, which incidentally refer to a frequent adoration, of the rival deity, by the different personages, whether contemporary or of earlier date, who are introduced,—this fact is, I think, a proof that the worship of the latter (Mahādeva) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the predominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred. Various references to such a worship of Mahādeva as I have alluded to will be found in the preceding pages, 184 ff., 230 ff., and 269 (where the abode of this deity is described as being in the Himālaya, p. 230 and 269). I shall quote some further illustrations of its prevalence.[279]

Lassen remarks (i. 780; i. 922 in second ed.), that in the epic poems the worship of Vishṇu is but seldom[280] mentioned—a fact which he

[279] See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i., pp. 561, 571, 610, 711, 716, 741, and 781; =pp. 675, 685, 756, 861, 708, 871, 922, in second ed.

[280] Lassen (i. 679 = p. 828 in second ed.) refers to a passage of the Vana-parvan (15283 ff.), where Duryodhana, being prevented from offering a rājasūya sacrifice, is advised by his priest to offer a sacrifice to Vishṇu. This story will be quoted further on.

regards as proving that at the period when they were composed no special worship of that deity had been extensively spread, at least among the Brahmans and princes, to the description of whose manners and customs those works almost exclusively confine themselves. On the other hand he quotes (note to i. 561, 1st ed.; i. 675, 2nd ed.) the following passages to prove the wide extension of the worship of Mahādeva in different parts of India. In the Tīrtha-yātrā, or section on visiting places of pilgrimage, in the Vana-parvan, 6054 ff., it is said of the Vaitaraṇī river, in the country of the Kalingas:

Tatas Tripishṭapaṁ gachchhet trishu lokeshu viśrutam | tatra Vaitaraṇī puṇyā nadī pāpa-praṇāśinī | tatra snātvā 'rchayitvā cha Śūlapāṇiṁ Vṛishadhvajam | sarva-pāpa-viśuddhātmā gachheta paramāṁ gatim |

"Let him then go to Tripishṭapa, renowned in the three worlds. There is the holy river Vaitaraṇī, which destroys sin. Having bathed there and worshipped the god who wields the trident and whose ensign is the bull (Mahādeva), he shall be purified from all sin, and attain the highest felicity."

At vv. 11001 of the same book (p. 569 of the printed Calcutta ed.) it is said of the north bank of the same river:

Atraiva Rudro rājendra paśum ādattavān makhe | paśum ādāya rājendra bhāgo 'yam iti chābravīt | hṛite paśau tadā devās tam ūchur Bharatarshabha | mā para-svam abhidrogdhāḥ mā dharmān sakalān vaśīḥ | tataḥ kalyāṇa-rūpābhir vāgbhis te Rudram astuvan | ishṭyā chainaṁ tarpayitvā mānayānchakrire tadā | tataḥ sa paśum utsṛijya deva-yānena jagmivān | tatrānuvaṁso Rudrasya tan nibodha Yudhishṭhira | ayātayāmaṁ sarvebhyo bhāgebhyo bhāgam uttamam | devāḥ sankalpayāmāsur bhayād Rudrasya śāśvatam | imāṁ gāthām atra gāyann apaḥ spṛiśati yo naraḥ | deva-yāno 'sya panthāś cha chakshushā 'bhiprakāśate |

"In this very place, O king, Rudra seized a victim at a sacrifice, and having done so, said, 'This is [my] portion.' When he had seized the victim, the gods said to him, 'Do not attack the property of others; do not covet all the offerings.' They then lauded Rudra with words of auspicious import; and having satiated him with an oblation, they paid him honour. He then relinquished the victim, and departed by the path of the gods. Referring to this is the following traditional verse of Rudra, which learn from me, Yudhishṭhira: 'Through dread of Rudra, the gods allotted to him for ever the most excellent of all

portions, the ayātayāma (or fresh portion). The man who, here reciting this verse, touches the waters, obtains a distinct vision of the path leading to the gods.'"

In the same Vana-parvan, v. 8166, it is said that Mahādeva was worshipped at Gokarṇa, on the west coast of the Dekhan:

Atha Gokarṇam āsādya triṣhu lokeshu viśrutam | samudra-madhye rājendra sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | yatra Brahmādayo devāḥ ṛishayaś cha tapodhanāḥ | . . . . . 8169: *Saritaḥ sāgarāḥ śailāḥ upāsanta Umā-patim | ityādi |* "Then having reached Gokarṇa, renowned in the three worlds, standing in the sea, adored by all worlds, where Brahmā and the other gods and rishis rich in austerity," [various other kinds of beings are here enumerated, Bhūtas, Yakshas, etc., etc.], "rivers, oceans, and mountains worshipped the lord of Umā (Mahādeva)."

The same place is also mentioned in the Rāmopākhyāna of the Vana-parvan, v. 15999 f.:

Trikūṭaṁ samatikramya Kālaparvatam eva cha | dadarśa makarāvāsaṁ gambhīrodam mahodadhim | tam atītyātha Gokarṇam abhyagachhat Daśānanaḥ | dayitaṁ sthānam avyagraṁ Śūlapāṇer mahātmanaḥ | "Having passed Trikūṭa, and the Black Mountain, he (Rāvaṇa) saw the deep ocean, the abode of marine monsters. Having crossed it, he then approached Gokarṇa, the beloved undisturbed abode of the mighty wielder of the trident."

[The same Tīrtha-yātrā, however, from which the passages preceding the last are taken, contains the following lines celebrating Kṛishṇa:

Vana-parvan, v. 8349 f.—*Puṇyā Dvāravatī tatra yatrāsau Madhusūdanaḥ | sākshād devaḥ purāṇo 'sau sa hi dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ | ye cha veda-vido viprāḥ ye chādhyātma-vido janāḥ | te vadanti mahātmānaṁ Kṛishṇaṁ dharmaṁ sanātanam | pavitrāṇāṁ hi Govindaḥ pavitram param uchyate | puṇyānām api puṇyo 'sau mangalānāṁ cha mangalam | trailokye Puṇḍarīkāksho deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | avyayātmā vyayātmā cha kshetrajñaḥ parameśvaraḥ | āste Harir achintyātmā tatraiva Madhusūdanaḥ |* "There is the holy Dvāravatī where that Madhusūdana [abides], that manifest, ancient god; for he is the eternal righteousness. Brāhmans who know the Veda, and who know the supreme spirit, call the mighty Kṛishṇa the eternal righteousness. Govinda is called the supremely pure among the pure, the holy among the holy, the blessed among the blessed. In the three worlds the lotus-eyed is the eternal god of gods,

the undecaying in essence, and the decaying, the conscious occupant of the body, the supreme lord. There the inconceivable Hari, Madhusūdana, abides."]

The following passages supply some further instances of the worship of Mahādeva by personages introduced in the poem:

Ādi-parvan, v. 7049.—*Evaṁ teshāṁ vilapatāṁ viprāṇāṁ vividhāḥ giraḥ | Arjuno dhanusho 'bhyāse tasthāu girir ivāchalaḥ | sa tad dhanuḥ parikramya pradakshiṇam athākarot | praṇamya śirasā devam Īśānaṁ varadam prabhum | Kṛishṇaṁ cha manasā kṛitvā jagṛihe chārjuno dhanuḥ | yat pārthivaiḥ Rukmi-Sunītha-Vaktraiḥ Rādheya-Duryodhana-Śalya-Śālvaiḥ | tadā dhanur-veda-parair nṛiśiṁhaiḥ kṛitaṁ na sajyam mahato 'pi yatnāt | tad Arjunaḥ ityādi |* "While the Brāhmans thus uttered various speeches, Arjuna stood firm as a mountain, trying the bow. He then made a circuit round it, bowing down in reverence to the boon-bestowing lord Īśāna (Mahādeva); and having meditated on Kṛishṇa,[291] Arjuna seized the bow. And that bow which the lion-like kings Rukmin, Sunītha (Śiśupāla), Vaktra, Rādheya, Duryodhana, Śalya, and Śālva, skilled in archery, could not with great effort bend [so as to fix the bowstring], Arjuna bent, and hit the mark," etc., etc.

In the Vana-parvan, vv. 15777, it is related that Jayadratha, after being captured by Bhīshma and released at the request of Yudhishṭhira, went to worship Mahādeva (v. 15801):

Jagāma rājan duḥkhārto Gangādvārāya Bhārata | sa devaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā virūpāksham Umāpatim | tapaś chachāra vipulaṁ tasya prīto Vṛishadhvajaḥ | baliṁ svayum pratyagṛihṇāt prīyamāṇas Trilochanaḥ | varaṁ chāsmai dadau devaḥ sa jagrāha cha tach chhriṇu | "Samastān sarathān pancha jayeyaṁ yudhi Pāṇḍavān" | iti rājā 'bravīd devaṁ neti devas tam abravīt | ajayyāṁś chāpy abadhyāṁś cha vārayishyasi tān yudhi | ṛite 'rjunam mahābāhuṁ Naraṁ nāma sureśvaram | Vadāryāṁ tapta-tapasaṁ Nārāyaṇa-sahāyakam | ajitaṁ sarva-lokānāṁ devair api durāsadam | mayā dattam pāśupataṁ divyam apratimaṁ śaram | avāpa lokapālebhyo vajrādīn sa mahāśarān | deva-devo hy anantātmā Viṣṇuḥ sura-guruḥ prabhuḥ | pradhāna-purusho 'vyaktaḥ viśvātmā viśva-mūrtimān | yugāntakāle samprāpte kālāgnir dahate jagat | sa-parvatārṇava-dvīpaṁ sa-śaila-vana-kānanaṁ |

[291] Lassen (Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 646, first ed.; p. 794, second ed.) regards this reference to Kṛishṇa as a later interpolation in the older story.

"He went, O king, distressed with grief, to Gangādvāra (Haridvāra). There, resorting to the distorted-eyed lord of Umā as his refuge, he practised long austerities. Gratified with this, the three-eyed god, whose ensign is a bull, himself received his oblation, and offered him a boon, which he accepted. Hear how [he did so]. The king (Jayadratha) said to the god, 'May I vanquish all the five Pāṇḍavas with their chariots in battle.' The god said, 'No; thou shalt withstand them all, though they are unconquerable and not to be slain, excepting only the great-armed Arjuna, who is called Nara, the lord of the gods, who performed austerity at Badari, attended by Nārāyaṇa, who is invincible by all the worlds, and irresistible even by the gods. He obtained the Pāśupata, a divine, incomparable missile, given by me, and thunderbolts and other great weapons from the guardians of the worlds. For the infinite Vishṇu, the god of gods, the chief of the deities, the chief spirit (Purusha), the undiscernible, the soul of all things, the universal-formed, at the end of the yuga burns up the world, with its mountains, oceans, continents, rocks and forests." Mahādeva then goes on to relate how the destruction and the restoration of the world is effected by Vishṇu, and describes his various incarnations. He concludes by saying that Arjuna who was aided by him could not be conquered even by the gods. In this legend it will be observed that the warrior goes to worship Mahādeva, and not Vishṇu, though the latter is represented as being magnified by the rival deity. But this part of the story may be interpolated.

In the Sānti-parvan also (vv. 1748 f.), it is related how Paraśurāma worshipped Mahādeva on the mountain Gandhamādana, and obtained his celebrated axe, by which he became renowned in the world (*toshayitvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamādane | astrāṇi varayāmāsa paraśuṁ chāti-tejasam | sa tenākuṇṭha-dhāreṇa jvalitānala-varchasā | kuṭhāreṇāprameyeṇa lokeshv apratimo 'bhavat*). Then follows the story of Kārtavīrya (see the first volume of this work, pp. 450, 478).

In the following passage, Jarāsandha is introduced as a zealous votary of Mahādeva. Yudhishṭhira had been purposing to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice, which presupposed that he was the most powerful of contemporary monarchs; but Kṛishṇa in the following words tells him that he cannot do so while Jarāsandha lives:

Sabhā-parvan, v. 626.—*Na tu śakyaṁ Jarāsandhe jīvamāne mahābale |*

rājasūyaṁ tvayā 'vāptum eshā rājan matir mama | tena ruddhāḥ hi rājānaḥ sarve jitvā Girivraje | kandare parvatendrasya siṁheneva mahādvipāḥ | sa hi rājā Jarāsandho yiyakshur vasudhādhipaiḥ | Mahādevam mahātmānam Umāpatim arindama | ārādhya tapasogreṇa nirjitās tena pārthivāḥ | pratijñāyāś cha pāraṁ sa gataḥ pārthiva-sattamaḥ | sa hi nirjitya nirjitya pārthivān pṛitanāgatān | puram ānīya baddhvā cha chakāra purusha-vrajam | vayaṁ chaiva mahārāja Jarāsandha-bhayāt tadā | Mathurāṁ samparityajya gatāḥ Dvāravatīm purīm |

"But whilst the powerful Jarāsandha lives, a Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be attained by thee; such, king, is my opinion. For all the kings have been conquered, and are imprisoned by him in Girivraja, as elephants by a lion in a cave of a great mountain. For this monarch Jarāsandha desired to sacrifice to the glorious Mahādeva, the lord of Umā, with these kings [as victims]; and they were conquered by him after he had worshipped the god with dreadful austerities. And this eminent prince has attained to the accomplishment of his design. For after repeatedly conquering the princes who had come against him in battle, he has brought them to his capital, confined them, and made them a human herd. And we too," (confesses Kṛishṇa) "from dread of Jarāsandha, deserted Mathurā, and went to the city of Dvāravatī."

Kṛishṇa returns, a little farther on, to Jarāsandha's cruelty to the kings:

Sabhā-parvan, v. 653.—*Ratna-bhājo hi rājāno Jarāsandham upāsate | na cha tushyati tenāpi bālyād anayam āsthitaḥ | mūrdhābhishiktaṁ nṛipatim pradhāna-purusho balāt | ādatte na cha no dṛishṭo 'bhāgaḥ purushataḥ kvachit | evaṁ sarvān vaśe chakre Jarāsandhaḥ śatāvarān | taṁ durbala-paro rājā katham Pārtha upaishyati | prokshitānām pramṛishṭānāṁ*[282] *rājnām Paśupater gṛihe | paśūnām ivā kā prītir jīvite Bharatarshabha |* "For jewelled kings wait upon Jarāsandha; and yet he is not contented even with that, having through folly become imprudent. A prince seizes by force a consecrated king, and we do not see that he has failed to master any mortal anywhere.[283] In this manner

[282] The commentator's remark on this is as follows: *Pramṛishṭānām | Rudra-daivatyo 'yam iti pratyekam abhimṛishṭānām |*

[283] These words are explained by the commentator in the above sense: *Jarāsandhena abhāgaḥ asvīkṛitaḥ | purushataḥ mūrdhābhishikteshu purusheshu | tena sarve vaśīkṛitāḥ ity arthaḥ |* "*Abhāgaḥ* means 'unappropriated' by Jarāsandha. *Purushataḥ* means 'among anointed kings.' The sense is, that 'all have been subdued by him.'"

Jarāsaṇdha has reduced to subjection in all at least a hundred persons; how, then, can a feeble prince approach him? What pleasure can those princes have in existence, when they have been sprinkled for slaughter and devoted as victims like beasts in the temple of Paśupati (Mahādeva)?"

Kṛishṇa afterwards proceeds to Jarāsandha's capital with Bhīma and Arjuna, with the view of slaying their enemy. They are admitted to his palace in the disguise of Brahmans, and after some conversation, Kṛishṇa says to Jarāsandha:

Sabhā-parvan, vv. 861 ff.—*Tvayā chopahṛitāḥ rājan kshatriyāḥ loka-vāsinaḥ | tad āgaḥ krūram utpādya manyase kim anāgasam | rājā rājnaḥ kathaṁ sādhūn hiṁsyād nṛipati-sattama | yad rājnaḥ sannigṛihya tvaṁ Rudrāyopajihīrshasi | asmāṁs tad enopagachchhet kṛitaṁ Vārhadratha tvayā | vayaṁ hi śaktāḥ dharmasya rakshaṇe dharmachāriṇaḥ | manushyāṇāṁ samālambho na cha dṛishṭaḥ kadāchana | sa katham mānushair devaṁ yashṭum ichhasi S'ankaram | savarṇo hi savarṇānām*[284] *paśu-sanjnāṁ*

[284] On this the commentator remarks: *Nanu "Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ālabheta" ityādinā sarva-jātīyānāṁ sarva-karmaṇām manushyānām ālambho devatārtham badhaḥ śrūyate ity āśankya āha savarṇo hi iti |* "But is not the immolation,—the slaughter as an offering to a god,—of men of all classes, and all occupations, enjoined in such Vedic texts as this, 'let him immolate a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman,' etc.? Having raised this doubt, he says, 'For thou, belonging to the same tribe,' etc."

Texts such as that here quoted by the commentator occur in the Taitt. Br., iii. 4, 1, 1 ff. (*Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ālabhate ityādi |* "He sacrifices a Brāhmaṇa to Brahman," etc., etc.) and in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, xxx. 5 ff. (*Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ityādi*). In regard to the question whether human sacrifices were practised in the earliest Vedic age, see Prof. Haug, as quoted in the first volume of this work, p. 11, and in the second volume, p. 463; the story of S'unaśśepa, adduced in vol. i., pp. 355 ff.; Prof. Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 419 f.; Prof. Weber's paper in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xviii., pp. 262 ff. (reprinted in his Indische Streifen, i., pp. 54 ff.). The two last-named writers quote texts from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii., 8, and the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, i., 2, 3, 6, which I shall here cite. The former begins thus: *Purushaṁ vai devāḥ paśum ālabhanta | tasmād ālabdhād medhaḥ udakrāmat | so 'śvam prāviśat | tasmād aśvo medhyo 'bhavat | atha enam utkrānta-medham atyārjanta | sa kimpurusho 'bhavat | te 'śvam ālabhanta | so 'śvād ālabdhād udakrāmat | sa gām prāviśat | tasmād gaur medhyo 'bhavat | atha enam utkrānta-medham atyārjanta sa gauramṛigo 'bharat | te gām ālabhanta | sa gor ālabdhād udakrāmat | so 'vim prāviśat |* "The gods sacrificed a man as a victim. After he had been sacrificed, the sacrificial element went out of him. It entered into the horse, which consequently became suitable for sacrifice. They then dismissed the man, after the sacrificial element had left him; and he became a kimpurusha," [probably an ape, according to Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. ii., p. 228, and vol. v., p. 1296; with whom Weber agrees, Ind. Stud., ix., 246. "The author very

karishyasi | ko 'nyaḥ evaṁ yathā hi tvaṁ Jarāsandha vṛithā-matiḥ | yasyāṁ yasyām avasthāyāṁ yat yat karma karoti yaḥ | tasyāṁ tasyām avasthāyāṁ tat-phalaṁ samavāpnuyāt | te tvāṁ jñāti-khsaya-karaṁ vayam ārtānusāriṇaḥ | jñāti-vṛiddhi-nimittārthaṁ vinihantum ihāgatāḥ | . . . . Jarasāndha uvācha . . . . 882 : Devatārtham upāhṛitya rājnaḥ Kṛishṇa katham bhayāt | aham adya vimuchyeyaṁ kshātraṁ vratam anusmaran |

"Thou, king, hast devoted [to Mahādeva] Kshatriyas dwellers in this world. Having devised this cruel iniquity, dost thou regard thyself as guiltless? How should a king slaughter virtuous kings? Inasmuch as thou hast confined kings, and seekest to offer them up to Rudra, the guilt committed by thee, son of Vṛihadratha, would attach to us. For we who practise righteousness are able to protect righteousness. And [such a thing as] the immolation of men has never been seen. How [then] dost thou seek to sacrifice to the god Sankara with human victims? For thou, belonging to the same tribe [as those

likely means a dwarf," Haug's transl. of the Ait. Br., p. 90, note; Müller regards the word as meaning "a savage."] "They sacrificed the horse, from which the sacrificial element then departed, and entered into the ox, which consequently became fit for sacrifice. They then dismissed the horse out of which the sacrificial element had departed, and it became a white deer. They next sacrificed the ox, from which the sacrificial element then departed, and entered into the sheep," etc. The same thing happens to the goat (in which the sacrificial element remained longest), then to the earth, in which it (the thing fit for sacrifice), when followed by the gods, became rice.

On this Prof. Müller remarks: "The drift of this story is most likely that in former times all these victims had been offered. We know it for certain in the case of horses and oxen, though afterwards these sacrifices were discontinued."

The text from the S'atapatha Brāhmana, i., 2, 3, 6, is as follows: *Purushaṁ ha vai devāḥ agre paśum ālebhire | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma | so 'śvam praviveśa | te 'śvam ālabhanta | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma sa gām praviveśa | te gām ā—— | so 'vim praviveśa | te 'vim ā—— | so 'jam praviveśa | te 'jam ālabhanta | tasya ālabdhasya medho 'pachakrāma | 7 | sa imām pṛithivīm praviveśa | taṁ khanantaḥ iva anvīshuḥ | tam anvavindaṁs tāv imau vrīhi-yavau | . . . . . sa yāvad-vīryavad ha vai asya ete sarve paśavaḥ ālabdhāḥ syus tāvad-vīryavad ha asya havir bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda |* "The gods formerly offered up a man as a victim. The sacrificial element left him when he had been sacrificed and entered into the horse. They offered up the horse; whereupon the sacrificial element went out of him and entered into the ox." The same thing happens with the ox, and then with the sheep and the goat successively. "The sacrificial element went out of the goat, and (7) entered the earth. Digging, they searched for it, and found it (the thing fit for sacrifice) in the shape of rice and barley. . . . . An oblation of these grains has as much efficacy, for him who knows this fact, as resides in all these victims when sacrificed."

princes], wilt designate as victims men of thine own tribe. What other person, Jarāsandha, is so foolish as thou? Whosoever, in any condition, perpetrates any particular act, will reap the fruit of it in that particular condition. We, the avengers of the afflicted, seeking the welfare of our kindred, have come hither to slay thee, the destroyer of thy kindred." Kṛishṇa, then, after some further arguments, calls upon Jarāsandha either to liberate the kings, or to submit to be destroyed in combat. Jarāsandha (v. 880) says he has conquered the kings, and has a right to act as he is doing. He adds (v. 882): "How, Kṛishṇa, can I, who have devoted the kings to the god, remembering my duty as a Kshatriya, to-day release them through fear?" He then accepts the challenge, and is killed by Bhīmasena.

The birth of Jarāsandha is thus related in the Sabhā-parvan; and the narrative contains at the close a reference to his being a worshipper of Mahādeva. His father, Vṛihadratha, had two wives, who, after having been long barren, at length bore him two halves of a boy (v. 711), which, being regarded with horror, were thrown out (v. 714). A female demon (Rākshasī) named Jarā, an eater of flesh, takes them up (v. 715), and puts them together in order that they may be more easily carried away. A boy is thus formed who cries; and people in consequence come out of the inner apartments of the palace, and among them the two queens and the king. The Rākshasī assumes a human shape, and gives the child to the king, who then asks who she is. She replies (vv. 729 ff.):

Jarā-nāmā 'smi bhadraṁ te Rākshasī kāma-rūpiṇī | tava veśmani rājendra pūjitā nyavasaṁ sukham | gṛihe gṛihe manushyāṇāṁ nityaṁ tishṭhāmi rākshasī | gṛiha-devīti nāmnā vai purā sṛishṭā Svayambhuvā | dānavānāṁ vināśāya sthāpitā divya-rūpiṇī | yo mām bhaktyā likhet kuḍye saputrāṁ yauvanānvitām | gṛihe tasye bhaved vṛiddhir anyathā kshayam āpnuyāt | tvad-gṛihe tishṭhamānā tu pūjitā 'haṁ sadā vibho | likhitā chaiva kuḍye 'ham putrair bahubhir āvṛitā | gandha-pushpais tathā dhūpair bhakshyair bhojyaiḥ supūjitā | sā 'ham pratyupakārārthaṁ chintayāmy aniśaṁ tava | taveme putra-śakale dṛishṭavaty asmi dhārmika | saṁśleshite mayā daivāt kumārāḥ samapadyata | tava bhāgyād mahārāja hetu-mātram ahaṁ tv iha | Meruṁ vā khādituṁ śaktā kim punas tva bālakam | gṛiha-sampūjanāt tushṭyā mayā pratyarpitas tava |

"I am, bless thee, a Rākshasī named Jarā, who can change my shape

at will. Worshipped in thy house, I have dwelt there in comfort. Named the house-goddess, I dwell constantly in every separate house of men, having been created of old by Svayambhū; and placed [there], of celestial form, for the destruction of the Dānavas. Prosperity will remain in the house of that man who devoutly paints me in a youthful form, together with my sons, upon his wall;—otherwise he shall decay. Abiding in thy house, O king, and continually reverenced, painted upon the wall,[285] surrounded by my numerous sons, worshipped with odours and flowers, with incense, and various kinds of food, I continually consider how I may benefit thee in return. I saw, righteous prince, these two pieces of thy son; I put them together by chance, and a boy was produced, through thy good fortune, O great king, and I was merely the instrument. I could devour mount Meru, much more thy son: but being gratified by the domestic worship I have received, I have restored him to thee."

The Rākshasī then disappears. King Vṛihadratha orders a great festival to be celebrated among the people of Magadha in her honour; and calls the boy Jarāsandha, because he had been put together (*sandhitaḥ*) by the Rākshasī *Jarā* (v. 738. *Ājnāpayach cha rākshasyāḥ Magadheshu mahotsavam | tasya nāmākaroch chaiva Pitāmaha-samaḥ pitā | Jarayā sandhito yasmāj Jarāsandho bhavatv ayam*). The rishi Chaṇḍakauśika arrives on a certain occasion in the country of the Magadhas, and prophesies the future greatness of Jarāsandha (vv. 745 ff.). He ends by saying that this mighty prince of Magadha should have a manifest vision of Rudra, Mahādeva, Hara, the destroyer of Tripura (v. 753. *Esha Rudram Mahādevaṁ tripurānta-karaṁ Haram | sarvalokeshv atibalo sākshād drakshyati Māgadhaḥ*).

The description here given by the Rākshasī of the worship paid to herself, furnishes, as Lassen (who quotes it, i. 609, first ed.; p. 755, second ed.) remarks, an instance of the local adoration of particular deities in ancient India.

In the account given of the transactions connected with the Rājasūya sacrifice which Yudhishṭhira sought to celebrate, we find (as Lassen, i. 673, first ed.; p. 821, second ed., remarks) the Pāṇḍavas represented as the partisans of Kṛishṇa; and this legendary narrative may perhaps

[285] Lassen remarks, vol. i., p. 755, note, that this is one of the oldest references in Indian literature to images of the gods.

be taken as an indication that they actually were the votaries of Vishṇu, and opposed to the worship of Mahādeva. In the story of Śiśupāla, which has been given above (pp. 205 ff.), we have seen that, in the assembly of princes who were gathered together on the occasion of that ceremonial, Kṛishṇa's claims to veneration were strongly maintained by the Pāṇḍavas, and others who took their side, while they were strenuously resisted by Śiśupāla, an adherent of the Kauravas, and, according to Lassen,[286] a representative of the Śaiva worship. The same opposition to the worship of Kṛishṇa was, as I have already noticed, manifested by Duryodhana, Karṇa, and Śalya (pp. 216, 218, 220, etc.).

It is true that there is one passage (referred to above, p. 283, note 280), to which Lassen has drawn attention, in which Duryodhana is represented as having offered up a sacrifice to Vishṇu; and as this legend exhibits some features of interest, I shall give some account of it here. In the Vana-parvan, 15274 ff., Karṇa, after having conquered the earth, says to Duryodhana that the earth was now his, and he should rule over it like Indra. Duryodhana answers that he wished to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice. Karṇa replies that he should make preparation for that purpose (15278 ff.). Duryodhana then sends for his priest (purohita), whom he desires to perform the sacrifice (15284). The priest, however, states that the Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be celebrated by Duryodhana while Yudhishṭhira lives, and while his own father, Dhṛitarāshṭra, survives (15285 ff.); but he suggests that there is another great sacrifice which Duryodhana may offer (15287 ff.):

Asti tv anyad mahat satraṁ rājasūya-samam prabho | tena tvaṁ yaja rājendra śṛiṇu chedaṁ vacho mama | ye ime pṛithivī-pālāḥ kara-dās tava pārthiva | te karān samprayachhantu suvarṇancha kṛitākṛitam | tena te kriyatām adya lāṅgalaṁ nṛipa-sattama | yajna-vāṭasya te bhūmiḥ kṛishyatāṁ tena Bhārata | tatra yajno nṛipa-śreshṭha prabhūtānnaḥ susaṁskṛitaḥ | pravartatāṁ yathānyāyaṁ sarvato hy anivāritaḥ | esha te Vaishṇavo nāma yajnaḥ satpurushochitaḥ | etena neshṭavān kaśchid ṛite Vishṇum purātanam | rājasūyaṁ kratu-śreshṭhaṁ spardhaty esha mahākratuḥ | "But there is another great ceremonial equal to the Rājasūya, with which, O great king, do thou sacrifice: and hear this which I have to say. Let those princes who are your tributaries

[286] See above, p. 211, note 210.

present to you their contributions, and gold both wrought and unwrought. With this let a plough be to-day made, and with it let the ground of thy sacrificial inclosure be ploughed. There let a sacrifice, well arranged, and with abundant food, be duly celebrated; for it will be completely unobstructed. This is to thee the Vaishṇava sacrifice (the sacrifice of Vishṇu), a ceremony suitable for virtuous men. With it no one ever sacrificed except the ancient Vishṇu.[287] This great ceremonial vies with the Rājasūya, the most excellent of sacrifices."

Duryodhana and his friends consented to this proposal (15295 f.), and the sacrifice was accordingly performed (15301 ff.). Amid the rejoicings which followed the ceremony, however, some foolish persons said to Duryodhana that his sacrifice was not a sixteenth part so good as Yudhishṭhira's Rājasūya sacrifice, while his friends said that this sacrifice surpassed all other ceremonies, and that Yayāti, Nahusha, Māndhātṛi, and Bharata, had celebrated this rite, and had in consequence gone to heaven (15327 ff.): *Apare tv abruvans tatra vātikās tam mahīpatim | Yudhishṭhirasya yajnena na samo hy esha te kratuḥ | naiva tasya kratōr esha kalām arhati shoḍaśīm | evaṁ tatrābruvan kechid vātikās taṁ janeśvaram | suhṛidas tv abruvans tatra ati sarvān ayaṁ kratur ityādi |*

I am not aware of any passage of the Mahābhārata in which Duryodhana is represented as a special worshipper of Mahādeva; but in a passage in the Karṇa-parvan, quoted above, pp. 223 ff., (which, however, I have supposed may be a later interpolation) he is declared to have narrated a legend descriptive of Mahādeva's prowess, and in which Vishṇu is generally subordinated to his rival. Duryodhana is also in two passages of the Mahābhārata connected (as if he was considered to be heretically disposed) with a Rākshasa named Chārvāka, and is represented as his friend (Śānti-parvan, 1414–1442), and as calling him to mind after he has received his death-blow, and expressing a belief that if once informed of his fate, the eloquent mendicant Chārvāka would perform an expiation for him in the holy lake Samantapanchaka.

I subjoin both of these passages: the substance of the first is given at the close of the preceding sentence.

Śalya-parvan, v. 3619: *Yadi jānāti Chārvākaḥ parivrāḍ vāg-viśā-*

[287] It must, according to this, have been very uncommon. Further on, however, it is said to have been celebrated by Yayāti and others.

radaḥ | karishyati mahābāho dhruvaṁ chāpachitam mama | Samantapanchake puṇye trishu lokeshu viśruṭe |

The passage from the Śânti-parvan, v. 1414, is as follows: *Niśśabde cha sthite tatra tato vipra-jane punaḥ | rājānam brāhmaṇa-chhadmā Chārvāko rākshaso 'bravīt | tatra Duryodhana-sakhā bhikshu-rūpeṇa saṁvṛitaḥ | sākshaḥ śikhī tridaṇḍī cha dhṛishṭo vigata-sādhvasaḥ | vṛitaḥ sarvais tathā viprair āśīrvāda-vivakshubhiḥ | paraṁ sahasraiḥ rājendra tapo-niyama-saṁśritaiḥ | sa dushṭaḥ pāpam āśaṁśuḥ Pāṇḍavānām mahātmanām | anāmantryaiva tān viprāṁs tam uvācha mahīpatim | Chārvākaḥ uvācha | ime prāhur dvijāḥ sarve samāropya vacho mayi | dhig bhavantaṁ kunṛipatiṁ jñāti-ghātinam astu vai | kiṁ tena syād hi Kaunteya kṛitvemaṁ jñāti-sankshayam | ghātayitvā gurūṁś chaiva mṛitaṁ śreyo na jīvitam | iti te vai dvijāḥ śrutvā tasya dushṭasya rakshasaḥ | vivyathuś chukruśuś chaiva tasya vākya-pradharshitāḥ | tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ sarve sa cha rājā Yudhishṭhiraḥ | vrīḍitāḥ paramodvignās tūshṇīm āsan viśāmpate | Yudhishṭhiraḥ uvācha | prasīdantu bhavanto me praṇatasyābhiyāchataḥ | pratyāsanna-vyasaninaṁ na māṁ dhikkartum arhatha | Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | tato rājan brāhmaṇās te sarve eva viśāmpate | ūchur naitad vacho 'smākaṁ śrīr astu tava pārthiva | jajnuś chaiva mahātmānas tatas tu jñāna-chakshushā | brāhmaṇāḥ veda-vidvāṁsas tapobhir vimalīkṛitāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ ūchuḥ | esha Duryodhana-sakhā Chārvāko nama rākshasaḥ | parivrājaka-rūpeṇa hitaṁ tasya chikīrshati | na vayam brūma dharmātman vyetu te bhayam īdṛiśam | upatishṭhatu kalyāṇam bhavantam bhrātṛibhiḥ saha | Vaiśampāyanaḥ uvācha | tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ sarve hunkāraiḥ krodha-mūrchhitāḥ | nirbhartsayantaḥ śuchayo nijaghnuḥ pāpa-rākshasam | sa papāta vinirdagdhas tejasā brahmavādinām | māhendrāśani-nirdagdhaḥ pādapo 'nkuravān iva | pūjitāś cha yayur viprāḥ rājānam abhinandya tam | rājā cha harsham āpede Pāṇḍavaḥ sa-suhṛij-janaḥ | tatas tatra tu rājānaṁ tishṭhantam bhrātṛibhiḥ saha | uvācha Devakīputraḥ sarvadarśī Janārdanaḥ | Vāsudevaḥ uvācha | brāhmaṇās tāta loke 'sminn archanīyāḥ sadā nama | ete bhūmicharāḥ devāḥ vāg-vishāḥ suprasādajāḥ | purā Kṛitayuge rājaṁś Chārvāko nāma rākshasaḥ | tapas tepe mahābāho Vadaryām bahuvārshikam | vareṇa chhandyamānaś cha Brahmaṇā cha punaḥ punaḥ | abhayaṁ sarva-bhūtebhyo varayāmāsa Bhārata | dvijāvamānād anyatra prādād varam anuttamam | abhayaṁ sarvabhūtebhyo dadau tasmai Prajāpatiḥ | sa tu labdha-varaḥ pāpo devān amita-vikramaḥ | rākshasas tāpayāmāsa tīvrakarmā mahābalaḥ |* 1414.

"When the Brahmans were again standing silent, the Râkshasa Châr-vâka, the friend of Duryodhana, a pretended Brahman, in the garb of a mendicant, with a rosary, a lock of hair on his head, carrying three staves, bold, and shameless, addressed the king. Surrounded thus by all the Brahmans, thousands in number, who were devoted to austere observances, and who sought to utter blessings, this wretch, who wished ill to the great Pâṇḍavas, without consulting the Brahmans, thus spoke to the monarch: 'All these Brahmans, assigning the speech to me, utter an imprecation against thee, thou wicked king, slayer of thy kindred. What can come of this? Since thou hast destroyed thy kinsmen, and slaughtered thy elders, death is better for thee than life.' Hearing the words of this wicked Râkshasa, the Brahmans were pained, and cried out, being provoked by his speech. All the Brahmans and king Yudhishṭhira, being ashamed and extremely vexed, remained silent. Then Yudhishṭhira said: 'Let all your reverences be gracious to me, who bow down, and supplicate you. You ought not to curse me, who have so recently been involved in calamity.' All the Brahmans replied: 'These were not our words: prosperity be thine, O king!' These great Brâhmans, learned in the Veda, purified by austerities, understood by the eye of knowledge (who Châr-vâka was). They said: 'This is a Râkshasa called Châr-vâka, the friend of Duryodhana, who has assumed the form of a wandering mendicant, and desires his welfare. We say nothing (of what he pretends); let such an apprehension pass away from thee: may good fortune be the lot of thyself and thy brothers!' The holy Brahmans then, furious with anger, slew the wicked Râkshasa, reviling him with loud menaces. Burnt up by the fervour of these utterers of the Veda, he fell, like a sprouting tree consumed by the lightning of Indra. The Brahmans honoured, departed, after saluting the king; and the Pâṇḍava monarch and his friends were glad. The all-seeing Janârdana, son of Devakî, then said to the king as he stood there with his brothers: 'The Brahmans are always to be revered by me in this world: they are gods who walk on the earth, whose words are poison, and also beneficent. Formerly, in the Kṛita age, a Râkshasa named Châr-vâka practised austerity for many years at Badari. Having again and again received from Brahmâ the offer of any boon which he might prefer, he chose that of security against all creatures. Prajâpati granted the incomparable boon which

he asked, on condition that he should not contemn the Brahmans. But the wicked Rākshasa of boundless valour, fierce in act, and great in force, having obtained the boon, began to vex the gods.'" The result is that they appeal to Brahmā, who assures them that he has provided for the speedy death of Chārvāka. Duryodhana will become his friend; and out of regard to him, he will treat the Brāhmans with disrespect; and they will destroy him. This has now been fulfilled.[288]

In his Indische Studien, i. 206, Professor Weber conjectures that "the Kurus may have been the representatives of the Rudra (=Śiva)-worship, and the Pāṇḍus or Panchālas of the Indra (=Vishṇu)-worship," and this supposition seems to derive support from the considerations which have just been adduced.

The following passage from the Sabhā-parvan (where Kṛishṇa is describing to Yudhishṭhira the different partisans of Jarāsandha) appears as if it contained a tradition indicating some struggle, at a period antecedent to that of the writer, between the worship of Vishṇu, and that of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces east of Magadha.

Jarāsandhaṁ gatas tv eva purā yo na mayā hataḥ | Purushottama-vijñāto yo 'sau Chedishu durmatiḥ | ātmānam pratijānāti loke 'smin Puroshottamam | ādatte satatam mohād yaḥ sa chihnaṁ cha māmakam | Vanga-Puṇḍra-Kirāteshu rājā bala-samanvitaḥ | Pauṇḍrako Vāsudeveti yo 'sau loke 'bhiviśrutaḥ | "And he who formerly was not slain by me, has also taken the side of Jarāsandha—(I mean) the wicked man who is known as Purushottama among the Chedis, who in this world professes himself to be Purushottama, who through infatuation continually assumes my mark—He who is a powerful king among the Bangas, Puṇḍras, and Kirātas, and is celebrated in the world as the Vāsudeva of the Puṇḍras.[289] He is mentioned also Ādip. v. 6992.

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[288] Both passages had been previously translated by me in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix., pp. 308 f. I have not been able to find any other text in the Mahābhārata in which the connexion of Duryodhana with this Chārvāka (who stands here, no doubt, as a mythical representative of the well-known heretics of that name) is more explicitly described; though, from the two passages above adverted to, one would have expected to find some further references to Duryodhana's connexion with him. The passage referred to in the summary of the contents of the Mahābhārata, i. 349, must be the second of those here quoted.

[289] On this Lassen remarks (i. p. 608, first ed.; p. 754 f., second ed.): "Since

The following remarks of Prof. Weber on the preceding chapter (translated from a notice of this work in the "Literarisches Central-Blatt," reprinted in his "Indische Streifen," ii. 226 f.) may be introduced here, though they might perhaps have been more appropriately quoted in p. 97, or p. 163. "As regards the second part, the representation of the Vishṇu legends, it is impossible to arrive at any certain conception of the proper nature of this god from the documents presented to us. According to our view it would have been perhaps more advantageous for the course of the representation in general to start, not from the later triad of gods, but from the Vedic triad, which so often appears in the Brāhmaṇa texts themselves, viz. that of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, the rulers of the earth, the air, and the heaven; as we have in fact actually to recognize this as the foundation of the later triad. The sun, as the generative, creative, principle, is throughout the ritual-texts regarded as the equivalent of Prajāpati, the father of the creation. The destructive power of fire in connexion with the raging of the driving storm lies clearly enough at the foundation of the epic form of Śiva. By the side of Vāyu, the wind, stands his companion Indra, the lord of the light, clear, heaven; and with him again Vishṇu, the lord of the solar orb, stands in a fraternal relation (see my two Vedic texts on omens and portents, p. 338). This close relation of Vishṇu to Indra is far from being estimated by the author in its full significance. Vishṇu owes to Indra his blue colour, his names Vāsava and Vāsudeva, and his relations to the human heroes, as Arjuna, Rāma, and Kṛishṇa, which have become of such great importance for his entire history."

these (Purushottama and Vāsudeva) became in later times two of the most venerated names of Vishṇu, it is clear from this passage, that among the Eastern tribes, and those too not of Arian origin, a supreme god was worshipped, whose name was afterwards transferred to Vishṇu."

CHAPTER III.

RUDRA AND MAHĀDEVA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, AND THE BRĀHMAṆAS.

In the preceding chapter I have quoted a variety of passages from the Mahābhārata, which, though primarily adduced to illustrate the ideas entertained of Kṛishṇa's nature, afford at the same time a pretty full representation of the attributes of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the period of the epic poems and Purāṇas. I have thus anticipated much that would otherwise have found its place towards the close of the present chapter, of which it is the purpose to compare the earlier and the later accounts furnished to us by Indian literature of the deity or deities to whom the name of Rudra was applied. I shall now proceed to adduce the passages relating to this divinity which occur (1) in the Rig-veda, (2) in the Yajur-veda, (3) in the Atharva-veda, and (4) in the Brāhmaṇas, and to compare the representations which they contain with those which are found in the texts descriptive of Mahādeva which I have quoted in the preceding chapter.

SECT. I.—*Rudra as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.*

In the present Section I purpose to quote all the texts of the Rig-veda in which the word Rudra occurs in the singular, whether as an epithet of Agni or as the name of a separate deity.

R.V. i. 27, 10 (S. V. i. 15; Nir. x. 8).—*Jarābodha tad viviḍḍhi viśe viśe yajniyāya stomaṁ rudrāya dṛiśīkam* | "Thou who art skilled in praise, utter therefore for every house a beautiful hymn to the adorable, the terrible (Agni)."[1] In connexion with this verse, Yāska remarks:

Nir. x. 7 and 8.—*Agnir api rudraḥ uchyate* | *tasya eshā bhavati. . . . jarā ājutiḥ* | *jarateḥ stuti-karmaṇaḥ* | *tām bodha tayā bodhayitar iti vā* | *tad viviḍḍhi*[2] *tat kuru manushyasya manushyasya yajanāya stomaṁ Rudrāya darśanīyam* | "Agni also is called Rudra, as in this verse

[1] See Prof. Benfey's version of this and following texts of the first maṇḍala of the R.V. in his "Orient und Occident."

[2] See Westergaard, Benfey's Glossary to Sama-veda, and Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v. vish.*

(the one before us). *Jarā* means 'praise.' One who perceives it, or awakens [another] by it, is *jarābodha*. Compose that for the worship of every man,—a sightly hymn for the terrible." Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 136) remarks that "rudra" in this verse is an epithet of Agni, to whom the whole "ṭricha," or aggregate of three verses in which it occurs, is addressed; and he refers to R. V. x. 70, 2, 3, and R. V. viii. 26, 5, where the same epithet is applied in the dual to Mitra and Varuṇa, and to the Aśvins,[3] respectively. Roth also quotes from Jayatīrtha the following short *itihāsa* in reference to this verse, which, however, applies it to Rudra: *Agniḥ stūyamānaḥ Śunaśśepham uvācha "Rudraṁ stuhi raudrāḥ hi paśavaḥ" iti | Sa tam pratyuvācha "nāhaṁ jānāmi Rudraṁ stotuṁ tvam eva etaṁ stuhi" iti tad idam uchyate "He jarābodha Rudra-stuti-vettas tat kuru" ityādi* | "Agni, when he was being praised, said to Śunaśśepha, 'Praise Rudra, for cattle (or victims) belong to him.' He (Śunaśśepha) answered, 'I do not know how to praise Rudra; do thou praise him.' It is this which is here expressed, 'O thou who art skilled in the praise of Rudra, do thou do so.'"

R.V. i. 43, 1 ff.—*Kad Rudrāya prachetase mīḷhushṭamāya tavyase | vochema śantamaṁ hṛide | 2. Yathā no Aditiḥ karat paśve nṛibhyo yathā gave | yathā tokāya rudriyam*[4] *| 3. Yathā no Mitro Varuṇo yathā Rudraś chiketati | yathā viśve sajoshasaḥ | 4. Gātha-patim medha-patiṁ Rudraṁ jalāsha-bheshajam | tat śaṁyoḥ sumnam īmahe | 5. Yaḥ śukraḥ iva sūryo hiraṇyam iva rochate | śreshṭho devānāṁ vasuḥ | 6. Saṁ naḥ karaty arvate sugam meshāya meshye | nṛibhyo nāribhyo gave* | "What can we utter to Rudra, the intelligent, the most bountiful, the strong, which shall be most pleasant to his heart? 2. That so Aditi may bring Rudra's healing to our cattle, and men, and kine, and children. 3. That so Mitra, Varuṇa, Rudra, and all the [gods] united, may think of us. 4. We seek from Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of sacrifices, who possesses healing remedies, his auspicious favour. 5. [We seek this from him] who is brilliant as the sun, who shines like gold, who is the best and most bountiful of the gods. 6. He grants prosperity and welfare to our horses, rams, ewes, men, women, and cows."

R.V. i. 64, 2.—*Te jajñire divaḥ ṛishvāsaḥ ukshaṇo Rudrasya maryāḥ asurāḥ arepasaḥ | pāvakāsaḥ śuchayaḥ sūryāḥ iva satvāno na drapsino*

[3] See also R.V. viii. 22, 14, which will be quoted further on.

[4] "Rudra's favour" (Benfey). Compare *mārutasya bheshajasya* in R.V. viii. 20, 23.

ghora-varpasaḥ | 3. *Yuvāno Rudrāḥ ajarāḥ abhogghano vavakshur adhri-gāvaḥ parvatāḥ iva* | *dṛiḷhā chid viśvā bhuvanāni pārthivā prachyāvayanti divyāni majmanā* | . . . . 12. *Ghṛishum pāvakaṁ vaninaṁ vicharshaṇiṁ Rudrasya sūnuṁ havasā gṛiṇīmāsi* | *rajasturaṁ tavasam mārutaṁ ganam ṛiṭīshiṇaṁ vṛishaṇaṁ saśchata śriye* | "These followers of Rudra have been produced from the Sky, exalted, fertilizing, divine, purifiers, bright as suns, like heroes, shedding drops, fearful in form. 3. The youthful Rudras, undecaying, destroyers of the niggardly, resistless, [firm as] mountains, have increased [in vigour]. By their power they cast down all terrestrial and celestial creatures, however firm. . . 12. We praise with invocations the fierce, purifying, rain-dispensing energetic offspring of Rudra. To obtain prosperity, worship the host of Maruts, which sweeps over the atmosphere, vigorous, impetuous, and fertilizing."[5]

R.V. i. 85, 1.—*Pra ye śumbhante janayo na saptayo*[6] *yāman Rudrasya sūnavaḥ sudaṁsasaḥ* | *rodasī hi marutaś chakrire vṛidhe madanti vīrāḥ vidatheshu ghṛishvayaḥ* | "The swift Maruts, energetic sons of Rudra, who, in their course, are bright like wives, have made the two worlds to prosper, and, impetuous heroes, rejoice in sacrifices."

R.V. i. 114, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 16, 48; Taitt. S. iv. 5, 10, 1).—*Imāḥ Rudrāya tavase kapardine*[7] *kshayad-vīrāya*[8] *prabharāmahe matīḥ* | *yathā*

[5] See Prof. Max Müller's version of this hymn, and of that next quoted, in his Translation of the R.V., vol. i.

[6] See Prof. Max Müller's note on this word, Translation of R.V. i. 110 ff. The word also occurs in R.V. x. 142, 2, as well as in the other texts enumerated by Müller, p. 112

[7] *Kapardin* is also an epithet of Pūshan in R.V. vi. 55, 2: *Rathītamaṁ kapardinam īśānaṁ rāḍhaso mahaḥ* | *rāyaḥ sakhāyam īmahe* | "We solicit the great charioteer, adorned with spirally-braided hair, the lord of great bounty, and our friend, for wealth." And also in R.V. ix. 67, 10, 11: *Avitā no ajāśvaḥ Pūshā yāmani yāmani* | *ābhākshat kanyāsu naḥ* | 11. *Ayaṁ somaḥ kapardine ghṛitaṁ na pavate madhu* | *ā bhakshat kanyāsu naḥ* | "Pūshan, who has goats for steeds, is our protector on every journey. May he make us possessors of damsels. 11. This soma is purified for the god with spirally-braided hair, like sweet butter. May he make us possessors of damsels." The word is also applied to the Ṛitsus in R.V. vii. 83, 8. . . . . *S'vityancho yatra namasā kapardino dhiyā dhīvanto asapanta Ṛitsavaḥ* | . . . . . "Where the white-robed Ṛitsus with braided hair have worshipped you with obeisances and prayers." With this compare *dakshiṇatas-kapardāḥ* in R.V. vii. 33, 1. The word *Kapardin* also occurs in R.V. x. 102, 8.

[8] This word is rendered "governing men" by Böhtlingk and Roth, vol. ii. (published 1856–1858), who first cite, as determining the sense of the word, R.V.

śam asad dvipade chatushpade viśvam pushṭaṁ grāme asminn anāturam | 2. (=T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2) *Mṛiḷa no Rudra uta no mayas kṛidhi kshayadvīrāya namasā vidhema te* | *yat śaṁ cha yośchu Manur ā yeje pitā tad aśyāma tava Rudra praṇītishu* | 3. *Aśyāma te sumatiṁ deva-yajyayā kshayad-vīrasya tava Rudra mīḍhvaḥ* | *sumnāyann id viśo asmākam ācharа arishṭa-vīrāḥ juhavāma te haviḥ* | 4. *Tveshaṁ vayaṁ Rudraṁ*

viii. 19, 10: *Yasya tvam ūrdhvo adhvarāya tishṭhasi kshayadvīraḥ sa sādhate* | *so arvadbhiḥ sanitā sa vipanyubhiḥ sa śūraiḥ sanitā kṛitam* | "The man to whom thou hoverest over the sacrifice, prospers as a commander of heroes: he, with horses, with triumphant men, with heroes, will acquire spoil." Benfey also (Orient und Occident, iii. pp. 140 and 156) renders the word "governing heroes"; and adds in a note on the latter page: "Are the heroes, the single stormy winds, the maruts (comp. v. 6) over whom Rudra rules; or is Rudra generally designated as the lord of all heroes, inasmuch as he makes them swift, and destructive as storm-winds, in battle? 'Destroyer of heroes,' as Whitney proposes, ('slayer of men,' Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 319, published in 1853), is not specially suitable in R.V. viii. 19, 10, or in other places." Professor Aufrecht translates the word "ruling over men" (as well as gods). Rudra, he remarks, is called *īśānād asya bhuvanasya bhūreḥ*, "lord over this manifold creation," in R.V. ii. 33, 9; and compares *sed u rājā kshayati charshaṇīnām* in i. 32, 15, and the similar phrases in i. 112, 3, and x. 9, 5. Kshayadvīra is, he believes, nothing more than the usual *nṛipati*. It is true, Professor Aufrecht adds, that in i. 114, 8, it is said of Rudra, "do not strike our children in thy anger," and that in iv. 3, 6, he is called *nṛihan*; but he does not think it likely that in one particular hymn a word should have a quite different meaning from that which it has in all other passages; and regards it as quite possible that *nṛihan* may be based on a false interpretation of *kshayadvīra*. Sāyaṇa renders the word variously. On the passage above referred to, viii. 19, 10, he interprets it: *nivasadbhir itvarair vā vīraiḥ putrādibhir upetaḥ* | i.e. "attended by heroes, sons, etc., dwelling or moving." On i. 106, 4, where it is an epithet of Pūshan, he explains it *ati-balinam* | *yasmin sarve vīrāḥ kshīyante*, i.e. "very powerful: he in whom all heroes are consumed." On the passage before us, i. 114, 1, he gives two possible explanations of it: *Kshayanto vinaśyanto vīrāḥ yasmin tādṛiśāya* | *yadvā kshayatir aiśvaryakarmā* | *kshayantaḥ prāptaiśvaryāḥ vīrāḥ Marudgaṇāḥ putrāḥ yasya* | "He in whom heroes perish; or, as the root *kshi* also means 'exercising authority,'—he of whom the Maruts, heroes, exercising authority, are the sons." The same verse occurs in Vāj. S., xvi. 48, where Mahīdhara interprets the phrase: *Kshayanto nivasanto vīrāḥ śūrāḥ yatra sa kshayadvīras tasmai śūra-yuvāya ity arthaḥ* | *kshayanto naśyanto vīrāḥ ripavo yasmād iti vā* | "He in whom heroes dwell is *kshayadvīra*; to him who is possessed of heroes. Or, he through whom heroes perish." On the second and third verses of i. 114, Sāyaṇa repeats in different words the explanations he had given on the first verse (*Kshayita-sarva-vīram prāptaiśvaryair marudbhir yuktaṁ vā* | *kshayita-pratikṣakshasya Marudbhir yuktasya vā*). On verse 10, he confines himself to the one explanation, *Kshayita-sarva-śatru-jana*. In R.V. i. 125, 3, the same epithet is applied to Indra; where Sāyaṇa expounds it thus: *Kshiyanto nivasanto vīrāḥ putra-bhṛityādayo yasya taṁ tādṛiśaṁ tvad-ishṭa-sādhana-bahu-dhana-pradātāram* | "He in whom heroes, sons, servants, etc., abide—the giver of much wealth, which is the instrument of obtaining thy wishes."

yajña-sādhaṁ vankuṁ kavim avase nihvayāmahe | āre asmad daivyaṁ helo asyatu sumatim id vayam asya ā vṛiṇīmahe | 5. Divo varāham arushaṁ kapardinaṁ tveshaṁ rūpaṁ namasā nihvayāmahe | haste bibhrad bheshajā vāryāṇi śarma varma chhardir asmabhyaṁ yaṁsat | 6. Idāṁ pitre Marutām uchyate vachaḥ svādoḥ svādīyo Rudrāya vardhanam | rāsva cha no amṛita marta-bhojanaṁ tmane tokāya tanayāya mṛiḷa | 7 (=V. S. 16, 15; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2; A. V. ii. 2, 29). Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā naḥ ukshantam uta mā naḥ ukshitam | mā no badhīḥ pitaram mota mātaram mā naḥ priyās tanvo Rudra rīrishaḥ | 8. (V. S. 16, 16; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 3). Mā nas toke tanaye mā na āyau (āyushi V. S., T. S.) mā no goshu mā no aśveshu rīrishaḥ | vīrān mā no bhāmito (bhāmino V. S., T. S.) badhīr havishmantaḥ sadam it tvā havāmahe | 9. Upa te stomān paśu-pāḥ ivākaram rāsva pitar Marutāṁ sumnam asme | bhadrā hi te sumatir mṛiḷayattamā atha vayam avaḥ it te vṛiṇīmahe | 10. (T.S. iv. 5, 10, 3). Āre te go-ghnam uta pūrusha-ghnam kshayad-vīra sumnam asme te astu | mṛiḷa cha no adhi cha brūhi deva adha cha naḥ śarma yachha dvi-barhāḥ | 11. Avochāma namo asmai avasyavaḥ śṛiṇotu no havaṁ Rudro marutvān | tan no Mitro Varuṇo mamahantām Aditiḥ sindhuḥ pṛithivī uta dyauḥ |

"We present these prayers to Rudra,[9] the strong, with spirally-

[9] Sāyaṇa, in his note on this verse, gives no less than six explanations of the word Rudra, which I subjoin, as a specimen of commentorial ingenuity:

Rodayati sarvam antakāle iti Rudraḥ | yadvā rut saṁsārākhyaṁ duḥkham | tad drāvayaty apagamayati vināśayati iti Rudraḥ | yadvā rutaḥ śabda-rūpāḥ upanishadaḥ | tābhir drūyate gamyate pratipādyate iti Rudraḥ | yadvā rut śabdātmikā vāṇī tat-pratipādyātma-vidyā vā | tam upāsakebhyo rāti dadāti iti Rudraḥ | yadvā runaddhy āvṛiṇoti iti rud andhakārādi | tad dṛiṇāti vidārayati iti Rudraḥ | yadvā kadāchid devāsura-saṅgrāme 'gny-ātmako Rudro devair nikshiptaṁ dhanam apahṛitya niragāt | asurān jitvā devāḥ enam anvishya dṛishṭvā dhanam apāharan | tadānīm arudat | tasmād Rudraḥ ity ākhyāyate | "He is called Rudra (1) because he makes every one weep (*rodayati*) at the destruction of the world. Or (2) *rut* means the suffering called the world. He drives away (*drāvayati*), removes, destroys, that: therefore he is named Rudra. Or (3) *rut* in the plural meaus the Upanishads, which are composed of words: by them he is attained, expounded (*drūyate*): therefore he is termed Rudra. Or (4) *rut* signifies language composed of words, or the science of soul which is to be explained by it: this he gives (*rāti*) to his worshippers: hence he is denominated Rudra. Or (5) the root *rudh* means to shut, cover; and therefore *rut* means darkness, etc.: he tears (*dṛiṇāti*), rends, it: therefore he is designated as Rudra. Or (6) when on one occasion there was a battle between the gods and Asuras, Rudra having the nature of Agni carried off the treasures which had been thrown down by the gods and went away. But the gods, after conquering the Asuras, sought him, saw him, and took the treasures from him: then he wept (*arudat*), and from that he is called Rudra."

braided hair, ruling over heroes, that there may be prosperity to our two-footed and four-footed creatures, that everything in this village may be well fed and free from disease. 2. Be gracious to us, Rudra, and cause us happiness; let us with obeisance worship thee, the ruler over heroes. Whatever prosperity and blessing our father Manu acquired by worship, may we attain it all under thy guidance, Rudra. 3. May we by our divine worship obtain the goodwill of thee, Rudra, who art the ruler of heroes, and beneficent; act favourably towards our people: may we, with our men unharmed, offer thee our oblation. 4. We invoke to our succour the impetuous Rudra, the fulfiller of sacrifice, the swift, the wise. May he drive far away from us the anger of the gods, for we desire his favour. 5. We invoke with obeisance the ruddy boar of the sky, with spirally-braided hair, a brilliant form. Carrying in his hand most choice remedies, may he give us protection, defence, shelter. 6. This exhilarating hymn, sweeter than the sweetest, is uttered to Rudra, the father of the Maruts. Bestow on us, O immortal, the food of mortals; be gracious to ourselves, our children, and descendants. 7. Slay neither our great, nor our small, neither our growing nor our grown, neither our father nor our mother; injure not, Rudra, our dear selves. 8. Injure us not in our children and descendants, nor in our men (life, V.S.), nor in our cattle, nor in our horses. Slay not our men in thine anger (angry men, V.S.): we continually worship thee with offerings. 9. As a keeper of cattle (brings victims), so have we brought praises near to thee:[10] bestow on us thy favour, O father of the Maruts. For kind and most gracious is thy benevolence, and now we desire thy succour. 10. Far from us be thy cow-slaying and thy man-slaying [weapon]: ruler of heroes, let thy blessing be with us. Be gracious to us, O god, and take our side; bestow on us mightily thy protection. 11. We have uttered to him our adoration, desiring his help. May

[10] Compare R.V. x. 127, 8, quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. kar+upa+ā: upa te gāḥ iva ākaram vriṇīshva duhitar divaḥ | Rātri stomaṁ na jigyushe* | "I have, O Night, brought before thee (praises) as it were cows; choose (them, daughter of the Sky), as it were a hymn to a conqueror." Sāyaṇa (on R.V. i. 114, 9) explains the comparison as follows: *Yathā paśūnām pālayitā gopaḥ prātaḥkāle svasmai samarpitān paśūn sāyaṁkāle svāmibhyaḥ pratyarpayati evaṁ tvat sakāśāl labdhān stutirūpān mantrān stuti-sādhanatayā tubhyam pratyarpayāmi* | "As a cattle-herd returns to the owners in the evening the cattle entrusted to him in the morning, so I, by the fulfilment of praise, give back to thee the laudatory hymns received from thee."

Rudra, attended by the Maruts, listen to our invocation. Then may Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Sky, gladden us."

In Sāyaṇa's annotations on the sixth verse, he quotes the following later story to explain how Rudra (here identified with the later Mahādeva) came to be called the father of the Maruts:

Rudrasya Marutām pitṛitvam evam ākhyāyate | purā kadāchid Indro 'surān jigāya | tadānīm Ditir Asura-mātā Indra-hanana-samartham putraṁ kāmayamānā tapasā bhartuḥ sakāśād garbhaṁ lebhe | imaṁ vṛittāntam avagachhann Indro vajra-hastaḥ san sūkshma-rūpo bhūtvā tasyāḥ udaram praviśya taṁ garbhaṁ saptadhā bibheda | punar apy ekaikaṁ sapta-khaṇḍam akarot | te sarve garbhaika-deśāḥ yoner nirgatyārudan | etasminn avasare līlārthaṁ gachhantau Pārvatī-parameśvarāv imān dadṛiśatuḥ | Maheśam prati Pārvaty evam avochat | "ime māṁsa-khaṇḍāḥ yathā pratyekam putrāḥ sampadyantām evaṁ tvayā kāryam mayi chet prītir asti" iti | sa cha Maheśvaras tān samāna-rūpān samāna-vayasaḥ samānālankārān putrān kṛitvā Gauryai pradadau "taveme putrāḥ santv" iti | ataḥ sarveshu Māruteshu sūkteshu Maruto Rudra-putrāḥ iti stūyante Raudreshu cha Marutām pitā Rudraḥ iti |

"The story of Rudra being the father of the Maruts is thus recounted. Formerly, once on a time, Indra overcame the Asuras. Then Diti, the mother of the Asuras, desiring a son who should be able to slay Indra, through austerity became pregnant by her husband. Indra, learning this news, entered into her womb in a very minute form, with a thunberbolt in his hand, divided her fœtus into seven parts, and again made each of these parts into seven. All these being in one part of the fœtus, issued from the womb and wept. At this conjuncture, Parameśvara (Mahādeva) and Pārvatī were passing by for amusement, and saw them. Pārvatī spoke thus to Parameśvara, 'If you love me, effect that all these bits of flesh may become severally sons.' Maheśvara made them all of the same form and age, and with the same ornaments, and gave them to Gaurī (Pārvatī), saying, 'Let these be thy sons.' Hence in all the hymns addressed to the Maruts, they are lauded as the sons of Rudra; and in the hymns to Rudra, he is praised as the father of the Maruts."[11]

[11] On R.V. viii. 28, 5, Sāyaṇa has the following note: *Atra purātanī kathā | Indra-samānam putram ichhantyāḥ Aditer garbhasya kenachit kāraṇena Indreṇa saptadhā bhinnatvāt sa garbhaḥ sapta-gaṇātmako 'bhavat | tato Marutaḥ sampannāḥ |*

R.V. i. 122, 1.—*Pra vaḥ pāntaṁ raghu-manyavo 'ndho yajñaṁ Rudrāya mīḷhushe bharadhvam | dīvo astoshi asurasya*[12] *vīrair ishudhyā iva Maruto rodasyoḥ* | "Present, ye zealous (priests), to the bountiful Rudra, the draught of soma, your offering. I have praised him with the heroes of the divine Sky: may I (with my prayer) as it were aim at the Maruts in heaven and earth."

R.V. i. 129, 3.—*Dasmo hi shma vṛishaṇam pinvasi tvachaṁ kaṁ chid yāvīr araruṁ śūra martyam parivṛiṇakshi martyam | Indrota tubhyaṁ tad Dive tad Rudrāya sva-yaśase | Mitrāya vochaṁ Varuṇāya saprathaḥ sumṛiḷīkāya saprathaḥ* | "Thou (Indra), who art energetic, fillest the teeming skin (the cloud?): thou, hero, hast chased away every hostile mortal, thou puttest to flight the mortal. Indra, I have uttered this to thee, and this to the Sky, and to Rudra, who derives his renown from himself, and to Mitra, and to Varuṇa abundantly, to the very gracious, abundantly."

R.V. ii. 1, 6.—*Tvam Agne Rudro asuro maho divas tvaṁ śardho mārutam pṛikshaḥ īśishe | tvaṁ vātair aruṇair yāsi śaṁgayas tvam Pūshā vidhataḥ pāsi nu tmanā* | "Thou, Agni, art Rudra, the great spirit (*asura*) of the sky. Thou art the host of the Maruts. Thou art lord of nourishment. Thou, who hast a pleasant abode, movest onward with the ruddy winds. Thou [being] Pūshan, by thyself protectest those who worship thee."

"*sapta-ganāḥ vai Marutaḥ*" *iti śruteḥ* | "Regarding this there is an ancient story. The fœtus of Aditi, who desired to have a son equal to Indra, having been for some reason divided by Indra into seven parts, it became formed into seven troops. Thence the Maruts were produced. For a Vedic text says, "The Maruts are divided into seven troops." Unless the reading in the latter of these two passages is incorrect, it will be observed that the mother of the Maruts is variously represented to be Diti and Aditi. As in the first of the two texts Diti is defined as the mother of the Asuras, the reading there must be correct; and the Maruts must have been regarded by the writer as her sons. In the hymns they are said to be the sons of Rudra and Pṛiśni; and the sons of the Sky and Ocean. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 147 f.

[12] Compare with *divo asurasya*, R.V. i. 131, 1, and iii. 53, 7, where the phrases *Dyaur asuraḥ*, "the divine Sky," and *Divas putrāso asurasya*, "the sons of the divine Sky," occur. I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for an explanation of the sense of this half verse. He holds *ishudhyā* as put for *ishudhyāni*, the 1st pers. sing. of the imperative of the root *ishudhy*. See Dr. Bollensen's article in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxii., "Die Lieder des Parāśara," p. 577, where other instances of the suffix *ni* being omitted in this part of the verb are given.

See above (p. 76 f.) the third verse of this hymn, where Agni is identified with Indra, and Vishṇu, in the same way as he is identified with Rudra and Pūshan in the verse before us.—See also verses 4, 5, and 7. Sāyana, in his commentary on this verse, gives two derivations of the word Rudra:

Rud duḥkhaṁ duḥkha-hetur vā pāpādiḥ | tasya drāvayitā etan-nāmako devo 'si | "Rudro vai esha yad Agnir" ity ādishv Agneḥ Rudra-śabdena vyavahārāt | yadvā tvaṁ 'Rudraḥ | rauti | māṁ anishṭvā narāḥ duḥkhe patishyanti | Rudras tādṛiśo 'si | "Rut means suffering, or sin, etc.; which causes suffering. Thou (Agni) art the god so called, who drives this away (*rud-drāvayitā*); for Agni is intended by the word Rudra in such passages as this, 'He who is Agni is Rudra.' Or, thou art Rudra. He cries: Not worshipping me, men will fall into grief. Thou art such a Rudra," etc.

R.V. ii. 33, 1 ff.—*Ā te pitar Marutāṁ sumnam etu mā naḥ sūryasya saṁdṛiśo yuyothāḥ | abhi no vīro arvati kshameta pra jāyemahi Rudra prajābhiḥ | 2. Tvā-dattebhiḥ Rudra śaṁtamebhiḥ śataṁ himā aśīya bheshajebhiḥ | vi asmad dvesho vitaraṁ vi aṁho vi amīvāś chātayasva vishūchīḥ | 3. S'reshṭho jātasya Rudra śriyā 'si tavastamas tavasāṁ vajra-bāho | parshi naḥ pāram aṁhasaḥ svasti viśvāḥ abhītīḥ rapaso yuyodhi | 4. Mā tvā Rudra chukrudhāma namobhir mā dushṭutī vṛishabha mā sahūtī | ud no vīrān arpaya bheshajebhir bhishaktamaṁ tvā bhishajāṁ śṛiṇomi | 5. Havīmabhir havate yo havirbhir ava stomebhiḥ Rudraṁ dishīya | ṛidūdaraḥ suhavo mā no asyai babhruḥ suśipro rīradhad manāyai | 6. Ud mā mamanda vṛishabho marutvān tvakshīyasā vayasā nādhamānam | ghṛiṇīva[13] chhāyām arapāḥ aśīya ā vivāseyaṁ Rudrasya sumnam | 7. Kva sya te Rudra mṛiḷayākur hasto yo asti bheshajo jalāshaḥ | apabhartā rapaso daivyasya abhi nu mā vṛishabha chakshamīthāḥ | 8. Pra babhrave vṛishabhāya śvitīche maho mahīṁ sushṭutim īrayāmi | namasyā kalmalīkinaṁ namobhir gṛiṇīmasi tveshaṁ Rudrasya nāma[14] 9. Sthirebhir angair puru-rūpaḥ ugro babhruḥ śukrebhiḥ pipiśe hiraṇyaiḥ | īśānād asya bhuvanasya bhūrer na vai u yoshad Rudrād asuryam | 10. Arhan bibharshi sāyakāni dhanva arhan nishkaṁ yajataṁ viśvarūpam | arhann idaṁ dayase viśvam abhvaṁ na vai ojīyo Rudra tvad asti |*

[13] See Dr. Bollensen's article in Benfey's Orient und Occident, ii. 474, where he says *ghṛiṇī* is a locative or instrumental. Böhtlingk and Roth judge differently. See *s.v.*

[14] Compare R.V. vii. 100, 3, above, p. 87.

11 (A. V. 18, 1, 40; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 3, 4). *Stuhi śrutaṁ garta-sadaṁ yuvānam mṛigaṁ na bhīmam*[15] *upahatnum ugram | mṛiḷa jaritre Rudra stavāno anyaṁ te asmad ni vapantu senāḥ |* 12. *Kumāras chit pitaraṁ vandamānam prati nanāma Rudra uyayantam | bhūrer dātāraṁ satpatiṁ gṛiṇīshe stutas tvam bheshajā rāsi asme |* 13. *Yā vo bheshajā Marutaḥ śuchīni yā śaṁtamā vṛishaṇo yā mayobhu | yāni Manur avṛiṇīta pitā nas tā śaṁ cha yoścha Rudrasya vaśmi |* 14 (V. S. 16, 50; T. S. iv. 5, 10, 4). *Pari no hetiḥ Rudrasya vṛijyāḥ*[16] (*vṛiṇaktu*, V. S., T. S.) *pari tveshasya durmatir mahī gāt | ava sthirā maghavadbhyas tanushva mīḍhvas tokāya tanayāya mṛiḷa |* 15. *Eva babhro vṛishabha chekitāna yathā deva na hṛiṇīshe na haṁsi | havana-śrud no Rudra iha bodhi bṛihad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ |*

"1. Father of the Maruts, may thy blessing come (to us): remove us not from the sight of the sun. May the hero spare our horses: may we, Rudra, increase in offspring. 2. Through the auspicious remedies conferred by thee, Rudra, may I attain a hundred winters. Drive away far from us enmity, and distress, and diseases, to a distance. 3. Thou, Rudra, art in glory the most eminent of beings, the strongest of the strong, O wielder of the thunderbolt. Carry us happily across our calamity: repel all the assaults of evil. 4. Let us not, Rudra, provoke thee by our prostrations, by our unsuitable praises, vigorous [deity], or by our common invocations. Raise up our heroes by thy remedies: I hear that thou art the greatest physician of physicians. 5. May I with hymns avert (propitiate) that Rudra who is invoked with praises and oblations. Let not him who is mild, easily-invoked, tawny, with a beautiful chin, deliver us up to this ill will [of our enemies]. 6. The mighty [god], attended by the Maruts, has gladdened me his suppliant with robust health. May I, free from injury, obtain [thy protection], as it were, shade in the heat [of the summer]: may I seek the blessing of Rudra. 7. Where, Rudra, is that thy gracious hand which is healing and restorative? Removing the evil which comes from the gods, spare me, thou vigorous [deity]. 8. I joyfully send forth a great encomium to this tawny, vigorous, luminous god.

[15] Compare similar modes of speaking about Vishṇu, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., above, p. 69 and note 18.

[16] See in the note to Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 86, other instances of similar forms, apparently of the 2nd pers. sing., standing for the 3rd pers.

Reverence the fiery [deity] with prostrations: we celebrate the glorious name of Rudra. 9. With firm limbs, multiform, fierce, tawny, he has been arrayed with bright golden (ornaments).[17] Divine power can never be removed from Rudra, the lord of this vast world. 10. Thou, fitly, holdest arrows and a bow; fitly, thou [wearest] a glorious necklace of every form (of beauty). Fitly, thou possessest all this vast [world]. There is nothing, Rudra, more powerful than thou. 11. Celebrate the renowned and youthful god, mounted on his chariot, terrible as a wild beast, destructive, and fierce. Be gracious to thy worshipper, Rudra, when praised: may thy hosts prostrate some one else than us. 12. Even a boy, when his father approaches and salutes him, makes obeisance to him in return; [so] O Rudra, I praise [thee], the giver of much [good], the lord of heroes. Thou, when lauded, grantest to us remedies. 13. Those pure remedies of yours, Maruts, those which are salutary, ye strong [gods], those which are beneficent, those which our father Manu desired[18]—those, as well as the blessing and favour of Rudra, I desire. 14. May the bolt of Rudra avoid us; may the great malevolence of the impetuous [deity] depart far from us. Unbend thy strong [bows so as not to strike] thy wealthy worshippers. Dispenser of good, be gracious to our children and descendants. 15. O tawny and vigorous god, so taking heed of us, as neither to be incensed against us, nor to injure us—think of us now, Rudra, hearing our invocations; let us with our vigorous men utter a great hymn at the sacrifice."

R. V. ii. 34, 2.—*Dyāvo na stṛibhiś chitayanta khādino vi abhriyāḥ na dyutayanta vṛishṭayaḥ | Rudro yad vo Maruto rukma-vakshaso vṛishā 'jani priśnyāḥ śukra ūdhani* | "Adorned with armlets, [the Maruts] have shone like the skies with their stars, they have glittered like showers from the clouds, at the time when the prolific Rudra generated you, O Maruts, with jewels on your breasts, from the shining udder of Pṛiśni."

R. V. ii. 38, 9.—*Na yasya Indro Varuṇo na Mitro vratam Aryamā na minanti Rudraḥ | na arātayas tam idaṁ svasti huve devaṁ Savi-*

[17] See *śukra-piś*, Nir. viii. 11 = R.V. x. 110, 6; and Roth, Erl. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 453 f., where some remarks of Dr. Bollensen (Journ. Germ. Or. Society, xxii. 587 ff.) are quoted, in which this passage, with others, is adduced to show that images of the gods were common in the Vedic age.

[18] Compare i. 114, 2, above, pp. 302 and 304.

tāraṁ namobhiḥ | "With prostrations I invoke this blessing from the god Savitṛi, whose purpose neither Indra, nor Varuṇa, nor Mitra, nor Aryaman, nor Rudra, nor any enemies can resist."

In the next text, 'rudra' is merely an epithet of Agni.

R. V. iii. 2, 5.—*Agniṁ sumnāya dadhire puro janāḥ vāja-śravasam*[19] *iha vṛikta-barhishaḥ* | *yata-sruchaḥ suruchaṁ viśva-devyaṁ rudraṁ yajñānāṁ sādhad-ishṭim apasām* | "Men, having prepared the sacrificial grass, and holding ladles, have, to obtain his blessing, placed in their front Agni, renowned for wealth, the brilliant, acceptable to all the gods, the terrible (*rudra*), who fulfils the objects of sacrifices and rites."

In the first verse of the hymn next quoted also, 'rudra' is merely an epithet of Agni. In verse 6, on the other hand, Rudra is the name of a god.

R. V. iv. 3, 1.—*Ā vo rājānam adhvarasya rudraṁ hotāraṁ satya-yajaṁ rodasyoḥ* | *Agnim purā tanayitnor achittād hiraṇya-rūpam avase kṛiṇudhvam* | 6. *Kad dhishṇyāsu vṛidhasāno Agne kad Vātāya pratavase śubhaṁye* | *parijmane nāsatyāya kshe bravaḥ kad Agne Rudrāya nṛi-ghne*[20] | (verse 7 is quoted above, p. 78). "Before the thunderbolt [falls] unawares, call to your succour Agni, the terrible (*rudra*) king of the sacrifice, the invoker in both worlds, offering genuine worship, the golden-formed. . . . 6. Wilt thou, Agni, who delightest in the altars, wilt thou declare [our sin][21] to Vāta, the energetic, the bestower

[19] This word is explained by Sāyaṇa in this place as = *manushyebhyaḥ preritānnam*, "who has sent food to men," and on R.V. vi. 35, 4, as = *vājair balair prasiddhāḥ*, "famed for force." In the Nighantus (ii. 7, 17) two senses are assigned to *vāja*, "food," and "battle," and to *śravas* are ascribed (ii. 7, 10) the meanings "food," and "wealth." In the Nirukta iv. 24 (where R.V. iv. 38, 5, is explained), the senses "praise" or "wealth" are attributed to the latter word; in Nir. ix. 10, the sense of "praise"; in Nir. x. 3, that of "food"; and in Nir. xi. 9, that of "renown." Böhtlingk and Roth assign to *vāja* the senses (1) of "swiftness, spirit," (2) "running a race, conflict," (3) "prize of victory in a race, spoil," (4) "gain, reward, valuable possession," etc.; and explain the compound *vāja-śravas*, "contending in a race," comparing it with *vāja-sṛit*, to which they ascribe the same meaning, and which is explained by Sāyaṇa in R.V. ix. 43, 5, as = *saṅgrāma-saraṇaḥ*, "moving in battle."

Prof. Aufrecht sees no reason why *vājaśravas* should be interpreted differently from *vasuśravas*, and translates it "renowned for power or wealth," comparing *gomad vājavat śravas*, R.V. i. 9, 7; *vājāya, śravase ishe cha*, vi. 17, 4 (vi. 1, 11); ix. 67, 5; iv. 36, 9; *mahi śravo vājam*, vi. 70, 5; *sa vājaṁ darshi sa iha śravo dhāḥ*, x. 69, 3; *vājam ukthyam*, x. 140, 1; *abhi vājam uta śravaḥ*, ix. 1, 4; ix. 6, 3; *vājaṁ jeshi śravo bṛihat*, ix. 44, 6; ix. 63, 12; ix. 87, 5.

[20] Comp. *pūrusha-ghnam* in i. 114, 10, above, p. 303. [21] See the preceding verse.

of blessings, the circumambient, the truthful? Wilt thou declare it to the earth, and to the man-slaying Rudra?"

R.V. v. 3, 3, quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 41, 2.—*Te no Mitro Varuṇo Aryamā "yur Indraḥ Ṛibhukshāḥ Maruto jushanta | namobhir vā ye dadhate suvṛiktiṁ stomaṁ Rudrāya mīḷhushe sajoshāḥ |* "May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, Ribhukshan, the Maruts, be favourable to us, [and to those] who, united together, offer with obeisances hymns and praises to the bountiful Rudra."

R.V. v. 42, 11.—*Tam u shṭuhi yaḥ svishuḥ sudhanvā yo viśvasya kshayati bheshajasya | yakshva mahe saumanasāya Rudraṁ namobhir devam asuraṁ duvasya | . . . .* 15. *Esha stomo mārutaṁ śardho achha Rudrasya sūnūn yuvanyūn ud aśyāḥ | ityādi |* "Praise him who has excellent arrows and bow, who commands all remedies. Worship Rudra to [obtain his] great benevolence: with prostrations adore the spiritual deity. . . . . 15. May this hymn ascend to the troop of Maruts, to the sons of Rudra, who comport themselves as youths," etc.

R.V. v. 46, 2 (V.S. 33, 48), quoted and translated above, p. 80.

R.V. v. 51, 13.—*Viśve devāḥ no adya svastaye vaiśvānaro vasur Agniḥ svastaye | devāḥ avantu Ṛibhavaḥ svastaye svasti no Rudraḥ pātu aṁhasaḥ |* "May all the gods, may Agni, the beneficent, worshipped by all men, may the divine Ribhus, preserve us for our welfare. May Rudra bless and preserve us from calamity."

R.V. v. 52, 16.—*Pra ye me bandhveshe gāṁ vochanta sūrayaḥ Pṛiśniṁ vochanta mātaram | adha pitaram ishmiṇaṁ Rudraṁ vochanta śikvasaḥ |* "These wise and powerful [Maruts], who, when I was inquiring after their kindred, declared to me that the Earth, Pṛiśni, was their mother, and that the rapid Rudra was their father" (see above, p. 306, note 11).

R.V. v. 59, 8.—*Mīmātu Dyaur Aditir vītaye naḥ saṁ dānu-chitrāḥ ushaso yatantām | āchuchyavur divyaṁ kośam ete ṛishe Rudrasya Maruto gṛiṇānāḥ |* "May Dyaus and Aditi provide for our enjoyment: may the dawns, glittering with moisture, strive [in our behalf]. These Maruts, [the sons] of Rudra, when lauded, O ṛishi, have caused the celestial treasure to drop down."

R.V. v. 60, 5.—*Ajyeshṭhāso akanishṭhāsaḥ ete sam bhrātaro vāvṛidhuḥ saubhagāya | yuvā pitā svapāḥ Rudraḥ eshāṁ sudughā Pṛiśniḥ sudinā Marudbhyaḥ |* "These brothers (the Maruts), among whom there

is no distinction of elder and younger (comp. R. V. v. 59, 6, where also these epithets occur), have grown to prosperity. Rudra, their young and energetic father, and the prolific Pṛiśni, [have created] fortunate days for the Maruts."

R.V. vi. 16, 39.—*Ya ugraḥ iva śarya-hā tigma-śṛingo na vam̃sagaḥ | Agne puro rurojitha |* "Thou, Agni, who art fierce (*ugra*), like an archer, like a sharp-horned bull, hast broken down castles."

On this the commentator remarks: "*Rudro vai esha yad Agnir*" *iti śruteḥ | Rudra-kṛitam api Tripura-dahanam Agni-kṛitam eva iti Agniḥ stūyate |* "For the Veda says that 'this Agni is Rudra.' It is here said in praise of Agni, that the burning of the Tripura (or the three cities), though done by Rudra, was done by Agni." Another explanation of the commentator is that Agni was present in Rudra's arrow on that occasion. All this, however, is merely said with the view of bringing the Veda into harmony with later stories.

R.V. vi. 28, 7 (A. V. iv. 21, 7).—*Prajāvatīḥ sūyavasam̃ riśantīḥ śuddhāḥ apaḥ suprapāṉe pibantīḥ | mā vaḥ stenaḥ īśata mā 'ghaśam̃saḥ pari vo hetiḥ Rudrasya vṛijyāḥ |* "Be ye (cows) prolific, consuming excellent pasture, drinking pure waters in a good pond. May no thief or wicked man have power over you. May the bolt of Rudra avoid you."

R.V. vi. 49, 10.—*Bhuvanasya pitaram̃ gīrbhir ābhiḥ Rudram̃ divā vardhaya Rudram aktau | bṛihantam ṛishvam ajaram̃ sushumnam ṛidhag huvema kavineshitāsaḥ |* "Magnify with these songs, the father of the world, Rudra, by day, [magnify] Rudra by night. Let us, impelled by the poet, severally invoke [him] the mighty, the exalted, the undecaying, the beneficent."

R.V. vi. 50, 4.—*Ā no Rudrasya sūnavo namantām adya hūtāso Vasavo adhṛishṭāḥ | ityādi |* (verse 12 is quoted above, p. 82). "May the sons of Rudra, the irresistible Vasus (or gods), invoked to-day, stoop down to us," etc. . . . . v. 12 (translated above, p. 82).

R.V. vi. 66, 3.—*Rudrasya ye mīḷhushaḥ santi putrāḥ yām̃ś cho nu dādhṛivir bharadhyai | vide hi mātā maho mahī sā sā it Pṛiśniḥ subhve garbham ā adhāt |* . . . . 11. *Tam vṛidhantam mārutam bhrājad-ṛishṭim̃ Rudrasya sūnum̃ havasā ā vivāse | ityādi |*—"Those who are the sons of the bountiful Rudra, and whom he upholds for their nourishment. For the mighty mother possessed these mighty sons. This Pṛiśni was

pregnant for an illustrious birth. . . . . 11. I worship with invocation this growing race of the Maruts, with shining weapons, the offspring of Rudra," etc.

R.V. vi. 74, 1 ff.—*Somā-Rudrā dhārayethaṁ asuryam pra vām ishṭayo 'ram aśnuvantu | dame dame supta ratnā dadhānā śaṁ no bhūtaṁ dvipade śaṁ chatushpade* | 2 (A. V. 7, 42, 1). *Somā-Rudrā vi vṛihatam vishūchīm amīvā yā no gayam āviveśa | āre bādhethāṁ Nirṛitim parāchair asme bhadrā saúśravasāni santu* | 3 (A. V. 7, 42, 2). *Somā-Rudrā yuvam etāni asme viśvā tanūshu bheshajāni dhattam | ava syatam muñchataṁ yad no asti tanūshu baddhaṁ kṛitam eno asmat* | 4. *Tigmāyudhau tigma-hetī suśevau Somā Rudrāv iha su mṛiḷatam naḥ | pra no muñchataṁ Varuṇasya pāśād gopāyatam naḥ sumanasyamānā* | "Soma and Rudra, do ye grasp divine power. May oblations in abundance reach you! In every house, bearing with you seven jewels, be favourable to our bipeds and our quadrupeds. 2. Soma and Rudra, drive far away that disease which has entered into our abode. Chase Nirṛiti far away from us. May we have excellent renown. 3. Soma and Rudra, infuse into our bodies all these remedies. Remove and banish from us whatever sin we have done which attaches to our bodies. 4. Soma and Rudra, whose weapons are sharp, and whose bolts are piercing, be beneficent and favourable to us. Deliver us from the noose of Varuṇa; protect us, regarding us with favour."

R.V. vii. 10, 4.—*Indraṁ no Agne Vasubhiḥ sajoshāḥ Rudraṁ Rudrebhir ā vaha bṛihantam | Ādityebhir Aditiṁ viśva-janyām Bṛihaspatim ṛikvabhir viśva-vāram* | "Agni, united with the Vasus, bring hither to us Indra; with the Rudras [bring] the powerful Rudra, with the Ādityas [bring] Aditi, who is acceptable to all, and with the bards [bring] the Bṛihaspati who grants all boons."

R.V. vii. 35, 6.— . . . . *Śaṁ no Rudro Rudrebhir jalāshaḥ* . . . . "May the healing Rudra, with the Rudras, be favourable to us," etc.

R.V. vii. 36, 5.—*Yajante asya sakhyaṁ vayaś cha namasvinaḥ sve ṛitasya dhāman | vi pṛiksho bābadhe nṛibhiḥ stavānaḥ idaṁ namo Rudrāya preshṭham* | "Men making obeisance in their own place of sacrifice, seek by worship his friendship, and life. Lauded by men, he has distributed food amongst them. This reverence is most dear to Rudra."

R.V. vii. 40, 5 (quoted and translated above, p. 85).

R.V. vii. 41, 1 (V. S. 34, 34; A. V. 3, 16, 1).—*Prātar Agnim*

prātar Indraṁ havāmahe prātar Mitrā-Varuṇā prātar Aśvinā | prātar Bhagam Pūshaṇam Brahmaṇaspatiṁ prātaḥ Somam uta Rudraṁ huvema | "In the morning we invoke Agni, in the morning Indra, in the morning Mitra and Varuṇa, in the morning the Aśvins; in the morning let us invoke Bhaga, Pūshan, Brahmaṇaspati, Soma, and Rudra."

R.V. vii. 46, 1 (Nirukta x. 6).—*Imāḥ Rudrāya sthira-dhanvane giraḥ kshipreshave devāya svadhāvne*[22] *| ashāḷhāya sahamānāya vedhase tigmāyudhāya bharata śṛiṇotu naḥ | 2. Sa hi kshayeṇa kshamyasya janmanaḥ sāmrājyena divyasya chetati | avann avantīr upa no duraś chara anamīvo Rudra jāsu no bhava |* 3 (Nirukta x. 7).—*Yā te didyud avasṛishṭā divas pari kshmayā charati pari sā vṛiṇaktu naḥ | sahasraṁ te svapivāta*[23]

[22] Prof. Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 135) considers the word *svadhāvat* to signify "independent," "whose glory is inherent," etc., and refers to R.V. vii. 20, 1; vii. 37, 2; vii. 86, 4. At p. 40 f. of his Illustrations Roth assigns to *svadhām anu*, etc., the sense of "according to one's own determination," "according to pleasure," and quotes the following passages where it has this sense, viz.: R.V. i. 6, 4; i. 33, 11; i. 81, 4; ii. 3, 11; iii. 47, 1; vii. 78, 4; and viii. 20, 7. On *svadhā* see also Prof. Müller's Transl. of the R.V., pp. 19–25.

[23] This word is not explained in the printed text of Sāyaṇa; although in the "Varietas Lectionis," appended to his preface, Prof. Müller notes that in one MS., B. 4, *svapivāta* is rendered by *jitaprāṇa*, "he by whom life (or breath) is conquered." In the Nirukta, x. 7, it is explained by *svāpta-vachana*, "thou whose words are very suitable or authoritative." In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 135 f., Prof. Roth has some remarks on the word, which I translate: "*Svapivāta* in the Pada text is divided into *su+apivāta*, and is consequently to be derived from *api+vat*, a compound, which is often found in the R.V., viz. in vii. 3, 10, *api kratuṁ suchetasaṁ vatema;* vii. 60, 6, *api kratuṁ suchetasaṁ vatantaḥ;* i. 128, 2, *taṁ yajna-sādham api vatayāmasi;* i. 165, 13, *manmāni chitrāḥ api vātayantaḥ;* x. 25, 1, *bhadram no api vātaya mano daksham uta kratum;* x. 13, 5, *pitre putrāso apy avīvatann ṛitam |* It has the signification of 'learning to understand,' 'appropriating to one's self,' and in the causal 'to teach to understand,' agreeing entirely with the Zend word of similar form, which as yet no one had been able to discover in Sanskrit. The word (*svapivāta*) thus means 'readily understanding, hearing, accessible, gracious.' Yāska's explanation appears right, and Durga has misunderstood it, when he explains the word by *anatikramaṇīyājna* ('thou whose command cannot be transgressed')." I have to remark, however, that if Yāska's phrase *svāpta-vachana* have the sense I have above assigned to it of "speaking with authority," (see the third vol. of this work, pp. 124, 127 f., and elsewhere) it means nearly what Durga asserts. Prof. Roth, however, must have taken it to mean "thou by whom words (prayers) are readily received, or apprehended." Otherwise it could not harmonize with the sense he regards as the right one. In his Lexicon, *s.v. vat+api*, Prof. Roth adheres to the meanings assigned to the compound verb in his "Illustrations," rendering it "to understand, comprehend," and in the causal "to cause to understand, to make comprehensible"; and assigning to the words *bhadraṁ no api vātaya manaḥ* in x. 20, 1 and x. 25, 1, the sense of "awaken in us a good sense." Prof. Aufrecht assigns to

bheshajā mā nas tokeshu tanayeshu rīrishaḥ | 4. *Mā no vadhīḥ Rudra mā parā dāḥ mā te bhūma prasitau hīḷitasya* | *ā no bhaja barhishi jīva-śaṁse*[24] *yūyam pata svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ* | "Present these songs to Rudra with the strong bow, and swift arrows, the self-dependent god, unassailable, the assailant, the disposer, armed with sharp weapons: may he hear us. 2. Through his power he perceives the terrestrial race, and through his universal dominion [he perceives] the divine. Protecting us, approach our protecting doors; Rudra, remove sickness from our offspring. 3. May that shaft of thine which is discharged from the sky, and traverses the earth, avoid us. Thou, who art easy of access, hast a thousand remedies. Injure us not in our children and descendants. 4. Slay us not, Rudra; do not abandon us; let us not fall into thy net when thou art incensed. Give us a share in the sacrifice desired by the living. Do ye always succour us with your benedictions."

R.V. vii. 56, 1 (S. V. i. 433).—*Ke īṁ vyaktāḥ naraḥ sanīḷāḥ Rudrasya maryāḥ adha svaśvāḥ* | 2. *Nakir hi eshāṁ janūṁshi veda te anga vidre mitho janitram* | "Who are these brilliant heroes, the sons of Rudra, occupying the same abode, riding on excellent horses? No one knows their births. They [themselves] know the place of their common production."

R.V. vii. 58, 5.—*Tān ā Rudrasya mīḷhusho vivāse ityādi* | "I worship these [sons] of the bountiful Rudra," etc.

svapivāta the sense "possessed of great knowledge," from *su*+*apivāta*, "intelligence, knowledge," which again comes from *api*+*vat*, to which he considers that the proper meaning has been assigned by Prof. Roth. Sāyaṇa explains as follows the texts quoted above, viz. R.V. vii. 3, 10: *Apy api cha kratum karma yajnānāṁ kartāraṁ vā suchetasaṁ śobhāna-prajnāna-yuktaṁ suprajnānam putraṁ vā vatema sambhajemahi* | *vanateḥ sambhajanārthasya varṇāntarāgame sati rūpam* | "And further may we gain a rite, or a performer of sacrifices possessed of good intelligence, or a very intelligent son. *Van*, which means 'to divide' (or gain), becomes *vat* by the alteration of a letter." He interprets vii. 60, 6, thus: *Api suchetasam prakrishṭa-jnānavantam purusham kratuṁ kartāraṁ karmānushṭhānavantaṁ vatanto gachhantaḥ* | "going to a man, a performer of rites possessed of eminent intelligence." The verb in R.V. i. 128, 2, is thus expounded: *ā paritoshaṁ sevāmahe* "we serve till we are satisfied"; and in i. 165, 13, thus: *sampūrṇam prāpayantaḥ*, "completely bringing to us"; in x. 20, 1, by *āgamaya*, "cause to come"; in x. 25, 1, by *yamaya*, "cause to go"; in x. 13, 5, by *sangamayanti*, "cause to go together."

[24] This word appears from Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon to occur twice in the R.V., viz. in i. 104, 6, and the present passage. They make it a substantive, signifying "rule over the living." Benfey, in his translation of i. 104, 6, renders the word "to be praised among men." Sāyaṇa has there *kāmayitavye*, "to be desired"; and here *āśaṁsanīye*, which means the same.

R.V. viii. 13, 20.—*Tad id Rudrasya chetati yahvam pratneshu dhāmasu | mano yatra vi tad dadhur vichetasaḥ |* "That great (manifestation) of Rudra [or the terrible (Indra)[25]] is perceived in the ancient abodes, and on it the wise have therefore fixed their minds."

R.V. viii. 20, 17.—*Yathā Rudrasya sūnavo divo vaśanti asurasya vedhasaḥ | yuvānas tathā it asat |* "As the youthful sons of Rudra, the wise deity of the sky, desire, so shall it be."

R.V. viii. 22, 13.— . . . . *Tā u namobhir īmahe |* 14. *Tāv id doshā tāv ushasi śubhas patī tā yāman rudra-vartanī*[26] *| mā no martāya ripave vājinī-vasū paro rudrāv ati khyatam |* "We invoke them (the Aśvins), with adoration, (14) at evening and at dawn, and on their path, the two lords of splendour, proceeding on terrible roads. Do not, O terrible (*rudrau*) lords of swift horses,[27] abandon us to our mortal enemy."

R.V. viii. 29, 5. (quoted and translated above, p. 90).

R.V. viii. 61, 3.—*Antar ichhanti taṁ jane rudram paro manīshayā | gṛibhṇanti jihvayā sasam*[28] *|* "They entreat the god (Agni), who is terrible (*rudra*) beyond all thought,[29] [to enter] among the people. With their tongue they take food (or seize him sleeping)."

R.V. x. 64, 8.—*Triḥ sapta sasrāḥ nadyo mahīr apo vanaspatīn parvatān Agnim ūtaye | Kṛiśānum astrīn Tishyaṁ sadhasthe ā Rudraṁ Rudreshu rudriyaṁ havāmahe |* "We invoke to our aid in the assembly of sacrifice, the three times seven swift rivers, the great waters, the trees, the mountains, Agni, Kṛiśānu, the archers, Tishya, and Rudra, among the Rudras, and possessing their character."

[25] Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. rudra*, hold the word to be here an epithet of Indra. The rest of the hymn is addressed to him.

[26] This word *rudra-vartanī* is also applied to the Aśvins in the first verse of this hymn, and in R.V. x. 39, 11. Compare *kṛishṇavartani* and *kṛishṇādhvan* as applied to Agni. See the fifth vol. of this work, p. 212.

[27] This is the sense assigned by Böhtlingk and Roth to *vājinīvasū*. Sāyaṇa renders it by *annavasu* (R.V. v. 74, 6), *annadhana* (x. 40, 12) "rich in food." Elsewhere he also takes *vājinī* for food or oblation.

[28] This word is given in the Nighaṇṭus, 2, 7, as signifying food. Sāyaṇa takes it to mean "sleeping," and renders the last clause "men through praise sprung from their tongue, catch Agni with their fingers" (*jihvā-prabhavayā stutyā gṛibhṇanti gṛihṇanty angulibhiḥ*). See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 55 and 85 f.; also R.V. i. 51, 3 (where Benfey renders *sasena* "in sleep"); iii. 5, 6; iv. 5, 7; iv. 7, 7; v. 21, 4; x. 79, 3.

[29] This interpretation is confirmed by Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. manīshā*, who refer to R.V. v. 17, 2, as another passage where the phrase occurs.

R.V. x. 65, 1 (quoted and translated above, p. 95).

R.V. x. 66, 3.—*Indro Vasubhiḥ paripātu no gayam Ādityair no Aditiḥ śarma yachhatu | Rudro Rudrebhir devo mṛilayāti nas Tvashṭā no gnābhiḥ suvitāya jinvatu* | "May Indra with the Vasus preserve our habitation; may Aditi with the Ādityas grant us protection. May the divine Rudra with the Rudras be gracious to us; may Tvashṭṛi with the wives (of the gods) advance us to prosperity."

R.V. x. 92, 5.—*Pra Rudreṇa yayinā yanti sindhavas tiro mahīm aramatiṁ*[30] *dadhanvire | yebhiḥ parijmā pariyann uru jrayo vi roruvaj jaṭhare viśvam ukshate | . . . . 9. Stomaṁ vo adya Rudrāya śikvase kshayad-vīrāya ṇamasā didishṭana | yebhiḥ śivaḥ svavān evayāvabhir divaḥ sishakti*[31] *sva-yaśāḥ nikāmabhiḥ* | "The waters flow [impelled] by the hastening Rudra, and have spread over the vast earth; with them the circumambient, shouting god, who moves round the wide space [of the earth], moistens all (that is contained) in its womb. . . . . 9. With reverence present your hymn to-day to the mighty Rudra, the ruler of heroes, [and to the Maruts] those rapid and ardent deities with whom the gracious and opulent [Rudra], who derives his renown from himself, protects us from the sky."

R.V. x. 93, 4.—*Te gha rājāno amṛitasya*[32] *mandrāḥ Aryamā Mitro Varuṇaḥ parijmā | kad Rudro nṛiṇāṁ stuto Marutaḥ Pūshaṇo Bhagaḥ | . . . . 7. Uta no rudrā chid mṛilatām Aśvinā ityādi* | "These are the

[30] This word occurs in different parts of the R.V., where it is variously interpreted by Sāyaṇa. On ii. 38, 4, he explains it by *anuparatiḥ*, "never resting," as an epithet of Savitṛi; on v. 43, 6, as an epithet of *gnā* (a goddess), *ā samantād ramamāṇāṁ sarvatra gantrīṁ vā*, "sporting all round, or, going everywhere"; on vii. 36, 8, similarly, *uparati-rahitāṁ*, "having no rest," as an epithet of *mahī*, the earth; on vii. 42, 3, as meaning the earth (*bhūmim*); on vii. 1, 6, as signifying brilliancy (*dīptiḥ*); on v. 54, 6, as *āramaṇaṁ dhanādikam*, "object of enjoyment, wealth," etc.; on vii. 34, 21, as denoting a being "of perfect intelligence, or whose intelligence reaches to all objects," (*paryāpta-buddhiḥ sarva-vishaya-vyāpi-buddhir vā*) spoken of Tvashṭṛi; and on viii. 31, 12, as equivalent to *alammatiḥ paryāpta-stutiḥ*, a god "who obtains full, or complete, worship," said of Pūshan. I have not access to his commentary on x. 64, 15, and x. 92, 4, 5. Böhtlingk and Roth regard Aramati in all these passages but one as designating either "readiness for service, obedience, devotion," or "as a personification of religious worship, or active piety." In viii. 31, 12, they regard it as signifying "obedient, pious." I cannot see that any of these senses except that of earth is applicable to the passage before us. Or *Aramati* may here be an epithet of the earth.

[31] From the root *sach*. See R.V. i. 18, 2; i. 56, 4; and v. 41, 20.

[32] Compare *amṛitasya gopām*, R.V. viii. 42, 2; and *amṛitasya patnīḥ*, iv. 5, 13.

kings of immortality who gladden us: Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa the circumambient, what (shall we say) of Rudra celebrated by men, the Maruts, the Pūshaṇs, and Bhaga? . . . . 7. May the terrible (*rudra*) Aśvins be favourable to us," etc.

R.V. x. 125, 6 (A. V. 4, 30, 5).—*Ahaṁ Rudrāya dhanur ā tanomi brahma-dvishe śarave hanṭavai u ityādi* | (Vāch?[33] speaks): "I bend the bow for Rudra, for an arrow to slay the hater of the priest," etc.

R.V. x. 126, 5.— . . . . *Ugram Marudbhiḥ Rudraṁ huvema ityadi* | "Let us invoke the terrible Rudra with the Maruts," etc.

R.V. x. 136, 1 (Nir. xii. 26).—*Keśī agniṁ keśī vishaṁ keśī bibharti rodasī* | *keśī viśvaṁ svar dṛiśe*[34] *keśī idaṁ jyotir uchyate* | 2 | *munayo vātarasanāḥ piśangā vasatę malā* | *vātasyānu dhrājiṁ yanti yad devāso avikshata* | 3 | *unmaditāḥ mauneyena vātān ā tasthimā vayam* | *śarīred* (i.e. *śarīrā id*) *asmākaṁ yūyaṁ martāso abhi paśyatha* | 4 | *antarikshena patati viśvā rūpā 'vachākaśat* | *munir devasya devasya saukṛityāya sakhā hitaḥ* | 5 | *Vātasyāśvo Vāyoḥ sakhā atha deveshito muniḥ* | *ubhau samudrāv ā ksheti yaś cha pūrvaḥ utāparaḥ* | 6 | *apsarasāṁ gandharvāṇām mṛigāṇāṁ charaṇe charan* | *keśī ketasya vidvān sakhā svādur madintamaḥ* | 7. *Vāyur asmai upāmanthat pinashṭi sma kunannamā* | *keśī vishasya pātreṇa yad Rudreṇāpibat saha* | "The long-haired [being] sustains fire, water, and the two worlds; he is to the view the entire sky; he is called this light. 2. The wind-clad (*i.e.* naked) munis wear brown and soiled (garments); they follow the course of the wind, when ye, O gods, have entered (into them). 3. Transported by (our) impulses as munis, we have pursued the winds. You, O mortals, behold our bodies. 4. The muni, a friend fitted to gain the beneficent aid of every god, flies through the air, perceiving all forms. 5. The muni, impelled by the gods, the steed of the wind, the friend of Vāyu, dwells in both the oceans, the eastern and the western. 6. Moving in the path of the Apsarases, the Gandharvas, and the wild animals, the long-haired being is aware of our call, and a sweet and gladdening friend. 7. Vāyu agitated for him; the long-haired [being] breaks down the things which are unbending, by means of the vessel of water (*visha*) which he drank along with Rudra."

Although but little of this hymn has reference to Rudra, I have

[33] See note 27 in p. 258 of the third vol. of this work.

[34] *Keśī idaṁ sarvam idam abhivipaśyati* | —Nir. xii. 26.

quoted it entire on account of the interest it possesses in another respect. The first verse is explained in the Nirukta x. 26; and Prof. Roth, in his Illustrations of that work, p. 164, has the following note on the subject of the hymn: "The hymn," he says, "shows the conception that by a life of sanctity (*mauneyena*, verse 3) the muni can attain to the fellowship of the deities of the air, the Vāyus, the Rudras, the Apsarases, and the Gandharvas; and, furnished like them with wonderful powers, can travel along with them on their course. Transcending even this, the verse before us says that the beautiful-haired, the long-haired, that is to say, the Muni, who during the time of his austerities, does not shave his hair, upholds fire, moisture, heaven, and earth, and resembles the world of light, ideas which the later literature so largely contains. Similarly in an older hymn, R. V. vii. 56, 8, an unusual power of the Muni is celebrated, when it is said of the winds: *S'ubhro vaḥ śushmaḥ krudhmī manāṁsi dhunir munir iva śardhasya dhṛishṇoḥ*, where Sāyaṇa explains the word *mananād muniḥ stotā* ('the muni, from the root "man," is one who praises'); and where the representation above given is in any case to be found in its germ."

Although, in his Lexicon (see *s.v. muni*), Prof. Roth no longer adheres to Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word *muni*, as applicable to the last-mentioned passage, where he thinks it may mean "pressure, crowd, impulse," he takes the same view as formerly of the hymn before us (x. 136), and defines the word muni as signifying "(one who is driven by an inward impulse), a person inspired, or in a state of ecstacy; with this conception of the word," he proceeds, "agrees what is said of the ecstacy and deification of the muni in R. V. x. 136, 2, 4, *deveshito muniḥ* ('the god-impelled muni'), v. 5, and what is related in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, of the Muni Aitaśa, whom his son regards as mad. *Indro munīnāṁ sakha*, 'Indra is the friend of munis,' R. V. viii. 17, 14." I subjoin the passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vi. 33, here referred to:

Aitaśa-pralāpaṁ śaṁsati | Aitaśo ha vai munir "Agner āyur"[35] *dadarśa yajnasya ayātayāmam iti ha eke āhuḥ | so' bravīt putrān "putrakāḥ 'Agner āyur' adarśam | tad abhilapishyāmi | yat kincha vadāmi tad me mā parigāta" iti | sa pratyapadyata "etāḥ aśvāḥ āplavante pratīpam*

[35] The words *Agner āyur asi tasya te* occur in the Kāṭhaka, according to the list of initial words of passages given by Weber, Ind. Stud., iii. 289.

prātisutvanam" (A. V. xx. 129, 1) *iti* | *tasya Abhyagnir Aitaśāyanaḥ aitya akāle 'bhihāya mukham apyayṛihṇād "adṛipat naḥ pitā" iti* | *taṁ ha uvācha "apehy alaso bhūr yo me vācham avadhīḥ* | *śatāyuṁ gām akarishyaṁ sahasrāyum purusham* | *pāpiṣṭhām te prajām karomi yo mā ittham asakthāḥ" iti* | *tasmād āhur "Abhyagnayaḥ Aitaśāyanāḥ Aurvāṇām pāpishṭhāḥ" iti* | "He repeats the Aitaśa-pralāpa. The Muni Aitaśa beheld (i.e. received a revelation of) the 'Agner āyuḥ' ('Agni's life,' etc.), which, some say, renders the sacrifice efficacious.[36] He said to his sons, 'Sons, I have seen "Agni's life;" and will speak of it. Do not fail to attend to[37] what I say.' He then obtained (by revelation) the verse beginning *etāḥ aśvāḥ*, etc. Abhyagni, of the family of Aitaśa, came unseasonably, and stopped his mouth, saying 'our father is mad.' His father said, 'Go, become destitute of energy,[38] thou who hast stopped my words. I should otherwise have made kine live a hundred years, and men a thousand. Since thou hast so done violence to me, I make thy offspring most degraded. Hence they say that the Abhyagnis of the family of Aitaśa are the most degraded of all the Aurvas."

Compare Professor Kuenen's remarks on the possible original sense of the Hebrew word *nabi*, "prophet," in his Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek, ii. 3, and also pp. 16 (note 3), and 19 (note 6).

The allusion in the 7th verse of the hymn before us to Rudra drinking water (*visha*) may possibly have given rise to the legend of his drinking posion (*visha*).—See above, p. 50.

R. V. x. 169, 1.—*Mayobhūr vāto abhivātu usrāḥ ūrjasvatīr oshadhīr āriśantām* | *pīvasvatīr jīva-dhanyāḥ pibantu avasāya padvate*[39] *Rudra mṛiḷa* | "May the wind, causing prosperity, blow upon our cows. Let them consume invigorating plants; let them drink (waters) rich and life-sustaining: Rudra, be gracious to our walking sources of food" (compare vi. 28, 7, above, p. 312).

[36] Prof. Haug renders *ayātayāmam*, "which should remove all defects from the sacrifice"; and Prof. Weber, who, in his review of Dr. Haug's translation, Indische Studien, ix. 177 ff., dissents from many of the translator's renderings, expresses here no difference of opinion, see p. 304.

[37] Weber here differs from Haug's rendering of *parigāta* by "do not scorn me," and translates *übergehet* (*überhöret mir dies nicht*) *was ich auch sagen mag*, which is also the sense assigned in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon; and has been given by me.

[38] Haug translates, "Become infected with leprosy"; Weber, "become destitute of energy."

[39] *Pavad avasaṁ gāvaḥ* | —Nir. i. 17.

SECT. II.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Vājasaneyi recension of the white Yajur-Veda.*

I now proceed to quote from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā the principal texts which it contains relative to Rudra.

Vaj. S. 3, 57 ff.—*Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā taṁ jushasva svāhā | esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ ākhus te paśuḥ*[40] *| 58. Ava Rudram adīmahy ava devaṁ tryambakam | yathā no vasyasas karad yathā naḥ śreyasas karad yathā no vyavasāyayāt | 59. Bheshajam asi bheshajaṁ gave 'śvāya purushāya bheshajam | sukham meshāya meshyai | 60 (=R. V. vii. 59, 12; Taitt. S. i. 8, 6, 2). Tryambakaṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pushṭi-vardhanam | urvārukam iva bandhanād mṛityor mukshīya mā 'mṛitāt | tryambakaṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pativedanam*[41] *| urvārukam iva bandhanād ito mukshīya mā 'mutaḥ | 61 (T. S. i. 8, 6, 2). Etat te Rudra avasaṁ tena paro Mūjavato atīhi | avatata-dhanvā pināka-vasaḥ kṛitti-vāsāḥ ahiṁsan naḥ śivo 'tīhi | 62. Tryāyushaṁ Jamadagneḥ Kaśyapasya tryāyusham | yad deveshu tryāyushaṁ tad no astu tryāyusham | 63. S'ivo nāmā 'si svadhitis te pitā namas te astu mā mā hiṁsīḥ | nivartayāmy āyushe annādyāya prajananāya rāyasposhāya suprajāstvāya suvīryāya |*

"This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā; accept it with favour, may it be fortunate (*svāhā*). This is thy portion; thy victim is a mouse. 58. We have satisfied Rudra; we have satisfied the god Tryambaka,[42] that he may make us most opulent, most happy, that he may prosper us. 59. Thou art a medicine, a medicine for kine and horses, a medicine for men, a [source of] ease to rams and ewes. 60. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, the increaser of prosperity. May I, like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, be freed from

[40] The Taittirīya Br. i. 6, 1ρ, 4, has only the first part of this verse: *Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā:* then follow the words: *ity āha | S'arad vai asya Ambikā svasā | tayā vai esha hinasti |* "He says, 'This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā.' His sister Ambikā is the autumn; with her he smites (or kills)," etc. The commentator on the passage before us (of the Vāj. S.) says in reference to this that Ambikā kills by taking the form of Autumn, and producing diseases, etc. (*S'arad-rūpam prāpya jar-* [qu. ? *jvar-*] *ādikam utpādya taṁ nirodhinaṁ hanti*).

[41] Compare *pativida*, "the acquisition of a wife," in Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7.

[42] S. P. ii. 6, 2, 9.—*Ambikā ha vai nāma asya svasā | tayā 'sya esha saha bhāgaḥ | tad yad asya esha striyā saha bhāgas tasmāt Tryambako nāma |* "He has a sister called Ambikā, with whom he has this share: and since he has this share along with a female (*strī*), he is called Tryambaka" (*i.e.* Stryambaka).

death, not [severed] from immortality. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, who bestows on us husbands.[42*] Like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, may I be released from this [world], not [severed] from that [world]. 61. This, Rudra, is thy provision; with it depart beyond the Mūjavat, with thy bow unbended, and concealed from view, clothed with a skin, without injuring us, gracious, cross over.[43] 62. Let us have a triple life, the triple life of Jamadagni, the triple life of Kaśyapa, the triple life which exists among the gods. 63. Thou art gracious (*śiva*) by name; the thunderbolt[44] is thy father. Reverence be to thee: destroy us not. I clip thy hair, thee [O sacrificer], that thou mayest live, have food to eat, the power of procreation, the possession of wealth, abundant offspring, and eminent prowess."[45]

The next passage which I shall quote is the famous Satarudriya, a prayer, which is referred to in three passages quoted above from the Mahābhārata, pp. 186, 193, and 199. It is translated and annotated by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien, ii. 32 ff. The text there translated, and which is given in the preceding pp. 26 ff., is that of the Upanishad bearing the name of Satarudriya.

Vājasaneyi Samhitā, xvi. 1 ff. (=Taitt. S. iv. 5, 1, 1 ff.).—*Namas te Rudra manyave uto te ishave namaḥ*[46] | *bāhubhyām uta te namaḥ* | 2. *Yā te Rudra śivā tanūr aghorā 'pāpa-kāśinī* | *tayā nas tanvā* (*tanuvā*, T. S.) *śantamayā gṛiśantābhichākaśīhi* | 3. *Yām ishuṁ giriśanta haste bibharshi astave* | *śivāṁ giritra tāṁ kuru mā hiṁsīḥ purushaṁ jagat* | 4. *S'ivena vachasā tvā giriśāchha vadāmasi* | *yathā naḥ sarvam ij jagad ayakshmaṁ sumanāḥ*[47] *asat* | 5. *Adhy avochad adhivaktā prathamo daivyo bhishak* | *ahīṁścha sarvān jambhayan sarvāścha yātudhānyo 'dharāchīḥ parāsuva*[48] | 6. *Asau yas tāmro aruṇaḥ uta babhruḥ sumangalaḥ* | *ye chainaṁ Rudrāḥ abhito dikshu śritāḥ sahasraśo 'vaishāṁ heḍaḥ īmahe* | 7. *Asau yo 'vasar-*

[42*] This, the Commentator says, is spoken by virgins walking round the fire.

[43] See the second volume of this work, pp. 351 f., and note 138, where the comments of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa (ii. 6, 2, 17) on the passage before us are quoted.

[44] Such is the sense assigned to *svadhiti* in the Nighaṇṭus, 2, 20.

[45] The commentator says that the first half of this verse is addressed to a razor, and the second half is supposed to be spoken by the razor to the person to whose head it is to be applied. He translates the words *nivārtayāmy āyushe*, etc., by "I shave thee that thou mayest live," etc.

[46] The Taitt. S. inserts here *namas te astu dhanvane*, "reverence be to thy bow."

[47] *Sumanaḥ-śabde puṁstvam ārsham* | Comm.

[48] These last two words are omitted in the Taitt. S.

pati nīlagrīvo vilohitaḥ | utainaṁ gopāḥ adṛiśrann adṛiśrann udahāryaḥ[49] *sa dṛishṭo mṛiḍayāti naḥ | 8. Namo 'stu nīla-grīvāya sahasrākshāya mīḍhushe | atho ye asya satvāno ahaṁ tebhyo 'karaṁ namaḥ | 9. Pramuncha dhanvanas tvam ubhayor ārtnyor jyām | yāścha te haste ishavaḥ parā tā bhagavo vapa*[50] *| 10. Vijyaṁ dhanuḥ 'kapardino viśalyo bāṇavān uta | aneśann asya yāḥ ishavaḥ ābhur asya nishangadhiḥ [-thiḥ, T. S.] | 11. Yā te hetir mīḍhuṣhṭama haste babhūva te dhanuḥ | tayā 'smān viśvatas tvam ayakshmayā pari bhuja*[51] *| 12. Pari te dhanvano hetir asmān vṛiṇaktu viśvataḥ | atho yaḥ ishudhis tava āre asmad nidhehi tam | 13. Avatatya dhanush ṭvaṁ sahasrāksha śateshudhe | niśīrya śalyānām mukhā śivo naḥ sumanāḥ bhava | 14. Namas te āyudhāya anātatāya dhṛishṇave | ubhābhyām uta te namo bāhubhyāṁ tava dhanvane |* 15 and 16 (=R.V. i. 114, 7, 8, see above p. 303). *17. Namo hiraṇyabāhave senānye diśāncha pataye namo namo vṛikshebhyo harikeśebhyaḥ paśūnām pataye namo namaḥ śashpinjarāya tvishīmate pathīnām pataye namo namo harikeśāya upavītine pushṭānām pataye namaḥ |* 18. *Namo babhluśāya vyādhine 'nnānām pataye namo namo Bhavasya hetyai jagatām pataye namo namo Rudrāya ātatāyine (ātatāvine,* T. S.) *kshetrāṇām pataye namo namaḥ sūtāya ahantyai (ahantyāya,* T. S.) *vanānām pataye namaḥ |* 19. *Namo rohitāya sthapataye vṛikshāṇām pataye namo namo bhuvantaye vārivas-kṛitāya oshadhīnām pataye namo namo mantriṇe vāṇijāya kakshāṇām pataye namo namo uchchairghoshāya ākrandayate pattīnām pataye namaḥ |* 20. *Namaḥ kṛitsnāyatayā (kṛitsnavītāya,* T. S.) *dhāvate satvanām pataye namo namaḥ sahamānāya nivyādhine āvyādhinīnām pataye namo namo nishangiṇe kakubhāya stenānām pataye namo namo nicherave paricharāya araṇyānām pataye namaḥ |* 21. *Namo vanehate parivanchate stāyūnām pataye namo namo 'nishangine ishudhimate taskarāṇām pataye namo namaḥ sṛikāyibhyo (sṛikāvibhyo,* T. S.) *jighāṁsadbhyo mushṇatām pataye namo namo 'simadbhyo naktaṁ charadbhyo vikṛintānām (prakṛintānām,* T. S.) *pataye namaḥ |* 22. *Namaḥ ushṇīshine giricharāya kulunchānām pataye namo namaḥ ishumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaścha vo namo namaḥ ātanvānebhyo pratidadhānebhyaścha vo namo namaḥ āyachchhadbhyo 'syadbhyaścha vo namaḥ |* 23. *Namo viśṛijadbhyo vidhyadbhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ*

[49] The Taitt. S. adds here *utainaṁ viśvā bhūtāni*, "and all beings have seen him."

[50] The T. S. introduces here verse 13 of the Vāj. S.

[51] The T. S. inserts the 14th verse here, and there are similar transpositions elsewhere.

svapadbhyo jāgradbhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ śayānebhyaḥ āsīnebhyaścha vo namo namas tishṭhadbhyo dhāvadbhyaścha vo namaḥ | 24. *Namaḥ sabhābhyaḥ sabhāpatibhyaścha vo namo namo 'śvebhyo 'śvapatibhyaścha vo namo namaḥ āvyādhinībhyo vividhyantībhyaścha vo namo namaḥ ugaṇābhyas tṛiṁhatībhyaś cha vo namaḥ* | 25. *Namo gaṇebhyo gaṇapatibhyaścha vo namo namo vrātebhyo vrātapatibhyaścha vo namo namo gṛitsebhyo gṛitsapatibhyaścha vo namo namo virūpebhyo viśvarūpebhyaścha vo namaḥ* | 26. *Namaḥ senābhyaḥ senānibhyaścha vo namo namo rathibhyo 'rathebhyaścha vo namo namaḥ kshattṛibhyaḥ sangrahītṛibhyaścha vo namo namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaścha (kshullakebhyaś cha,* T. S) *vo namaḥ* | 27. *Namas takshabhyo rathakārebhyaścha vo namo namaḥ kulālebhyaḥ karmārebhyaścha vo namo namo nishādebhyaḥ punjishṭhebhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ śvanibhyo mṛigayubhyaścha vo namaḥ* | 28. *Namaḥ śvabhyaḥ śvapatibhyaścha namo Bhavāya Rudrāya cha namaḥ S'arvāya cha Paśupataye cha namo nīlagrīvaya cha śitikaṇṭhāya cha* | 29. *Namaḥ kapardine cha vyupta-keśāya cha namaḥ sahasrākshāya cha śatadhanvane cha namo giriśayāya (giriśāya,* T. S.) *cha śipiviśhṭāya cha namo mīḍhushṭamāya cha ishumate cha* | 30. *Namo hrasvāya cha vāmanāya cha namo bṛihate cha varshīyase cha namo vṛiddhāya cha savṛidhe (samvṛidhvane,* T. S.) *cha namo 'gryāya pathamāya cha* | 31. *Namaḥ āśave cha ajirāya cha namaḥ śīghryāya (śīghriyāya,* T.S.) *cha śībhyāya cha namaḥ ūrmyāya cha avasvanyāya cha namo nādeyāya (srotasyāya,* T.S.) *cha dvīpyāya cha* | 32. *Namo jyeshṭhāya cha kanishṭhāya cha namaḥ pūrvajāya cha aparajāya cha namo madhyamāya cha apagalbhāya cha namo jaghanyāya cha budhnyāya cha* | 33. *Namaḥ sobhyāya cha pratisaryāya cha namo yāmyāya cha kshemyāya cha namaḥ ślokyāya cha avasānyāya cha nama urvaryāya cha khalyāya cha* | 34. *Namo vanyāya cha kakshyāya cha namaḥ śrāvāya cha pratiśravāya cha namaḥ āśushenāya cha āśurathāya cha namaḥ śūrāya cha avabhedine (avabhindate,* T. S.) *cha* | 35. *Namo bilmine cha kavachine cha namo varmiṇe cha varūthine cha namaḥ śrutāya cha śrutasenāya cha namo dundubhyāya cha āhananyāya cha* | 36. *Namo dhṛishṇave cha pramṛiśāya cha*[52] *namo nishangiṇe cha ishudhimate cha namas tīkshṇeshave cha āyudhine cha namaḥ svāyudhāya sudhanvane cha* | 37. *Namaḥ srutyāya cha pathyāya cha namaḥ kāṭyāya cha nīpyāya cha namaḥ kulyāya cha sarasyāya cha namo nādeyāya (nādyāya,* T. S.) *cha vaiśantāya cha* | 38. *Namaḥ kūpyāya cha avaṭyāya cha namo vīdhryāya cha ātapyāya namo meghyāya cha*

[52] The T. S. adds here *namo dūtaya cha prahitāya cha.*

vidyutyāya cha namo varshyāya cha avarshyāya cha | 39. *Namo vātyāya cha reshmyāya* (*reshmiyāya*, T. S.) *cha namo vāstavyāya cha vāstupāya cha namaḥ Somāya cha Rudrāya cha namas tāmrāya cha aruṇāya cha* | 40. *Namaḥ śangave* (*śangāya*, T. S.) *paśupataye cha namaḥ ugrāya cha bhīmāya cha namo agrevadhāya cha dūrevadhāya cha namo hantre cha hanīyase cha namo vṛikshebhyo hari-keśebhyo namas tārāya* | 41. *Namaḥ śambhavāya* (*śambhave*, T. S.) *cha mayobhavāya* (*mayobhave*, T. S.) *cha namaḥ śankarāya cha mayaskarāya cha namaḥ śivāya cha śivatarāya cha* | 42. *Namaḥ pāryāya cha avāryāya cha namaḥ pratarāṇāya cha uttarāṇāya cha*[53] *namas tīrthyāya cha kūlyāya cha namaḥ śashpyāya phenyāya cha* | 43. *Namaḥ sikatyāya cha pravāhyāya cha namaḥ kiṁśilāya cha kshayaṇāya cha namaḥ kapardine cha pulastaye cha namaḥ iriṇyāya cha prapathyāya cha* | 44. *Namo vrajyāya* (*grihyāya*, T. S.) *cha goshṭhyāya cha namas talpyāya cha gehyāya cha namo hṛidayyāya* (*hradayyāya*, T. S.) *cha niveshyāya cha namaḥ kāṭyāya cha gahvareshṭhāya cha* | 45. *Namaḥ śushkyāya cha harityāya cha namaḥ pāṁsavyāya cha rajasyāya cha namo lopyāya cha ulapyāya cha namaḥ ūrvyāya cha sūrvyāya* (*sūrmyāya*, T. S.) *cha* | 46. *Namaḥ parṇāya* (*parṇyāya*, T. S.) *cha parṇaśadāya cha namaḥ udguramāṇāya* (*apagurumāṇāya*, T. S.) *cha abhighnate cha nama ākhidate cha prakhidate cha namaḥ ishukṛidbhyo dhanushkṛidbhyaś cha vo namo namo vaḥ kirikebhyo devānāṁ hṛidayebhyo namo vichinvatkebhyo namo vikshiṇatkebhyo* (*vikshīṇakebhyo*, T. S.) *namaḥ ānirhatebhyaḥ*[54] | 47. *Drāpe andhasaspate daridra* (*daridran*, T. S.) *nīlalohita* | *āsām prajānām eshām paśūnām mā bher mā roṇ mo cha naḥ kinchanāmamat* | 48 (=R.V. i. 114, 1). 49. *Yā te Rudra śivā tanūḥ śivā viśvāhā bheshajī* | *śivā rutasya bheshajī tayā no mṛiḍa jīvase* | 50 (=R.V. ii. 33, 14[55]). 51. *Mīḍhushṭama śivatama śivo naḥ sumanāḥ bhava* | *parame vṛikshe āyudhaṁ nidhāya kṛittiṁ vasānaḥ āchara pinākam bibhrad āgahi* | 52. *Vikiridra* (*vikirida*, T. S.) *vilohita namas te astu bhagavaḥ* | *yās te sahasraṁ hetayo 'nyam asmad nivapantu tāḥ* | 53. *Sahasrāṇi sahasraśo* (*sahasradhā*, T. S.) *bāhvos* (*bāhuvos*, T. S.) *tava hetayaḥ* | *tāsām īśāno bhagavaḥ parāchīnā mukhā kṛidhi* | 54. *Asankhyātā sahasrāṇi* (*sahasrāṇi*

[53] The T. S. here adds, *namaḥ ātāryāya cha ālaṭyāya cha.*

[54] The T. S. here adds, *namaḥ āmīvatkebhyaḥ.*

[55] Instead of *mahī gāt*, the concluding words of the first half of the verse, as it stands in the R.V., the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has *aghāyoḥ*, "of the malicious." The T. S. introduces here verses corresponding to those in R.V. i. 114, 2, 7, 8, 10; ii. 33, 11, 14.

sahasraśo, T. S.) *ye Rūdrāḥ adhi bhūmyām | teshāṁ sahasra-yojane ava dhanvāni tanmasi | 55. Asmin maṭhaty arṇave antarikshe Bhavāḥ adhi | teshām ityādi | 56. Nīlagrīvāḥ śitikaṇṭhāḥ divaṁ Rudrāḥ upāśritāḥ | teshām ityādi | 57. Nīlagrivāḥ śitikaṇṭhāḥ Sarvāḥ adhaḥ kshamācharāḥ | teshām ityādi | 58. Ye vṛikshesḳu śashpiṇjarāḥ nīlagrīvāḥ vilohitāḥ | teshām ityādi | 59. Ye bhūtānām adhipatayo viśikhāsaḥ kapardinaḥ | teshām ityādi | 60. Ye pathām pathirakshasaḥ (patiṛirakshayaḥ, T. S.) ailabṛidāḥ āyuryudhaḥ (yavyudhaḥ, T. S.) | teshām ityādi | 61. Ye tīrthāni pracharanti sṛikāhastāḥ (sṛikāvanto, T. S.) nishaṅgiṇaḥ | teshām ityādi | 62. Ye anneshu vividhyanti pātreshu pibato janān | teshām ityādi | 63. Ye etāvantaścha bhūyāṁsaś cha diśo Rudrāḥ vitasthire | teshāṁ ityādi | 64. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye divi yeshāṁ*[56] *varsham ishavaḥ | tebhyo daśa prāchīr daśa dakshiṇāḥ dāśa pratīchīr daśa udīchir daśa ūrdhvāḥ | tebhyo mamo astu te no avantu te no mṛidayantu te yaṁ dvishmo yaś cha no dveshṭi tam eshāṁ (vo*, T. S.) *jambhe dadhmaḥ (dadhāmi*, T. S.)| 65. *Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye antarikshe yeshāṁ vātaḥ ishavaḥ | tebhyo daśa ityādi | 66. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye pṛithivyaṁ yeshām annam ishavaḥ | tebhyo daśa ityādi |*

"Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath, and to thy arrow. Reverence to both thy arms. 2. Shine upon us, dweller in the mountains, with that blessed body of thine which is auspicious, not terrible,[57] and which does not betoken harm. 3. The arrow, O dweller in the mountains, which thou bearest in thy hand to discharge, make it, O lord of the mountains, auspicious; do not slay men and cattle. 4. With auspicious words we supplicate thee, dweller in the mountains, that all our men and cattle may be healthy and cheerful. 5. The deliverer, the first divine physician, hath interposed for us. Destroying all serpents, strike down and drive away all Yātudhānīs (female goblins). 6. We deprecate from us the wrath of that auspicious deity who is copper-coloured, ruddy, and brown, and of those Rudras who in thousands surround him on all sides. 7. May he who glides away, blue-necked and red-coloured, and whom cowherds and female drawers of water[58] have seen,—may he, when seen, be gracious to us. 8. Reverence to the

[56] The T. S. inserts here the words *annaṁ vāto*.

[57] Compare the passage quoted from the Mahābhārata, above, p. 204, near the foot.

[58] "Persons who are destitute of initiation in Vedic rites" (*Vedokta-saṁskāra-hīnāḥ*).—Comm.

blue-necked, to the thousand-eyed, to the bountiful; and to his attendant spirits I offer reverence. 9. Loosen the string from both ends of thy bow; and throw away, O divine being, the arrows which are in thy hand. 10. May the bow of the god with braided hair be stringless, and his quiver contain pointless shafts. His arrows have perished, and his sword-sheath is empty. 11. That shaft, O most bountiful, that bow which is in thy hand, with it, rendered innocuous, do thou protect us on every side. 12. May the shaft from thy bow avoid us in every direction; and deposit thy quiver far from us. 13. Unbending thy bow, O thousand-eyed, and thousand-quivered, and blunting the points of thy arrows, be gracious and kind to us. 14. Reverence to thy violent weapon, unstrung, to both thy arms, and to thy bow. (Verses 15 and 16 correspond nearly with R. V. i. 114, 7, and 8. See above, p. 304.) 17. Reverence to the golden-armed leader of armies, to the lord of the regions, to the green-haired trees, to the lord of beasts,[59] who is yellow like young grass, to the radiant, to the lord of roads, the yellow-haired, the wearer of the sacrificial cord, to the lord of the full-fed, (18) to the brown-coloured, to the piercer, to the lord of food. Reverence to the weapon of Bhava, to the lord of things moving, to Rudra with the bended bow, to the lord of the fields, to the innoxious charioteer, to the lord of the forests, (19) to the red architect, to the lord of trees, to the being who stretches out the worlds, who affords deliverance, to the lord of plants, to the observant merchant, to the lord of bushes, to the loud-shouting lord of foot-soldiers who causes his foes to shriek, (20) to him who runs in full stretch, to the lord of spirits, to the conqueror, to the piercer, to the lord of armies which wound, to the towering wielder of a sword, to the lord of thieves,[60] to the robber,

[59] This, Weber thinks, must originally have meant "the lord of sacrificial victims."

[60] On this the Commentator has the following apologetic remarks: *Rudro lîlayâ chorâdi-rûpaṁ dhatte | yadvâ Rudrasya jagad-âtmakatvâch chorâdayo Rudrâḥ eva dheyâḥ | yadvâ stenâdi-śarîre jîveśvara-rûpeṇa Rudro dvidhâ tishṭhati | tatra jîva-rûpaṁ stenâdi-śabda-vachyaṁ | tad îśvara-rudra-rûpaṁ lakshayati | yathâ śâkhâ-graṁ chandrasya lakshakam | kim bahunâ | lakshyârtha-vivakshayâ mantreshu laukikâḥ śabdâḥ prayuktâḥ |* "Rudra in sport assumes the forms of thieves and such like persons. Or, since Rudra is the soul of the world, thieves, etc., are to be thought of as being Rudras. Or, Rudra abides in two ways, as life and as lord, in the bodies of thieves, etc. Then his character as life is denoted by the words thieves, etc.; and that points to his character as Rudra the lord, just as the end of a branch points to the moon. But why enlarge further? Common words are employed in the sacred texts to intimate the sense which is pointed to."

to the prowler, to the lord of woods, (21) to the cheater, to the deceiver, to the lord of pilferers, to the bearer of the sword and quiver, to the lord of robbers, to those armed with thunderbolts, to the murderous, to the lord of stealers, to those who carry swords, to those who prowl by night, to the lord of plunderers; (22) to him who wears a turban, who frequents the mountains, to the lord of robbers, to you who have arrows, and to you who have bows, to you with bended bows, and you who fit your arrows on the string, to you who draw the bow, and to you who shoot, (23) to you who discharge, and to you who pierce, to you who sleep and you who wake, to you who lie and you who sit, to you who stand and you who run, (24) to the assemblies, and to you the lords of assemblies, to horses, and to you the lords of horses, to you the hosts which wound and pierce, and to the goddesses who have excellent troops, and who are destructive, (25) to the troops, and to you the lords of troops, to the companies, and to you the lords of companies, to the rogues, and to you the lords of rogues, to you who are ill-formed, and to you who have all forms, (26) to armies, and to you the leaders of armies, to you who ride in chariots, and to you without chariots, to you the charioteers, and to you the drivers of horses, to you the great, and to you the small, (27) to you the carpenters, and to you the chariot-makers, to you the potters, and to you the blacksmiths, to you the Nishādas, and to you the Punjishthas, to you the leaders of dogs, and to you the huntsmen, (28) to dogs, and to the masters of dogs, to Bhava,[61] and to Rudra, and to Sarva, to Paśupati, to Nīlagrīva, and to

[61] Prof. Weber has the following note on verse 28 of his translation of the S'ata-rudriya in his Indische Studien, ii. 37: "Bhava is variously explained, sometimes as the 'existent,' 'eternal' (*bhavaty eva na kadāchid,api na bhavati*), sometimes as the producer of everything (*bhavaty asmin sarvam*), so that according to the latter explanation he is the exact opposite of 'S'arva,' the destroyer: and possibly the term (Bhava) has been formed with the view of propitiating the terrible god by a favourable name. When both words appear in verses 55 and 57 as additional names of the Rudras, they are no doubt transferred to them from their master, since the name Bhava in particular will not apply well to them. According to the S'atap. Br. i. 7, 38 (dating certainly from a period when Rudra had already been identified with Agni), both words (see also Ind. St. i. 132, 140) are appellations of Agni,—Bhava being that which was usual among the Bāhīkas, and S'arva the one prevailing among the Prāchyas (and so among the Kośala-videhas, for example). As we meet with the word S'arva in the well-known passage of the Vendidad, Fargard x., p. 342," (S'aurva in the Zend, see Spiegel's translation, p. 176, and his Commentary, i., p. 285, and Justi's Handbuch *s.v.*) "we should rather have expected that S'arva would have

Sitikaṇṭha, (29) to him with the braided hair, and to him with the shaven hair, to him with a thousand eyes, to him with a hundred bows, to the dweller in the mountains, to Sipivishta,[62] to the most bountiful, to him who has arrows, (30) to the short, and to the dwarf, to the great, and to him who has arrived at a mature age, to the old, to the coetaneous, to the chief, and to the first, (31) to the swift (or pervader), and to the moving, to him who abides in the swift, and in the flowing waters, and to him who dwells in billows, and in tranquil waters, and in rivers, and on islands, (32) to the eldest, and to the youngest, to the first-born, and to the last-born, to the middlemost, to him who is not full-grown, to the lowest, to him who exists at the roots of trees, (33) to him who lives in the magical city Sobha (?), to him who exists in incantations, to him who exists in punishment, and in prosperity, to the renowned, to the endmost, to him who exists in the soil, and in the threshing floor, (34) in the woods and in the bushes, in the form of sound, and in echo, to him who has fleet armies and swift chariots, to the hero, and to the splitter, (35) to the helmeted, to him with cotton-quilted cuirass, with iron mail, and with armour, to him who is renowned and has a renowned army, to him who exists in drums, and in resounding blows, (36) to the impetuous, to the assailant, to the bearer of a sword and a quiver, who carries swift arrows, who wields weapons, and has excellent weapons and a good bow, (37) to him who dwells in pathways, and roads, and rough (or desert) places, and the skirts of mountains, and watercourses, and lakes, and rivers, and ponds, (38) and in wells, and pits, and in bright clouds, and in sunshine, in clouds, in lightning, in rain, in fair weather, (39) in wind, in storm, to the dweller in houses, to the protector of houses, to Soma, and to Rudra, to the copper-coloured, to the ruddy, (40) to the bringer of prosperity, to Paśupati, to the fierce (*ugra*) and the terrible, to him who kills in

been the name current among the Bāhīkas. It is difficult to decide whether both appellations actually belonged at first to Agni, and not to Rudra. But, generally speaking, the contrary appears to me to be more credible, because in the hymns of the Rig-veda a peaceful, and not a destructive, character is predominatingly ascribed to Agni. Further, both words are brought directly into connexion with the lightning in A.V. x. 1. *Bhavāśarvau asyatām pāpakṛite devāhetim.*" This text is quoted a few pages further on.

[62] R.V. vii. 99, 7; and vii. 100, 6, above, pp. 86–88, and Appendix on p. 88.

front, and who kills from afar, to the slayer, to the excessive slayer, to the green-haired trees, to the deliverer, (41) to the source of prosperity, to the source of happiness, to the causer of prosperity (*śankarāya*), to the causer of happiness, to the auspicious (*śiva*) and the very auspicious, (42) to him who exists beyond and on this side, to him who crosses over to and fro, to him who exists in fords and river-banks, in young grass, and in foam, (43) who exists in gravel and in streams, in stony ground, and in habitable[63] places, to the god with spirally-braided hair, to him with smooth hair,[64] who exists in barren land, and in frequented roads, (44) among herds, in cow-pens, in beds, in houses, in the heart, in whirlpools (or in hoar-frost), and in rough (or desert) places, who abides in abysses, (45) in dry things and in green things, in dust, in moisture (or dust), in inaccessible places, in creepers, in the earth and deep under the earth. 46. Reverence to the leaf, and to him who is in the fall of the leaf, to the threatener, to the slayer, to the vexer and the afflicter, to you who make arrows and who make bows, to you the sprinklers, to the hearts of the gods,[65] to the discerners, to the destroyers, and to the indestructible. 47. O thou who chasest away, who art lord of the soma-juice, who art poor,[66] who art blue and red, do not crush, do not destroy[67] these [our] offspring, or these cattle, and let nothing of ours be sick. 48 (=R.V. i. 114, 1). 49. That we may live, be gracious to us with that body of thine which is propitious, which is propitious and healing on all days, which is propitious and heals disease. 50 (=R.V. ii. 33, 14. See above, p. 309). 51. Most bountiful, most gracious, be gracious and benevolent to us. Placing thy weapon on the remotest [or, highest] tree, approach, clad in a skin,[68]

[63] Or, "in a place with still water."—Comm.

[64] This is the rendering of Böhtlingk and Roth. See Weber's Ind. Stud., ii. 41, note. The Commentator on the Vāj. S. gives the following alternative explanation: *Pulastaye agre tishṭhati pulastiḥ . . . . yadvā pūrshu śarīreshu astiḥ sattā yasya sa pulastiḥ sarvāntaryāmī* |

[65] Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya are meant, according to the Commentator, and the S'atap. Br. ix. 1, 1, 23.

[66] *Daridra*. The Commentator explains this as meaning "without any connexion with others, from being without a second" (*nishparigraho 'dvitīyatvāt*). Prof. Roth (Lexicon) proposes to render the word by "roving about," and Prof. Weber by "splitter."

[67] *Mā bher mā rok*. See Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. ruj*, where *bheḥ* is said to come from *bhid*, not *bhī*.

[68] See V. S. 3, 61, above, p. 322.

come, holding thy bow. 52. O deity, who avertest wounds [or, shootest arrows], and art ruddy in hue, reverence be to thee. May thy thousand shafts smite some one else than us. 53. Thousands of thousands of shafts are in thy hands. O god, do thou, the lord, avert their points [from us]. 54. We unbend a thousand leagues (*yojana*) away the bows of those unnumbered thousands of Rudras who are upon the earth. 55. Above this great atmospheric ocean there exist Bhavas. We unbend their bows a thousand leagues away. 56. Rudras with blue necks and white throats occupy the sky. We unbend, etc. 57. Sarvas with blue necks and white throats frequent [the regions] beneath the earth. We unbend, etc. 58. Of those [deities] with a colour like young grass, with blue necks and ruddy hue, who [live] in trees, we unbend, etc. 59. Of those lords of beings who are without locks of hair, and of those whose hair is spirally-braided, we unbend, etc. 60. Of those who are guardians of roads, givers of nourishment, who fight for life, we unbend, etc. 61. Of those who frequent the fords, with weapons in their hands, and swords, we unbend, etc. 62. Of those who pierce, in the midst of their meals, men who are drinking in vessels, we unbend, etc. 63. Of those Rudras who, so many [as we have described] and yet more numerous, occupy the regions, we unbend, etc. 64. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the sky,[69] of whom rain is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers] to the east,[70] ten to the south, ten to the west, ten to the north, and ten upwards. To them be reverence: may they protect us, may they be gracious to us. We consign to their teeth the man whom we hate, and who hates us. 65. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the atmosphere, of whom the wind is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc., etc. 66. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] upon the earth, of whom food is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc., etc."

Many of the epithets in this S'atarudriya are not found in other books; and it is difficult, and perhaps of little importance, to discover their real sense. Others, as the reader will have observed, are of the most fantastic character.

[69] The T. S. inserts here, "whose food is the wind."

[70] *Prāgabhimukhāḥ angulīḥ kurve iti śeshaḥ | . . . añjalim baddhvā sarva-dikshu namaskaromi* | Comm.

SECT. III.—*Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, S'arva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.*

A. V. ii. 27, 6.—*Rudra jalāsha-bheshaja nīla-śikhaṇḍa karma-kṛit | prāśam pratiprāśo jahi arasāṁ kṛiṇu oshadhe* | "Rudra, who hast healing remedies, who hast dark locks, who art the performer of works, destroy the food of him who seeks to take ours; make it savourless, O plant!"

A. V. iv. 28, 1.—*Bhavā-S'arvau manve vām asya vittaṁ yayor vām idam pradiśi yad virochate | yāv asyeśāthe dvipado yau chatushpadas tau no munchatam aṁhasaḥ | 2. yayor abhyadhve uta yad dūre chid yau viditāv ishubhṛitām asishṭhau | yāv—— | 3. sahasrākshau vṛitrahaṇā huve 'haṁ dūregavyūtī stuvann emy ugrau | yāv—— | 4. yāv ārebhāte bahu sākam agre pra ched asrāshṭam abhibhāṁ janeshu | yāv—— | 5. yayor vadhād nāpapadyate kaśchana antar deveshūta mānusheshu | yāv—— | 6. yaḥ kṛityā-kṛid mūla-kṛid yātudhāno ni tasmin dhattaṁ vajram ugrau | yāv—— | 7. adhi no brūtam pṛitanāsu ugrau saṁ vajreṇa sṛijatam yaḥ kimīdī*[71] | staumi Bhavā-S'arvau nāthito johavīmi tau no munchatam aṁhasaḥ |

1. "O Bhava and Sarva, I reverence you; have regard to this (your worshipper), ye under whose control is all this which shines: ye who are lords of this two-footed and four-footed (creation), free us from calamity. 2. Ye to whom belongs all that is near and even all that is remote, who are known as the most skilful shooters among all archers: ye who are lords, etc. (as in v. 1). 3. Ye thousand-eyed slayers of enemies, I invoke you; I go on praising you, ye fierce gods, whose domain extends far and wide: ye who are lords, etc. 4. Ye who, united, performed many (exploits) of old, who manifested ill omens among men: ye who are lords, etc. 5. Ye from whose destroying stroke no one either among gods or men escapes: ye who are lords, etc. 6. Fierce gods, launch your thunderbolt against the Yātudhāna, who practises sorcery, and prepares roots (for that purpose): ye who are lords, etc. 7. Fierce gods, take our side in battles, smite with the thunderbolt him who is a goblin. I praise you, Bhava and Sarva; distressed I again and again invoke you; deliver us from calamity."

[71] Yāska explains this word thus, Nirukta, vi. 11: *Kim idānīm iti charate kim idaṁ kim idam iti vā piśunāya charate* |

A. V. v. 21, 11.—*Yūyam ugrāḥ Marutaḥ Pṛiśni-mātaraḥ Indreṇa yujā pra mṛiṇīta śatrūn | Somo rājā Varuṇo rājā mahādevaḥ uta mṛityur Indraḥ* | "Do ye, fierce Maruts, whose mother is Pṛiśni, allied with Indra, destroy [our] enemies. (May) king Soma, king Varuṇa, and Indra, who is a great god and death, (do the same)." [This verse is from a martial hymn addressed to the Dundubhi or drum, which in verses 4–6 is besought to terrify the poet's enemies, as the sight of a man frightens wild animals, a wolf goats and sheep, and a hawk smaller birds. 4. *Yathā mṛigāḥ saṁvijanta āraṇyāḥ purushād adhi* | . . . . 5. *Yathā vṛikād ajāvayo dhāvanti bahu bibhyatīḥ* | . . . . 6. *Yathā śyenāt patatriṇaḥ saṁvijante ahar divi.* . . . .]

A. V. vi. 93, 1.—*Yamo Mṛityur aghamāro nirṛitho babhruḥ S'arvo 'stā nīla-śikhaṇḍaḥ | deva-janāḥ senayā uttasthivāṁsas te asmākam pari vṛinjantu vīrān* | 2. *Manasā homair harasā ghṛitena S'arvāyāstre uta rājne Bhavāya | namasyebhyo namaḥ ebhyaḥ kṛiṇomy anyatra asmad aghavishā nayantu* | "May Yama, Death, who brings dire destruction, may the Destroyer, may tawny Sarva the archer with dark locks, may the hosts of the gods, arising with their army, may these avoid our heroes. 2. With mind, with oblations, with fire, with butter, I offer reverence to Sarva the archer, and to king Bhava, to them who deserve reverence; let them carry their deadly poisons to others than us."

In A. V. vi. 141, 1, Rudra is mentioned along with Vāyu, Tvashṭṛi, and Indra (*Rudro bhūmne chikitsatu*).

A. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Yo Agnau Rudro yo apsv antar yaḥ oshadhīr vīrudhaḥ āviveśa | yaḥ imā viśvā bhuvanāni chāklṛipe tasmai Rudrāya namo astv Agnaye* | "Reverence be to that Rudra, Agni, to the Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, and who has entered into the plants and bushes, and who has formed all these creatures."

A. V. viii. 2, 7.— . . . . *Bhavā-śarvau mṛiḍatam śarma yachhatam apasidhya duritaṁ dhattam āyuḥ* | . . . . . "Bhava and Sarva, be gracious, give protection; removing calamity, give life."[72]

A. V. viii. 5, 10.—*Asmai maṇiṁ varma badhnantu devāḥ Indro Vishṇuḥ Savitā Rudro Agniḥ | ityādi* | "May the gods, Indra, Vishṇu, Savitṛi, Rudra, Agni, bind on him the jewel as a protection," etc.

[72] See the translation of the entire hymn, in which this half verse occurs, in the fifth volume of this work, p. 446 ff.

A. V. ix. 7, 7.—*Mitraś cha Varuṇaś cha aṁsau Tvashṭā cha Aryamā cha doshaṇī Mahādevo bāhū* | "Mitra and Varuṇa are the shoulders, Tvashṭṛi and Aryaman the fore-arms, and Mahādeva the two arms."

A. V. x. 1, 23.—*Bhavā-śarvāu asyatām pāpa-kṛite kṛityā-kṛite dush-kṛite vidyutaṁ deva-hetim* | "Let Bhava and Sarva launch the lightning, the bolt of the gods, against the doer of wickedness, against him who employs sorcery, against the evil doer." (See Weber's Ind. Studien, ii. 37, note, quoted above in p. 328 f.)

A. V. xi. 2, 1.—*Bhavā-S'arvau mṛiḍatam mā 'bhiyātam bhūta-patī paśu-patī namo vām | pratihitām āyatām mā vi srāshṭam mā no hiṁsi-shṭaṁ dvipado mā chatushpadaḥ* | 2. *S'une kroshṭre mā śarīrāṇi kartam aliklavebhyo gṛidhrebhyo ye cha kṛishṇāḥ avishyavaḥ | makshikās te Paśu-pate vayāṁsi te vighase mā vidanta* | 3. *Krandāya te prāṇāya yāś cha te Bhava ropayaḥ | namas te Rudra kṛiṇmaḥ sahasrākshāya amartya* | 4. *Purastāt te namaḥ kṛiṇmaḥ uttarād adharād uta | abhīvargād divas pari antarikshāya te namaḥ* | 5. *Mukhāya te Paśupate yāni chakshūṁshi te Bhava | tvache rūpāya saṁdṛiśe pratīchīnāya te namaḥ* | 6. *Angebhyas te udarāya jihvāyai āsyāya te | dadbhyo gandhāya te namaḥ* | 7. *Astrā nīla-śikhaṇḍena sahasrākshena vājinā | Rudreṇārdhaka-ghātinā tena mā samarāmahi* | 8. *Sa no Bhavaḥ pari vṛiṇaktu viśvataḥ āpaḥ*[73] *ivāgniḥ pari vṛiṇaktu no Bhavaḥ | mā no 'bhi māṁsta namo astv asmai* | 9. *Chatur namo ashṭakṛitvo Bhavāya daśa kṛitvaḥ Paśupate namas te | taveme pancha paśavo vibhaktāḥ gāvo aśvāḥ purushāḥ ajāvayaḥ* | 10. *Tava chatasraḥ pradiśas tava dyaus tava pṛithivī tavedam ugrorv antariksham | tavedaṁ sarvam ātmanvad yat prāṇat pṛithivīm anu* | 11. *Uruḥ kośo vasudhānas tavāyaṁ yasminn imā viśvā bhuvanāny antaḥ | sa no mṛiḍa Paśupate namas te paraḥ kroshṭāro abhibhāḥ śvānaḥ paro yantv agharudo vikeśyaḥ* | 12. *Dhanur bibharshi haritaṁ hiraṇyayaṁ sahasra-ghniṁ śata-vadhaṁ śikhaṇḍin | Rudrasyeshuś charati deva-hetis tasyai namo yatamasyāṁ diśītaḥ* | 13. *Yo 'bhiyāto nilayate tvāṁ Rudra nichikīrshati | paśchād anu prayunkshe taṁ viddhasya pada-nīr iva* | 14. *Bhavā-rudrau sayujā saṁvidānāv ubhāv ugrau charato vīryāya | tābhyāṁ namo yatamasyām diśītaḥ* | 15. *Namas te astv āyate namo astu parāyate | namas te Rudra tishṭhate āsīnāyota te namaḥ* | 16. *Namaḥ sāyaṁ namaḥ prātar namo rātryā namo divā | Bhavāya cha S'arvāya cha ubhābhyām akaraṁ namaḥ* |

[73] In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. v., p. 1003, several passages are quoted where *āpaḥ* (with a long *ā* in the first syllable) occurs as an accusative plural.

17. *Sahasrāksham atipaśyam purastād Rudram asyantam bahudhā vipaśchitam | mā upārāma jihvayā īyamānam* | 18. *S'yāvāśvaṁ kṛishṇam asitam mṛiṇantam bhīmaṁ ratham' keśinaḥ pādayantam | pūrve pratīmo namo astu asmai* | 19. *Mā no 'bhi ɛrāḥ matyaṁ deva-hetim mā naḥ krudhaḥ Paśupate namas te | anyatra asmad divyāṁ śākhāṁ vi dhūnu* | 20. *Mā no hiṁsīr adhi no brūhi pari no vṛindhi mā krudhaḥ | ma tvayā samarāmahi* | 21. *Mā no goshu purusheshu mā gṛidho no ajāvishu | anyatrogra vi vartaya 'piyārūṇām prajām jahi* | 22. *Yasya takmā kāsikā hetir ekam aśvasyeva vṛishaṇaḥ krandaḥ eti | abhipūrvaṁ nirṇayate namo astv asmai* | 23. *Yo antarikshe tishṭhati vishṭabhito ayajvanaḥ pramṛiṇan deva-pīyūn | tasmai namo daśabhiḥ śakvarībhiḥ* | 24. *Tubhyam āraṇyāḥ paśavo mṛigāḥ vane hitāḥ haṁsāḥ suparṇāḥ śakunāḥ vayāṁsi | tava yaksham Paśupate apsv antas tubhyaṁ ksharanti divyāḥ āpo vṛidhe |* 25. *Siṁśumārāḥ ajagarāḥ purīkayāḥ jashāḥ matsyāḥ rajasāḥ yebhyo asyasi | na te dūraṁ na parishṭhā 'sti te Bhava sadyaḥ sarvām pari paśyasi bhūmim pūrvasmād haṁsy uttarasmin samudre* | 26. *Mā no Rudra takmanā mā visheṇa mā naḥ saṁ srāḥ divyenāgninā | anyatrāsmad vidyutam pātayaitām* | 27. *Bhavo divo Bhavaḥ īśe pṛithivyāḥ Bhavaḥ ā papre uru antariksham | tasyai namo yatamasyāṁ diśitaḥ |* 28. *Bhava rājan yajamānāya mṛiḍa paśūnāṁ hi paśupatir babhūtha | yaḥ śraddadhāti santi devāḥ iti chatushpade dvipade asya mṛiḍa |* 29 (=R.V. i. 114, 7). *Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā no vahantam uta mā no vakshyataḥ | mā no hiṁsīḥ pitaram mātaraṁ cha svāṁ tanvaṁ Rudra mā rīrisho naḥ* | 30. *Rudrasyailaba-kārebhyo 'saṁsūkta-gilebhyaḥ | idam mahāsyebhyaḥ śvabhyo akaraṁ namaḥ |* 31. *Namas te ghoshiṇībhyo namas te keśinībhyaḥ | namo namaskṛitābhyo namaḥ sambhunjatībhyaḥ | namas te deva senābhyaḥ svasti no abhayaṁ cha naḥ |*

1. "Bhava and Sarva, be gracious to us, be not hostile, lords of spirits, lords of beasts [see v. 9]; reverence to you twain. Discharge not a long arrow; destroy not our bipeds and quadrupeds. 2. Abandon not our bodies to the dog or the jackal, to carrion birds, to vultures, to thy greedy black flies, lord of beasts; let not thy birds get us to devour. 3. We offer reverence to thy shout, to thy breath, and to thy arrows, Bhava, and, O immortal Rudra, to thee the thousand-eyed. 4. We offer reverence to thee from before, and from above, and from below, and from thy domain in the sky: reverence to thy firmament.

5. Reverence to thy face, Paśupati, to thine eyes, Bhava, to thy skin, to thy form, to thine aspect from behind. 6. Reverence to thy limbs, to thy belly, to thy tongue, to thy mouth, to thy teeth, to thy odour (nose?). 7. May we never contend with that archer whose locks are dark, who has a thousand eyes, the warrior, with Rudra the slayer of Ardhaka.[74] 8. May he (Bhava) everywhere avoid us, may Bhava avoid us as fire avoids the waters. May he not bear malice towards us: reverence be to him. 9. Four times, eight times, be reverence to Bhava: ten times be reverence to thee, Paśupati. Thine are these five distinct sorts of animals—kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep. 10. Thine, Ugra [or fierce god], are the four regions, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere; thine is everything which has a spirit and which breathes upon the earth. 11. This is a vast and wealthy storehouse of thine, within which all these beings are contained. Do thou favour us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Far from us be jackals, unlucky omens, dogs: may shrieking female demons with dishevelled hair go far from us. 12. Long-haired god, thou carriest a yellow and golden bow, [a weapon] which smites thousands and kills hundreds. Rudra's arrow, a celestial bolt, flies abroad: reverence be to it in whatever direction from hence [it flies]. 13. Thou pursuest after the adversary who lurks and seeks to overcome thee, Rudra, as a man tracking the steps[75] of a wounded [animal]. 14. Bhava and Rudra, who are always united and concordant, both fierce, ye advance to [deeds of] heroism. Reverence be to them twain in whatever direction they are from hence. 15. Reverence to thee coming, and to thee departing; reverence to thee, Rudra, standing, and to thee sitting. 16. Reverence in the evening, in the morning, by night and by day: I have offered reverence to Bhava, and to Sarva, both of them. 17. Let us not with our tongue offend Rudra, who rushes on, thousand-eyed, viewing all the world, who hurls his shafts in our presence, and who is manifoldly wise. 18. We approach first [with our worship] the god who has brown horses, is dark, black, destroying, terrible, who casts down the car of Keśin (the long-haired being)[76]: reverence be to him. 19. Do

[74] Rudra is elsewhere said to be the slayer of Andhaka or Antaka. See Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇya Kāṇḍa 30, 27, which is quoted in the Appendix.

[75] Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth assign to *pada-nī* the sense of "guide."

[76] Böhtlingk and Roth make *keśin* an epithet of Rudra: see *s.v.*

not hurl at us thy club,[77] thy celestial bolt: be not incensed at us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Brandish thy celestial weapon[78] over some other than us. 20. Slay us not; interpose for us; avoid us; be not angry with us; let us not contend with thee. 21. Do not covet our cattle, our men, our goats, and sheep. Fierce god, betake thyself [or, turn thy chariot] elsewhere; slay the offspring of the malignant. 22. Reverence be to him whose consumption, whose cough, whose bolt assails some one like the neighing of a stallion—to him who carries away [his victims?] in order. 23. Be reverence paid with ten śakvarī verses to him who abides fixed in the atmosphere, smiting the despisers of the gods who offer no sacrifice. 24. For thee the beasts of the wood, deer, swans, and various well-winged birds[79] are placed in the forest; thy living creatures, Paśupati, exist in the waters: to delight thee the celestial waters flow. 25. (There exist) porpoises, great serpents, purīkayas, sea-monsters, fishes, rajasas,[79*] at which thou shootest. There is to thee, Bhava, nothing far, nor anything which stands [near] around thee. At a glance thou lookest around the whole earth: from the eastern thou slayest in the northern ocean. 26. Do not assail us, Rudra, with consumption, or with poison, or with celestial fire: cause this lightning to descend elsewhere than upon us. 27. Bhava rules the sky, Bhava rules the earth, Bhava hath filled[80] the vast atmosphere: reverence be to him in whatever direction from hence [he is]. 28. Bhava, king, be gracious to thy worshipper, for thou art lord of beasts. Be gracious to the quadrupeds and bipeds of him who believes that the gods exist.[81] 29 (=R.V. i. 114, 7). Slay neither our great nor our small, neither him who is growing nor those who are to grow,[82]

[77] A. V. viii. 8, 11.—*Triṇeḍhu enān matyam Bhavasya* | "May the club of Bhava crush them."

[78] The word in the original is *śākhā*, "branch."

[79] In the original, *suparnāḥ śakunāḥ vayāṁsi.*

[79*] B. and R. say this word perhaps means "unclean."

[80] Compare R.V. i. 52, 13, p. 99, above; and the other passages quoted in note 73 on the same page.

[81] Compare R.V. viii. 89, 3, 4, quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 254.

[82] Compare R.V. i. 114, 7, and T. S. iv. 5, 10, 2, p. 303, above. In Professor Wilson's Dictionary I find the sense of "growing" assigned to the root *vah*, when conjugated in the *ātmane pada* with a nasal, *vaṁhate*. He says, however, that in this sense the root is more properly *bah*, *baṁhate*. If the verb be so understood in this passage, the meaning will be the same as that which, on the authority of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, I have adopted in the parallel text of the Rigveda.

neither our father nor our mother: injure not, Rudra, ourselves. 30. I have offered this reverence to Rudra's wide-mouthed howling dogs who swallow their prey unchewed. 31. Reverence, O deity, to thy shouting, long-haired, reverenced, devouring hosts. May blessing and security be ours."

A. V. xi. 6, 9.—*Bhavā-śarvāv idam brūmo Rudram Paśupatiś cha yaḥ | ishūr yāḥ eshāṁ saṁvidma tāḥ naḥ santu sadā śivāḥ |* "We say this to Bhava and Sarva, to Rudra and to him who is Paśupati: may those arrows of theirs which we know be always propitious to us."

A. V. xii. 4, 17.—*Yaḥ enām avaśām āha devānāṁ nihitaṁ nidhim | ubhau tasmai Bhavā-śarvau parikramyeshum asyataḥ |* "Both Bhava and Sarva advancing, discharge an arrow against him who declares this [cow], the hoarded treasure of the gods, to be no cow."

A. V. xiii. 4, 4.—*So 'ryamā sa Varuṇaḥ sa Rudraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ |* 26. *Sa Rudro vasuvanir vasudeye namovāke vashaṭkāro 'nu saṁhitaḥ |* 27. *Tasyeme sarve yātavaḥ upa praśisham āsate |* 28. *Tasyāmū sarvā nakshatrā vaśe chandramasā saha |* "4. He (Savitṛi) is Aryaman, he is Varuṇa, he is Rudra, he is Mahādeva. 26. He, Rudra, the giver of wealth, is placed as the 'vashaṭkāra' in the reverential invocation, at the giving of wealth. 27. All these demons wait upon his command. 28. All these stars, with the moon, are under his control."

The following passage, together with the rest of the fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda, is quoted and translated by Prof. Aufrecht in the first vol. of Weber's Indische Studien, pp. 121–140:

A. V. xv. 5, 1.—*Tasmai prāchyāḥ diśo antar-deśād Bhavam ishvāsam anushṭhātāram akurvan | Bhavaḥ enam ishvāsaḥ prāchyāḥ diśo antar-deśād anushṭhātā 'nutishṭhati | nainaṁ Sarvo na Bhavo na Īśāno na asya paśūn na samānān hinasti yaḥ evam veda |* 2. *Tasmai dakshiṇāyāḥ diśo antardeśāch chharvam ishvāsam ityādi |* 3. *Tasmai pratīchyāḥ diśo antar-deśāt Paśupatim ityādi |* 4. *Tasmai udīchyāḥ diśo antar-deśād ugraṁ devam ityādi |* 5. *Tasmai dhruvāyāḥ diśo antar-deśād Rudram ityādi |* 6. *Tasmai ūrdhvāyāḥ diśo antar-deśād Mahādevam ityādi |* 7. *Tasmai sarvebhyo antar-deśebhyāḥ Īśānam ityādi |* "[The gods] made Bhava the archer [to be] to him (the Vrātya) a deliverer from the intermediate space of the eastern region. Bhava the archer, a deliverer, delivers him from the interval of the eastern region. Neither Sarva nor Bhava, nor Īśāna slays either him who knows this, or his cattle, or his kindred.

2. [The gods] made Sarva the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the southern region, etc. 3. [The gods] made Paśupati the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the western region, etc. 4. [The gods] made the god Ugra, etc. (as above), of the northern region, etc. 5. [The gods] made Rudra, etc. (as above), of the lower region, etc. 6. [The gods] made Mahādeva, etc. (as above), of the upper region, etc. 7. [The gods] made Īśāna the archer [to be] his deliverer from all the intermediate regions," etc.

Sect. IV.—*Passages relating to Rudra from the S'atapatha and S'ānkhāyana Brāhmaṇas.*

In the following text (which has been already quoted in the second volume of this work, p. 202) Rudra is identified with Agni:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 8.—*Agnir vai sa devaḥ tasya etāni nāmāni S'arvaḥ iti yathā prāchyāḥ āchakshate Bhavaḥ iti yathā Bāhīkāḥ Paśūnām patiḥ Rudro 'gnir iti | tāny asya aśāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāni | Agnir ity eva śāntatamam |* "Agni is a god. These are his names: Sarva, as the eastern people call him,[83] Bhava, as the Bāhīkas, Paśūnāmpati (lord of beasts), Rudra, and Agni. These other names of his (i.e. all the foregoing except Agni) are ungentle. Agni is his gentlest appellation."[84]

The following passage describes the birth of Rudra, and at the same time identifies him with Agni:

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 1, 3, 7 ff.—*Abhūd vai iyam pratishṭhā iti | tad bhūmir abhavat | tām aprathayat sā prithivy abhavat | tasyām asyām pratishṭhāyām bhūtāni bhūtānāncha patiḥ saṁvatsarāya adīkshanta | bhūtānām patir griha-patir āsīd Ushāḥ patnī |* 8. *Tad yāni tāni bhūtāni ritavas te | atha yaḥ sa bhūtānām patiḥ saṁvatsaraḥ saḥ | atha yā sā Ushāḥ patny aushasī sā | tāni imāni bhūtāni cha bhūtānāncha patiḥ saṁvatsaraḥ Ushasi reto 'sinchan | sa saṁvatsare kumāro 'jāyata | so 'rodīt |* 9. *Tam Prajāpatir abravīt "kumāra kiṁ rodishi yach chhramāt*

[83] On this the commentator remarks (p. 124 of Weber's edition): *Prāchyādi-deśa-bhedena S'arvādi-nāma-bhede 'pi devatā ekā eva |* "Though, owing to the difference of countries, there is a difference of names, as S'arva, etc., still the god is but one."

[84] See the note translated from Weber's Indische Studien above in p. 328.

tapaso 'dhi jāto 'si" iti | so 'bravīd "anapahata-pāpmā vai asmy ahita-nāmā nāma me dhehi" iti | tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt pāpmānam eva asya tad apahanty api dvitīyam api tṛitīyam abhipūrvam eva asya tat pāpmānam apahanti | 10. *Tam abravīd Rudro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Agnis tad-rūpam abhavat | Agnir vai Rudraḥ | yad arodīt tasmād Rudraḥ | so 'bravīt "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 11. *Tam abravīt "Sarvo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod āpas tad-rūpam abhavan | āpo vai Sarvaḥ | adbhyo hi idaṁ sarvaṁ jāyate | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 12. *Tam abravīt Paśupatir asi iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod oshadhayas tad-rūpam abhavan | oshadhayo vai Paśupatis tasmād yadā paśavaḥ oshadhīr labhante 'tha patīyanti | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 13. *Tam abravīd Ugro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Vāyus tad-rūpam abhavat | Vāyur vai Ugras tasmād yadā balavad vāty "Ugro vāti" ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 14. *Tam abravīd "Aśanir asi" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot vidyut tad-rūpam abhavat | vidyud vai Aśanis tasmād yaṁ vidyud hanty "Aśanir abadhīd" ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 15. *Tam abravīd "Bhavo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot Parjanyas tad-rūpam abhavat | Parjanyo vai Bhavaḥ | Parjanyād hi idaṁ sarvam bhavati | so 'bravīd "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 16. *Tam abravīd "Mahān devo 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akaroch chandramās tad-rūpam abhavat | Prajāpatir vai chandramāḥ Prajāpatir vai mahān devaḥ | so 'bravīj "jyāyān vai asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma" iti |* 17. *Tam abravīd "Īśāno 'si" iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Ādityas tad-rūpam abhavat | Ādityo vai Īśānaḥ Ādityo hy asya sarvasya īshṭe | so 'bravīd "etāvān vai asmi mā mā itaḥ paro nāma dhāḥ" iti |* 18. *Tāny etāny ashṭāv Agni-rūpāṇi Kumāro navamaḥ | sā eva Agnes trivṛittā |* 19. *Yad vai iva ashṭāv Agni-rūpāṇy aṣṭākṣharā gāyatrī tasmād āhur "gāyatro 'gnir" iti | so 'yaṁ kumāro rūpāṇy anuprāvišat | na vai Agniṁ kumāram iva paśyanty etāny eva asya rūpāṇi paśyanty etāni hi rūpāṇi prāvišat |*

"This foundation existed. It became the earth (*bhūmi*). He extended it (*aprathayat*). It became the broad one (*pṛithivī*). On this foundation beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for the year (*samvatsara*). The lord of beings was a householder, and Ushas was his wife. 8. Now these 'beings' were the seasons. That

'lord of beings' was the Year. That wife Ushas was Aushasī (the daughter of the dawn).[85] Then both those beings, and that lord of beings, the Year, impregnated Ushas, and a boy (*Kumāra*)[86] was born in a year. The boy wept. 9. Prajāpati said to him, 'Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity?' The boy said, 'My evil indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name.' Wherefore when a son has been born [to any man], let a name be given to him; that takes away his evil; and [let] also a second and a third [name be given] in succession: that takes away his evil. 10. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Rudra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Rudra is Agni. He was Rudra because he wept (*arodīt* from *rud*, 'to weep').[87] The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 11. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Sarva.'[88] Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became his form, for Sarva (All) is the waters, because all this is produced from the waters (see above, p. 24 f.). The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 12. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Paśupati.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the Plants became his form, for Paśupati is the Plants. Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong). The boy said,

[85] I am unable to explain how Ushas, the dawn, is identified with her own offspring, Aushasī; or how the 'lord of beings'=the Year, consecrated himself for the year.

[86] The name *Kumāra*, Weber remarks (Indische Studien, ii. 302, 395), is applied to Agni in Rig-veda, v. 2, 1.

[87] See the end of note 9, p. 303, above. A story like the one there given will be found in Taitt. Sanh. i. 5, 1, 1:—*Devāsurāḥ saṁyattāḥ āsan | te devāḥ vijayam upayanto 'gnau vāmaṁ vasu sannyadadhata "idam u no bhavishyati yadi no jeshyanti" iti | tad Agnir nyakāmayata | tena apākrāmat | tad devāḥ vijitya avarurutsamānāḥ anvāyan | tad asya sahasā ādītsanta | so 'rodīt | yad arodīt tad Rudrasya Rudratvam* | "The gods and Asuras engaged in battle. The gods, conquering, deposited valuable property with Agni, saying, 'If they should ever conquer us, we shall have this.' Agni desired the property; and went off with it. The gods, after being victorious, went after him to recover their goods, which they sought to take from him by force. He wept. From his weeping Rudra gets his character of Rudra."

[88] The origin of this name may perhaps be found in Rig-veda, x. 61, 19, where these words occur: *Iyam me nābhir iha me sadhastham ime me devāḥ ayam asmi Sarvaḥ | dvijāḥ aha prathama-jāḥ ṛitasya idaṁ dhenur aduhaj jāyamānā* | "This is my centre, here is my abode, these are my gods, this is I, Sarva (All). The twice-born men are the firstborn of the sacred rite. This the cow milked out, when she was being born."

'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name. 13. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. For Ugra (or the 'Fierce') is Vāyu. Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, 'Ugra blows.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 14. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Aśani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. For Aśani is Lightning. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 15. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Bhava (Being) is Parjanya; because all this [universe] springs (*bhavati*) from Parjanya. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 16. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Mahāndevaḥ (the 'Great god').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. For the Moon is Prajāpati: the 'Great god' is Prajāpati. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' 17. Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Īśāna (the ruler).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Āditya (the Sun) became his form. For Īśāna is the Sun, because he rules (*īshṭe*) over this universe. The boy said, 'I am so much: do not give me any further name.' 18. These are the eight forms of Agni. Kumāra (the boy, see above, para. 8 in the preceding page) is the ninth. This is the threefoldness (*trivṛittā*) of Agni. 19. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, [and] the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables, men say, 'Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.'[89] This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms."

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa), is as follows:

[89] The same words occur in the Taitt. S. ii. 2, 5, 5; and the Taitt. Br. i. 1, 5, 3. The Commentator on the latter passage says: *Agner mukha-jatvena gāyatrī-sambandhitvam* | "Agni's connexion with the Gāyatrī arises from his having sprung from the mouth."

Mārk. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—*Kalpādāv ātmanas tulyaṁ sutam pradhyāyataḥ prabhoḥ* | 3. *Prādur-āsīd athānke 'sya kumāro nīla-lohitaḥ* | *ruroda susvaraṁ so 'tha dravaṁś cha dvija-sattama* | *kiṁ rodishīti tam Brahmā rudantam pratyuvācha ha* | *nāma dehīti taṁ so 'tha pratyuvācha jagat-patiṁ* | *Rudras tvaṁ deva nāmnā 'si mā rodīr dhairyam āvaha* | *evam uktas tataḥ so 'tha sapta-kṛitvo ruroda ha* | *tato 'nyāni dadau tasmai sapta nāmāni vai prabhuḥ* | *sthānāni chaishām ashṭānām patnīḥ putrāṁś cha vai dvija* | *Bhavaṁ Sarvaṁ tatheśānaṁ tathā Paśupatim prabhuḥ* | *Bhīmam Ugram Mahādevam uvācha sa Pitāmahaḥ* |

"When, at the beginning of the kalpa, the lord (*i.e.* Brahmā) was meditating on a son similar to himself, there was manifested in his lap a boy of a blue and red colour, (3) who then wept loudly, running about. Brahmā said to him when he was weeping, 'Why dost thou weep?' He answered the lord of the world, 'Give me a name.' [Brahmā rejoined], 'Thou, O deity, art called Rudra; do not weep; be patient.' Being thus addressed, [the boy] wept again seven times. Then the lord gave him seven other names, and the places of these eight, and wives and sons. The Progenitor (Brahmā) called him [besides Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva."

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Aśani) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the S'ānkhāyana or Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, and an abstract of that passage is furnished by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien ii. 300 ff. For the text of the passage I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht, who copied it from the MS. of the S'ānkhāyana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

S'ānkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, vi. i. etc.—*Prajāpatiḥ prajāti-kāmas tapo 'tapyata* | *tasmāt taptāt pancha ajāyanta Agnir Vāyur Ādityaś Chandramāḥ Ushāḥ panchamī* | *tān abravīd "yūyam api tapyadhvam"* | *te 'dīkshanta* | *tān dīkshitāṁs tepānān Ushāḥ prājāpatyā 'psaro-rūpaṁ kṛitvā purastāt pratyudait* | *tasyām eshām manaḥ samapatat* | *te reto 'sincharta* | *Te prajāpatim pitaram etya abruvan "reto vai asichāmahai idam nu mā amuyā bhūd" iti* | *sa prajāpatir hiraṇmayaṁ chamasam akarod iṣhu-mātram ūrdhvam evam tiryancham* | *tasmin retaḥ samasinchat* | *tataḥ udatishṭhat sahasrākshaḥ sahasrapāt sahasreṇa pratihitābhiḥ* | 2. *Sa prajāpatim pitaram abhyāyachhat* | *tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyā-*

yachhasi" iti | "nāma me kurv" ity abravīn "na vai idam avihitena nāmnā annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Bhavaḥ eva" iti yad Bhavaḥ āpas | tena na ha vai evam Bhavo hinasti na asya prajāṁ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrataṁ ā īm eva vāsaḥ paridadhīta iti | 3. Taṁ dvitīyam abhyāyachhat tam abravīt | "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "dvitīyam me nāma kurv" ity abravīn "na vai idam ekena nāmnā annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" iti abravīch "Chharvaḥ eva" iti yach Chharvo 'gniḥ | tena na ha vai enaṁ Sarvo hinasti na asya prajāṁ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrataṁ sarvam eva na aśnīyād iti | 4. Taṁ tṛitīyam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "tṛitīyam me nāma kurv" ity abravīn "na vai idaṁ dvābhyāṁ nāmabhyām annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīt "Paśupatir eva" iti yat Paśupatir Vāyuḥ | tena na ha vai enam Paśupatir hinasti na asya prajāṁ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam brāhmaṇam eva na parivaded iti | 5. Taṁ chaturtham abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasi" iti | "chaturtham me nāma kurv" ity abravīt | "na vai idaṁ tribhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Ugraḥ eva devaḥ" iti yad Ugro devaḥ oshadhayo vanaspatayaḥ | tena na ha vai enam Ugro devo hinasti na asya prajāṁ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrataṁ striyāḥ eva vivaraṁ na īksheta iti | 6. Tam panchamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasi" iti | panchamam me nāma kurv" ity abravīt | "na vai idaṁ chaturbhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīn "Mahān eva devaḥ" iti | yan Mahān devaḥ Ādityaḥ | Tena na ha vai enam Mahān devo hinasti na asya prajāṁ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam udyantam eva enaṁ na īksheta astaṁ yantaṁ cha iti | 7. Taṁ shashṭham abhyāyachhat tam abravīt "kathā mā abhyāyachhasi" iti | "shashṭham me nāma kurv" ity abravīt | "na vai idam panchabhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Rudraḥ eva" iti yad Rudraś Chandramāḥ | Tena na ha vai enaṁ Rudro hinasti na asya prajāṁ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ

dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrataṁ vimūrtam eva nāśnīyān majjānaṁ cha iti | 8. Taṁ saptamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasi" iti | "saptamam me nāma kurv" ity abravīt | "na vai idaṁ shaḍbhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iṭi | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Īśānaḥ eva" iti yad Īśano 'nnaṁ | tena na ha vai enam Īśāno hinasti na asya prajāṁ na asya paśūn na asya bruvānaṁ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vratam annam eva ichhamānaṁ na pratyāchakshīta iti | 9. Tam ashṭamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt "kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasi" iti | "ashṭamam me nāma kurv" ity abravīn "na vai idaṁ saptabhir nāmabhir annam atsyāmi" iti | "sa vai tvam" ity abravīd "Aśanir eva" iti yad Aśanir Indraḥ | tena na ha vai enam Aśanir hinasti na asya prajāṁ na asya paśūn na asya bruvāṇaṁ chana | atha yaḥ enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa yaḥ evaṁ veda | tasya vrataṁ satyam eva vaded hiraṇyaṁ cha bibhṛiyād iti | sa esho 'shṭanāmā 'shṭadhā vihito Mahān devaḥ | ā ha vai asya ashṭamāt purushāt prajā 'nnam atti vasīyān vasīyān ha eva asya prajāyām ājāyate yaḥ evaṁ veda |

"Prajāpati, being desirous of progeny, performed austerity. From him when he had [thus] performed austerity five [children] were born, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Chandramas (Moon), and Ushas (dawn) the fifth. He said to them, 'Do you also perform austerity.' They consecrated themselves. Before them, when they had consecrated themselves, and had performed austerity, Ushas, the daughter of Prajāpati, assuming the form of an Apsaras (a celestial nymph) rose up. Their attention was riveted upon her, and they discharged seed. They then came to Prajāpati their father, and said to him, 'We have discharged seed; let it not lie there in vain.' Prajāpati made a golden platter, of the depth of an arrow, and of equal breadth. In this he collected the seed, and from it there arose a being with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, and a thousand arrows on the string. 2. He came to his father Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' He answered, 'Give me a name. I shall not eat this food, so long as no name has been given to me.' 'Thou art Bhava,' said Prajāpati; for Bhava is the Waters. Therefore Bhava does not slay this man, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. And further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with

him who knows this. His rule is, let a man wear a garment. 3. He (this newly-produced being) came a second time to Prajāpati, who asked him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me,' he replied, 'a second name: I shall not eat this food with only one name.' 'Thou art Śarva,' Prajāpati answered; for Śarva is Agni. Wherefore Śārva does not slay him, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. Further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this His rule is, let not a man eat every sort of food. 4. He came the third time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a third name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only two names.' 'Thou art Paśupati,' Prajāpati answered; for Paśupati is Vāyu (the Wind). Wherefore Paśupati does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one slander a Brāhman. 5. He came the fourth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fourth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only three names.' 'Thou art Ugradeva (the fierce god),' Prajāpati answered; for Ugradeva is plants and trees. Wherefore Ugradeva does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let not a man look upon the shame of a woman. 6. He came the fifth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fifth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only four names.' 'Thou art Mahāndeva (the great god),' Prajāpati answered; for Mahāndeva is Āditya (the Sun). Wherefore Mahāndeva does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no man look upon him (the Sun) rising or setting. 7. He came the sixth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a sixth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only five names.' 'Thou art Rudra,' Prajāpati answered; for Rudra is Chandramas (the Moon). Therefore Rudra does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no man eat anything coagulated [or solid],[90] or any marrow. 8. He came the seventh time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a seventh name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only six names.' 'Thou art Īśāna,' Prajāpati answered; for Īśāna is food. Wherefore Īśāna does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let no one reject him who desires food. 9. He came the eighth time to Prajā-

[90] This is the sense assigned by Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. mūrchh+vi.*

pati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me an eighth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only seven names.' 'Thou art Aśani,' Prajāpati answered; for Aśani is Indra. Wherefore Aśani does not slay him, etc., etc. His rule is, let a man speak truth, and keep gold. This is the Mahāndeva (great god), who has eight names, and who is formed in eight ways. The progeny to the eighth generation of the man who possesses this knowledge, eats food, and ever wealthier and wealthier men will be born among his descendants."

The following is the account given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the object and name of the Śatarudriya:

Śatapatha Brāhmāṇa, ix. 1, 1, 1.[91]—*Atha ataḥ śatarudriyaṁ juhoti | atra esha sarvo 'gniḥ saṁskṛitaḥ | sa esho 'tra Rudro devatā | tasmin devāḥ etad amṛitaṁ rūpam uttamam adadhuḥ | sa esho 'tra dīpyamāno 'tishṭhad annam ichchhamānaḥ | tasmād devāḥ abibhayur "yad vai no 'yam na hiṁsyād" iti | 2. Te 'bruvann "annam asmai sambharāma tena enaṁ śamayāma" iti | tasmai etad annaṁ samabharan śānta-devatyam*[92] *| tena enam aśamayan | tad yad etaṁ devam etena aśamayaṁs tasmāch chhānta-devatyam | "śānta-devatyaṁ ha vai tach chhatarudriyam" ity āchakshate paroksham | paroksha-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ |*

"He now offers an oblation with the Śatarudriya. Here this universal fire has been prepared; and here this Rudra is the deity. In him the gods placed this most excellent immortal form. Here he rose up flaming, desiring food. The gods were afraid of him, 'lest' (they thought) 'he should destroy us.' 2. They said, 'Let us collect food for him, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food with which a deity is appeased, and with it they appeased him. Inasmuch as they appeased this god with this, it is therefore called 'Śāntadevatya' ('that with which a god is appeased'). They call this 'Śāntadevatya' esoterically 'Śata-rudriya'; for the gods love what is esoteric."

[91] Compare Taitt. Br. i. 6, 1, 2. In the same work, i. 7, 1, 2, we read that the gods and Asuras were fighting, when the former said to Agni, "We shall conquer with thee as our champion." He said, "I shall transform myself into three parts." He did so, Agni being one part, Rudra a second, and Varuṇa a third, etc (*te devāḥ Agnim abruvan "tvayā vīreṇa Asurān abhibhavāma" iti | so 'bravīt "tredhā ātmānaṁ vikarishye" iti | sa tredhā ātmānam vyakuruta Agniṁ tṛitīyaṁ Rudraṁ tṛitīyaṁ Varuṇaṁ tṛitīyam ityādi*).

[92] *Śānta-devatyam śānta-devatārthaṁ devatā-śānty-artham* | Comm.

On this the commentator remarks: *Vihito 'yaṁ homo Rudra-rūpatāpannasya Agner upaśamanārtham* | "This oblation is offered in order to appease Agni who has taken the form of Rudra."[93]

The same work gives, a little further on, another account of the origin of Rudra, and a different etymology for the S'atarudriya:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—*Prajāpater visrastād devatāḥ udakrāmaṁs tam ekaḥ eva devo na ajahād Manyur eta* | *so 'sminn antar vitato 'tishṭhat* | *so 'rodīt* | *tasya yāny aśrūṇi prāskandaṁs tāny asmin Manyau pratyatishṭhan* | *sa eva śata-śīrshāḥ Rudraḥ samabhavat sahasrākshaḥ śateshudhiḥ* | *atha yāḥ anyāḥ viprusho 'pataṁs tā asankhyātā sahasrāṇi*[94] *imān lokān anuprāvišan* | *tad yad ruditāt samabhavaṁs tasmād Rudrāḥ* | *so 'yaṁ śataśīrshāḥ Rudraḥ sahasrākshaḥ śateshudhir*[95] *adhijya-dhanvā pratihitāyī bhīshayamāṇo 'tishṭhad annam ichhamānaḥ* | *tasmād devāḥ abibhayuḥ* | 7. *Te Prajāpatim abruvan* | "*asmād vai bibhīmo yad vai no 'yaṁ na hiṁsyād*" *iti* | *so 'bravīd* "*annam asmai sambharata tena enaṁ śamayata*" *iti* | *tasmai etad annaṁ samabharan śatarudriyaṁ tena enam aśamayan* | *tad yad etaṁ śataśīrshāṇaṁ Rudram etena aśamayaṁs tasmāch chhataśīrsha-rudra-śamanīyam* | *śataśīrsha-rudra-śamanīyaṁ ha vai tat śatarudriyam ity ācakshate parokṣham* | *parokṣha-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ ityādi* | . . . 14. "*Namas te Rudra manyave*" *iti* | *yaḥ eva asmin so 'ntar Manyur vitato 'tishṭhat tasmai etan namaskaroty uto* "*te ishave namo bāhubhyām uta te namaḥ*" *iti ishvā cha hi bāhubhyāṁ cha bhīshayamāṇo 'tishṭhat* |

6. "From Prajāpati, when he had become enfeebled, the deities

[93] In the Taitt. S. v. 4, 3, 1, it is said: *Rudro vai esha yad Agniḥ* | *sa etarhi jāto yarhi sarvaś chitaḥ sa yathā vatso jātaḥ stanam prepsaty evaṁ vai esha etarhi bhāgadheyam prepsati* | *tasmai yad āhutiṁ na juhuyād adhvaryuṁ cha yajamānaṁ cha dhyāyet* | *S'atarudriyaṁ juhoti* | *bhāgadheyena eva enaṁ śamayati* | *na ārtim ā archaty adhvaryur na yajamānaḥ* | "This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). When now he is born, and all kindled, as a calf when born desires the udder, so he now desires his share. If an oblation were not presented to him, he would turn his thoughts (with the view of devouring) towards both the adhvaryu priest and the sacrificer. The S'atarudriya is celebrated; and the priest quiets him with a share. So both adhvaryu and sacrificer avoid injury." The same work, v. 5, 7, 4, says similarly: *Rudro vai esha yad Agniḥ* | *sa yathā vyāghraḥ kruddhas tishṭhaty evaṁ vai esha etarhi* | *sanchitam etair upatishṭhate namaskārair eva enaṁ śamayati* | "This Agni is Rudra (or terrible). As a tiger stands raging, so does he now. The priest approaches with these [oblations] [the fire] that has been prepared [and kindled]; and quiets him with prostrations.

[94] Compare Nir. i. 15, and Vāj. Sanh. 16, 54, above, 325.

[95] Compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 13, above, p. 323.

departed. Only one god, Manyu, did not leave him, but continued extended within him. He (Prajāpati) wept. The tears which fell from him remained in that Manyu. He became Rudra with a hundred heads, a hundred eyes, and a hundred quivers. Then the other drops which fell from him in unnumbered thousands entered into these worlds. They were called Rudras because they sprang from him when he had wept. This Rudra with a thousand heads, eyes, and quivers, stood with his bow strung, and arrows on the string, causing terror, and demanding food. The gods were afraid of him. 7. They said to Prajāpati, 'We are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us.' Prajāpati said to them, 'Collect for him food, and with it appease him.' They collected for him this food, the śatarudriya, and with it they appeased him. From the fact that with this they appeased the hundred-headed Rudra, it is 'that wherewith the hundred-headed Rudra is to be appeased' (*Śata-śīrsha-rudra-śamanīyam*). This they esoterically call Śatarudriya; for the gods love what is esoteric." . . . 14. "'Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath' (see above, p. 326, verse 1). (In these words) he (the priest) expresses reverence to Manyu, who stood extended within him (Rudra). 'Reverence also to thy arrow and thine arms.' He (the god) stood causing terror with his arrow and arms."

The word Mahādeva occurs in the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, vi. 9, 7, *Yāṁ samām Mahādevaḥ paśūn hanyād ityādi* | "In whatever year Mahādeva slays cattle." The same work, vii. 9, 16 ff., makes mention of Rudra in connexion with cattle or victims: *Devāḥ vai paśūn vyabhajanta* | *te Rudram antarāyan* | "The gods were dividing the victims. They passed over Rudra."

In the descriptions of Mahādeva which are found in the passages quoted in the last chapter from the Mahābhārata, though that deity is occasionally identified with Agni, as he is with other gods (see above, p. 204), he is generally represented in a different aspect, and with different characteristics. In the legend of the birth of Skanda or Kārttikeya,[96] however, which is narrated in the Vana-parvan of that poem, we find some trace of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni. We are there told that, after Skanda had been installed in his office of general of the gods (v. 14424), Mahādeva and Pārvatī arrived:

[96] Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 588, note, 1st ed. = p. 701, 2nd ed.) observes that this legend differs from the one on the same subject in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 38, and regards the former as a later interpolation in the Mahābhārata.

14427 ff.—*Āgamya manuja-vyāghra saha devyā parantapa | archayāmāsa suprīto bhagavān govrishe-dhvajaḥ | Rudram Agniṁ dvijāḥ prāhuḥ Rudra-sūnus tatas tu saḥ | Rudreṇa śukram utsṛishṭaṁ tat śvetaḥ parvato 'bhavat | Pāvakasyendriyaṁ śvete kṛittikābhiḥ kṛitaṁ nage | pūjyamānaṁ tu Rudreṇa dṛishṭvā sarve divaukasaḥ | Rudra-sūnuṁ tataḥ prāhur Guhaṁ guṇavatāṁ varam | anupraviśya Rudreṇa vahniṁ jāto hy ayaṁ śiśuḥ | tatra jātas tataḥ Skando Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat | Rudrasya Vahneḥ Svāhāyāḥ shaṇṇāṁ strīṇāṁ cha Bhārata | jātaḥ Skandaḥ sura-śreshṭho Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat |*

"The god whose banner is a bull, arriving with his goddess, paid him honour, well pleased. Brāhmans call Agni Rudra; consequently he (Kārttikeya) is the son of Rudra. The seed which was discharged by Rudra became the white mountain. And the seed of Pāvaka (Agni) was formed by the Kṛittikās on the white mountain. Having seen Guha (Kārttikeya) thus honoured by Rudra, all the deities consequently call him, who is the most excellent of the gifted, the son of Rudra. For this child was produced by Rudra when he had entered into Fire. Being there born, Skanda was the son of Rudra. Skanda, that most eminent deity, being born from Agni, [who was] Rudra, and from Svāhā [and] the six wives [of the Rishis], was the son of Rudra."

The allusions in this passage will become more intelligible if I give an outline of the preceding part of the allegorical story, which commences with v. 14241. Indra being distressed at the defeat of the armies of the gods (*deva-senā*) by the Dānavas (v. 14245 ff.) is meditating on this subject, when he hears the cry of a female calling for help, and asking for a husband to protect her. Indra sees that she has been seized by the demon Keśin, with whom he remonstrates; but the demon hurls his club at Indra, who, however, splits it with his thunderbolt. Keśin is disabled in the next stage of their combat, and goes off. Indra then finds out from the female that her name is Devasenā (army of the gods), and that she has a sister called Daityasenā (army of the Daityas), and that they are both daughters of Prajāpati. Her sister, she says, loves Keśin, but she herself does not, and wishes Indra to find for her a proper husband, who shall be able to overcome all the enemies of the gods. Indra takes Devasenā with him to Brahmā and desires him to provide her with a martial husband; and Brahmā promises that a helpmate of that description shall be born (14279 f.).

Indra then departs with Devasenā. It happened that Vaśishṭha and other rishis had been offering a sacrifice, whither the gods headed by Indra proceeded to drink the soma-juice. Agni too, being invoked, descended from the region of the sun, entered into the fire, received the oblations of the rishis, and presented them to the gods. The story then proceeds (v. 14287):

Nishkrāmaṁś cāpy apaśyat sa patnīs teshām mahātmanām | sveshv āśrameshūpavishṭāḥ svapaṇṭīś cha tathā sukham | rukma-vedi-nibhās[97] *tās tu chandra-lekhāḥ ivāmalāḥ | hutāsanārchiḥ-pratimāḥ sarvās tārāḥ ivādbhutāḥ | sa tatra tena manasā babhūva kshubhitendriyaḥ | patnīr dṛishṭvā dvijendrāṇāṁ Vahniḥ kāma-vaśaṁ yayau | bhūyaḥ sa chintayāmāsa na nyāyyaṁ kshubhito hy aham | sādhvyaḥ patnyo dvijendrāṇām akāmāḥ kāmayāmy aham | naitāḥ śakyāḥ mayā drashṭum prashṭuṁ vā 'py animittataḥ | gārhapatyaṁ samāviśya tasmāt paśyāmy abhīkshṇaśaḥ | saṁspṛiśann iva sarvās tāḥ śikhābhiḥ kāñchana-prabhāḥ | paśyamānaś cha mumude gārhapatyaṁ samāśritaḥ | nirushya tatra suchiram evaṁ Vahnir vaśaṁ gataḥ | manas tāsu viniḥkshipya kāmayāno varāṅganāḥ | kāma-santapta-hṛidayo deha-tyāga-viniśchitaḥ | alābhe brāhmaṇa-strīnām Agnir vanam upāgamat | Svāhā tam Daksha-duhitā prathamaṁ kāmayat tadā | sā tasya chhidram anvaichhach chirāt-prabhṛiti bhāvinī | apramattasya devasya na cha paśyaty aninditā | sā taṁ jñātvā yathāvat tu Vahniṁ vanam upāgatam | tattvataḥ kāma-santaptaṁ chintayāmāsa bhāvinī | ahaṁ saptarshi-patnīnāṁ kṛitvā rūpāṇi Pāvakam | kāmayishyāmi kāmārtā tāsāṁ rūpeṇa mohitam | evaṁ kṛite prītir asya kāmāvāptiś cha me bhavet | Śivā bhāryā tv Angirasaḥ śīla-rūpa-guṇānvitā | tasyāḥ sā prathamaṁ rūpaṁ kṛitvā devī jaḍādhipa | jagāma Pāvakābhyāsaṁ taṁ chovācha varāṅganā | māṁ Agne kāma-santaptāṁ tvaṁ kāmayitum arhasi | karishyasi na ched evam mṛitām mām upadhāraya | aham Angiraso bhāryā Śivā nāmā Hutāśana | śishṭābhiḥ prahitā prāptā mantrayitvā viniśchayam | Agnir uvācha | katham māṁ tvaṁ vijānīshe kāmārtam itarāḥ katham | yās tvayā kīrtitāḥ sarvāḥ saptarshīṇām priyāḥ striyaḥ | Śivā uvācha | asmākāṁ tvam priyo nityam bibhīmas tu vayaṁ tava | tvachchittam ingitair jñātvā preshṭā 'smi tavāntikam | maithunāyeha samprāptā kāmam prāptuṁ drutaṁ chara | yāmayo mām*

[97] In Rāmāyaṇa iii. 32, 5, Rāvaṇa is described as *Rukma-vedi-gatam*, which the Commentator explains as *rukma-vedim prāptam hiraṇyeshṭaka-chitāṁ vedim prāptam* | "mounted on a platform of golden bricks."

pratîkshante gamishyâmi Hutâśana | Mârkaṇḍeyaḥ uvâcha | tato 'gnir upayeme tâṁ S'ivâm prîtâm mudâ yutaḥ | prîtyâ devî samâyuktâ śukraṁ jagrâha pâṇinâ | achintayad mamedaṁ 'ye rûpâṁ drakshyanti jânane | te brâhmaṇînâm anṛitaṁ doshaṁ vakshyanti Pâvake | tasmâd etad rakshamânâ Garuḍî sambhavâmy aham | vanâd ṇirgamanaṁ chaiva sukham mama bhavishyati | Suparṇî sâ tadâ bhûtvâ nirjagâma mahâvanât | apaśyat parvataṁ śvetaṁ śara-stambaiḥ susaṁvṛitam | dṛishṭîvishaiḥ sapta-śîrshair guptam bhogibhir adbhutaiḥ | rakshobhiś cha piśâchaiś cha raudrair bhûtaganais tathâ | râkshasîbhiś cha sampûrṇam anekaiścha mṛiga-dvijaiḥ | sâ tatra sahasâ gatvâ śaila-pṛishṭhaṁ sudurgamam | prâkshipat kânchane kuṇḍe śukraṁ sâ tvaritâ śubhâ | saptânâm api sâ devî saptarshînâm mahâtmanâm | patnî-sarûpatâṁ kṛitvâ kâmayâmâsa Pâvakam | divya-rûpam Arundhatyâḥ kartuṁ na śakitaṁ tayâ | tasyâs tapaḥ-prabhâveṇa bhartuḥ śuśrûshaṇena cha | shaṭkṛitvas tat tu niḳkshiptam Agneḥ retaḥ Kurûttama | tasmin kuṇḍe pratipadi kâminyâ Svâhayâ tadâ | tat skannaṁ tejasâ tatra saṁvṛitaṁ janayat sutam | ṛishibhiḥ pûjitaṁ skannam anayat Skandatâṁ tataḥ | shaṭ-śîrâḥ dviguṇa-śrotro dvâdaśâkshi-bhuja-kramaḥ | eka-grîvaika-jaṭharaḥ kumâraḥ samapadyata | . . . . . .

v. 14514: *Yadâ Skandena mâtṛînâm evam etat priyaṁ kṛitam | tathainam abravît Svâhâ "mama putras tvam aurasaḥ | ichhâmy ahaṁ tvayâ dattâm prîtim parama-durlabhâm" | tâm abrâvit tataḥ Skandaḥ prîtim ichhasi kîdriśîm | Svâhâ uvâcha | Dakshasyâham priyâ kanyâ Svâhâ nâma mahâbhuja | bâlyât prabhṛiti nityancha jâta-kâmâ Hutâśane | na sa mâm kâminîm putra samyag jânâti Pâvakaḥ | ichhâmi śâśvataṁ vâsaṁ vastum putra sahâgninâ | Skandaḥ uvâcha | Havyaṁ kavyancha yat kinchid dvijânâm mantra-saṁstutam | hoshyanty Agnau sadâ devi svâhety uktvâ samuddhṛitam | adya prabhṛiti dâsyanti suvṛittâḥ sat-pathe sthitâḥ | evam Agnis tvayâ sârdham sadâ vatsyati śobhane | Mârkaṇḍeyaḥ uvacha | evam uktâ tataḥ Svâhâ tushṭâ Skandena pûjitâ | Pâvakena samâyuktâ bhartrâ Skandam apûjayat | tato Brahmâ Mahâsenam Prajâpatir athâbravît | abhigachha Mahâdevam pitaraṁ tripurârdanam | Rudreṇâgniṁ samâviśya svâhâm âviśya chomayâ | hitârthaṁ sarva-lokânâṁ jâtas tvam aparâjitaḥ |*

"Issuing forth, he beheld the wives of these great [rishis] reclining in their own hermitages, and sweetly sleeping, resembling golden altars, pure as beams of the moon, like to flames of fire, all wonderful as stars. Perceiving that, his senses became agitated. Beholding the wives of

the Brahmans, Agni was overcome by desire. Again and again he reflected, 'It is not proper that I should be thus agitated: I am enamoured of the chaste spouses of the Brahmans, who are not in love with me. They cannot be looked upon or questioned by me without reason. Entering into the domestic fire, I shall gaze upon them close at hand.' Entering the domestic fire, touching, as it were, with his flames, all of them, who were bright as gold, and beholding them, he was delighted. Dwelling thus there for a long time, fixing his attention upon these beautiful women, and enamoured of them, Agni was overcome. His heart being distressed with desire, Agni, failing to obtain the Brahmans' wives, resolved to abandon his corporeal form, and went into the forest. Then Svāhā, the daughter of Daksha, first fell in love with him. This amorous and blameless goddess for a long time sought for his weak point, but as the god was watchful, she could not find any. But being perfectly aware that he had gone into the wood, and that he was really disturbed by desire, the amorous goddess thus reflected: 'I, who am distressed by love, will take the forms of the seven rishis' wives, and will court the affection of Agni, who is enchanted by their beauty. By doing so he will be pleased, and I shall obtain my desire.' Assuming first the form of Śivā, the wife of Angiras, who possessed a good disposition, beauty, and excellent qualities, the handsome goddess (Svāhā) went to Agni, and thus addressed him: 'Agni, thou oughtest to love me, who am disturbed with love for thee: if thou wilt not do so, look upon me as dead. Agni, I, Śivā, the wife of Angiras, have come, sent by virtuous women, and having considered my determination.' Agni replied: 'How dost thou, and how do all the other beloved wives of the seven rishis whom thou mentionest, know that I am distressed with love?' Śivā answered: 'Thou hast always been beloved by us, but we are afraid of thee. Knowing thy heart by external signs, I have been sent to thee. I have come to be embraced: come quickly and fulfil thy desire. The other females are awaiting me; I shall depart, Hutāśana (Agni).' Agni then with joy embraced the delighted Śivā. The goddess filled with delight took his seed in her hand. She reflected, 'All those who shall see this form of mine in the forest will falsely allege the transgression of Brahmans' wives with Agni. Wherefore preserving this, I shall become Garuḍī; and thus my egress from the wood will

become easy. She then, becoming Suparṇī, issued from the great forest, and beheld the white mountain surrounded by palisades of arrows, guarded by wondrous seven-headed serpents, whose very glance was venomous, by Rākshasas, Piśāchas, and by hosts of Rudra's demons, filled with Rakshasīs, and numerous beasts and birds. The beautiful goddess, having then gone quickly to the summit of the mountain, which was difficult of access, hastily threw the seed into a golden reservoir. Thus this goddess, assuming in succession the resemblance of the wives of the seven great rishis, loved Agni. But she could not take the divine form of Arundhatī (the wife of Vaśishṭha), owing to the power of the latter's austerity, and her obedience to her husband. Six times was the seed of Agni thrown by the enamoured Svāhā into the reservoir on the pratipad (the first day of the lunar fortnight). Discharged there and collected, that seed by its energy generated a son. That [seed] which was discharged (*skanna*), being worshipped by the rishis, gave to this son his character of Skanda. Kumāra (Kārttikeya) was born with six heads, a double number of ears, twelve eyes, arms, and feet, one neck, and one belly." Kārttikeya marries Devasenā (vv. 14446 ff.). The six rishis' wives, his mothers, afterwards come to him, complaining that they had been abandoned by their husbands, and degraded from their former position, and asking him to secure their admission into paradise (*svarga*). The story then proceeds (v. 14514 ff.): "When Skanda had done what was gratifying to his mothers, Svāhā said him, 'Thou art my genuine son: I desire the love, difficult to obtain, which thou givest.' Skanda then asked her, 'What love dost thou desire?' Svāhā replied, 'I am the beloved daughter of Daksha, by name Svāhā. From my childhood I have been enamoured of Agni. But, my son, Agni does not thoroughly know me, who am enamoured of him. I wish to dwell perpetually with Agni.' Skanda rejoined: 'Whatever oblation of Brahmans is introduced by hymns, they shall always, goddess, lift and throw it into the fire, saying, "Svāhā." From this day forward, virtuous men, abiding in the right path, shall grant [thee this]. Thus, O beautiful goddess, Agni shall dwell with thee continually.' Being thus addressed by Skanda, Svāhā, gratified, worshipped by Skanda, and united with Agni as her husband, worshipped Skanda. Then Brahmā Prajāpati said to Mahāsena (Skanda), 'Go to thy father Mahādeva, the vexer of

Tripura. Thou unconquered hast been produced for the good of all worlds by Rudra who had entered into Agni, and Umá who had entered into Svāhā.'"

Sect. V.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Upanishads.*

To the preceding passages, descriptive of Rudra, from the Brāhmaṇas, I shall now subjoin a few of a different character from the Upanishads.

The first is from the Svetāśvatara Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii., pp. 323 ff.):

Svetāśvaratara Upanishad, iii. 1 ff.—*Yaḥ eko jālavān īśate īśanībhiḥ sarvān lokān īśate īśanībhiḥ | yaḥ eva ekaḥ udbhave sambhave cha ye etad vidur amṛitās te bhavanti | 2. Eko hi Rudro ṇa dvitīyāya tasthur*[98] *yaḥ imān lokān īśate īśanībhiḥ | pratyaṅ janāṁs tishṭhati sanchukopānta-kāle*[99] *saṁsṛijya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ | 3.* (R.V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 5.) *Viśvataś-chakshur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pat | sam bāhubhyām dhamati sam patatrair dyāvābhūmīm* (sic) *janayan devaḥ ekaḥ | 4. Yo devānām prabhavaś chodbhavaś cha viśvādhipo Rudro maharshiḥ | Hiraṇyagarbhaṁ janayāmāsa pūrvaṁ*[100] *sa no buddhyā śubhayā saṁyunaktu | 5 and 6=*Vāj. S. xvi. 2, 3 (see above, p. 322) . . . . iv. 21. *Ajātaḥ ity evaṁ kaśchid bhīruḥ pratipadyate | Rudra yat te dakshiṇaṁ mukham tena mām pāhi nityam | 22=*R.V. i. 114, 8, and Vāj. S. xvi. 16 with various readings (see above, pp. 303 and 323). "He who alone, the enchanter, rules by his powers, rules all worlds by his

[98] These words *na dvitīyāya tasthuḥ* appear to be established as the current reading of this passage; and a reading partly similar (with variations in other respects) will be found below in a corresponding verse which occurs in the Atharva-śiras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 15, where the reading is different and preferable, *ekaḥ eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitīyaḥ;* and Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 60), gives the words thus, *ekaḥ eva Rudro ṇa dvitīyo 'vatasthe.* Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir., p. 12, note 4), quotes the whole verse as follows (without saying from what work it is taken): *Ekaḥ eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitīyo raṇe vighnan pṛitanāsu śatrūn | saṁsṛijya viśvā bhuvanāni goptā pratyaṅ janān sanchukośānta-kāle |* "One only Rudra has existed and no second; slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle. Having created all worlds, a protector, he draws back all beings into himself at the time of the end."

[99] The proper reading is probably *sanchukocha.* See the last note; and Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. kuch+sam;* where *sanchukocha* is given as the proper reading, instead of *sanchukośa,* which is found in Roth's Illust. of Nirukta, p. 12, note 4.

[100] These two words are varied below, 4, 12, thus: *paśyata jāyamānam,* i.e. "beheld Hiraṇyagarbha being born." The rest of the verse remains the same.

powers, he who in origination and in production is alone,—they who know this become immortal. 2. For Rudra who rules these worlds by his powers, is but one; [the wise] do not assert (?) a second. Having, a preserver, created all worlds, he abides in men severally; he displays his wrath (absorbs them?) at the time of the end. 3. This one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the heaven and earth, fashions them with his arms and with his wings. 4. May Rudra, the lord of all, the great rishi, the cause of production and the source of the gods, who first generated Hiraṇyagarbha,—may he put us in possession of an excellent understanding. . . . . *Ibid.* iv. 21. Some fearful man concludes thus—'[Thou art] unborn.' Rudra, protect me with thy southern face."

The next passage is from the commencement of the Atharva-śiras[101] Upanishad. The MSS. which I have consulted vary very much in their readings:

Devāḥ ha vai svargaṁ lokam agaman | te devāḥ Rudram apṛichchhan "ko bhavān" iti | so 'bravīd "aham ekaḥ prathamam āsaṁ vartāmi cha bhavishyāmi cha na anyaḥ kaśchid matto vyatiriktaḥ" iti | so 'ntarād antaram prāviśad diśaścha antaraṁ samprāviśat | "so 'ham nityānityo vyaktāvyakto 'ham Brahmābrahma aham prāñchaḥ pratyancho 'haṁ dakshiṇāñcha [dakshiṇāś cha?] udancho 'ham adhaścha ūrddhvancha diśaścha pratidiśaścha aham pumān apumān strī cha ahaṁ sāvitry ahaṁ gāyatry aham triṣṭub jagaty anushṭup cha akaṁ chhando 'ham gārhapatyo dakshiṇāgnir āhavanīyo 'haṁ satyo 'haṁ gaur ahaṁ Gaury ahaṁ jyeshṭho 'haṁ śreshṭho 'haṁ varishṭho 'ham āpo 'haṁ tejo 'ham ṛig-yajuḥ-sāmātharvāṅgiraso 'ham aksharam ahaṁ ksharam ahaṁ guhyo 'haṁ gopyo 'ham araṇyo 'ham pushkaram aham pavitram aham agrancha madhyancha vahiścha purastāj jyotir ity aham ekaḥ | sarvancha mām eva mām yo veda sa sarvān devān veda | gāṁ gobhir brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇyena havīṁshi havishā āyur āyushā satyaṁ satyena dharmaṁ dharmeṇa tarpayāmi svena tejasā" | tato devāḥ Rudraṁ na apaśyams te devāḥ Rudraṁ dhyāyanti tato devāḥ ūrdhvabāhavaḥ stuvanti yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaś cha Brahmā tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vishṇus tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Maheśvaras tasmai

[101] A work called Atharva-śiras is mentioned in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 2, quoted above, p. 165 f. See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 382 ff.; and ii. 53 ff.

vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yā cha Umā tasmai . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vināyakas tasmai . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha Skandaḥ . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha Indraḥ . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha Agniḥ . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yā cha Bhūḥ . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha Bhuvaḥ . . . . | om ādau madhye bhūr bhuvaḥ suvar ante śīrsham janadom[102] *viśva-rūpo 'si | Brahma ekas tvaṁ dvitridhā ūrdhvam adhaś cha tvaṁ śāntiścha tvaṁ pushṭiścha tvaṁ tushṭiścha tvaṁ hutam ahutam viśvam aviśvaṁ dattam adattam kṛitam akṛitam param aparam parāyaṇancha iti | "apāma somam*[103] *amṛitāḥ abhūma aganma jyotir avidāma devān | kiṁ nūnam asmān kṛiṇavad arātiḥ kim u dhūrtir amṛita martyasya" | (R.V. viii. 48, 3) | sarva-jagaddhitam vai etad aksharam prājāpatyaṁ sūkshmaṁ saumyam purusham agrāhyam agrāhyeṇa Vāyuṁ vāyavyena somaṁ saumyena grasati svena tejasā | tasmai upasaṁhartre mahāgrāsāya vai namo namaḥ | hṛidisthāḥ devatāḥ sarvāḥ hṛidi prāṇe pratishṭhitāḥ | hṛidi tvam asi yo nityaṁ tisro mātrāḥ paras tu saḥ | tasya uttarataḥ śiro dakshiṇataḥ pādau yaḥ uttarataḥ sa oṁkāraḥ | yaḥ oṁkāraḥ sa praṇavo yaḥ praṇavaḥ sa sarva-vyāpī yaḥ sarva-vyāpī so 'nanto yo 'nantas tat tāraṁ*[104] *yat tāraṁ tat sūkshmaṁ yat sūkshmaṁ tat śuklaṁ yat śuklaṁ tad vaidyutaṁ yad vaidyutaṁ tat param Brahma iti sa ekaḥ | sa eko Rudraḥ sa Īśānaḥ sa bhagavān sa Maheśvaraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate oṁkāraḥ | yasmād uchchāryamāṇaḥ eva sarvaṁ śarīram unnāmayati tasmād uchyate oṁkāraḥ . . . . atha kasmad uchyate ekaḥ | yaḥ sarvān lokān udgṛihṇāti*[105] *sṛijati visṛijati vāsayati tasmād uchyate ekaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ | "eko Rudro na dvitīyāya tasthe (sthitavān | advitīyaḥ eva sthitavān | Comm.) turīyam imaṁ lokaṁ īśate īśanīyur (niyamana-śaktimān | Comm.) jananīyuḥ (viśvotpādaka-śaktimān | Comm.) | pratyaṁ janās tisṭhanti saṁyug*

[102] The commentator explains this thus: *S'īrshaṁ śiro mantraḥ svāhā ity evaṁrūpaḥ | janadom janada iti karmopalakshaṇārtham akshara-trayam | janam janim tadupalakshita-janimad vastu-jātam tad dadāti iti janadaḥ | tasya sambodhanam |* Instead of the words in the text, another MS. reads, *bhūs te ādir madhyam bhuvas te svas te śīrshaṁ viśvarūpo 'si.*

[103] *Umayā Brahma-vidyā-svarūpiṇyā Kātyāyanyā saha vartate iti Somas tam | [Soma* is thus = *sa* + *Uma*, "with Umā"] *yataḥ somam apāma tataḥ amritāḥ maraṇa-hetubhir avidyā-tat-kārya-saṁskārair vivarjitāḥ abhūma sampannāḥ |* —Comm.

[104] *Tārayati*, "delivers:" that which delivers.—Comm.

[105] *Ūrdhva-moksham ātmani gṛihṇāti |* —Comm.

asyāntakāle samhṛitya viśvā bhuvānani goptā" | *tasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ*[106]| *atha kasmād uchyate Īśāno "yaḥ sarvān lokān īśate īśanībhir" jananībhiḥ parama-śaktibhiḥ* | *"abhi tvā śūra nonumaḥ adugdhāḥ iva dhenavaḥ* | *īśānam asya jagataḥ svardṛiśam īśānam Indra tastushaḥ"* | (R.V. vii. 32, 22) | *tasmād uchyate Īśānaḥ* | . . . . *atha kasmād uchyate Maheśvaraḥ* | *yaḥ sarvān lokān sambhakshaḥ sambhakshayaty ajasraṁ sṛijati visṛijati vāsayatī tasmād uchyate Maheśvaraḥ* | *atha kasmād uchyate Mahādevaḥ* | *yaḥ sarvān bhāvān parityajya ātma-jñāna-yogaiś-varye mahati mahīyate tasmād uchyate Mahādevaḥ* | *tad etad* (*etad nāma-nirukti-rūpaṁ charitam* | Comm.) *Rudra-charitam* | *"esho ha devaḥ pradiśo 'nu sarvāḥ pūrvo ha jātaḥ sa u garbhe antaḥ* | *sa eva jātaḥ sa janishyamāṇaḥ pratyaṅ janās tishṭhati viśvato-mukhaḥ"* | (Vāj. S. 32, 4)| *"viśvataś-chakshur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt* | *sam bāhubhyāṁ dhamati saṁ patatrair dyāvā-pṛithivī janayan devaḥ ekaḥ"* | (R.V. x. 81, 3) | . . . . *Rudre ekatvam* (*aikyam* | Comm.) *āhuḥ* | *Rudraṁ śāśvataṁ vai purāṇam ityādi* . . . . | *vratam etat pāśupatam* | *Agnir iti bhasma Vāyur iti bhasma jalam iti bhasma sthalam iti bhasma vyoma iti bhasma sarvaṁ ha vai idam bhasma manaḥ etāni chakshūṁshi bhasmāni* | *"Agnir" ityādinā bhasma gṛihītvā nimṛijya angāni saṁspṛiśet* | *tasmād vratam etat pāśupatam paśu-pāśa-vimokshāya* | *yo 'tharva-śiram brāhmaṇo 'dhīte so 'gni-pūto bhavati* | *sa vāyu-pūto bhavati* | *sa āditya-pūto bhavati* | *sa soma-pūto bhavati* | *sa satya-bhūto bhavati sa sarva-bhūto bhavati* | *sa sarveshu tīrtheshu snāto bhavati* | *sa sarveshu vedeshv adhīto bhavati* | *sa sarva-veda-vrata-charyāsu charito bhavati* | *sa sarvair devair jñāto bhavati* | *sa sarva-yajña-kratubhir ishṭavān bhavati* | *tena itihāsa-purāṇānāṁ Rudrāṇām śata-sahasrāṇi japtāni bhavanti* | *gāyatryāḥ śata-sahasraṁ japtam bhavati* | *praṇavānām ayutaṁ japtam bhavati* | *rūpe rūpe* (*pāṭhe pāṭhe pratipāṭham* | Comm.) *daśa-pūrvān punāti daśottarān ā chakshushaḥ panktim punāti ityāha bhagavān Atharva-śiro 'tharva-śirch* (*abhyāsaḥ ādarārthaḥ* | Comm.) | *sakṛij japtvā śuchiḥ pūtaḥ karmaṇyo bhavati* | *dvitīyaṁ japtvā gāṇapatyam* (*sarva-niyantṛitvam* | Comm) *avāpnoti tṛitīyaṁ japtvā devam eva anu-praviśaty oṁ satyam* | *"yo Rudro agnau yo apsv antaḥ ya oshadhīr vīrudhaḥ āviveśa* | *ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni chāklṛipe tasmai Rudrāya namo 'stu Agnaye"* | (A. V. vii. 87, 1, above, p. 333).

[106] In another MS. a different answer is given to this question: *Yasmād ṛishibhir na anyair bhaktair drutam asya rūpam upalabhyate* | "He is called 'Rudra' because his form is quickly (*drutam*) perceived by rishis, and not by other devout persons."

"The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, 'Who art thou?' He said, 'I alone was before [all things], and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me.' He entered into one space after another, and into the space of the sky. 'I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible, I am Brahma, I am not Brahma,[107] I am the eastern, western, southern, northern [breaths, etc., Comm.], I am below and above, the regions, and the intermediate regions, I am male, eunuch, and female, I am the Sāvitrī, I the Gāyatrī, I the Trishṭubh, Jagatī, and Anushṭubh (metres), I am metre, I am the household, the southern, and the āhavanīya fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gaurī,[108] I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am brilliancy, I am the Ṛik, Yajush, Sāman, Atharvāngirases, I am the undecaying, I the decaying, I the mysterious, I the secret, I dwell in the forests, I am the pushkara (sacrificial jar), the filter, the end, the middle, the outside, the front, and light, —I alone. He who knows me only, me, to be all, knows all the gods. By my own energy I satisfy the earth with rays (or the cow with cows), the Brahmans with brahmanhood, oblations with oblation, life with life, truth with truth, righteousness with righteousness.' Then the gods did not behold Rudra. They meditate upon him. Then the gods, with arms raised aloft, praise him: 'He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Brahmā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Vishṇu, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Maheśvara, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Umā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Vināyaka, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Skanda, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Indra, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Agni, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhūḥ, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhuvaḥ, etc. (In the same way Rudra is identified with *suvaḥ* [*svaḥ*]; *mahaḥ; jana; tapas; satya; pṛithivī; āpas; tejas; vāyu; ākāśa; sūryā; soma; nakshatrāṇi; ashṭau grahāḥ; prāṇa; kāla; Yama; mṛityu; amṛita; bhūta; bhavya; bhavishyat; viśva; kṛitsna;*

[107] *Vākyābhyāso rūpasya ātmano vāstavatva-pradarśanārthaḥ* | Comm. I should rather suppose, however, that the second word is not *Brahma*, but *abrahma*.

[108] *S'iva-priyā* | *ashṭavarshā vā kumārī gaura-varnā bāla-tatā* (?) *tu* | Comm.

sarva; and *satya.*) Om! at the beginning, and in the middle are Bhūr, Bhuvaḥ, Svaḥ; at the end is the head. O giver of life, Om, thou art universal-formed. Thou alone art Brahma doubly, and triply, above and below; thou art gentleness, fatness, contentment; thou art the thing sacrificed, and the thing not sacrificed, the whole, and not the whole, what is given, and what is not given, what is done, and what is not done, that which is supreme, and not supreme, and what is surpassing. 'We have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us? What can the malice of any mortal effect, O immortal god?'[109] This imperishable [principle], beneficial to the whole world, sprung from [or, having the nature of,] Prajāpati, subtile, beautiful, by its own energy swallows up the incomprehensible Purusha by the incomprehensible, Vāyu by that which has the nature of Vāyu, soma by that which has the nature of soma.[110] To him the destroyer, the great devourer, be adoration. All the gods reside in the heart, situated in the heart and the breath. Thou who art continually in the heart, [art] the three letters, but he is beyond. To the north of him is the head, to the south the feet; that which is the north is the omkāra. The omkāra is the praṇava, which (praṇava) again is all-pervading, which ('all-pervading') again is infinite, which again is that which delivers, which again is subtile, which again is white, which again has the nature of lightning, which again is the supreme Brahma: thus he is the one. He is the only Rudra, he is Īśāna, he is divine, he is Maheśvara, he is Mahādeva. Now whence does the omkāra get its name? Inasmuch as so soon as it is uttered, it raises up the whole body, it is called omkāra." (The same inquiry is then made and answered in regard to the words 'praṇava,' 'sarvavyāpin' ['all-pervading'], 'ananta' ['infinite'] the 'deliverer,' 'subtile,' 'white,' 'having the nature of lightning,' and 'the supreme Brahma.' Then 'eka,' 'one,' is explained.) "Now why is he called 'one'? He who evolves, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called the

[109] Quoted in the third volume of this work, p. 265. According to the commentator whom I have quoted under the text, Soma means *sa*+*uma*, he who dwells with Umā, in the form of divine knowledge, Kātyāyanī. What would the Vedic rishi who composed the verse have said to this mystical interpretation? Such explanations are not, however, peculiar to the adherents of any one religion.

[110] I do not profess to understand the sense of this.

'one.' Now why is he called the one Rudra? 'There is only one Rudra; there is no place for a second. He rules this fourth world, controlling and productive; living beings abide within him united with him. At the time of the end he annihilates all worlds, the protector.' Wherefore he is called the one Rudra. Then why is he called Iśāna? He it is who rules all worlds by his ordinances, and supreme creative powers. 'We, O heroic Indra, like unmilked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord (īśāna) of this moving, and the lord of this stationary, [world].[111] Hence he is called 'Īśāna.' ('Bhagavat' is then explained.) Then why is he called Maheśvara? He who, a devourer, constantly devours, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called Maheśvara. Then why is he called Mahādeva? He who, abandoning all forms of being, exults in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself, is therefore called Mahādeva. Such is the history of Rudra. 'This god [abides] throughout all regions; he was the first born; he is within the womb; it is even he who has been born, and he is still to be born; he exists, O men, pervading all things, with his face turned to every side.' (Vāj. S. 32, 4.) 'The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth and sky, fabricates them with his arms, and with his wings.'" (R.V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 6.) . . . . Rudra is mentioned again in the following verses. "In Rudra they say there is oneness, and that Rudra is eternal and primeval," etc. The Pāśupata rite is thus described: "This is the Pāśupata observance; 'Agni is ashes, Vayu is ashes, water is ashes, dry land is ashes, the sky is ashes, all this is ashes, the mind, these eyes, are ashes.' Having taken ashes while pronouncing these preceding words, and rubbing himself, let a man touch his limbs. This is the Pāśupata rite, for the removal of the animal bonds. The Brahman who reads the Atharva-śira is purified with fire, with air, with the sun, with soma (or the moon); he becomes truth, he becomes all, he has bathed in all the holy places, he is read in all the Vedas, he has practised the observances prescribed in all the Vedas, he is known by all the gods, he has sacrificed with all sacrificial rites; by him hundreds of thousands of itihāsas, purāṇas, and Rudras (formulas

[111] R.V. vii. 32, 22, quoted above, p. 103.

relating to Rudra), and a hundred thousand Gāyatrīs have been muttered, ten thousand Oms have been uttered; at every recitation he purifies ten generations of ancestors, and ten future generations of descendants; he purifies a row of men as far as the eye can reach; thus says the divine Atharva-śiras. Having muttered it once, he becomes clean, pure, and fit for the ceremonial; having muttered it a second time, he obtains dominion over hosts; having muttered it a third time, he enters into the god: Om, [this is] true. 'Adoration be to Rudra Agni, who resides in fire, and in the waters, who has entered into these plants, who formed all these worlds.'"

I shall not make more than a few further extracts from this mystical Upanishad, which throws little light on Rudra's character or history. The three gods, Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra, are mentioned together, along with Indra (*Brahmā-Vishṇu-Rudrendrāḥ*); and Sambhu (one of the names of Rudra) is said (in a passage which I need not attempt to translate at length) to be possessor of all divine qualities, and to be lord of all; while the benefits of worshipping him are described (*kāraṇaṁ tu dhyeyaḥ sarvaiśvarya-sampannaḥ sarveśvaraś cha Sambhuḥ ākāśa-madhye dhruvaṁ stabdhvā 'dhikaṁ kshaṇam ekaṁ kratuśatasyāpi chatuḥ-saptatyā yat phalaṁ tad avāpnoti kṛitsnam oṁkāragataṁ cha sarva-dhyāna-yoga-jñānānāṁ yat phalam tad oṁkāra veda-para īśo vā śiva eko dhyeyaḥ śivankaraḥ sarvam anyat parityajya*).

In the Kaivalya Upanishad (translated by Prof. Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 10 ff.) Āśvalāyana asks Brahmā to explain to him the science of divine things (*Athāśvalāyano bhagavantam parameshṭhinam upasametya uvācha adhīhi bhagavan brahma-vidyāṁ ityādi*). Brahmā (*pitāmaha*) among other things tells him as follows: *Antyāśrama-sthaḥ sakalendriyāṇi nirudhya bhaktyā sva-gurum praṇamya | hṛit-puṇḍarīkaṁ virajaṁ viśuddhaṁ vichintya madhye viśadaṁ viśokaṁ | anantam avyaktam achintya-rūpaṁ śivam praśāntam amṛitam brahma-yonim | tam ādi-madhyānta-vihīnam ekaṁ vibhuṁ chidānanda-svarūpam adbhutam | Umā-sahāyam parameśvaram prabhuṁ trilochanaṁ nīla-kaṇṭham praśāntam | dhyātvā munir gachhati bhūta-yoniṁ samasta-sākshiṁ tamasaḥ parastāt | sa Brahmā sa Śivaḥ Śendraḥ so 'ksharaḥ paramaḥ svarāṭ | sa eva Vishṇuḥ sa prāṇaḥ sa ātmā parameśvaraḥ*[112] *| sa eva sarvaṁ yad bhūtam yachcha bhavyaṁ sanātanam | jñātvā taṁ mṛityum atyeti nānyaḥ panthā vimuk-*

[112] Another MS. has here *Sa kālo 'gniḥ sa Chandramāḥ.*

taye | . . . . yaḥ śatarudriyam adhīte so 'gnipūto bhavati sa Vāyupūto bhavati ityādi | "A man in the last (or fourth) religious order (i.e. that of a mendicant) restraining all his senses, making obeisance to his teacher, meditating within on the lotus of the heart, [which is] spotless, pure, lucid, undisturbed,—the infinite, undiscernible, inconceivable, auspicious (*śiva*); tranquil, immortal, source of Brahma, [or, of divine knowledge],—contemplating him who is without beginning, middle, or end, the one, the pervading, the spiritual and blessed, the wonderful, the consort of Umā, the supreme lord, the three-eyed, the blue-throated, the tranquil,—[doing this] a Muni, [passing] beyond darkness, attains the source of being, the universal witness. He is Brahmā, he is Śiva, he is Indra, he is undecaying, supreme, self-resplendent; he is Vishṇu, he is breath, he is the spirit, the supreme lord; he is all that has been or that shall be, eternal. Knowing him, a man overpasses death. There is no other way to liberation." Further on it is said: "He who reads the Śatarudriya becomes purified by fire, purified by air," etc., etc.

In one of the MS. collections of Upanishads belonging to the library of the East India Office, I find another work of that description, called the Nīlarudropanishad, which begins thus: *Apaśyaṁ chāvarohantaṁ divitaḥ pṛithivīmayaḥ | apaśyam apaśyaṁ taṁ Rudraṁ nīlagrivaṁ śikhaṇḍinam* | "I, formed of earth, beheld descending from the sky, I beheld, I beheld, that blue-necked, crested Rudra." This composition contains many verses from the Śatarudriya.

Sect. VI.—*Some further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.*

In the earlier parts of this work I have given a variety of extracts from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc., which exhibit the character of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the epic period (see pp. 165, 176, 178, 184–205, 223–228, 230–232, 240 f., 266–273, 278–281, 282–289). I shall now adduce such other passages from the Itihāsas, or Purāṇas, as may appear to throw any light on the history of the conceptions entertained of this deity, and of his relations to the other members of the Indian pantheon.

Rudra is briefly alluded to in the passages of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 14, 1 ff.; i. 75, 14 ff.; and Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, 119, 1 ff., quoted in pp. 165,

176 f., and 178 ff. The other texts of the Rāmāyaṇa in which I have observed any allusion to him are the following; and the representations which are there given of this god bear generally, perhaps, a stamp of greater antiquity than those which are found in the Mahābhārata.

In Rāmāyaṇa i. 23, 10 ff. (ed. Bombay), Rudra curses the embodied Kandarpa (the Indian Cupid), who wished to enter into him after his marriage, at a time when he was performing austerity; and Kandarpa in consequence becomes bodiless (*ananga*). (*Kandarpo mūrtimān āsīt Kāmaḥ ity uchyate budhaiḥ | tapasyantam iha Sthāṇuṁ nimayena samāhitam* | 11. *Kṛitodvāhaṁ tu deveśaṁ gachhantaṁ sa-marud-gaṇam | dharshayāmāsa durmedhāḥ hunkṛitaś cha mahātmanā* | 12. *Avadhyātaś cha Rudreṇa chakshushā Raghunandana | vyaśīryanta śarīrāt svāt sarva-gātrāṇi durmateḥ* |)

In i. 35, 20 (Bombay ed.), it is mentioned that the mountain-god, Himavat, gave his daughter Umā to the "unequalled Rudra" (*Rudrāya apratirūpāya*). In chapter xxxvii. of the same book, vv. 5 ff. the connubial intercourse of Śiva with Umā is described in most undignified language, as follows: *Purā Rāma kṛitodvāhaḥ Śitikaṇṭho mahātapāḥ* | 6. *Dṛishṭvā cha bhagavān devīm maithunāyopachakrame | tasya saṁkrīḍamānasya Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ | Śitikaṇṭhasya devasya divyaṁ varsha-śataṁ gatam* | 7. *Na chāpi tanayo Rāma tasyām āsīt parantapa* | "Formerly, after his marriage, Śitikaṇṭha (Śiva) the great devotee, (6) beholding the goddess, began to indulge in connubial love. A thousand years of the gods passed while the wise Mahādeva Śitikaṇṭha was thus sporting. But, O Rāma, vexer of thy foes, no son was born to Umā." The gods being alarmed at the prospect of the formidable character of the offspring which might be born to Mahādeva, entreated him and his spouse to practise chastity. To this Mahādeva consented; but asked what would become of the seed which he had already discharged. This, the gods said, should be received by the earth. The gods then desired Agni, along with Vāyu, to enter into this seed. This Agni did, and the white mountain was produced in consequence (see above, p. 354), where Kārttikeya was born. The gods then worshipped Śiva and Umā, but the latter imprecated sterility on all their wives. The thirty-seventh section relates the birth of Kārttikeya. While Tryambaka (Śiva), the lord of the gods, was performing austerity, the other deities went to Brahmā and asked for a general in the room of Mahā-

deva, who, it seems, had formerly acted in that capacity. "He," they said, "whom thou didst formerly give us as a leader of our armies (i.e. Mahādeva), is now performing great austerity, along with Umā" (sect. 38, v. 3, Schlegel's ed.=sect. 37, 3, of Bombay ed.: *Yo naḥ*[113]. *senāpatir deva datto bhagavatā purā | sa tapaḥ param āsthāya tapyate sma sahomayā*). Brahmā says, that in consequence of the curse of Umā, no son could be born to any of the wives of the gods; but that Agni could beget a son on the river Gangā, who should be the general of the gods. The gods accordingly went to mount Kailāśa, and appointed Agni to effect their object. Agni accordingly impregnated the Gangā, who brought forth Kārttikeya, so called because he was nursed by the Kṛittikās."

In the forty-second section it is related how the royal rishi Bhagīratha performed austerity in order that the Gangā might descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagara (who had been destroyed by Kapila, sect. 40, at the end); and might by this means elevate them to paradise. Brahmā appeared to the king and told him that he ought to propitiate Śiva, who was the only being who could sustain the shock of the falling Gangā. Bhagīratha (as is told sect. 43) continued his austerities till Śiva the lord of Umā, the lord of animals (*Paśupati*), appeared to him, and said he would receive the Gangā on his head. He accordingly mounted the Himālaya, and called on the Gangā to descend. The Gangā was indignant at this summons, and came down in great volume and with great force on his head, thinking to sweep him down along with her into Pātāla. The god, however, determined to humble her pride, and she was compelled to circle for a long period of years in the labyrinth of his matted locks, without being able to reach the earth. Being again propitiated by Bhagīratha, Śiva at length allowed her to reach the lake Vindu, to flow to the sea, and eventually into the infernal regions, where she purified the ashes of the sons of Sagara and enabled them to ascend to heaven.

In the forty-fifth section is described the production of nectar from the churning of the ocean of milk by the rival sons of Diti and Aditi, who wished to obtain some specific which should render them immortal. In the first place, however, a fiery poison was vomited from the mouths

[113] *Yo naḥ* is the reading of Schlegel's edition, as well as of Gorresio's, 39, 3. The Bombay edition reads *yena*, which does not seem so good a reading.

of the serpent Vāsuki, who was used as the rope in the process of churning. The gods then resorted to Śiva to deliver them from this portent:

21. *Atha devāḥ Mahādevaṁ Śaṅkaraṁ śaraṇārthinaḥ | jagmuḥ Paśupatiṁ Rudram trāhi trāhīti tushṭuvuḥ |* 22. *Evam uktas tato devair deva-deveśvaraḥ prabhuḥ | prāduṛāsīt tato 'traiva śaṅkha-chakra-dharo Hariḥ |* 23. *Uvāchainaṁ smitaṁ kṛitvā Rudram śūla-dharaṁ Hariḥ | daivatair mathyamāne tu yat pūrvaṁ samupasthitam |* 24. *Tat tvadīyaṁ sura-śreshṭha surāṇām agrato hi yat | agra-pūjāmiha sthitvā gṛihāṇedaṁ visham prabho |* 25. *Ity uktvā cha sura-śreshṭhas tatraivāntaradhīyata | devatānām bhayaṁ dṛishṭvā śrutvā vākyaṁ tu Śārṅgiṇaḥ |* 26. *Halāhalaṁ vishaṁ ghoraṁ sanjagrāhāmṛitopamam | devān visṛijya deveśo jagāma bhagavān Haraḥ |* 21. "Then the deities, seeking as their refuge Mahādeva, Śaṅkara, went to Rudra Paśupati, and lauded him [calling out] 'deliver, deliver.' 22. Then, being addressed by the gods, the lord of the gods, Hari, appeared on that very spot, bearing the shell and the discus, (23) and smiling, said to Rudra, the wielder of the trident: 'That which has first appeared, when the ocean was being churned by the deities, (24) belongs to thee, most eminent of the gods, since thou art at the head of them. Standing here, receive, lord, this poison as the earliest offering.' 25. Having thus spoken, the most eminent of the gods disappeared on the spot. Perceiving the alarm of the deities, and having heard the words of Vishṇu, (26) he (Śiva) took the deadly poison, as if it had been nectar. The divine Hara then dismissed the gods and departed."

The gods and Asuras proceeded with the churning, but were obliged now to call in the aid of Vishṇu, as the mountain with which the operation was being performed sank down into the infernal regions. Vishṇu, however, assumed the form of a tortoise, and supported the mountain on his back. At length nectar was produced, which Vishṇu carried off.

In the description of the northern region contained in the Kishkindhā[114] kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, Kailāsa is spoken of as the residence of Kuvera, and no mention is made of Śiva as residing there:[115]

Kishk. 44, 27 ff. (ed. Gorresio = Bombay ed. 43, 20 f.).—*Taṁ tu*

[114] In the Bombay edition this word is written 'Kishkindhā,' without a *y* before the final *ā*, which it has in Gorresio's edition.

[115] See, however, the passage from the Sundara Kāṇḍa, sect. 89, which will be quoted in the Appendix, where Mahādeva is said to visit Kuvera, or to Kailāsa.

śīghram atikramya kāntārañ loma-harshaṇam | pāṇḍuraṁ drakshyatha tataḥ Kailāsaṁ nāma parvatam | tatra pāṇḍura-meghābhaṁ Jāmbūnada-parishkṛitam | Kuvera-bhavanañ divyaṁ nirmitaṁ Viśvakarmaṇā | "Having quickly passed over that dreadful desert, you shall then see the white mountain, called Kailāsa, and there the celestial palace of Kuvera, formed by Viśvakarman, in colour like a brilliant cloud, and decorated with gold."

The Bombay edition, 43, 54 ff., has the following lines, in which Rudra may be referred to: *Tam atikramya śailendram uttaras toyasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma madhye hemamayo mahān |* 55. *Sa tu deśo visūryo 'pi tasya bhāsā prakāśate | sūrya-lakshmyā 'bhivijneyo tapateva Vivasvatā |* 56. *Bhagavāṁs tatra viśvātmā S'ambhur ekādaśātmakaḥ | Brahmā vasati deveśo brahmarshi-parivāritaḥ*[116] | 54. "Beyond this monarch of mountains is the northern ocean, in the midst of which stands the great golden mountain, called Somagiri. 55. With its lustre that region, although sunless, shines; and is distinguished by a solar splendour, as if from the beams of Vivasvat (the sun). 56. There the divine soul of the universe, the eleven-fold S'ambhu, Brahmā, lord of the gods, dwells, attended by the Brahman Rishis."

In Gorresio's edition (44, 117 ff.) this passage shows a number of various readings: *Kurūṁs tān samatikramya uttare payasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma hiraṇmaya-samo mahān |* 118. *Indra-loka-gatāḥ ye cha Brahma-loka-gatāś cha ye | sarve te samavaikshanta girirājaṁ divaṁ gatāḥ |* 119. *Asūryo 'pi hi deśaḥ sa tasya bhāsā prakāśate | sasūryaḥ iva lakshmīvāṁs tapatīva divākare |* 120. *Bhagavāṁs tatra bhūtātmā Svayambhūr bahudhātmakaḥ | Brahmā bhavati vaśyātmā sarvātmā sarva-bhāvanaḥ |* 117. "Beyond, to the north of the Uttara Kurus, is an ocean, in which is a great mountain, as it were of gold. 118. All those who have gone to the sky, to the world of Indra, or to that of Brahmā, have beheld the king of mountains. 119. By its

[116] The commentator thus explains this verse: *Viśvam atati vyāpnoti iti viśvātmā vyāpakas tena Vishṇu-rūpaḥ | vishṇu-vyāptāv ity anusārāt | sa eva S'ambhuḥ śam bhavaty asmāt | sa eva ekādaśātmakaḥ ekādaśānuvākārthaikādaśa-rudrātmakaḥ | sa eva Brahmā bṛiṁhaṇatvāt jagat-srashṭṛitvāt |* "*Viśvātmā*" means, he who pervades all things; and consequently he is in the form of Vishṇu, as Vishṇu has the sense of pervader. The same being is S'ambhu, he from whom prosperity (*śam*) arises (*bhavati*); and he is also elevenfold, in the form of the eleven Rudras, who signify eleven repetitions of him (?). The same being is also Brahmā, from his increasing,—creating the world."

light that region shines, although sunless, as if it had a sun, and resplendent as if the lord of day were blazing. 120. There the divine soul of beings, Svayambhū, Brahmā, dwells, self-subdued, the soul, and producer of all things." Here there is no reference to Mahādeva, Svayambhū being substituted for Śambhu.

Another passage relating to Rudra which occurs in Gorresio's recension of the Rāmāyaṇa is the following (though it is not to be found in the corresponding section of the Bombay edition):

Kishk. 44, 46 ff.—*Taṁ tu deśam atikramya Triśṛingo nāma parvataḥ | tasya pāde saro divyam mahat kāñchana-pushkaram | tataḥ prachyavate divyā tīkshṇa-śrotās taraṅgiṇī | nadī naika-grahākīrṇā kuṭilā loka-bhāvinī | tasyaikaṁ kāñchanaṁ śṛingam parvatasyāgni-sannibham | vaidūrya-mayam ekancha śailasyāsyā samuchhṛitam | Anutpanneshu bhūteshu babhūva kila bhūmitaḥ | agrajaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ Viśvakarmeti viśrutaḥ | tat tasya kila paurāṇam agnihotram mahātmanaḥ | āsīt triśikharaḥ śailaḥ pravṛittās tatra ye 'gnayaḥ | tatra sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarvamedhe mahāmakhe | kṛitvā 'bhavad mahātejāḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya kila saṁsthānaṁ saro vai sārvamedhikam | tataḥ pravṛittā Sarayūr ghora-nakravatī nadī | deva-gandharva-patagāḥ piśāchoraga-dānavāḥ | praviśanti na taṁ deśam pradīptam iva pāvakam | tam atikramya śailendram Mahādevābhipālitam | ityādi* | "When that region has been overpassed, a mountain called Tṛisṛinga [will be seen], at the foot of which is a divine lake, of large dimensions, filled with golden lotuses. Thence flows a divine billowy river, with rapid stream, swarming with crocodiles, winding, gladdening the world. That mountain has one golden peak, [one] resembling fire, and it has also one elevated point formed of lapis lazuli. When no creatures had as yet come into existence, there sprang from the earth the first of all beings, known as Viśvakarman. This triple-peaked mountain was the scene of the ancient Agnihotra sacrifice of that great being, where all the fires were employed. Having formed all beings there at this great universal sacrifice, he became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds. This lake of the universal sacrifice is the abode of Rudra; and from it issues the river Sarayū, abounding in dreadful crocodiles. Gods, Gandharvas, birds, Piśāchas, snakes, and Dānavas, do not enter that region, which is like blazing fire. Having overpassed that great mountain, protected by Mahādeva," etc.

In regard to the story of Viśvakarman, which is not usually met with in the Purāṇas, and does not harmonize well with the course of their cosmogony, compare the two hymns in pp. 5 ff., the story from the Nirukta in p. 9, above, and the Śatap. Br. xiii. 7, 1, 14.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 14.—*Tena ha etena Viśvakarmā Bhauvanaḥ īje | teneshṭvā 'tyatiskṭhat sarvāṇi bhūtani idaṁ sarvam abhavat | atitishṭhati sarvāṇi bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam bhavati yaḥ evam vidvān sarvamedhena yajate yo vā etad evam veda |* 15. *Taṁ ha Kaśyapo yājayāṁchakāra | tad api Bhūmiḥ ślokaṁ jagau | "na mā martyaḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana mandaḥ āsitha | upamankshyati syā salilasya madhye mṛishaisha te sangaraḥ Kaśyapāya" iti |* "With this sacrifice, Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, sacrificed. Having sacrificed with it, he overpassed all beings, and became all this. That man overpasses all beings and becomes all this, who, knowing this, sacrifices with the Sarva-medha ('universal sacrifice'), or he who thus knows this. 15. Kaśyapa performed this sacrifice for him. Wherefore also the Earth recited a verse:[117] 'No mortal ought to bestow me. Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, thou wast foolish. She (the earth) will sink into the midst of the water. This promise of thine to Kaśyapa is vain.'"

It would appear as if the author of the preceding passage of the Rāmāyaṇa intended to identify Rudra with Viśvakarman, when he says that the latter "became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds." Compare the passages from the Kūrma Purāṇa and Mahābhārata quoted below in notes 131 and 133, pp. 376 and 377; and Mahābhārata, Śāntip. 241, quoted in a note to p. 372, vol. v., of this work. If Mahādeva is identified with Viśvakarman, he must, according to the Rāmā-

[117] The commentator observes on this: *Asmai cha Viśvākarmā bhūmiṁ dātum iyesha tatra cha kāle Bhūmir api imaṁ ślokaṁ gītavatī | tvaṁ tu mandaḥ mandamatir janaḥ āsitha babhūvitha jātaḥ ity arthaḥ | upa-śabdo ni-śabdasya arthe | yaś cha aśakyam pratijānīte mandaḥ ity abhiprāyaḥ |* "Viśvakarman desired to give the earth to him; and at that time the Earth also sang this verse. Thou wast 'dull,' dull of understanding. The preposition *upa* is here used in the sense of *ni*. And the sense is that he who promises what is impossible is foolish." Compare the passage of the Mahābhārata, Vana-parvan, v. 10209 (in the first vol. of this work, p. 451), where the earth is said to have been given to Kaśyapa by Paraśurāma; and another text from the Anuśāsana-parvan, vv. 7232 ff. (*ibid.* p. 464), where the earth is said to have become offended with king Anga, who desired to bestow her on the Brahmans, and to have in consequence abandoned her form. Kaśyapa afterwards entered into her, and she became his daughter. Compare also Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5 (quoted above, p. 27).

yaṇa and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, be regarded as sprung from the earth, or Bhuvana, and therefore not eternal. It is to be noted, however, that the Śatap. Br. speaks of this Viśvakarman as a mortal, and the Ait. Br. speaks of him as a prince who conquered the earth.

In the next passage[118] Mahādeva is represented as visiting Kuvera on Mount Kailāsa, and as acknowledging the divinity of Rāma:

Rām. (ed. Gorresio) v. 89, 6 ff.—*Atha pradhāno dharmātmā lokānām īśvaraḥ prabhuḥ | tataḥ sabhāyāṁ devasya rājño Vaiśravaṇasya saḥ | dhanādhyaksha-sabhāṁ devaḥ prāpto hi Vṛishhabha-dhvajaḥ | Umā-sahāyo deveśo gaṇaiś cha bahubhir vṛitaḥ | avatīrya vṛishāt tūrṇam mahitaḥ śūla-dhṛig vibhuḥ | gires tasya mahātejaḥ pravishṭas tu sabhāṁ Haraḥ | Ṛiddhyā sahāya-yuktaś cha tathā Vaiśravaṇaḥ svayam | anyonyaṁ tau samālingya upavishṭāv ubhāv api | sabhāyāṁ tatra tau devau te cha devāḥ yathākramam | upavishṭāḥ gaṇāś chaiva Yakshāś cha saha Guhyakaiḥ | aksha-dyūtaṁ tatas tābhyām pravṛittaṁ samanantaram | etasminn antare tatra Rākshasendraṁ Vibhīshaṇam | dṛishṭvā Paulastyam āyāntaṁ Śivaḥ prāha dhaneśvaram | ayaṁ Vibhīshaṇaḥ praptaḥ śaraṇam tava pārthiva | manyunā 'bhipluto vīro Rākshasendra-vimānitaḥ | ityādi |*

"Now the righteous and mighty ruler of the worlds, whose banner is a bull, the god of gods, accompanied by Umā, and attended by numerous hosts, came then to the assembly of the divine king Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera), the lord of riches. Alighting quickly from his bull, Hara, the mighty lord, the wielder of the trident, being received with honour, entered into the assembly on that mountain (Kailāsa, v. 4); and at the same time Vaiśravaṇa himself, with Ṛiddhi (his wife),[119] and attended by his companions, [came in]. Having embraced each other, those two gods with the other deities sat down in order in the assembly, together with their hosts, and the Yakshas and Guhyakas. The two gods then began to play at dice. In the mean time, beholding the eminent Rākshasa Vibhīshaṇa, the son of Pulastya, approaching, Śiva says to the lord of riches, 'This, O king, is the hero Vibhīshaṇa, who has resorted to thee, overwhelmed by distress, having been dishonoured by the chief of the Rākshasas (Rāvaṇa),'" etc., etc.

While Śiva is speaking, Vibhīshaṇa arrives, and bows down before

[118] This passage, however, is only to be found in Gorresio's recension, and not in the section of the Devanāgarī recension which corresponds to it—viz. vi. 17, 1, ff.

[119] See Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.* Ṛiddhi, and the Mahābhārata, Asuśāsana-parvan, 675, and 7637, as well as the Harivaṁśa, 7167, 7739, there referred to.

the deities, who tell him to stand up; and go to Rāma, who will install him king of the Rākshasas (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhīshaṇa stands, with his head bent downwards, and sunk in contemplation, when S'iva again speaks to him (vv. 37 ff.): *Taṁ dhyāyamānam bhagavān uvācha prabhur avyayaḥ | uttishṭhottishṭha rājendra sukham āpnuhi śāśvatam | . . . . .* 39. *Tasmād uttishṭha gachchha tvam purāṇam prabhum avyayam | ādhārāṁ sarvabhūtānāṁ śāśvataṁ niravagraham | sa hi sarva-nidhānaṁ cha gatir gatimatāṁ varaḥ | kṛitsnasya jagato mūlaṁ tasmād gachchhasva Rāghavam |* "The divine, imperishable lord said: 'Stand up, stand up, prince of kings, obtain ever-during happiness. . . . . Stand up, therefore, go to the ancient, imperishable lord, the support of all beings, eternal, uncontrolled. For he, the most excellent, contains all things, and is the refuge of all who seek a refuge, the root of the whole world: wherefore go to Rāghava (Rāma).'" Vibhīshaṇa then departs through the air, to go to Rāma.[120]

[120] In the following passages some of Mahādeva's achievements are alluded to:—iii. 30, 27 (ed. Bomb.), and iii. 35, 93 (Gorr.): *Sa papāta Kharo bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śarāgninā | Rudreṇeva vinirdagdhaḥ S'vetāraṇye purā 'ndhakaḥ |* "[The Rākshasa] Khara fell on the ground, burnt by the fire of the arrow, like Andhaka [who was] formerly consumed by Rudra in the S'veta forest." (Compare A. V. xi. 2, 7, above, pp. 334, 336, where Rudra is called the slayer of Ardhaka.) iv. 5, 30 (Gorr.): *Yathā kruddhasya Rudrasya Tripuraṁ vai vijigyushaḥ |* "[The frowning face of Rāma] like that of the incensed Rudra, who had conquered Tripura." vi. 51, 17 (Gorr.): "The Rākshasa trembled when smitten by Lakshmaṇa's arrow, like the dreadful portal of Tripura, when struck by the bolt of Rudra" (*Rudra-vāṇāhataṁ ghoram yathā Tripura-gopuram*). In the following verse allusion is made to Rudra as a slaughterer of animals: vi. 73, 37 f. (Gorr. = Bombay ed. vi. 94, 35). *Hatair aśvaiḥ padātaiś cha tad babhūva raṇājiram | ākrīḍaḥ iva Rudrasya kruddhasya nighnataḥ paśūn |* "With slain horses and footmen, that battle-field became like the garden of the enraged Rudra when slaughtering animals." I do not know what the next verse refers to, vi. 55, 88 (Gorr.): *Kumbhasya patato rūpam bhagnasyorasi mushṭinā | Īśvareṇābhipannasya rūpam Paśupater iva |* "The appearance of Kumbha when shattered on the chest by the fist of Sugrīva, was like the appearance of Paśupati (S'iva) when overcome by Īśvara." The commentator quoted by Gorresio has the following note in explanation: *Īśvareṇa pralaya-kālena hetunā abhipannasya lokān abhisrastasya Paśupateḥ Rudrasya rūpam iva rūpam babhūva ity arthaḥ |* The Bomb. ed. (76, 93) reads in the second line: *babhau Rudrābhipannasya yathā rūpaṁ Gavāmpateḥ |* which the commentator renders, "appeared like the form of the lord of rays (the sun), overcome by Rudra" (*Rudreṇa abhipannasya abhibhūtasya Gavāmpateḥ Sūryasya iva.*) It would almost seem (strange as it may appear) as if the author of the recension of the Rāmāyaṇa published by Gorresio, had not understood the word Gavāmpati (lord of cows or rays) as designating the sun, when he took it for the equivalent of Paśupati. Īśvara and Paśupati are both names of Rudra; and he could not be assailed by himself. Gavāmpati occurs in the hymn to the Sun in the Mahābhārata, iii. 192 (as quoted by Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*), as one of the numerous names or epithets of the Sun.

From the passages quoted above from the Mahābhārata and Brāhmaṇas in p. 284, and pp. 200 and 202, note, it appears as if some contest had at one time existed between the votaries of Mahādeva, and those of other deities, in regard to adoration of the former. It may perhaps be inferred from the passages cited in pp. 288–291, also, that the worship of this god, as practised by some tribes, was regarded by others with aversion, or even with horror. Some further indications of this aversion may be discovered in the myth of Daksha's sacrifice, as related in the Mahābhārata, and in the Vāyu and other Purāṇas (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 61 ff.=pp. 120 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed., vol. i.).

This story is told, perhaps in its simplest form, in the following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 66, 7 ff. (ed. Schlegel and Bombay= 68, 7 ff. Gorresio):

Evam uktas tu Janakaḥ pratyuvācha mahāmunim | śrūyatām asya dhanusho yad-artham iha tishṭhati | Devarātaḥ iti khyāto Nimeḥ shashṭho (jyeshṭho, Bomb. ed.) *mahīpatiḥ | nyāso 'yaṁ tasya bhagavan haste datto mahātmanaḥ | Daksha-yajna-badhe pūrvaṁ dhanur āyamya vīryavān | vidhvasya tridaśān Rudraḥ salīlam idam abravīt | "yasmād bhāgārthino*[121] *bhāgān nākalpayata me surāḥ | varāṅgāni* [=*śirāṁsi*, Comm. in Bomb. ed.] *mahārhāṇi dhanushā śātayāmi vaḥ | tato vimanasaḥ sarve devāḥ vai muni-pungava | prāsādayanta deveśaṁ teshām prīto 'bhavad Bhavaḥ | prītaśchāpi dadau teshaṁ tāny angāni mahaujasām | dhanushā yāni yāny āsan śātitāni mahātmanā | tad etad deva-devasya dhanū-ratnam mahātmanaḥ | nyāsa-bhūtaṁ tadā nyastaṁ asmākam pūrvake vibho |* [122]

"Janaka, being thus addressed, replied to the great muni: 'Hear, regarding this bow, from what cause it is here. A king called Devarāta was the sixth in descent from Nimi. This [bow] was a deposit committed to the hands of this great personage. Formerly, at the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice, the heroic Rudra, when he had drawn this bow, and routed the gods, thus spake in derision: "Since, ye gods, ye have divided to me no portion, though I desired it, I cut off your most precious heads with my bow." Then all the deities, being dis-

[121] *Svishṭakṛid-ādi-yajna-bhāgārthino mama* | "To me who desired a share in the Svishṭakṛid, etc., offering."—Comm.

[122] This last line runs as follows in Gorresio's edition (ch. lxviii. 13): *Tishṭhaty adyāpi bhagavan kule 'smakaṁ supūjitam* | The other various readings, though numerous, are unimportant.

tressed, propitiated the god of gods, who became favourable to them, and restored the limbs of those glorious beings which had been cut off by the mighty bow. This is the precious bow of the great deity, which was at that time deposited with our ancestor.'"

In this version of the myth, there is no mention of Rudra commissioning Vīrabhadra, or any other demons, to destroy the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. He is simply said to wound the gods with his bow.[123]

The same story is told in the Sauptika-parvan, vv. 786–808, and in greater detail in the Śānti-parvan, of the Mahābhārata, in verses 10226–10258, and is immediately afterwards repeated in vv. 10275 ff. According to the first account (which is given in answer to a question regarding the origin of Jvara, Fever), Umā, Śiva's wife, seeing the gods passing by in chariots, inquires of her husband where they are going, and is told by him that they are proceeding to Daksha's horse-sacrifice. The goddess then asks why her lord also does not go. He replies: *Surair eva mahābhāge pūrvam etad anushṭhitam | yajneshu sarveshu mama na bhāgaḥ upakalpitaḥ | pūrvopāyopapannena mārgeṇa varavarṇini | na me surāḥ prayachhanti bhāgaṁ yajnasya dharmataḥ*[124] |

[123] This same story is again briefly alluded to in the following other passages of the Rāmayaṇa:—iii. 30, 36 (ed. Gorr. = Bomb. ed. iii. 24, 35): *Taṁ dṛishṭvā tejasā yuktaṁ vivyathur vana-devatāḥ | Dakshasyeva kratuṁ hantum udyatāstram Pināķinam* | "Beholding him (Rāma), possessed of might, the sylvan deities were distressed, as if he had been Pināķin (Śiva) with his weapon ready to destroy the sacrifice of Daksha." Ibid. 70, 2: *Hantu-kāmam paśuṁ Rudraṁ Rudraṁ kruddhaṁ Daksha-kratau yathā* | "Like the incensed Rudra who sought to slay the victim at the sacrifice of Daksha." (The Bomb. ed. iii. 65, 2, has a quite different reading: *Dagdhu-kāmaṁ jagat sarvaṁ yugānte 'va yathā Haram* | "Like Hara [Rudra] desirous of burning up the whole world at the end of the Yuga.") And again, vi. 54, 33 (ed. Gorr.): *Tato visphārayāmāsa Rāmas tad dhanur uttamam | bhagavān iva sankruddho Bhavaḥ kratu-jighāṁsayā* | "Then Rāma stretched that excellent bow, like the divine Bhava enraged, and seeking to destroy the sacrifice." Rudra's followers are, however, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in iii. 31, 10 (ed. Gorr.) it is said: *Sa taiḥ parivṛito ghoraiḥ rākshasair nṛi-varātmajaḥ | Mahādevaḥ pitṛi-vane gaṇaiḥ pārśva-gatair iva* | "This son of an eminent man (Rāma) was surrounded by these horrible Rākshasas, like Mahādeva by his attendant hosts in a cemetery." (Instead of the last line the Bomb. ed. has the following, iii. 25, 12: *Tithishv iva Mahādevo vṛitaḥ pārishadāṁ gaṇaih.*) And in another place (v. 12, 39, ed. Gorr.) Śiva is called the lord of demons (*gṛiham Bhūtapater iva*).

[124] The same words nearly are put into the mouth of Mahādeva in the Vāyu-purāṇa. See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i., p. 126, of Dr. Hall's ed.

"The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. By custom, established by the earliest arrangement, the gods lawfully (*dharmataḥ*) allot me no share in the sacrifice." Umā is extremely chagrined that her husband, a god of so great dignity, should be so treated. Perceiving his wife's distress, Śiva goes, with his attendants, and puts an end to the sacrifice. The sacrifice takes the form of a deer, and is followed by Śiva to the sky. A drop of sweat falls from his forehead, from which a fire proceeds, out of which again a formidable being is born, Jvara (fever), which burns up the sacrifice, puts the gods to flight, etc. On this Brahmā appears to Śiva, and promises that the gods shall henceforth give him a share in the sacrifice (*bhavato 'hi surāḥ sarve bhāgaṁ dāsyanti vai prabho*), and proposes that Jvara (fever) shall be allowed to range over the earth. Śiva is propitiated, and assents to Brahma's proposal, and has ever afterwards obtained a share in the sacrifice (*ity ukto Brahmaṇā devo bhāge chāpi prakalpite | bhagavantaṁ tathety āha . . . . parāncha prītim agamad utsmayaṁścha Pināka-dhṛik | avāpa cha tadā bhāgaṁ yathoktam Brahmaṇā Bhavaḥ*).

The second version of the story is as follows: vv. 10272 ff. Daksha formerly commenced a sacrifice at Gangādvāra in the Himālaya, which was attended by the various orders of divine beings, including Indra and Brahmā. Dadhīchi, however, a votary of Rudra, was indignant that no worship was to be offered to that deity. 10283 ff. *Tān dṛishṭvā manyunā "vishto Dadhīchir vākyām abravīt | "nāyaṁ yajno na vā dharmo yatra Rudro na ijyate | badha-bandham prapannāḥ vai kinnu kālasya paryayaḥ | kinnu mohād na paśyanti vināśam paryupasthitam | upasthitam mahāghoraṁ na budhyanti mahādbvare"* | *Ity uktvā sa mahā-yogī paśyati dhyāna-chakshushā | sa paśyati Mahādevaṁ devīncha vara-dām śubhām | Nāradancha mahātmānaṁ tasyāḥ devgāḥ samīpataḥ | santosham paramaṁ lebhe iti niśchitya yoga-vit | eka-mantrās tu te sarve yeneśo na nimantritaḥ*[125] | *tasmād deśād apākramya Dadhīchir vākyam abravīt | apūjya-pūjanāchchaiva pūjyānānchāpy apūjanāt | nṛi-ghātaka-samam pāpaṁ śaśvat prāpnoti mānavaḥ*[126] | *anṛitaṁ nokta-pūrvam me na cha*

[125] A line similarly expressed occurs a little further on.

[126] The account of Daksha's sacrifice given in the Vāyu-purāṇa, and translated by Prof. Wilson, V.P. (vol. i., pp. 122 ff. of Dr. Hall's ed.), has a good many lines which correspond nearly with some in this passage of the Mahābhārata. Of these Dr. Hall was kind enough to send me copies. One of them agrees in sense with this verse.

vakshye kadāchana | devatānām ṛishīṇāñ cha madhye satyam bravīmy aham | āgatam Paśubhartāraṁ srashṭāraṁ jayataḥ patim | adhvare yajna-bhoktāraṁ sarveshām paśyata prabhum | Dakshaḥ uvācha | Santi no bahavo Rudrāḥ śūla-hastāḥ kapardinaḥ | ekādaśa-sthāna-gatāḥ nāhaṁ vedmi Maheśvaram[127] *| Dadhīchir uvacha | sarveshām eva mantro 'yaṁ yenāsau na nimantritaḥ*[128] *| yathā 'ham Śankarād ūrdhvaṁ nānyam paśyāmi daivatam | tathā Dakshasya vipulo yajno 'yaṁ na bhavishyati | Dakshaḥ uvācha | etan makheśāya suvarṇa-pātre haviḥ samastaṁ vidhi-mantra-pūtam | Vishṇor nayāmy apratimasya*[129] *bhāgam prabhur vibhuś chāhavanīya eshaḥ | Devy uvācha | kim nāma dānaṁ vishamaṁ tapo vā kuryām ahaṁ yena patir namādya | labheta bhāgam bhagavān achintyo ardham tathā bhāgam atho tṛitīyam | evam bruvāṇām bhagavāṇ sva-patnīm prahṛishṭa-rūpaḥ kshubhitām uvācha | na vetsi māṁ devi kriśodarāngi kim nāma yuktaṁ vachanam makheśe | ahaṁ vijānāmi viśāla-netre dhyānena hīnāḥ na vidanty asantaḥ | tavādya mohena cha sendra-devāḥ lokās trayaḥ sarvataḥ eva mūḍhāḥ | mām adhvare śaṁsitāraḥ stuvanti rathantaraṁ sāma-gāś chopagānti | mām brāhmaṇāḥ brahma-vido yajante mamādhvaryavaḥ kalpayante cha bhāgam | Devy uvācha | suprākṛito 'pi purusho sarvaḥ strī-janasaṁsadi | stauti garvāyate chāpi svam ātmānam na saṁśayaḥ | Bhagavān uvācha | nātmānaṁ staumi deveśi paśya me tanu-madhyame | yaṁ srakshyāmi varārohe yāgārthe vara-varṇini |*

"Beholding them, Dadhīchi, filled with indignation, thus spake: 'This is no sacrifice, nor a legitimate ceremony, in which Rudra is not worshipped. [These gods] have become entangled in the bonds of destruction. Is this the adverse influence of time? or is it through delusion that they do not see that ruin is at hand? They perceive not that a great calamity is impending at the sacrifice.' Having so spoken, this great devotee beholds with the eye of contemplation: he sees Mahādeva and his boon-bestowing and auspicious goddess, and close to her the great Nārada, and received the highest satisfaction. Dadhīchi, versed in meditation, having ascertained that all the gods had adopted a common resolution that they would not invite Mahādeva, issued

[127] A verse closely resembling this occurs in the Vāyu Purāṇa.

[128] The corresponding line runs thus in the Vāyu Purāṇa: *Sarveshām eka-mantro 'yaṁ yeneśo na nimantritaḥ;* which Prof. Wilson thus renders: "The invocation that is not addressed to Īśa is, for all, but a solitary (and imperfect) summons."

[129] Instead of *bhāgam*, etc., the Vāyu Purāṇa reads *sarvam prabhor vibhor hy āhavanīya-nityam.*

forth from that [sacrificial] ground, and spake thus: 'By worshipping that which ought not to be worshipped, and neglecting to worship that which ought to be worshipped, a man ever incurs sin equal to that of a murderer. I have never before uttered, neither shall I ever utter, falsehood. Among gods and rishis I declare the truth. Behold Paśubhartṛi (Śiva) arrived, the creator, the master of the world, the lord of all, the eater of the sacrifice.' Daksha replied: 'We have many Rudras, armed with tridents, and wearing spirally-braided hair, who occupy eleven places.[130] I know not Maheśvara.' Dadhīchi answered: 'This is a [preconcerted] plan of all [the gods] that he (Mahādeva) has not been invited. Since I perceive Śankara, and no other deity, to be supreme, therefore this sacrifice of Daksha shall not be prosperous.' Daksha spake: 'I offer to the lord of sacrifice (Vishṇu), in a golden vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable Vishṇu: he is the lord, the all-pervading, the sacrificial fire.'[131] Devī (who, without any preamble, is here introduced as speaking) said: 'What liberality or arduous austerity can I perform whereby my divine, incomprehensible husband may to-day obtain a share, a half-share, or a third?' The god, delighted in aspect, addressed his troubled wife who had thus spoken: 'Thou knowest me not, goddess, slender of waist and limb; nor what speech befits the lord of sacrifice. I know, O large-eyed; but the wicked, devoid of

[130] Compare the phrase *ekādaśātmaka* above, p. 367.

[131] Prof. Wilson (p. 124 f.) has the following note on the parallel passage of the Vāyu Purāṇa: "The Kūrma Purāṇa gives also this discussion between Dadhīcha and Daksha, and their dialogue contains some curious matter. Daksha, for instance, states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to Śiva, and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him, or to his bride (*sarveshv eva hi yajneshu na bhāgaḥ parikalpitaḥ | na mantrāḥ bhāryayā sārdhaṁ Śankarasyeti neshyate*). Dadhīcha apparently evades the objection, and claims a share for Rudra, consisting of the triad of gods, as one with the sun, who is undoubtedly hymned by the several ministering priests of the Vedas (*sa stūyate sahasrāṁśuḥ sāmagādhvaryu-hotṛibhiḥ | paśyainaṁ Viśvakarmāṇaṁ Rudram mūrti-trayīmayam*). Daksha replies that the twelve Ādityas receive special oblations; that they are all the suns; and that he knows of no other. The Munis, who overhear the dispute, concur in his sentiments (*ye ete dvādaśādityāḥ Āditya-yajña-bhāginaḥ | sarve sūryāḥ iti jneyāḥ na hy anyo vidyate raviḥ | evam ukte tu munayaḥ samāyātāḥ didṛikshavaḥ | vāḍham ity abruvan Dakshaṁ tasya sāhāyya-kāriṇaḥ*). These notions seem to have been exchanged for others in the days of the Padma P. and Bhāgavata, as they place Daksha's neglect of Śiva to the latter's filthy practices—his going naked, smearing himself with ashes," etc., etc. An abstract of the story as given in the Bhāgavata will be found in the text.

reflection, know not: and the three worlds, including Indra and the gods, are to-day altogether bewildered with thy bewilderment. Worshippers praise me at the sacrifice, singers of the sāma chant the rathantara, Brahmans, versed in the veda (*brahma*), adore me, and Adhvaryu (i.e. Yajurvedic) priests divide for me a portion.'[132] Devī replied: 'Doubtless, every common man praises and magnifies himself in an assembly of women.' Mahādeva answered: 'I praise not myself, queen of the gods; behold, slender-waisted, beautiful-complexioned [goddess], what being I shall create.'" Mahādeva accordingly creates a dreadful being, who, attended by hosts of other frightful creatures, demolishes all Daksha's preparations for his sacrifice. Brahmā and the other gods humbly inquire of this destroyer who he is. He replies that he is neither Rudra nor Devī, but Vīrabhadra, sent to destroy the sacrifice, and exhorts them to submit to Mahādeva, whose wrath is better than the beneficence of any other god (*varaṁ krodho 'pi devasya vara-dānaṁ na chānyataḥ*). Upon this Daksha sings the praises of Maheśvara.[133] The latter then appears, and assents to Daksha's request that his preparations for sacrifice shall not be fruitless (vv. 10338 ff.). Daksha then celebrates him by reciting his eight thousand names.

The following is an abstract of the same story as told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book iv. sections 2–7, with a colouring different from that of the Mahābhārata, and some interesting illustrations of the hostility between the Śaivas and the Vaishṇavas, or between the former and the more orthodox adherents of the Vedas, which, not-

[132] The text of the Vāyu Purāṇa as translated by Prof. Wilson (Vish. Pur., p. 65 = p. 128 of Dr. Hall's ed. vol. i.) differs somewhat from that of the Mahābhārata, as here given. The former text has been copied for me by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall from the Guikowar MS. in the India Office Library, and is as follows: *Mamādhvare śaṁsitāraḥ stuvanti rathaṁtare sāma gāyanti geyam | abrāhmaṇe brahma-satre yajante mamādhvaryavaḥ kalpayante chabhāgam* | "At my sacrifice worshippers praise (me); in the rathantara they sing the sāma song; they adore (me) in a sacrifice of devotion without Brahmans; and the adhvaryus divide for me a portion." It is remarkable that Mahādeva's worship should be here described as performed "without Brahmans." But what are we to make of the word "adhvaryu"? Could it mean, in later times at least, anything else than the Brahmanical priest so called?

[133] In this passage (v. 10332) Mahādeva is called Viśvakarman (*Devo nāhūyate tatra Viśvakarmā Maheśvaraḥ*). Compare the passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, above, p. 368 f., and note 131, p. 376. There appears to be some confusion in the narrative as given in verses 10331 ff. Though Daksha had already made his submission to Mahādeva, the story seems to be begun over again, or recapitulated.

withstanding the conciliation of the conflicting views introduced by the writer at the close of the story, no doubt had, and perhaps still has, a real existence in the minds of many of the sectaries. Satī, the wife of Śiva, was the daughter of Daksha, as we are told in the same work (iv. 1, 47, 48): *Prasūtim Mānavīm Dakshaḥ upayemè hy Ajātmajaḥ | tasyāṁ sasarja duhitṛīḥ shoḍaśāmala-lochanāḥ | trayodaśādād Dharmāya tathaikām Agnaye vibhuḥ | pitṛibhyaḥ ekāṁ yuktebhyo Bhavāyaikām bhava-chhide* | "Daksha, the son of Aja (the 'unborn'—he is said [v. 11] to be the son of Brahmā=Aja), married Prasūti, the daughter of Manu. From her he begot sixteen pure-eyed daughters. Of these this lord gave thirteen to Dharma, one to Agni, one to the meditative [or united, *saṁyatebhyo militebhyo vā*, Comm.] Pitṛis, and one to Bhava (Śiva), the destroyer of existence." Satī, however, bore no children to Śiva. i. 64. *Bhavasya patnī tu Satī Bhavaṁ devam anuvratā | ātmanaḥ sadṛiśam putraṁ na lebhe guṇa-śīlataḥ* |

In the second section we are informed how enmity arose between Mahādeva and his father-in-law Daksha. It appears that the gods and rishis were assembled at a sacrifice celebrated by the Prajāpatis. On the entrance of Daksha, all the personages who were present, rose to salute him, excepting only Virinchya (Brahmā) and Mahādeva. Daksha, after making his obeisance to Brahmā, sat down by his command; but was offended at the treatment he received from Śiva (iv. 2, 8 ff.): *Prān nishaṇṇam Mṛidaṁ dṛishṭvā nāmṛishat tad-anādṛitaḥ | uvācha vāmaṁ chakshurbhyām abhivīkshya dahann iva | śrūyatām brahmarshayo me saha-devāḥ sahāgnayaḥ | sādhūnām bruvato vṛittam nājnānād na cha matsarāt | ayaṁ tu loka-pālānāṁ yaśoghno nirapatrapaḥ | sadbhir ācharitaḥ panthāḥ yena staḍdhena dīkshitaḥ | esha me śishyatām prāpto yan me duhitur agrahīt | pāṇim viprāgni-mukhataḥ sāvitryāḥ iva sādhu-vat | gṛihītvā mṛiga-śāvākṣyāḥ pāṇim markaṭa-lochanaḥ | pratyutthānābhivādārhe vāchā 'py akṛita nochitam | lupta-kriyāyāśuchaye mānine bhinna-setave | anichhann apy adāṁ bālāṁ śūdrāyeveśatīṁ giram | pretāvāseshu ghoreshu pretair bhūta-gaṇair vṛitaḥ | ṛitaty unmatta-vad nagno vyupta-keśo hasan rudan | chitā-bhasma-kṛita-snānaḥ preta-sraṅ nrasthi-bhūshaṇaḥ | śivāpadeśo hy aśivo matto matta-janapriyaḥ | patiḥ pramatha-bhūtānāṁ tamo-mātrātmakātmanām | tasmai unmāda-nāthāya nashṭa-śauchāya durhṛide | dattā mayā vata sādhvī chodite parameshṭhinā | vinindyaivaṁ sa Girīśam apratīpam avasthitam | Daksho 'thāpaḥ upa-*

spṛiśya kruddhaḥ śaptum prachakrame | ayaṁ tu deva-yajane Indropendrādibhir Bhavaḥ | saha bhāgaṁ na labhatāṁ devair deva-gaṇādhamaḥ | "Beholding Mṛiḍa (Śiva) previously seated, Daksha did not brook his want of respect; and looking at him obliquely with his eyes, as if consuming him, thus spake: 'Hear me, ye Brahman rishis, with the gods and the Agnis, while I, neither from ignorance nor from passion, describe what is the practice of virtuous persons. But this shameless being (Śiva) detracts from the reputation of the guardians of the world,—he by whom, stubborn as he is, the course pursued by the good is transgressed. He assumed the position of my disciple, inasmuch as, like a virtuous person, in the face of Brahmans and of fire, he took the hand of my daughter, who resembled Sāvitrī. This monkey-eyed [god], after having taken the hand of [my] fawn-eyed [daughter], has not even by word shown suitable respect to me whom he ought to have risen and saluted. Though unwilling, I yet gave my daughter to this impure and proud abolisher of rites and demolisher of barriers, like the word of the Veda[134] to a Śūdra. He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and sprites, like a madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, bathed in the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of dead men's [skulls], and ornaments of human bones, pretending to be Śiva (auspicious) but in reality Aśiva (inauspicious), insane, beloved by the insane, the lord of Pramathas and Bhūtas (sprites), beings whose nature is essentially darkness. To this wicked-hearted lord of the infuriate, whose purity has perished, I have, alas! given my virtuous daughter, at the instigation of Brahmā.'[135] Having thus reviled Giriśa (Śiva), who

[134] *Uśatīṁ giram*, which the commentator explains *veda-lakshaṇāṁ giram*. It occurs also elsewhere in this same Purāṇa, as in iii. 16, 13, where the Comm. renders it by *kamanīyām*, "to be loved." See Böhtlingk and Roth, vol. v., p. 1204, *s.v.*

[135] The commentator gives as follows what he calls the real, esoteric, sense of this abuse:— *Vāstavas tv ayam arthaḥ | luptāḥ kriyāḥ yasmin para-brahma-rūpatvāt | ataḥ eva nāsti śuchir yasmāt | amānine abhinna-setave iti cha chhedaḥ | tasya parameśvarasya madīyā mānushī kanyā kathaṁ yogyā syād iti lajjādinā dātum anichhann api tat-sambandha-lobhena dattavān | 'śūdrāyeti' anarhatva-mātre dṛishṭānto na hīnatve pūrvāpara-sva-vachana-virodhāpatteḥ | etad uktam bhavati | yathā kaśchit śūdrāya vedaṁ artha-lobhena dadāti | 'pretāvāseshv' ityādi sarvaṁ vidambana-mātram iti | svayam eva āha 'unmatta-vad' iti | anyathā 'unmattaḥ' ity eva avakshyat | 'aśivaḥ' nāsti śivo yasmāt | amattaḥ | amatta-jana-priyaḥ | iti chhedaḥ | 'patiḥ pramatha-bhūtānām' iti bhakta-vātsalyam āha | tāmasān api dosham apanīya pāti iti | nashṭānām api śauchaṁ śuddhir yasmāt | dushṭeshv apy eṣe mayā anukampyāḥ iti hṛin mano yasya*

did not oppose him, Daksha having then touched water, incensed, began to curse him [thus]: 'Let this Bhava (S'iva), lowest of the gods, never, at the worship of the gods, receive any portion along with the gods Indra, Upendra (Vishṇu), and others.'" Having delivered his malediction, Daksha departed. A counter-malediction, as follows, was then uttered upon him and the Brahmans who took his part, by Nandīśvara, one of the chief of Mahādeva's followers:

21 ff.—*Yaḥ etam martyam uddiśya bhagavaty apratidruhi | druhyaty ajnaḥ pṛithag-dṛishṭis tattvato vimukho bhavet | gṛiheshu kūṭa-dharmeshu sakto grāmya-sukhechhayā | karma-tantraṁ vitanutād*[136] *veda-vāda-vipanna-dhīḥ | buddhyā parābhidhyāyinyā vismṛitātma-gatiḥ paśuḥ | strī-kāmaḥ so 'stu nitarāṁ Daksho vasta-mukho 'chirat | vidyā-buddhir avidyāyāṁ karmamayyām asau jaḍaḥ | saṁsarantv iha ye chāmum anu S'arvāvamāninam | giraḥ śrutāyāḥ pushpiṇyāḥ madhu-gandhena bhūriṇā | mathnā chonmathitātmānaḥ sammuhyantu Hara-dvishaḥ | sarva-bhakshāḥ dvijāḥ vṛittyai dhṛita-vidyā-tapo-vratāḥ | vitta-dehendriyārāmāḥ yāchakāḥ vicharantv iha* | "May the ignorant being who, from regard to this mortal (Daksha), and considering [S'iva] as distinct [from the supreme

sa durhṛit tasmai | 'vata' iti harshe | Brahmaṇo vākyā[l ?] lajjā-bhayādikam pahityajya dattā ity arthaḥ | "The real meaning (of vv. 13 ff.) is this: 'He in whom works are destroyed, owing to his character of supreme Brahma; in consequence of which there is none purer than he.' Instead of *mānine* and *bhinna-setave*, the division of words may also be *amānine*, *abhinna-setave*, 'not proud,' 'not demolisher of barriers.' Though unwilling to give my daughter through modesty, etc., from a feeling that my human daughter could not be worthy of the supreme lord, I nevertheless gave her from a covetous desire of being connected with him. The words 'as to a S'ūdra' are merely an illustration to express unfitness, and not defectiveness, otherwise there would be a contradiction between his preceding and his following words. The sense is this: 'just as any one through covetousness of money gives the Veda to a S'ūdra.' The words 'in cemeteries,' etc., are a mere disguise. He himself says 'like a madman.' Otherwise he would have said 'a madman.' *Aśiva*, inauspicious, means he than whom none is more auspicious. The words *matta* and *matta-jana-priya* should be so divided as to be preceded by a negative, and thus mean 'not insane,' 'beloved by the not-insane.' The words 'lord of Pramathas,' etc., intimate his love for those devoted to him. The sense is that, removing their faultiness, he cherishes even those who have the quality of darkness. *Nashṭa-Śauchāya* means that from him comes purity to the depraved. *Durhṛit* means he whose heart, feeling, suggests that 'even these, although wicked, are to be compassionated by me.' *Vata* intimates joy. 'Owing to the injunction of Brahmā, abandoning modesty, fear, etc., I gave my daughter:' such is the sense."

[136] This is Burnouf's reading. It is an archaic, Vedic, form. The Bombay edition reads *vitanute*.

spirit],—hates the deity who does not return the hatred,—be averse to the truth. Devoted to domestic life, in which frauds are prevalent,[137] let him, from a desire of vulgar pleasures, practise the round of ceremonies, with an understanding degraded by Vedic prescriptions.[138] Forgetting the nature of soul, with a mind which contemplates other things, let Daksha, brutal, be excessively devoted to women, and have speedily the face of a goat. Let this stupid being, who has a conceit of knowledge, and all those who follow this contemner of Sarva (Siva), continue to exist in this world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (Siva), whose minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement of the flowery words[139] of the Veda, become deluded! Let those Brahmans, eating all sorts of food, professing knowledge and practising austerities and ceremonies [merely] for subsistence, delighting in riches and in corporeal and sensual enjoyments, wander about as beggars!"

The wrath of Bhrigu, one of the sages present at the sacrifice, is aroused by this curse:

27 ff.—*Tasyaivaṁ dadataḥ śāpaṁ śrutvā dvija-kulāya vai | Bhṛiguḥ pratyasṛijach chhāpam brahma-daṇḍaṁ duratyayam | Bhava-vrata-dharāḥ ye cha ye cha tān samanuvratāḥ | pāshaṇḍinas te bhavantu sachchhāstra-paripanthinaḥ | nashṭa-śauchāḥ mūḍha-dhiyo jaṭā-bhasmāsthi-dhāriṇaḥ | viśantu Śiva-dīkshāyaṁ yatra daivaṁ surāsavam | brahma cha brāhmaṇāṁś chaiva yad yūyam parinindatha | setum vidhāraṇam puṁsām ataḥ pāshaṇḍam āśritāḥ | esha eva hi lokānāṁ śivaḥ panthā sanātanaḥ | yam pūrve chānusaṁtasthur yat-pramāṇaṁ Janārdanaḥ | tad brahma paramaṁ śuddhaṁ satām vartma sanātanam | vigarhya yāta pāshaṇḍaṁ daivaṁ vo*

[137] The words so rendered, *gṛiheshu kūṭa-dharmeshu*, occur thrice in this Purāṇa (see Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v. kūṭa-dharma*), viz., in iii. 30, 10; in iv. 25, 6; and in the verse before us. In his note on iii. 30, 10 (verse 9 in the Bombay edition) the commentator explains the word *kūṭa-dharmeshu* as meaning houses "in which frauds, practices such as roguery in regard to money, etc., prevail" (*kūṭāḥ vitta-śāṭhyādi-bahulāḥ dharmāḥ yeshu*). In his remarks on the other passages he gives no explanation of the word. In his translation of iii. 30, 10, M. Burnouf renders the term by "sa maison où dominent le mensonge [et la misère," *duḥkha-tantreshu*]; in the verse before us by "attaché dans les maisons, à des vils devoirs"; and similarly in iv. 25, 6, by "au milieu des devoirs vulgaires d'un maître de maison."

[138] This depreciation of the Vedas may have arisen from a consciousness on the part of the Śaivas, that their worship was not very consistent with the most venerated Scriptures of their own country.

[139] Compare the Bhagavad Gītā ii. 42 ff., quoted in the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 31 f.

yatra bhūta-rāṭ | "Hearing him thus utter a curse against the tribe of Brahmans, Bhṛigu launched a counter-imprecation, a Brahmanical weapon, hard to be evaded: 'Let those who practise the rites of Bhava (Mahādeva), and all their followers, be heretics, and opponents of the true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding, wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation of Śiva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye revile the veda (*brahma*) and Brahmans, the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this [veda] is the auspicious (*śiva*) eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod, and wherein Janārdana (Vishṇu) is the authority. Reviling this veda (*brahma*), supreme, pure, the eternal path of the virtuous, follow the heresy in which your god is the king of goblins.'"

On hearing this imprecation, Śiva departed with his followers, while Daksha and the other Prajāpatis celebrated for a thousand years the sacrifice in which Vishṇu was the object of adoration.

The enmity between the father-in-law and son-in-law continues (sect. 3). Daksha being elevated by Brahmā to the rank of chief of the Prajāpatis, becomes elated. He commences a great sacrifice called Vṛihaspatisava. Seeing the other gods with their wives passing to this sacrifice, Satī presses her husband, Śiva, to accompany her thither. He refers to the insults which he had received from her father, and advises her not to go. She, however (sect. 4), being anxious to see her relatives, disregards his warning and goes; but being slighted by her father, Daksha, she reproaches him for his hostility to her husband, and threatens to abandon the corporeal frame by which she was connected with her parent. She then voluntarily gives up the ghost. Seeing this, Śiva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daksha to kill him. Bhṛigu, however, throws an oblation into the southern fire, pronouncing a Yajus text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice (*yajna-ghna-ghnena yajushā dakshiṇāgnau juhāva ha*). A troop of Ṛibhus in consequence spring up, who put Śiva's followers to flight. Śiva is filled with wrath when he hears of the death of Satī (sect. 5). From a lock of his hair, which he tore out, a gigantic demon arose, whom he commanded to destroy Daksha and his sacrifice. This demon proceeds with a troop of Śiva's followers, and they all execute the mandate. 15 ff. *Rurujur yajna-pātrāṇi tathaike 'gnīn anāśayan* |

kuṇḍeshv amūtrayan kechid bibhidur vedi-mekhalāḥ | abādhanta munīn anye eke patnīr atarjayan | apare jagṛihur devān pratyāsannān palāyitān | . . . 19. juhvataḥ sruva-hastasya śmaśrūṇi bhagavān Bhavaḥ | Bhṛigor lulunche sadasi yo 'hasat śmaśru darśayan | Bhagasya netre bhagavān pātitasya rushā bhuvi | ujjahāra sadaḥstho 'kshṇā yaḥ śapantam asūsuchat | Pūshṇaś chāpātayad dantān Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ | śapyamāne garimaṇi[140] *yo 'hasad darśayan dataḥ* | 15. "Some broke the sacrificial vessels, others destroyed the fires, others made water in the ponds, others cut the boundary-cords of the sacrificial ground; others assaulted the Munis, others reviled their wives; others seized the gods who were near, and those who had fled. . . . . 19. The divine Bhava (Śiva) plucked out the beard of Bhṛigu, who was offering oblations with a ladle in his hand, and who had laughed in the assembly, showing his beard. He also tore out the eyes of Bhaga, whom in his wrath he had felled to the ground, and who, when in the assembly, had made a sign to [Daksha when] cursing [Śiva]. He moreover knocked out the teeth of Pūshan[141] (as Bala did the king of Kalinga's), who (Pūshan) had laughed, showing his teeth, when the great god was being cursed." Tryambaka (Śiva, or Vīrabhadra, according to the commentator) then cuts off the head of Daksha, but not without some difficulty. The gods report all that had passed to Svayambhū (Brahmā), who, with Vishṇu, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahmā advises the gods to propitiate Śiva, whom they had wrongfully excluded from a share in the sacrifice (v. 5. *athāpi yūyaṁ kṛita-kilvishāḥ Bhavaṁ ye barhisho bhāga-bhājam parāduḥ*). The deities, headed by Aja (Brahmā), accordingly proceed to Kailāsa, when they see Śiva "bearing the linga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an antelope's skin, and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an evening cloud" (v. 35. *lingaṁcha tāpasābhīshṭam bhasma-daṇḍa-jaṭājinam | angena sandhyā-'bhra-ruchā chandra-rekhāṁcha bibhratam*). Brahmā addresses Mahādeva "as the eternal Brahma, the lord of Śakti and Śiva, who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who, in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Śakti and Śiva, who are consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them" (vv.

[140] *Garimaṇi gurutare Rudre* | Comm.

[141] See Taitt. Sanhitā, ii. 6, 8, 3, and other texts quoted above, pp. 200 ff., for the older story.

41 f. *jānc tvām īśaṁ viśvasya jagato yoni-vījayoḥ | Śakteḥ Śivasya cha param yat tad Brahma nirantaram | tvam eva bhagavann etach Chhiva-Śaktyoḥ sarūpayoḥ | viśvaṁ śrijasi pāśy atsi hrīḍann ūrṇa-paṭo yathā*). (A similar supremacy, as we shall see, is ascribed to Vishṇu in section 7.) Brahmā adds that it was this great being who had instituted sacrifice, and all the regulations which Brahmans devoutly observe; and entreats him, who is beyond all illusion, to have mercy on those who, overcome by its influence, had wrongly attached importance to ceremonial works, and to restore the sacrifice of Daksha, at which a share had been refused to him by evil priests (v. 49. *Na yatra bhāgaṁ tava bhāgino daduḥ kuya-jvinaḥ*). Mahādeva partly relents (sect. 7), and allows Daksha to have a goat's-faced head, Bhaga to see with Mitra's eyes, Pūshan to eat with the teeth of his worshipper, Bhṛigu to have a he-goat's beard, etc. (vv. 3 ff.) Daksha, after having had a goat's head fitted to his body, celebrates the praises of Śiva (vv. 8 ff.). The sacrifice is then recommenced, and in order to its completion, and to remove the pollution occasioned by the touch of Mahādeva's warriors, an oblation is made to Vishṇu on three platters (v. 17. *Vaishṇavaṁ yajna-santatyai trikapālaṁ dvijottamāḥ | puroḍāśaṁ niravapan vīra-saṁsarga-śuddhaye*). Hari (Vishṇu) being meditated on, then appears (v. 18), is saluted with the greatest reverence by the gods, headed by Brahmā, Indra, and Śiva (*Tryaksha*); is lauded successively by Daksha, by the priests, by Rudra himself, etc., etc. (vv. 26 ff.), and at length expresses himself as follows, in such a manner as to demonstrate the futility of the dispute between Daksha and Mahādeva, and to show that he himself was the one supreme deity, of whom all the others were only the manifestations, though in reality one in their essence:

V. 50. *Śrī-Bhagavān uvācha | aham Brahmā cha Śarvaś cha jagataḥ kāraṇam param | ātmeśvaraḥ upadrashṭā svayaṁdṛig aviśeshaṇaḥ* | 51. *ātma-māyāṁ samāviśya so 'ham guṇamayīṁ dvija | śrijan rakshan haran viśvaṁ dadhre saṁjñāṁ kriyochitām* | 52. *tasmin Brahmany advitīye kevale paramātmani | Brahma-Rudrau cha bhūtāni bhedenājño 'nupaśyati* | 53. *yathā pumān na svāṅgeshu śiraḥ-pāny-ādishu kvachit | pārakya-buddhiṁ kurute evam bhūteshu mat-paraḥ* | 54. *Trayāṇām eka-bhāvānāṁ yo na paśyati vai bhidām | sarva-bhūtātmanām brahman sa śāntim adhigachhati* | 50. "I am Brahmā and Śarva (Śiva), the supreme cause of the world, the soul, the lord, the witness, the self-manifesting (or, self-beholding),

devoid of attributes. 51. Entering into my own illusion consisting of the [three] Guṇas (qualities)—creating, preserving, and destroying—I have assumed names corresponding to my several acts. 52. In that one and only Brahma, the supreme Spirit, the ignorant person perceives a distinction of Brahmā and Rudra, and creatures. 53. But as a man does not think of his own members, his head, hands, etc., as belonging to another, so the man who is devoted to me [does not look upon] created things [as distinct from me]. 54. He who beholds no distinction between the three gods who are one in essence, and the soul of all things, attains tranquillity."

Daksha, after adoring Vishṇu, worships the other gods, and offers to Rudra his proper share in the sacrifice (vv. 55 f.). Satī, the daughter of Daksha, who had abandoned her original body, is born again as the daughter of Himavat and Menā (v 58. *evaṁ Dākshāyaṇī hitvā Satī pūrva-kalevaram | jajne Himavataḥ kshetre Menāyām iti śuśruma*).[142]

The Śaiva compiler of the Linga Purāṇa takes his revenge on the Vaishṇava writers, who, like the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, have exalted Vishṇu at the expense of Śiva, by narrating the following legend of an undignified dispute between Brahmā and Vishṇu regarding their respective claims to superiority, and of the apparition of the

[142] The same account of Satī's double birth is given in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 8, 9 ff.: *Evam-prakāro Rudro 'sau Satīm bhāryām avindata | Daksha-kopāchcha tatyāja sā Satī svaṁ kalevaram | Himavad-duhitā sā 'bhūd Menāyāṁ dvija-sattama | upayeme punaś chomām ananyām bhagavān Bhavaḥ |* "Rudra, being of the character thus described (*i.e.* one of the eight forms of the son born to Brahmā: see above, pp. 339 ff.) obtained Satī for his wife. This Satī abandoned her body in consequence of the anger of Daksha. She then became the daughter of Himavat and Menā; and the divine Bhava again married Umā who was identical [with his former spouse]." In the preceding section (the 7th) of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Satī is mentioned as one of the twenty-four daughters of Daksha; but the husband, Bhava, to whom she is said to have been given in marriage, is enumerated (as is also Agni) among the Munis to whom Daksha's daughters were wedded: *Tābhyaḥ śishṭāḥ kanīyasyaḥ ekādaśa sulochanāḥ | Khyātiḥ Saty atha Sambhūtiḥ Smṛitiḥ Prītiḥ Kshamā tathā | Sannatiś chānusūyā cha Ūrjā Svāhā Svadhā tathā | Bhṛigur Bhavo Marīchiś cha tathā chaivāngirāḥ muniḥ | Pulastyaḥ Pulahaś chaiva Kratuś charshi-varas tathā | Atrir Vasishṭho Vahniś cha Pitaraś cha yathā-kramam | Khyāty-ādyāḥ jagṛihuḥ kanyāḥ munayo muni-sattama |* "Younger than them (the other thirteen daughters of Daksha) were eleven virtuous and lovely-eyed damsels, Khyāti, *Satī*, Sambhūti, Smṛiti, Prīti, Kshamā, Sannati, Anusūyā, Ūrjā, Svāhā, and Svadhā. Bhṛigu, *Bhava*, Marīchi, the muni Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu the excellent rishi, Atri, Vasishṭha, Vahni (*i.e.* Agni or Fire), and the Pitris,—these munis in order married Khyāti and the other maidens."

Linga to rebuke and humble them by pointing out the inferiority of both to the supreme Mahādeva:

Linga Purāṇa, i. 17, 5–52.—*Pitāmahaḥ uvācha | Pradhānaṁ lingam ākhyātaṁ lingī cha parameśvaraḥ | rakshārtham ambudhau mahyaṁ Vishṇos tv āsīt surottamāḥ | vaimānike gate sarge jana-lokaṁ saharshibhiḥ | sthitikāle tadā pūrṇe tataḥ pratyāhṛite tathā | chatur-yuga-sahasrānte satyalokaṁ gate surāḥ | vinā "dhipatyaṁ samatāṁ gate 'nte Brahmaṇo mama | śushke cha sthāvare sarve tv anāvṛishtyā cha sarvaśaḥ | paśavo mānushāḥ vṛikshāḥ piśāchāḥ piśitāśanāḥ | gandharvādyāḥ krameṇaiva nirdagdhāḥ bhānu-bhānubhiḥ | ekārṇave mahāghore tamo-bhūte samantataḥ | pushṭe (?) hy ambhasi yogātmā nirmalo nirupaplavaḥ | sahasra-śīrshāḥ viśvātmā sahasrākshaḥ sahasra-pāt | sahasrabāhuḥ sarvajñaḥ sarva-deva-bhavodbhavaḥ | Hiraṇyagarbho rajasā tamasā S'ankaraḥ svayam | sattvena sarvago Vishṇuḥ sarvātmatve Maheśvaraḥ | kālātmā kāla-nābhas tu śuklaḥ kṛishṇas tu nirguṇaḥ | Nārāyaṇo mahābāhuḥ sarvātmā sadasanmayaḥ | tathā bhūtam ahaṁ dṛishṭvā śayānam pankajekshaṇam | māyayā mohitas tasya tam avocham amarshitaḥ | kas tvaṁ vadeti hastena samutthāpya sanātanam | tadā hasta-prahāreṇa tīvreṇa sa dṛidhena tu | prabuddho 'hīya-śayanāt samāsīnaḥ kshaṇaṁ vaśī | dadarśa nidrā-viklinnaṁ nīrajāmala-lochanaḥ | mām agre saṁsthitam dhāsā'dhyāsito bhagavān Hariḥ | āha chotthāya bhagavān hasan mām madhuraṁ sakṛit | svāgataṁ svāgataṁ vatsa pitāmaha mahādyute | tasya tad vachanaṁ śrutvā smita-pūrvaṁ surarshabhāḥ | rajasā viddha-vairaś cha tam avochaṁ Janārdanam | bhāshase vatsa vatseti sarga-saṁhāra-kāraṇam | mām ihāntaḥ-smitaṁ kṛitvā guruḥ śishyam ivānagha | kartāraṁ jagatāṁ sākshāt prakṛiteścha pravartakam | sanātanam ajaṁ Vishṇuṁ Virinchiṁ viśva-sambhavam | viśvātmānaṁ vidhātāraṁ dhātāram pankajekshaṇam | kimartham bhāshase mohād vaktum arhasi satvaram | so 'pi māṁ āha jagatāṁ kartā 'ham iti lokaya | bhartā hartā bhavān angād avatīrṇo mamāvyayāt | vismṛito 'si jagannāthaṁ Nārāyaṇam anāmayam | purusham paramātmānam puru-hūtam purushṭutam | Vishṇum achyutam īśānaṁ viśvasya prabhavodbhavam | tavāparādho nāsty atra mama māyā-kṛitaṁ tv idam | śṛiṇu satyaṁ chaturvaktra sarva-deveśvaro hy aham | kartā netā cha hartā cha na mayā 'sti samo vibhuḥ | aham eva param Brahma paraṁ tatṭvam pitāmaha | aham eva paraṁ jyotiḥ paramātmā tv ahaṁ vibhuḥ | yad yad dṛishtaṁ śrutaṁ sarvaṁ jagaty asmiṅś charācharam | tat tad viddhi chaturvaktra sarvam manmayam ity atha |*

mayā sṛishṭam purā vyaktaṁ chaturviṁśatikaṁ svayam | nityāntāḥ hy aṇavo baddhāḥ sṛishṭāḥ krodhodbhavādṛyaḥ | prasādād hi bhavān aṇḍāny anekānīha līlayā | sṛishṭā ḥuddhir ṃayā tasyām ahankāras tridhā tataḥ | tanmātra-panchakaṁ tasmād mano ḍehendriyāṇi cha | ākāśādīni bhūtāni bhautikāni ça ha līlayā | ity uktavati tasṃiṁś cha mayi chāpi vachas tathā | āvayoś chābhavad yuddhaṁ sughoraṁ romaharshaṇam | pralayārṇava-madhye tu rajasā baddha-vairayoḥ | etasminn antare lingam abhavach chāvayoḥ puraḥ | vivāda-śamanārthaṁ hi prabodhārthaṁ tathā"vayoḥ | jvālā-mālā-sahasrāḍhyaṁ kālānala-śatopamam | kshaya-vriddhi-vinirmuktam ādi-madhyānta-varjitam | anaupamyam anirdeśyam avyaktaṁ viśva-sambhavam | tasya jvālā-sahasreṇa mohito bhagavān Hariḥ | mohitam prāha mām atra parīkshāvo 'gni-sambhavam | adho gamishyāmy anala-stambhasyānupamasya cha | bhavan ūrdhvam prayatnena gantum arhasi (sic) *satvaram | evaṁ vyāhṛitya viśvātmā svarūpam akarot tadā | vārāham aham apy āśu haṁsatvam prāptavān surāḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti mām āhur haṁsaṁ haṁso virāḍ iti | haṁsa haṁseti yo brūyād māṁ haṁsaḥ sa bhavishyati | suśveto hy analākshaś cha viśvataḥ paksha-saṁyutaḥ | mano-'nila-javo bhūtvā gato 'haṁ chordhvataḥ surāḥ | Nārāyaṇo 'pi viśvātmā nīlānjana-chayopamam | daśa-yojana-vistīrṇaṁ śata-yojanam āyatam | Meru-parvata-varshmāṇaṁ gaura-tīkshṇāgra-dashṭriṇam | kālāditya-samābhāsaṁ dīrgha-ghoṇam mahāsvanam | hrasva-pādaṁ vichitrāngaṁ jaitraṁ driḍham anaupamam | vārāham asitam rūpam āsthāya gatavān adhaḥ | evaṁ varsha-sahasraṁ tu tvaran Vishṇur adho gataḥ | nāpaśyad alpam apy asya mūlaṁ lingasya sūkaraḥ | tāvat ḳālaṁ gato hy ūrdhvam aham apy arisūdanāḥ | satvaraṁ sarva-yatnena tasyāntaṁ jñātum ichhayā | śrānto hy adṛishtvā tasyāntam ahankārād*[143] *adho gataḥ | tathaiva bhagavān Vishṇuḥ śrāntaḥ saṁtrasta-lochanaḥ | sarva-deva-bhavas tūrṇam utthitaḥ sa mahāvapuḥ | samāgato mayā sārdham praṇipatya mahāmanāḥ*[144] *| māyayā mohitaḥ Śambhos tathā saṁvigna-mānasaḥ | pṛishṭhataḥ pārśvataś chaiva chāgrataḥ paramēśvaram | praṇipatya mayā sārdhaṁ sasmāra kim idaṁ tv iti | tadā samabhavat tatra nādo vai śabda-lakshaṇaḥ | om om iti sura-śreshṭhāḥ suvyaktaḥ pluta-lakshaṇaḥ | kim idam tv iti sanchintya mayā tishṭhan mahāsvanam | lingasya dakshiṇe bhāge tadā-'paśyat sanātanam | ādyaṁ varṇam a-kāraṁ tu u-kāraṁ chottare tataḥ | ma-kāram madhyataś chaiva nādāntaṁ tasya chom iti |*

[143] In a transcript of this passage made for me in India, and published in my *Mataparīkshā*, the reading is *ahaṁ kālād*, which seems a preferable reading.

[144] *Bhayād muhuḥ*—reading in the Mataparīkshā.

"Pitāmaha (Brahmā, in answer to an inquiry of the gods and rishis) says: 'Pradhāna (nature) is called the Linga, and Parameśvara is called Lingin[145] (the sustainer of the Linga). It arose for the preservation of myself and Vishṇu in the ocean, O deities. When the Vaimānika[146] creation had proceeded with the rishis to the Janaloka,[147] and when—the period of the continuance [of the world] having then been completed,—[all things] had been absorbed, at the end of the thousand sets of four yugas, and had departed to the Satyaloka—I, Brahmā, being at length reduced to a condition of equality [with other creatures] without dominion over them,[148] and all immovable things having become altogether dried up from want of rain,—beasts, men, trees, Piśāchas, flesh-eating goblins, Gandharvas, etc., were by degrees burnt up by the rays of the sun. The one awful ocean being everywhere enveloped in darkness, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, formed of existence and non-existence, sleeps[149] upon the water, plunged in contemplation, spotless, tranquil, thousand-headed, the soul of the universe, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed, thousand-armed, omniscient, the source of the existence of all the gods, he who is himself through passion (*rajas*) Hiraṇyagarbha, through darkness (*tamas*) Śankara, through goodness (*sattva*) the all-pervading Vishṇu, and in his universality Maheśvara, having the character of time, having time for his centre,[150] white, black, free from the three qualities, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the universal soul, having the essence both of entity and non-entity. Beholding the lotus-eyed deity in this condition, sleeping, I, deluded by his illusion, touching the eternal being with my hand, impatient, said to him, 'Who art thou? speak.' Roused

[145] *Lingādhishṭhānam* | Comm.

[146] *Vaimānike sarge deva-sarge* | Comm.

[147] "The different accounts agree in stating that when the three lower spheres are consumed by fire, Maharloka is deserted by its tenants, who repair to the next sphere, or Jana-loka. Jana-loka, according to the Vāyu, is the residence of the rishis and demigods during the night of Brahmā," etc.—Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 213, note; see also the same work, p. 632, and note 7 (=pp. 227 ff., vol. ii., and pp. 192 ff., vol. v. of Dr. Hall's ed.).

[148] *Lit.* "the end of me, Brahmā, having come to equality without dominion."

[149] The reading of the Bombay text is here *pushṭe;* but some such word as *śete*, "sleeps," seems to be required by the sense.

[150] *Kālānabha* is the term in the original. Perhaps the proper reading may be Kālanātha, "the lord of time," which occurs in the Mahābhārata, S'āntip. 10368. See Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.*

by the strong and violent stroke of my hand from his snaky couch, sitting for a moment, self-restrained, the deity whose eyes are pure as the lotus looked up heavy with drowsiness. The divine Hari, invested by lustre, seeing me standing before him, rising up, said to me, sweetly smiling at the same time, 'Welcome, welcome, my child, the glorious Pitāmaha.' Hearing these words of his, accompanied by a smile, O deities, my illwill being excited by passion (*rajas*), I said to Janārdana (Vishṇu): 'Dost thou,' O sinless god, like a teacher speaking to his pupil, smiling inwardly, address the words 'child, child,' to me [who am] the cause of creation and destruction, the undisputed maker of the worlds, and the mover of Prakṛiti (nature), the eternal, unborn, Vishṇu,[151] Virinchi, the source and soul of all things, the disposer, the upholder, the lotus-eyed? Why dost thou foolishly address me thus? Tell me quickly.' He said to me, 'Perceive that I am the maker, the preserver, the destroyer of the worlds; thou hast issued from my imperishable body. Thou hast forgotten the lord of the world, the potent Nārāyaṇa, Purusha, the supreme Spirit, invoked of many, lauded of many, Vishṇu, the undecaying, the lord, the source and origin of the universe. In this there is no fault of thine: it arises from my illusion. Listen to the truth, O four-faced deity: I am the lord of all the gods, the maker, the director, the destroyer; there is none equal to me, all-pervading. I, even I, O Pitāmaha, am the supreme Brahma, the supreme reality, the supreme light, the supreme spirit, all-pervading. Whatever thing, movable or immovable, has been seen or heard of in this world, know, O four-faced deity, that it is all formed of me. By me of old has been created everything that is discernible, consisting of the twenty-four principles; the atoms, which in their ultimate [and most subtile] form are eternal, have been united; and the beings sprung from my wrath[152] (Rudra), etc., have been created. From my complacence thou and numerous (mundane) eggs have been formed in sport. Intelligence (*buddhi*) has been created by me in sport; and then from it three-fold ahankāra: from it the five tanmātras, and thence mind, with the bodily senses, as also ether and the other elements, and things formed of the elements.' As soon as he and I had thus spoken, a direful and terrific fight arose

[151] Brahmā here assumes this character as belonging to himself.

[152] See above, pp. 230 and 266 f.

in the sea of universal dissolution [153] between us twain, whose enmity had been roused by passion. At this time there appeared before us, to stay our contention and admonish us, a luminous Linga, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flame, equal to a hundred final mundane conflagrations, incapable of diminution or increase, without beginning, middle, or end, incomparable, indescribable, undefinable, the source of all things. Bewildered by its thousand flames, the divine Hari said to me (Brahmā) who was myself bewildered, 'Let us on the spot examine the source of [this] fire. I will go down the unequalled pillar of fire, and thou shouldst quickly proceed strenuously upwards.' Having thus spoken, the universal-formed took the shape of a boar, and I immediately assumed the character of a swan.[154] Ever since then men call me Hansa (swan), for Hansa is Virāj.[155] Whoever shall call me 'Hansa, Hansa,' shall become a Hansa (unimpassioned saint). Having become purely white, and fiery-eyed, with wings on every side, rapid as thought and as the wind, I went upwards. Nārāyaṇa too, the soul of all things, having taken the dark form of a boar, like a heap of blue collyrium, ten yojanas broad and a hundred yojanas long, bulky as mount Meru, with white sharp-pointed tusks, luminous as the sun of mundane destruction, long-snouted, loud-grunting, short-footed, wondrous-limbed, victorious, strong, incomparable, proceeded downwards. Speeding thus downwards for a thousand years, Vishṇu, the boar, beheld no base at all of the Linga. For the same period I went rapidly upwards, O destroyers of your foes, with all my might, desirous of learning its end; but I descended from the lapse of time, without seeing its end; and so, too, the divine Vishṇu of vast bulk, the source of all the gods, worn out, with affrighted look, ascended rapidly. Meeting with me, that magnanimous deity, prostrating himself, bewildered by the illusion of Sambhu (Śiva), and disturbed in mind, bowing, along with me, before Parameśvara (Śiva), behind, at the side, and in front, exclaimed, 'What is this?' Then, O chief of the gods, there arose there the articulate sound "om, om," distinct and protracted. Considering what this could be, he then, standing

[153] See the commencement of this extract.

[154] In the 5th and 6th sections of the Śiva-purāṇa "it is explained in a puerile and inept manner why Brahmā took the form of a swan and Vishṇu of a boar." —Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodl. Sansk. MSS., p. 63*b*.

[155] See the first volume of this work, pp. 9 and 36.

with me, beheld this eternal loud-resounding [monosyllable] upon the right side of the Linga; the first letter a-kāra, after it u-kāra, ma-kāra in the centre, and Om as the result of the sounds.'"

This is followed by a great deal of mysticism about the letters of the word om and the other letters of the alphabet, etc., etc.

The eighteenth section of the same Purāṇa contains a hymn addressed by Vishṇu to Rudra, which recites a list of the attributes of the latter deity. Mahādeva is gratified with this hymn, and tells Brahmā and Vishṇu that they had both sprung from him, offers them a boon, and touches them with his auspicious hands. Nārāyaṇa asks as a boon that they may both entertain an eternal devotion for him; which Mahādeva as a matter of course grants. I cite the verses which follow, in the original:

Linga Purāṇa, 19, 8 ff.—*Jānubhyam avanīṁ gatvā punar Nārāyaṇaḥ svayam | praṇipatya cha Viśveśam prāha mandataraṁ vaśī | "āvayor deva-deveśa vivādam ati-śobhanam | ihāgato bhavān yasmād vivāda-śamanāya nau" | tasya tad-vachanaṁ śrutvā punaḥ prāha Haro Harim | praṇipatya sthitam mūrdhnā kṛitāñjali-puṭam smayan | Śrī-mahādevaḥ uvācha | pralaya-sthiti-sargāṇāṁ kartā tvaṁ dharaṇīpate | vatsa vatsa Hare Vishṇo pālayaitach charācharam | tridhā bhinno hy ahaṁ Vishṇo Brahma-Vishṇu-Bhavākhyayā | sarga-rakshā-laya-guṇair nishkalaḥ parameśvaraḥ | sammōhaṁ tyaja bho Vishṇo pālayainam Pitāmaham | pādme bhavishyati sutaḥ kalpe tava Pitāmahaḥ | tadā drakshyasi māṁ chaivaṁ so 'pi drakshyati padma-jaḥ | evam uktvā sa bhagavāṁs tatraivāntaradhīyata | tadā-prabhṛiti lokeshu lingārchā supratishṭhitā | linga-vedī Mahādevī lingaṁ sākshād Maheśvaraḥ |* "The self-restraining Nārāyaṇa, falling on his knees on the ground, and having made obeisance to Viśveśa (Śiva), spoke gently thus: 'Our dispute, O god of gods, has proved most auspicious,[156] since thou hast come hither to allay it.' Having heard these words, Hara (Śiva), smiling, again said to Hari (Vishṇu), who stood making obeisance with his hands joined: 'Thou, lord of the earth, art the author of the creation, continuance and destruction [of the uni-

[156] I cannot render this sentence, as it stands, otherwise than by taking *vivādam* for a neuter nominative, though nouns of this formation are masculine. The commentator explains *śobhanam* as meaning *ubhayor api sama-balatvāch chhobhamānam*, "brilliant from the equal powers of the two combatants"; and supplies *śamaya*, "appease, or stop, it" (*ataḥ śamaya ity adhyāhāraḥ*).

verse]: my child, my child, Hari, Vishṇu, preserve all this moving and stationary world. I, the undivided supreme lord, am divided in a threefold manner under the names of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Bhava, possessing the attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying. Relinquish, Vishṇu, thy delusion; cherish this Pitāmaha. He shall be thy son in the Pādma Kalpa. Then shalt thou behold me, and he also who sprang from the lotus (Brahmā) shall see me.' Having thus spoken, the deity vanished. Thenceforward the worship of the Linga has been inaugurated in the worlds. The pedestal of the Linga is Mahādevī (Umā), and the Linga is the visible Maheśvara."

The reader will probably be of opinion that this story does not throw much light on the real origin of the Linga-worship.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (i. 7, 6 ff.) does not assign a high rank to Rudra; but makes him the offspring of Brahmā (as the Mahābhārata, quoted above, p. 230 and 266 f., makes him of Vishṇu): *Sanandanādayo ye cha pūrvaṁ sṛishṭās tu Vedhasā | na te lokeshv asajjanta nirapekshāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jnānāḥ vīta-rāgāḥ vimatsarāḥ | teshv evaṁ nirapeksheshu loka-sṛishṭau mahātmanaḥ | Brahmaṇo 'bhūd mahākrodhas trailokya-dahana-kshamaḥ | tasya krodhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vidīpitam | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt tadā sarvaṁ trailokyam akhilam mune | bhrukuṭī-kuṭilāt tasya lalāṭāt krodha-dīpitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhnārka-samaprabhaḥ | ardha-nārī-nara-vapuḥ prachaṇḍo 'ti-śarīravān | "vibhajātmānam" ity uktvā tam Brahmā 'ntardadhe punaḥ | tathokto 'sau dvidhā strītvam purushatvaṁ tathā 'karot | bibheda purushatvaṁ cha daśadhā chaikadhā cha saḥ | saumyāsaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ strītvaṁ cha sa prabhuḥ | bibheda bahudhā devaḥ svarūpair asitaiḥ sitaiḥ |* "Sanandana and the others who were before created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent about offspring, for they had all attained to knowledge, and were free from love and from hatred. As they were thus indifferent to the creation of worlds, the mighty Brahmā was filled with fierce anger, sufficient to burn up the three worlds. The three worlds were illuminated in every part by the wreaths of flame engendered from the wrath of the god. From his forehead, wrinkled with a frown and inflamed with anger, Rudra then sprang forth, glorious as the noonday sun, his body half male and half female, fierce, and huge in bulk. Brahmā disappeared after saying to him, 'Divide thyself.' Being thus addressed, he severed himself into twain, into

a male and a female body. The god then divided his male form into eleven portions, gentle and ungentle; and in like manner his female body into many forms black and white." [157]

In the same way the Harivaṅśa says (v. 43): *Tato 'sṛijat punar Brahmā Rudraṁ roshātma-sambhavam* | "Then Brahmā next created Rudra, the offspring of his anger."

Sect. VII.—*Results of the preceding Sections.*

The various texts quoted in Sections i.–iv. (pp. 299–355) from the Rig-, the Yajur-, and Atharva-vedas, and from the Brāhmaṇas, relative to Rudra, compose the principal materials which we possess for forming an idea of the characteristics ascribed to that deity in the more ancient portions of Indian literature anterior to the composition of the Epic poems and Purāṇas. The Upanishads from which I have derived the mystical extracts given in the fifth section (pp. 355 ff.) are of uncertain date, and their contents throw but little light on the development of the worship of Rudra. The extracts which I have given from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in chapter ii. (pp. 176 f., 184 ff., 223–226, 230 ff., 240 f., 263, 266 ff., 278 ff., and 283–291), and in the last section, while they contain some of the earliest descriptions of which I am aware, of Rudra in the new, and very different, aspect in which he has been conceived in the later ages of Hindū mythology, since he has come to be identified with Śiva or Mahādeva, are yet unfitted to elucidate the process by which he became elevated to the highest rank in the Indian pantheon. I shall, however, draw from these texts a summary of the attributes which they respectively assign to Rudra, which will exhibit the modifications which the conception of this deity

[157] See Professor Wilson's notes on this passage, V. P., 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 103, ff. The Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata also speaks (vv. 13723 ff.) of Mahādeva, the three-eyed, and the great devotee, as having sprung from the forehead of Brahmā, of his coming to visit his father on the mountain Vaijayanta, and of his saluting him respectfully, falling at his feet, and being raised up by him with his left hand. Brahmā then proceeds to unfold to him the nature of Purusha. (*Atha tatrāsatas tasya Chaturvaktrasya dhīmataḥ* | *lalāṭa-prabhavaḥ putraḥ Śivaḥ āgād yadṛichchhayā* | *ākāśena mahāyogī purā trinayanaḥ prabhuḥ* | *tataḥ khād nipapātāśu dharaṇīdhara-mūrdhani* | *agrataś chābhavat prīto vavande chāpi pādayoḥ* | *tam pādayor nipatitaṁ dṛishṭvā savyena pāṇinā* | *utthāpayāmasa tadā prabhur ekaḥ Prajāpatiḥ* | *uvācha chainam bhagavāṁś chirasyāgatam ātmajam.*)

undergoes in the later, as compared with the earlier, passages. To my own remarks on this subject, however, I shall prefix some observations by Professors H. H. Wilson, Weber, and Whitney, on the character of the Vedic Rudra.

The following remarks by Professor Wilson are extracted from the Introductions to the first and second volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda (published, vol. i., 1st ed., in 1850, and 2nd ed. in 1866; and vol. ii. in 1854):

"We have a Rudra, who, in after-times, is identified with Śiva, but who, even in the Purāṇas, is of very doubtful origin and identification; whilst in the Veda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra. The epithet *kaparddin* which is applied to him appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of Śiva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the Veda a very different signification—one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in after-time the appearance of Śiva in such a head-dress, as identified with Agni; for instance, *kaparddin* may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to Śiva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India, that of the *Linga* or *Phallus:* neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism,—the *Trimūrtti*, or Tri-une combination of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva, as typified by the mystical syllable *om*, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the *Trimūrtti* was the first element in the faith of the Hindūs, and the second was the *Lingam*." [158]—(vol. i., pp. xxvi., xxvii.)

"Of Rudra also, the character is equivocal; but it may be doubted if it partakes in any remarkable degree of that fierceness and wrath which belong to the Rudra of a later date; he is termed, it is true, the slayer of heroes, but so is Indra: the effects of his anger upon men and animals are deprecated; but he is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility and giver of happiness, and his peculiar characteristics are evidently his presiding over medicinal plants and removal of disease, attributes of a beneficent, not of a malignant and

[158] Creuzer, *Religions de l'antiquité*, book i., chap. i., p. 140.

irascible deity. As above remarked, the Maruts, or winds, are termed his sons;[159] and this relationship would assimilate him to Indra. There is also a class of inferior deities, termed Rudras, who in one passage are worshippers of Agni, and in another are followers of Indra; being the same as the Maruts. So far, therefore, Rudra might be identified with Indra; but we have the name applied unequivocally to Agni in a hymn exclusively dedicated to that divinity (R. V. i. 27, 10). The term denotes, according to the Scholiast, the 'terrible Agni'; but there is no warrant for this in the text, and we may be content, therefore, with the latter, to regard Rudra as a form or denomination of fire."—(*Ibid.* pp. xxxvii. f.)

"Rudra is described, as in the first book, by rather incompatible qualities, as both fierce and beneficent; but his specific province is here also the tutelarship of medicinal plants, and administration of medicine, and he is designated as a physician of physicians (R. V. ii. 33, 4). With respect also to his presiding over medicinal plants, there occurs a passage worthy of note, as among the herbs are those, it is said, which Manu selected, alluding, most probably, to the seeds of the plants which Manu, according to the legend as related in the Mahābhārata, took with him into his vessel at the time of the deluge. There are more particulars of the person of Rudra than usual. He is sometimes said to be brown or tawny, but he is also said to be white-complexioned (R.V. ii. 33, 8); he is soft-bellied and handsome-chinned; he is armed with a bow and arrows, and brilliant with golden ornaments. He is also called the father of the Maruts. There is little, however, in all this, except his fierceness, to identify him with the Rudra of the Purāṇas." —(vol. ii., pp. ix. f.)

The following interesting and ingenious speculations of Professor Weber are translated from his Indische Studien, ii., 19–22 (published in 1853):

"In the beginning of the ninth book of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (see above, p. 347 f.), we obtain a complete explanation of the Śatarudriya (see above, p. 322 ff.). When the preparation of the consecrated place for kindling the fire is completed (*chity-upadhāna-parisamāpty-ānantaryam, Sāyaṇa*), and the fire has been kindled, and blazes up (*dīpyamāno*

[159] See the Section on the Maruts in the fifth vol. of this work, pp. 147 ff.

'tishṭhat), the gods (*i.e.* the Brahmans[160]) are terrified by it, *yad vai no 'yaṁ na hiṁsyād iti* ('lest it should destroy us'): and with the view of appeasing this [howling, hungry] flame, which is conceived of as in the form of Rudra, *i.e.* to consecrate and propitiate the fire, they offer their adoration to Rudra, and to his supposed troop of associates, *i.e.* to all conceivable shapes of terror, and by this means render them favourable, and avert all their malevolent influences. Hence the Brāhmaṇa explains *śata-rudriya* by *śānta-rudriya* (as *gata* comes from the root *gam*); a double sense, which may perhaps have actually been, though indistinctly, contemplated, when the name was first given.[161] In this application of Rudra as the god of fire (independently of the other contents of the Śatarudriya), we may find an indication of the time when it was composed. Though Rudra originally signifies generally the howler, and consequently can stand as well for an epithet of the crackling fire as of the raging storm, yet in the earliest period the word had been more specially used to denote the latter signification, and is therefore frequently used in the Rig-veda in the plural as an epithet of the Maruts. The unbridled fury (*manyu*) of the storm, its roaring, its tearing up (*aufwühlen*) of heaven and earth,[162] must have produced a strong and overpowering effect upon the Arian Indians in the high mountain valleys (perhaps of Kashmīr) in which we must conceive them to have lived at that early period; and it was thus in the natural course of things that they should connect everything terrible and horrible with the idea of the god of storms, and regard him as the lord, and the cause, of every evil:[163] numberless, indeed, were these aerial hosts, black, pierced only by the quivering gleams of the lightning, diffusing everywhere shuddering and horror.

"It is true that Rudra 'is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the

[160] "In the Brāhmaṇas the thoughts of men are very frequently put into the mouths of the gods. For instance, when the gods go to Prajāpati, and request him to solve any difficulty, this is merely a transcendental expression for the fact of a few wise men applying for instruction to one still wiser than themselves."

[161] "The Ārshādhyāya of the *Chārāyaṇīya* School of the Kāṭhaka also (ii. 17) says: *Śatarudriyaṁ devānāṁ Rudra-śamanam.*" 'The Śatarudriya is an appeasing of Rudra by the gods.'

[162] "Hence in the R.V. i. 114, 5, he is also called *varāha*, "boar," as the storm-clouds too are elsewhere conceived under the same image" (Ind. Stud. i. 272, note).

[163] "In R.V. i. 114; ii. 33. Hence, too, seven verses from these hymns are incorporated in the Śatarudriya."

author of fertility, and giver of happiness;'[164] but it is only indirectly that he is so addressed, and merely because he departs, and directs his destroying arrows towards some other quarter, against the enemies of the suppliant, and leaves the latter himself in peace; the worshipper flatters him with fair words, as if he were purely benevolent, to pacify his anger, and to render him gracious (*śiva*); and he only appears directly beneficent in so far as he chases away clouds and vapours, purifies and clears the atmosphere; in reference to this he is called a physician, and moreover acquainted with healing herbs: but he carries also diseases and contagions themselves as arrows in his quiver, and slays therewith men and cattle.

"In the crackling flame of the fire, now, men thought that they heard again the wrathful voice of the storm, that in the consuming fierceness of the former, they perceived once more the destructive fury of the latter. In this way we have to explain how it happened that both deities became gradually identified, and lent their respective epithets to one another, particularly as at the same time the storm is, in bad weather, accompanied with gleaming and fiery lightnings. This identification seems to have extended not merely to Agni and Rudra themselves, but also to the Rudras, in so far as the latter, from being the raging and flaming companions of the storm, appear to have become the representatives of all sorts of terrific shapes in general, until in the epic period they retired completely into the background, while their ancient master, Rudra, in his combination with Agni, became continually more firmly condensed as the god of rage and destruction, and a new class of beings took the place of the Rudras as attendants upon him (in his capacity of S'iva).

"At the period when the Rudra-book (the S'atarudriya) was composed, the blending of the two destructive deities (Storm and Fire) had evidently taken place; and the epithets which are there assigned to Rudra lead us back partly to himself, and partly to Agni. The epithets 'dweller in the mountains' (*giriśa*, *girišaya*, *girišanta*, *giritra*), and those of *kapardin*, *vyupta-keśa*, *ugra*, and *bhīma*, *bhishaj* and *śiva*, *śambhu* and *śankara*, belong to the Storm, while on the other hand those of *nīla-grīva* (=*nīlakaṇṭha*, spoken of smoke), *śitikaṇṭha*, *hiraṇya-bāhu* (of flame), *vilohita*, *sahasrāksha* (of sparks), *paśupati* (of sacrificial

[164] Wilson, Introd. to Trans. of R.V., vol. i., quoted above, p. 394.

victims), *śarva* and *bhava*, etc., belong to Fire. Now almost all these epithets[165] are technical epithets and characteristics of the epic Śiva, and when applied to him are partially unintelligible, and become explicable only after they have been distinguished according to the two separate elements to whose combination this god owes his origin.[166] But as in the Rudra-book Rudra nowhere appears as Īśa or Mahādeva, and no character is assigned to him analogous to that of the epic Śiva; and as the word *śiva* is applied to him simply as an epithet (with its comparative *śivatara* annexed); the book in question must in any case be held to date from an earlier epoch of the Indian religion, whilst its elevation to the rank of an Upanishad may only have taken place in the epic period, and have been occasioned by the special worship of Śiva."

The following remarks of Professor Whitney on the same subject are taken from the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 318 f. (published in 1853); and are reprinted in the volume entitled "Oriental and Linguistic Studies," published by their author in 1873:

"To the second domain, the atmosphere, belong the various divinities of the wind and storm. God of the breeze, the gentler motion of the air, is Vayū (from the root *vā*, 'blow'). He drives a thousand steeds; his breath chases away the demons; he comes in the earliest morning, as the first breath of air that stirs itself at daybreak, to drink the soma, and the Auroras weave for him shining garments. The storm-winds are a troop, the Maruts or Rudras: the two names are indifferently used, but the former is much the more usual (the etymology of neither is fully established). They drive spotted stags, wear shining armour, and carry spears in their hands; no one knows whence they come nor whither they go; their voice is heard aloud as they come rushing on; the earth trembles and the mountains shake before them. They belong in Indra's train; are his almost constant allies and companions. They are called the sons of Rudra, who is conceived of as peculiar god of the tempest. As their father he is very often mentioned; as a divinity with independent attributes he is of much rarer occurrence; hymns addressed to him alone are but few.

[165] "And so of many other epithets found elsewhere: thus Śiva owes his epithet Tryambaka, and his wife Ambikā, to Rudra; and, on the other hand, his epithet Tripura, and his wife Kālī, Karālī, to Agni," etc.

[166] "Hence he is also called Kālāgnirudra, as in the Purāṇas, and in the Kālāgnirudra Upanishad."

He is, as might be expected, a terrible god: he carries a great bow from which he hurls a sharp missile at the earth; he is called the 'ruler of men,' *kshayadvīra*;[167] his wrath is deprecated, and he is besought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the Ṛik, at least in the Atharvan and Brāhmaṇas, he is styled 'lord of the animals,' as the unhoused beasts of the field are especially at the mercy of the pitiless storm. At the same time, to propitiate him, he is addressed as master of a thousand remedies, best of physicians, protector from harm: this may have its ground, too, partly in the beneficial effects of the tempest in freshening the atmosphere of that sultry clime. Rudra's chief interest consists in the circumstance that he forms the point of connexion between the Vedic religion and the later Çiva-worship. Çiva is a god unknown to the Vedas: his name is a word of not unfrequent occurrence in the hymns, but means simply 'propitious'; not even in the Atharvan is it the epithet of a particular divinity, or distinguished by its usage from any other adjective. As given to him whose title it has since become, it seems one of those euphemisms so frequent in the Indian religion, applied as a soothing and flattering address to the most terrible god in the whole Pantheon. The precise relation between Çiva and Rudra is not yet satisfactorily traced out. The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra; or again a blending of some of Agni's attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development. Perhaps neither of these may be necessary; Çiva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influence of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way down into Hindostan proper; introduced among, and readily accepted by, a people which, as the Atharvan shows, was strongly tending toward a terrorism in its religion."

The characters ascribed to Rudra in the hymns of the R. V. are most heterogeneous and frequently indefinite. I shall endeavour to gather, from different places and to group together those epithets which have most affinity to each other. This god is described as wise, bountiful, and powerful (i. 43, 1; i. 114, 4), as the strongest and most glorious of beings (ii. 33, 3), as lord (*īśāna*) of this world, possessed of

[167] Compare the note on the sense of this word, above, p. 301 f.

divine power (ii. 33, 9), as unsurpassed in might[168] (*ibid.* 10), as the father of the world,[169] mighty, exalted, undecaying (vi. 49, 10); as cognizant of the doings of men and gods by his power and universal dominion (vii. 46, 2); as putting the waters in motion (x. 92, 5); as self-dependent (vii. 46, 1), and as deriving his renown from himself (i. 129, 3; x. 92, 9); as the lord of heroes (i. 114, 1, 3, 10; x. 92, 9); as the lord of songs and sacrifices (i. 43, 4), the fulfiller of sacrifices (i. 114, 4); brilliant as the sun, and as gold (i. 43, 5), tawny-coloured (this epithet is frequently applied), with beautiful chin (ii. 33, 5), fair-complexioned (*ibid.* 8), multiform, fierce, arrayed in golden ornaments (*ibid.* 9), youthful (v. 60, 5), terrible as a wild beast, destructive (ii. 23, 11), wearing spirally-braided hair (i. 114, 1, 5); and as the celestial boar (*ibid.* 5). He is frequently represented as the father of the Maruts or Rudras (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5; vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 20, 17). He is once identified with Agni (ii. 1, 6). He is described as seated on a chariot (ii. 33, 11), as wielding the thunderbolt (ii. 33, 3), as armed with a bow and arrows (*ibid.* 10, 14; v. 42, 11; x. 125, 6), with a strong bow and fleet arrows, with sharp weapons (vi. 74, 4; vii. 46, 1; viii. 29, 5). His shafts are discharged from the sky, and traverse the earth (vii. 46, 3). He is called the slayer of men (*nṛi-ghne*, iv. 3, 6).[170] His anger, ill-will, and destructive shafts are deprecated (i. 114, 7, 8; ii. 33, 1, 11, 14; vi. 28, 7; vii. 46, 3, 4). But he is also represented as benevolent (i. 114, 9), as mild, and easily invoked (ii. 33, 5), beneficent (*ibid.* 7), gracious (*śiva*, x. 92, 9), as the cause or condition of health and prosperity to man and beast (i. 114, 1). He is frequently described as the possessor of healing remedies, and is once characterized as the greatest of physicians (i. 43, 4; i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 2, 4, 7, 12, 13; v. 42, 11; vi. 74, 3;[171] vii. 35, 6; vii. 46, 3; viii.

[168] Compare the similar epithets applied to Vishṇu and Indra above: see pp. 97 f. and generally sections i. and ii., chapter ii. above. And yet in R.V. ii. 39, 9, Rudra is described in common with Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, as unable to resist the will of Savitṛi. See the fifth volume of this work, p. 163.

[169] *Bhuvanasya pitaraṃ*. Compare Raghuvaṃśa i., 1, where Parameśvara (Śiva) and Pārvatī are styled the "parents of the world" (*jagataḥ pitarau*).

[170] In vii. 56, 17, it is similarly said of the Maruts, *āre gohā nṛihā vadho vo astu*: "Far be your kine-slaying, man-slaying bolt."

[171] In this passage Soma is associated with Rudra as the dispenser of remedies.

29, 5). He is supplicated for blessings (i. 114, 1, 2; ii. 33, 6), and represented as averting the anger of the gods (i. 114, 4; ii. 33, 7). In R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff., he is connected with Soma in the dual, and entreated along with the latter to bestow good and avert evil.

On a review of these passages, and the hymns from which they are drawn, it appears that in most places Rudra has no very clearly defined function (such, for instance, as is ascribed to Indra and Agni, or even to Vishṇu) as an agent in producing, or a representative of, the great phenomena of the physical world. It would be difficult to make out from the larger portion of the texts which I have cited to what region of the universe the activity of this god should be referred. It is true that he is repeatedly declared to be the father of the Maruts or Rudras (the winds or storms); and from this relation we might anticipate that he would be described as, still more eminently than they, the generator of tempests, and chaser of clouds. There are, however, few, if any, distinct traces of any such agency being ascribed to him. The numerous vague epithets which are constantly applied to him would not suffice to fix the particular sphere of his operation, or even to define his personality, as most of them are equally applied to other deities. This is the case with the terms "fierce," "tawny-coloured," "with beautiful chin"; and even the word kapardin ("with spirally-braided hair"), which at a later period became a common, if not distinctive, epithet of Mahādeva, is in the R.V. applied also to Pūshan (see above, p. 301, note 7). While, however, the cosmical function of Rudra is thus but obscurely indicated, he is described as possessing other marked and peculiar characteristics. It is, however, principally in his relation to the good and evil which befall the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that, though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity, and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency (as Professor Weber remarks, see above, p. 397), and the consequent restoration to health and vigour of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear

strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same god: but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life, are naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the absence of the other, and vice versâ; and in later times Mahādeva is in a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the destroyer. We may add to this that, while it is natural to deprecate the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the suppliant may fear to provoke his displeasure, and to awaken his jealousy, by calling on any other deity to provide a remedy. When the destructive god has been induced to relent, to withdraw his visitation, or remove its effects, it is natural for his worshippers to represent him as gracious and benevolent, as we see done in some of the hymns to Rudra.

From the above description, however, it will be apparent that the elder Rudra, though different in many respects from the later Mahādeva, is yet, like him, a terrible and destructive deity; while, on the other hand, the ancient Vishṇu, like the modern god of the same name, is represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or, at least, of an innocuous, character (R.V. i. 22, 18; i. 155, 4; i. 186, 10; viii. 25, 12).

In the Yajur-veda we find the same characteristics assigned to Rudra as in the Rig-veda. Thus both a healing virtue (iii. 59; xvi. 5, 49) and a destructive efficacy are ascribed to him, the latter being depicted in the liveliest colours, and deprecated in every variety of expression. Thus he is represented (iii. 61; xvi. 1, and elsewhere) as carrying a bow and arrows, and is earnestly supplicated (xvi. 9 ff., 51 ff.) to avert his shafts from the worshipper. Many of the epithets which are applied to him in the Rig-veda occur again here, such as "brown" or "tawny" (xvi. 6), the god "with spirally-braided hair" (*ibid.* 10), the "fierce" (*ibid.* 40), the "bountiful," the "gracious" (51), etc.; while a multitude of new appellations are heaped upon him (and his attendants), such as "blue-necked," "thousand-eyed" (*ibid.* 7), "thousand-quivered" (13), "clad in a skin" (iii. 61; xvi. 51), "the dweller in the mountains" (xvi. 2, 3, 4), and others far too numerous to repeat (xvi. 17–46). The imagination of the rishi runs riot in the invention of these epithets, which are of the most heterogeneous description. Some of the characteristics here attributed to Rudra are of a disgraceful nature, as where he is styled the "lord of thieves, the robber, the cheater, the deceiver, the lord of pilferers and robbers," etc. (vv. 20,

21). Several new names are ascribed to Rudra in this Veda, as Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, etc., etc. (vv. 18, 28),[172] Altogether an approximation is discernible in the epithets which occur in the Satarudriya to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive character of the later Mahâdeva. Ambikâ is mentioned for the first time in the Vâjasaneyi Sanhitâ (iii. 5), and is described not as the wife, but as the sister of Rudra.

In the Atharva-veda also reference is made both to the therapeutic character of Rudra and to the destructive arrows and lightnings of Bhava and Sarva (ii. 27, 6; vi. 93, 1; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1, 12, etc.). Rudra is identified with Agni (vii. 87, 1); and again with Savitṛi (xiii. 4, 4). On the other hand, Bhava and Sarva, and again Bhava and Rudra, are spoken of in the dual (viii. 2, 7; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1; xi. 2, 14, 16; xi. 6, 9; xii. 4, 17); and would thus appear to have been regarded by the rishi as distinct gods. Sarva is described as an archer, Bhava as a king (vi. 93, 2); and they, as well as Rudra, are said to have poisons and consumption at their command (vi. 93, 2; xi. 2, 26). In A. V. xi. 2, 2, 30, the devouring birds and dogs of Rudra are alluded to (compare Vâj. Sanh. xvi. 28). In another verse Bhava is said to rule over the sky and the earth, and to fill the vast atmosphere (A. V. xi. 2, 27).[173]

In the Satapatha Brâhmaṇa (i. 7, 3, 8) Sarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni; and of these appellations Sarva is declared to be in use among the people of the east, and Bhava among the western tribe of the Bâhîkas. Another passage (vi. 1, 3, 7 ff.) of the same Brâhmaṇa describes the birth of a boy (*kumâra*, a word applied to Agni in the Rig-veda, v. 2, 1), to whom the names of Rudra, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahân-deva, and Îśâna were successively

[172] In the same Veda, xxxix. 8, we have the following gods, or appellations of one god, specified, viz., Agni, Aśani, Paśupati, Bhava, S'arva, Îśâna, Mahâdeva, Ugra-deva, etc. (*Agniṁ hṛidayena Aśaniṁ hṛidayâgreṇa Pâśupatiṁ kṛitsna-hṛidayena Bhavaṁ yaknâ | S'arvam matasnâbhyâm Îśânam manyunâ Mahâdevam antaḥparśavyena Ugraṁ devaṁ vanishṭhunâ ityâdi*).

[173] The Nirukta i. 15, as I have already remarked, p. 355, note 98, contains the first words of a text relating to Rudra which is given at length by the commentator Durga, and is cited and translated above. After ascribing a martial character to Rudra in the first line, this text appears to assign to him, in the second, the threefold function of universal creator, preserver, and destroyer. As it is partially quoted in the Nirukta, this verse, though it does not appear whence it comes, must, unless interpolated, be of considerable antiquity.

given, all of them, according to the writer, representing different forms of Agni. In the somewhat different version of the same story given in the Śānkhāyana Brāhmaṇa (see above, pp. 343 ff.) the newly-born deity is not identified with Agni. But the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in another passage (ix. 1, 1, 1 ff.) referred to by Professor Weber (see above, pp. 347 and 395 f.), appears again clearly to make this identification. Finally, traces of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni are discoverable, as I have already remarked (p. 349), in the legend of the birth of Kārttikeya, which I have quoted from the Mahābhārata.

Though, however, these deities may have at one time come to be thus identified, the distinctive epithets applied to Rudra in the Rigveda appear sufficiently to prove that he was generally discriminated from Agni by his early worshippers. The tendency visible both in the hymns of the Veda and in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, R.V. ii. 1, 6, p. 306; A. V. vii. 87, 1, and xiii. 4, 4, pp. 333 and 338; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, as quoted in p. 341; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 5, p. 22) to identify the different deities with one another may have arisen from a vague conception of the unity of the divine principle by which all these several divinities were supposed to be diversely animated.

Between the texts which I have cited from the Brāhmaṇas relative to Rudra, and the earliest descriptions of the same deity which we discover in the Epic poems, a wide chasm intervenes, which, as far as I am aware, no genuine ancient materials exist (for the Upanishads I have quoted are of uncertain date) for bridging over. The Rudra of the Mahābhārata is not indeed very different in his general character from the god of the same name who is portrayed in the Śatarudriya; but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes are more clearly defined, and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered more distinct by the addition of various additional features, and illustrated by numerous legends. Instead of remaining a subordinate deity, as he was in the Vedic era, Rudra has thrown Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Mitra, and Varuṇa completely into the shade; and although Indra still occupies a prominent place in the Epic legends, he has sunk down into a subordinate position, and is quite unable to compete in power and dignity with Rudra, who, together with Vishṇu, now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. Ambikā, who was subsequently identified with the

spouse of Rudra, is in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (above, p. 321) spoken of as his sister. Umā or Pārvatī, with whom he was unconnected in the Vedic period, and of whom the earliest mention, as far as I know, occurs in the Kena Upanishad, and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,[174] is now his acknowledged consort.[175] In systematic mythology the function of destroyer is assigned to him, as that of creator is to Brahmā, and that of preserver to Vishṇu; but he is also worshipped under the emblem of the "Linga" as the great generative power.

I have (above, pp. 192 f.) quoted a passage from the Mahābhārata in which the Linga is dwelt upon at length, though it is difficult to say to what age this passage may be referable. Comp. also the epithet "mahāśepha" in p. 191 f., which points to the same idea.

In the following passage of the same book, the Linga is again mentioned in verses which follow the last of those quoted above in p. 197 ff.:

Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 7510.—*Dahaty ūrdhvaṁ sthito yach cha prāṇān nṛiṇāṁ sthiraś cha yat | sthira-lingas cha yan nityaṁ tasmāt Sthāṇur iti smṛitaḥ | . . . . .* v. 7516. *Nityancha brahmacharyeṇa lingam asya yadā sthitam | mahayanty asya lokāś cha priyaṁ hy etad mahātmanaḥ | vigraham pūjayed yo vai linyaṁ vā pi mahātmanaḥ | linga-pūjayitā nityam mahatīṁ śriyam aśnute | ṛishayas chāpi devāś cha gandharvāpsarasas tathā | lingam evārchayanti sma yat tad ūrdhvaṁ samāsthitam | ityādi |* "And since, standing aloft, he consumes the lives of men, and since he is fixed, and since his Linga is perpetually fixed, he is therefore called Sthāṇu. . . . . 7516. And when his Linga remains constantly in a state of chastity, and people reverence it, this is agreeable to the great [god]. The worshipper of the Linga, who shall adore the image (*vigraha*), or the Linga, of the great [god], enjoys continually great prosperity. It is the Linga, raised up, which the rishis, gods,

[174] These passages will be quoted in the next section.

[175] It appears (see Westergaard's Dissertation on the Oldest Period of Indian History, p. 82, note) that Pāṇini (4, 1, 49) gives a rule whereby, in addition to the names of the goddesses Indrāṇī and Varuṇānī, which are found in the Rig-veda, the names of four others who are not found there, and who are all wives of S'iva (under his different appellations of Bhava, S'arva, Rudra, and Mṛida)—viz. Bhavānī S'arvāṇī, Rudrāṇī, and Mṛiḍānī—may be formed. (The rule is this: *Indra-Varuṇa-Bhava-S'arva-Rudra-Mṛiḍa-himāraṇya-yava-yavana-mātulāchāryāṇām āṇuk*). It does not, however, follow that these last-named goddesses had risen into any importance in the time of Pāṇini. Indrāṇī and Varuṇānī were never of any significance.

Gandharvas, and Apsarases worship." Compare with this extract verses 9616 f., 9625 and 9631 of the Droṇa-parvan.

The Linga is also mentioned in the list of Śiva's names in another part of the same Anuśāsana-parvan, v. 1160:

Ūrdhva-retāḥ ūrdhva-lingaḥ ūrdhva-śāyī nabhaḥ-sthitaḥ | v. 1191. *Lingādhyakshaḥ surādhyakshaḥ . . . . vīrādhyaksho vīja-kartā . . . .* "He whose seed is raised up, whose Linga is raised up, who sleeps aloft, who abides in the sky." . . . . v. 1191: "The lord of the Linga, the lord of the suras (gods) . . . . the lord of seed, the former of seed." [176]

We possess no records to show how this phallic emblem became connected with Rudra. But, as Dr. Stevenson (Journal R. A. S., viii. 330 [177]) and Professor Lassen (Ind. Ant., i. 2nd ed. 924) imagine, it

[176] In the Sauptika-parvan it is related that Mahādeva had been appointed by Brahmā to create living beings. He proceeded to perform austerities, and continued doing so so long that Brahmā produced another creator, who performed his task. Mahādeva at last came, and seeing that the creation had already been effected, he became angry and split his Linga, which was then placed in the earth (v. 780 f.: *chukrodha bhagavān Rudro lingaṁ svaṁ chāpyavidhyata* | *tat praviddhaṁ tathā bhūmau tathaiva pratyatishṭhata*). I have not observed any mention of the Linga in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 31, v. 42 f., the following lines occur: *Yatra yatra cha yāti sma Rāvaṇo rākshaseśvaraḥ* | *jāmbūnadamayaṁ lingaṁ tatra tatra sma nīyate* | 43. *Bālukā-vedi-madhye tu tal lingaṁ sthāpya Rāvaṇaḥ* | *archayāmāsa gandhaiś cha pushpaiś chāmṛita-gandhibhiḥ* | "Wherever Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākshasas, went, a golden linga was carried thither. Placing that linga in the midst of a pedestal of sand, Rāvaṇa worshipped it with incense, and flowers of ambrosial odour." The commentator remarks on v. 43: *Tal lingaṁ jāmbūnadamayaṁ nitya-pūjā-lingam* | *Aiśvarya-kāmanayā hi tal-linga-pūjā Rāvaṇasya* | *Aiśvarya-kāmasya sauvarṇa-linga-pūjāyās tantreshūkteḥ* | "That golden linga was intended for constant worship. He worshipped it from the desire of sovereignty. For it is prescribed in the Tantras that a golden linga should be worshipped when any one desires sovereignty."

[177] In this paper on "the Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus," the Rev. Dr. Stevenson asserts that the "worship of S'iva, especially under the form of the Linga," is one of the practices for which he considers modern Hinduism is indebted to the ante-Brahmanical religion of India, *i.e.* to local superstitions prevalent among the aboriginal tribes anterior to the development of the existing Brahmanical system. This opinion in regard to S'iva is grounded by Dr. Stevenson on the facts: (1) that S'iva is not named in the ancient Vedic hymns; (2) that Rudra does not occupy in those hymns the high position which the later S'iva holds; (3) that various particulars in the legend of Daksha (see above, pp. 372 ff.), such as the general indisposition to acknowledge S'iva's right to share in the sacrifice, and the circumstance that his rites required no Brahmanical priest (see above, p. 377, note 132), point to a recent introduction of S'iva's worship (comp. Mahābhārata, Vana-parvan, vv. 11001 ff., cited

is not impossible that it may have been at first an object of veneration among the aboriginal or non-Arian Indians; and that it was subsequently adopted by the Brahmans from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra.

This conjecture would acquire additional probability if we were justified in supposing that the word "śiśnadeva," which occurs in two passages of the Rig-veda, had any reference to a worship of this sort existing among the barbarous tribes towards whom the authors of the hymns so often express hostility, as the followers of a different religion from their own. The texts in which the word in question is found have been already adduced and translated in the second volume of this work (p. 391, note 76). But I shall quote them again here with their obscure and difficult contexts, and endeavour to elucidate them further. The first passage is as follows:

R.V. vii. 21, 3 ff.—*Tvam Indra sravitavai apas kaḥ parishṭhitāḥ Ahinā śūra pūrvīḥ | tvad vāvakre rathyo na dhenāḥ rejante viśvā kṛitrimāṇi bhīshā | 4. Bhīmo vivesha āyudhebhir eshām apāṃsi viśvā naryāṇi vidvān | Indraḥ puro jarhṛishāṇo vi dūdhod vi vajra-hasto mahinā jaghāna | 5. Na yātavaḥ Indra jūjuvur no na vandanā śavishṭha vedyābhiḥ*[178] *| sa śardhad aryo vishuṇasya jantor mā śiśna-devāḥ api gur ṛitaṃ naḥ | 6. Abhi kratvā Indra bhūr adha jman na te vivyan mahimānaṃ rajāṃsi | svena hi Vṛitraṃ śavasā jaghantha na śatrur antaṃ vividad yudhā te | 7. Devāś chit te asuryāya pūrve anu kshatrāya mamire sahāṃsi | Indro maghāni dayate vishahya Indraṃ vājasya johavantu sātau | 8. Kīriś chid hi tvām avase juhāva īśāṇam Indra saubhagasya bhūreḥ | avo babhūtha śatam-ūte asme abhikshattus tvāvato varūtā |*

"3. Thou, heroic Indra, hast caused to flow the abundant waters which had been obstructed by Ahi. Through thee the cows (rivers,

in p. 284 of this volume); (4) that there is no connexion between the Linga and any of the ancient Brahmanical emblems; (5) that the principal seats of the Linga worship are to be found in the south and north-east of India, at a distance from the original Brahmanical settlements; (6) that in the Mahratta country no Brahman officiates as priest in a Linga temple, while, on the contrary, in the temples of Vishṇu Brahmans alone officiate. [This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Viśves'vara, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mistaken, are Brahmans. The same is the impression of Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall, with whom I have communicated on the subject.—J. M.]

[178] For the sense assigned to this word in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, see *s.v. vedyā*.

according to Sāyaṇa) have rolled on like warriors in chariots. All created things tremble for fear. 4. The terrible [god], skilled in all heroic deeds, has with his weapons mastered these [cloud-demons]. Indra, exulting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunderbolt he has smitten them asunder by his might. 5. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, O puissant [deity], of a truth any evil spirits. The glorious [Indra] defies the hostile beings: let not those whose god is the 'śiśna' approach our sacred ceremony. 6. Thou, O Indra, hast surpassed in power, when thou runnest thy course. The worlds have not comprehended within them thy greatness. By thine own might thou hast slain Vṛitra. No enemy hath attained the end of thee in battle. 7. The earlier gods have yielded to thy divine power; their powers have bowed before thy sovereign might.[179] Indra having conquered, dispenses wealth. Let men invoke Indra in the combat. 8. Indra, the bard hath invoked for protection thee, the lord of great prosperity. O thou who bringest a hundred succours, thou hast been a defence to us, a defender against the assailant of him who is devoted to thee."

R.V. x. 99, 1 ff.—*Kaṁ naś chitram ishanyasi chikitvān pṛithugmānaṁ vāśraṁ vāvṛidhadhyai | kat tasya dātu śavaso vyushṭau takshad vajraṁ Vṛitra-turam apinvat* | 2. *Sa hi dyutā vidyutā veti sāma pṛithuṁ yonim asuratvā "sasāda | sa sanīḷebhiḥ prasahāno asya bhrātur na ṛite saptathasya māyāḥ* | 3. *Sa vājaṁ yātā apadushpadā yan svarshātā parishadat sanishyan | anarvā yat śata-durasya*[180] *vedo ghnan śiśnadevān abhi varpasā 'bhūt* | 4. *Sa yahvyo avanīr goshu arvā ā juhoti pradhanyāsu sasriḥ | apādo yatra yujyāso 'rathāḥ drony-aśvāsaḥ īrate ghṛitaṁ vāḥ* | 5. *Sa Rudrebhir aśasta-vāraḥ ṛibhvā hitvī gayam āre-avadyāḥ ā agāt | vamrasya manye mithunā vivavrī annam abhīlya arodayat mushāyan* | 6. *Sa id dāsaṁ tuvi-ravam patir dan shaḍ-akshaṁ tri-śīrṣhāṇaṁ damanyat | asya Trito nu ojasā vṛidhāno vipā varāham ayo-agrayā han* | 7. *Sa druhvane manushe ūrdhvasānaḥ ā sāvishad arśasānāya śarum | sa nṛitamo nahusho 'smat sujātaḥ puro 'bhinad arhan dasyu-hatye* | "What wonderful, wide-travelling bull dost thou, perceiving, send to us for our delight! What an act of power does he display at the dawn! He has formed the

[179] "Ihre Kraft kommt deiner Herrscherkraft nicht gleich,"—Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v. mā+anu.*

[180] This word in the locative plural also occurs in R.V. i. 51, 3.

Vṛitra-slaying thunderbolt, and has strengthened thee. 2. With gleaming light he comes to the goal; in his divine glory he hath seated himself on our broad place of sacrifice; with his allies he overcomes the delusions of him who pretends to be his seventh brother. 3. Proceeding to the conflict, and desiring to acquire them, he has gone to, and in hostile array besieged, inaccessible places, at the time when, irresistible, slaying those whose god is the 'śisna,' he by his craft conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates. 4. The steed, coming among the cows conquered in battle, pours out the flowing rivers [in the place] where the allies, without feet or chariots, employing the clouds as their horses, send forth fertilizing water. 5. The great [Indra], who has indescribable treasures, and from whom evil is far removed, forsaking his house, has arrived with the Rudras. Coming and plundering their food, he has, I believe, made the two unsheltered (children) of Vamra to weep. 6. This lord subjugated the loud-voiced Dāsa with six eyes and three heads. Trita, increasing through his strength, struck the boar with his iron-tipped shaft. 7. Rising up, he has launched his arrow against the malignant and destructive man. He, the noble and potent hero, has shattered for us the cities of the enemy (or of Nahush) in the conflict with the destroyers (Dasyus)."[181]

The following is Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word "śiśnadeva" in the first of the preceding passages, R.V. vii. 21, 5, and repeated briefly in his note on the second passage: *Śiśna-devāḥ | śiśnena dīvyanti krīḍanti iti śiśna-devāḥ | abrahmacharyāḥ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha Yāskaḥ | .... "śiśna-devāḥ abrahmacharyāḥ" | .... "* 'Śiśnadevāḥ' are those who sport with the śiśna (membrum virile), *i.e.* unchaste men; as Yaska says, 'Śiśnadevāḥ' means the unchaste." Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 47), gives the same explanation as Sāyaṇa. He says that those men are called "śiśnadeva" who, "are always dallying carnally with prostitutes, forsaking Vedic observances" (*śiśnena nityam eva prakīrṇābhiḥ strībhiḥ sākaṁ krīḍantaḥ āsate śrautāni karmāṇy utsṛijya*). Roth, in the place I have cited, thinks the word is a sarcastic appellation for priapic or lustful demons, and translates it by "Schwänz-götter."

[181] Prof. Aufrecht has given me much assistance in translating these two passages. —Note in first edition. I have made a good many alterations in the second edition.

It does not appear to me that Sāyaṇa's interpretation has much to recommend it. There are some other words in the Veda in which the word "deva" forms the last member of the compound, as "anṛita-deva" (vii. 104, 14) and "mūra-deva" (vii. 104, 24).[182] Sāyaṇa explains "mūra-devāḥ" as="maraṇa-krīḍāḥ," "those who make a sport of killing"; and he therefore takes "deva" there in the same sense as he does in "śiśna-deva." But in the other word, "anṛita-deva," he takes "deva" in the usual sense of "god," and interprets it as "he whose gods are false" (*anṛitāḥ asatya-bhūtāḥ devāḥ yasya tādṛiśaḥ*). In the same way he understands "anti-devam" in R.V. i. 180, 7, as meaning "near the gods." And though in Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word "anṛita-deva" is explained as signifying a "false player," this interpretation is afterwards withdrawn (in favour of that which Sāyaṇa gives of this word) at the close of the article on the word "deva." Nor does the sense assigned by Sāyaṇa to "śiśna-deva" appear to be in itself a very probable one. For the epithet "lascivious" would not necessarily be a term of reproach in the mouth of an Indian poet of the Vedic age, when, though the institution of marriage was recognized and honoured, no great amount of reprobation could have been attached to unchastity in the case of men (compare R.V. i. 167, 4; ix. 112, 4; x. 85, 37, and x. 86, 16, 17, and the fifth volume of this work, pp. 307 f., 460 f.). On the other hand, if the word "śiśna-deva" is to be understood of human beings, and if it could be taken as describing any deviation from the contemporaneous Arian worship, it would find many parallels in the Rig-veda, as may be seen by a comparison of the words "akarman," "adevayu," "anṛich," "anindra," "anya-vrata," "apavrata," "avrata," "abrahman," "ayajvan" "ayajyu" | "without ceremonies, no worshippers of the gods, without hymns, without Indra, following other rites, averse to rites, without rites, without priests, or prayers, offering no sacrifices," in the passages quoted in the second volume of this work, pp. 359 f., 371 ff.

It is, however, objected that "śiśna" cannot be taken as equivalent to "Linga," which means a sign, the phallus, and is therefore emblematic, while the "śiśna" denotes not an image, but the male organ itself. "Siśna" has also the sense of "tail," as in R.V. i. 105, 8,

[182] The word is explained by Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.* as=*mūladeva*, and as denoting a species of goblins.

pointed out to me by Professor Aufrecht, where the words *mūsho na śiśnā vyadanti mā ādhyaḥ* mean, "cares worry me, like mice gnawing their tails." The word "śiśnadevāḥ," if understood of demons, may therefore mean, as Roth suggests, "tailed (or priapic) demons," and not "worshippers of the śiśna." The same difficulty which we encounter in fixing the meaning of the word "dasyu," viz. whether it is to be understood of men or demons (see the second volume of this work, pp. 362 ff.; 388 ff.), recurs here. In the first of the passages quoted above (vii. 21, 5) it appears, so long as we are ignorant of the real sense of "śiśna-deva," that it might be understood either of men or demons, either of whom would have been unwelcome visitors at an Arian ceremonial. Perhaps, as the word "yātavaḥ" (demons) precedes, it is most likely that the latter are intended: and the same remark may be held to apply to the second passage (x. 99, 3).

However interesting, therefore, it would be to find a proof of the existence of a phallic worship among the aboriginal tribes contemporary with the Vedic rishis, it must be confessed that the word "śiśnadeva" does not supply this evidence.

In a passage (in the Preface to the tenth vol. of his Rāmāyaṇa, p. ix.) which I have adduced in the second vol. of this work (pp. 419 f.), Signor Gorresio expresses the opinion that the Southern race, whom he supposes to be symbolized under the appellation of Rākshasas, were specially addicted to the worship of "Rudra, or a terrible" and, as he believes, "a Hamitic deity." In note 35 (p. 291 of the same volume), on the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice, he says: "It appears to me that in this fact the struggle of the ancient religions of India is represented under a mythical veil. Śiva (a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamitic tribes which preceded on the soil of India the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races) wished to have a part in the worship of the conquerors, and in their sacrifices, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and by a display of violence at their sacrifices, he succeeded in being admitted to participate in them." Signor Gorresio, however, offers very little proof of his assertion in regard to the worship of Śiva being specially prevalent among the savage tribes of the south. In note 116, p. 370, of his ninth vol., indeed, he remarks as follows on a passage (Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 50 f.) where it is said that Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa, had a golden serpent for

his banner: "The serpent was the special symbol in the worship of the Hamite races, and here therefore Indrajit, the black Rākshasa, the Hamite, sets it up as his banner. Thus in the seventy-eighth chapter of the Sundara Kāṇḍa it is said that Indrajit was in the habit of sacrificing especially to Siva, the Hamitic deity, who possesses all the attributes of the Hamitic religion, and who entered into the Indo-Sanskrit Olympus by one of those religious syncretisms of which traces are so frequently to be found in the ancient systems of worship."

The passage of the Sundara Kāṇḍa to which Gorresio refers occurs, in the Bombay edition, in the seventh section of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, vv. 18 f. (=Sundara Kāṇḍa 78, 17, in Gorresio's ed.), and is as follows:

Tishṭha vā kim mahārāja śrameṇa tava vānarān | ayam eko mahārāja Indrajit kshapayishyati | anena cha mahārāja Māheśvaram anuttamam | ishṭvā yajñaṁ varo labdho loke parama-durlabhaḥ | "Stay, great king, what need is there of thy exertions? This Indrajit alone will destroy the monkeys. For by him a boon, hard to be gotten, was obtained after he had offered an unequalled sacrifice to Mahādeva."

This passage is not sufficient to prove that Mahādeva was in a special degree the god of the savages of the South. We have already seen (pp. 184 ff., 283 ff.), by the cases of Arjuna, Jayadratha, Paraśurāma, and above all, of Jarāsandha, as recorded in the Mahābhārata, that the worship of Mahādeva (frequently for the purpose of obtaining some boon) was practised by the warriors of Northern India, just as it is here said to have been by Indrajit. Further, it is not Siva alone whom the Rākshasas worshipped for their own purposes. It appears from the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (cited above in p. 167) that Rāvaṇa had obtained the gift of invincibility from Brahmā. At the same time it will be seen from a passage cited below from the Uttara Kāṇḍa 25, 9, that it was the sacrifice to Mahādeva, and not the one to Vishṇu which procured for Indrajit his magical powers.

The same worship of Brahmā is related in regard to Atikāya, one of Rāvaṇa's sons, in Rāmāyaṇa vi. 71, 31 f. (Bombay ed):

Etenārādhito Brahmā tapasā bhāvitātmanā | astrāṇi chāpy avāptāni ripavaś cha parājitāḥ | sūrāsurair abadhyatvaṁ dattam asmai Svayambhuvā | "By this contemplative (Rākshasa) Brahmā had been worshipped with austerities, and he had obtained weapons, and conquered

his enemies. [The privilege] had been bestowed on him by Svayambhū that he should be indestructible by gods or Asuras."

In verse 28 he is described as "reverent to the aged, and of renowned strength" (*vṛiddha-sevī śruta-balaḥ*[183]). Rāvaṇa himself is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an observer of the Vedic ritual. Thus in Book vi. 93, 58 ff. (Bombay ed.=vi. 72, 62 ff. of Gorr.), his minister, Supārśva (Avindhya[184] in Gorr.), who is described as "virtuous and pure," is introduced as saying to him: *Veda-vidyā-vrataḥ snātas sva-karma-niratas*[185] *tathā | striyāḥ kasmād balhaṁ vīra manyase Rākshaseśvara |* "Why dost thou, heroic Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rākshasas, who knowest the Veda, hast practised the prescribed discipline, and art an initiated householder, and devoted to thy duty, meditate the slaughter of a woman?" And Vibhīshaṇa, in his eulogy on his brother after his death, says (vi. 111, 23, Bombay ed.=vi. 93, 30 of Gorr.): *Esho hitāgniś*[186] *cha mahātapāś cha vedāntagaḥ karmasu chāgrya-śūraḥ |* "He had placed the sacrificial fire, was very austere, had read the concluding treatises of the Veda, and was an eminent hero in rites."[187]

[183] Instead of *śruta-balaḥ*, Gorresio's edition reads *śrutidharaḥ*, "an observer of the Vedas." In Manu vii. 38 the following verse occurs: *Vṛiddhāṁscha nityaṁ seveta viprān veda-vidaḥ śuchīn | vṛiddha-sevī hi satataṁ rakshobhir api pūjyate |* "Let [the king] constantly reverence old and pure Brahmans, skilled in the Vedas; for he who continually reverences the aged is honoured even by the Rākshasas." Can this verse refer to the character *vṛiddha-sevī* given to Atikāya in the passage (Rām. vi. 71, 28) quoted above? If so, the passage in Manu must be posterior in date to the Rāmāyaṇa. Or has this character been given to Atikāya in consequence of the verse of Manu? or have the two passages no connexion? The coincidence is at least curious.

[184] He is, as remarked by the commentator, also called Avindhya; and so in the (Rāmopākhyāna in the Vana-parvan of the) Mahābhārata (vv. 16148, 16492–6, and elsewhere).

[185] The commentator thus explains these words: *Veda-vidyā-grahāpekshita-brahmacharya-vrata-pūrva-vidyāṁ gṛihītvā | snātaḥ | guru-kulāt samāvṛittas tadanantaraṁ dāra-grahaṇa-pūrvaṁ nityāgnihotrādi-sva-karma-niratah |* "One who has obtained a knowledge of the Veda after practising the discipline of continence required for the reception of such knowledge; and who, after returning from his preceptor's family, has married a wife, and continues devoted to the practice of the agnihotra and other indispensable rites." See Wilson's and Williams's Dictionaries, *s.vv. snāta* and *snātaka*, and Kullūka's note on Manu iii. 2, referred to by the latter lexicographer.

[186] *Esho hitāgnir ity ārshaḥ sandhiḥ | āhitāgnir iti chhedaḥ |* Comm.

[187] *Vedāntagaḥ | adhītopanishatkaḥ | karmasu agnihotrādishu | agryaśūraḥ | paramānushṭhātā parama-karmaṭhaḥ |* In some of the earlier lines of the same section Vibhīshaṇa thus speaks of Rāvaṇa: *Gataḥ setuḥ sunītānāṁ gato dharmasya vigrahaḥ | gataḥ satvasya sankshepaḥ suhastānāṁ gatir gatā | ādityaḥ patito bhūmau*

Again, it is related in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed.), that Rāvaṇa was buried with the usual Brahmanical ceremonies, though the commentator (in his note on verse 107) says that the Brahmans who were concerned in them were Rākshasa-brahmans (*Rākshasa-dvijāḥ*).

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, vv. 112 ff. (Bombay ed.)—*Chitāṁ chandana-kāṣṭhaiś cha padmakośīra-chandanaiḥ | brāhmyā*[188] *saṁvartayāmāsuḥ rāṅkavāstaraṇāvṛitām | prachakruḥ Rākshasendrasya pitṛimedham anuttamam | vedīṁcha dakshiṇāprāchīṁ yathā-sthānancha pāvakam | pṛishadājyena sampūrṇaṁ sruvaṁ skandhe prachikshipuḥ | pādayoḥ śakaṭam prāpur ūrvoś cholūkhalaṁ tadā | dāru-pātrāṇi sarvāṇi araṇiṁ chottarāraṇim | dattvā tu musalaṁ chānyaṁ yathā-sthānaṁ vichakramuḥ | śāstra-dṛishṭena vidhinā maharshi-vihitena*[189] *cha | tatra medhyam paśuṁ hatvā Rākshasendrasya Rākshasāḥ | paristaraṇikāṁ*[190] *rājño ghṛitāktāṁ samaveśayan | gandhair mālyair alankṛitya Rāvaṇaṁ dīna-mānasāḥ | Vibhīshaṇa-sahāyās te vastraiś cha vividhair api | lājair avakiranti sma vāshpa-pūrṇa-mukhās tathā | sa dadau pāvakaṁ tasya vidhi-yuktaṁ Vibhīshaṇaḥ | snātvā chaivārdra-vastreṇa tilān darbha-vimiśritān | udakena cha sammiśrān pradāya vidhi-pūrvakam*[191] | "They formed,

magnas tamasi chandramāḥ | "The bulwark of the righteous is gone; gone is the image of virtue; gone is the summary of goodness [or strength, Comm.]; the lot of heroes has been gained by him. The sun has fallen to the ground; the moon has been quenched in darkness," etc. And yet Vibhīshaṇa abuses his dead brother in the hundred and thirteenth section (Bombay ed.), vv. 93 ff.

[188] *Veda-mārgānugata-kriyayā* | Comm.

[189] *Kalpa-sūtra-kṛid-ṛishi-vihitena* | Comm.

[190] *Paristīryate mukham anayā iti paristaraṇikā vapā | tām rākshasendrasya mukhe samaveśayan | "vapā 'sya mukham praurṇauṭ" iti sūtrāt* | Comm.; who seems therefore to understand *paristaraṇikā* of fat (see Müller as cited in the article referred to in note 192). The commentator, however, gives also another reading and explanation which I quote: *Tīrthas tu anustaraṇikīṁ rājñaḥ iti paṭhitvā anustaraṇikīṁ rājagavīṁ tām ālabhya tachcharmaṇā yajamānaṁ āstṛitavantaḥ ity arthaḥ* | "But Tīrtha (a previous commentator) reads *anustaraṇikīṁ rājñaḥ*, and explains the sense thus: having immolated a rājagavi (bos grunniens), they covered the sacrifice with its skin."

[191] I insert here part of Gorresio's text for comparison (vi. 96, 10 ff.): *Tatas te veda-vidvāṁsas tam rājñaḥ paśchimāṁ kriyāṁ | chakrire rākshasendrasya pretamedham anuttamam | vedīncha dakshiṇa-prāchyāṁ yathā-sthānaṁ cha pāvakam | Vibhīshaṇas tu samprāpya tūshṇīṁ samasṛijat śruvam | pṛishadājyasya sampūrṇāṁ śruvāṁ sarvān yathāvidhi | Rāvaṇasya tadā sarve vāshpa-pūrṇa-mukhāḥ dvijāḥ | pādayoḥ śakatāṁ chakrur antarorāv udūkhalam | vānaspatyāni chānyāni antare 'pi vyadhāpayan | dattvā tu mushalaṁ chaiva yathāsthānam mahātmanaḥ | śāstra-dṛishṭena vidhinā maharshi-vihitena cha | tataḥ paśchāt paśuṁ hatvā rākshasendrasya rākshasāḥ | athāstaraṇikaṁ sarvaṁ ghṛitāktaṁ samaveśayan |*

with Vedic rites, a funeral pile of faggots of sandalwood, with "padmaka" wood, "uśīra" grass, and sandal, and covered with a quilt of deer's hair. They then performed an unrivalled obsequial ceremony for the Rākshasa prince, [placing] the sacrificial ground to the south-east and the fire in the proper situation. They cast the ladle filled with curds and ghee, on the shoulder [192] (of the deceased); they placed the car on the feet, and the mortar between the thighs. Having deposited all the wooden vessels, the [upper] and lower firewood (*araṇi*), and the other pestle, in their proper places, they departed. The Rākshasas having then slain a victim to their prince in the manner prescribed in the Śāstras, and enjoined by great rishis, cast [into the fire] the coverlet of the king saturated with butter. They then, Vibhīshaṇa included, with afflicted hearts, adorned Rāvaṇa with perfumes and garlands, and with various vestments, and besprinkled him with fried grain, their faces being covered with tears. Vibhīshaṇa having bathed, and having, with his clothes wet, scattered in proper form "tila" seeds mixed with "darbha" grass, and moistened with water, applied the fire [to the pile]." [193]

Gorresio remarks (note 94, p. 310, vol. x.) that the funeral rites of the Arian Brahmans are here introduced as practised among the Rākshasas, a race of different origin and worship, in the same way as Homer represents Grecian ceremonies as having been celebrated in Troy.

[192] "According to Āpastamba (says the commentator), it should have been placed on the nose; this must therefore have been done in conformity with some other sūtras" (*yadyapi "nāsike sruvāv" ity Āpastambenoktaṁ tathāpi sūtrāntarāt skandhe 'pi nikshepaḥ sruvasya bodhyaḥ*). Compare Professor Müller's article on the funeral ceremonies of the Brahmans in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1855, pp. vi. ff.

[193] On this whole passage the commentator remarks: "*Tatyajus tam mahābhāgam pancha-bhūtāni Rāvaṇam | śārīra-dhātavo hy asya māṁsaṁ rudhiram eva cha | neśur brahmāstra-nirdagdhāḥ na cha bhasmāpy adṛiśyata" iti Mahābhārate uktatvena kasya Vālmīkinā śmaśānānayana-pūrvakaṁ dāhaḥ uktaḥ iti chen na | tasya Rāmavāṇa-tejo-varṇana-vishaye 'tyukty-alankāra-paratvād iti vadati |* "Since it is said in the Mahābhārata (Rāmopākhyāna, in Vana-parvan 16529 f.) that 'the five elements forsook the great Rāvaṇa, and the constituents of his body, flesh, and blood perished, when he was burnt up by the divine weapon (*brahmāstra*), and not even any ashes were seen;'—who is it that is here alleged by Vālmīki to have been brought to the cemetery and then burnt? If any one raises this objection, I deny that there is any difficulty, as in the description of Rāma's prowess the Mahābhārata makes use of the ornament of exaggeration."

Nor does it appear that in the rites described in the following passage (of Gorresio's edition) which are said to have been performed by Indrajit, the son of Rāvaṇa, there is anything, except the "Rākshasa texts," contrary to Brahmanical usages. As, however, the commentator (in the Bombay ed.), in his note on another passage, represents the worship at the Nikumbhilā as being offered to 'Kālī, and as the description is of some interest, I will quote it at length: [194]

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 38 ff. (Gorr.).—*Indrajiṭ ṭu tatas tena saṁyuge 'dbhuta-kāriṇā | nirjito Bāḷi-putreṇa krodhaṁ chakre sudāruṇam | so 'ntardhāna-gataḥ pāpo Rāvaṇiḥ raṇa-karkaśaḥ | nikumbhilāyāṁ vidhi-vat Pāvakaṁ juhuve 'stra-vit | juhvatas tasya tatrāgnau raktoshṇīshāmbara-srajaḥ | ājahrus tatra sambhrāntāḥ Rākshasāḥ yatra Rāvaṇiḥ | śastraṇi śitadhārāṇi samidho 'tha vibhītakān | lohitāni cha vāsāṁsi sruvaṁ*

[194] The Bombay edition (vi. 44, 32 ff.) gives the first verse and the first half of the second nearly as they stand in Gorresio's edition, and the second half of the second, with its sequel, as follows: *Brahma-datta-varo vīro Rāvaṇiḥ krodha-mūrchhitaḥ | adṛiśyo niśitān vāṇān mumochāśani-varchasaḥ |* "The son of Rāvaṇa, to whom a boon had been given by Brahmā, mad with rage, discharged sharp arrows, gleaming like lightnings." No mention is made of the sacrifice in the Bombay text. In Rāmāyaṇa, book v., sect 24 (Bombay ed.), it is related that the female Rākshasas had been threatening Sītā after her capture by Rāvaṇa, because she would not yield to his desires, and that one of them, Śūrpaṇakhā, acceding to a proposal to eat her, says (v. 44 f.): *Surā chānīyatāṁ kshipraṁ sarva-śoka-vināśinī | mānusham māṁsam āsvādya nṛityāmo 'tha nikumbhilām |* "And let wine be quickly brought, which annihilates all sorrows. Enjoying human flesh, let us dance at the Nikumbhilā." The comment on this passage states that the *Nikumbhilā* was an image of Bhadrakālī on the west side of Laṅkā (*Nikumbhilā nāma Laṅkāyāḥ paśchima-bhāga-vartinī Bhadrakālī | tāṁ nṛityāmaḥ tat-samīpaṁ gatvā nṛityāmaḥ*). In the Uttara Kāṇḍa (sect. 25, v. 2) we are told that Rāvaṇa, with his attendants, entered "the Nikumbhilā, a grove in Laṅkā" (*tato nikumbhilā nāma Laṅkopavamam uttamam*). The commentator says it was "a wood situated at the western gate of Laṅkā for the performance of rites" (*Laṅkā-paśchima-dvāra-deśa-varti-karma-siddhi-hetu-bhūtaṁ kānanam*). His son Indrajit, with the aid of the Brahman Uśanas, had been celebrating there the seven sacrifices, the "agnishṭoma," "aśvamedhha," "rājasūya," "gomedha" (cow-sacrifice), the Vaishṇava ceremonial, etc. When he had performed the Māheśvara offering, "which it is difficult for men to obtain," he obtained boons from Mahādeva, who appeared to him (*ibid.* verses 3 ff.). (This is the ceremony alluded to above, in p. 412.) But he had also been performing the Vaishṇava rite; which, however, is not said to have been productive of any results. Verses 7*b* ff. of this section are as follows: *Yajñās te sapta putreṇa prāptās te bahu-vistarāḥ | 8. Agnishṭomo 'śvamedhaś cha yajño bahusuvarṇakaḥ | rājasūyas tathā yajño gomedho Vaishṇavas tathā | 9. Māheśvare pravṛitte tu yajñe puṁbhiḥ sudurlabhe | varāṁs te labdhavān putraḥ sākshāt Paśupater iha |* Only six kinds of sacrifice are here mentioned, unless the word "Bahusuvarṇaka" stands for a seventh.

kārshāyasaṁ tataḥ | sarvato 'gniṁ samāstīrya śaraiḥ sa-prāsa-tomaraiḥ | chhāgalasyāpi kṛishṇasya kaṇṭhād ādāya jīvataḥ | soṇitaṁ tena vidhivat sa juhāva raṇotsukaḥ | sahṛid eva samiddhasya vidhūmasya mahārchishaḥ | babhūvuḥ saṁnimittāni vijayaṁ yāpy avedayan | pradakshiṇāvarta-śikhas tapta-hāṭaka-sannibhaḥ | havis tat pratijagrāha Pāvakaḥ svayam utthitaḥ | tato 'gni-madhyād uttasthau kāñchanaḥ syandanottamaḥ | chaturbhiḥ kāñchanāpīḍair aśvair yuktaḥ prabhadrakaiḥ | antardhāna-gataḥ śrīmān dīpta-pāvaka-saprabhaḥ | hutāgnim tarpayitvā cha daitya-dānava-rākshasān | vāchayitvā tataḥ svasti prayuktāśīr dvijātibhiḥ | āruroha rathaṁ śreshṭham antar-dhāna-charaṁ śubham | sva-vaśyair vājibhir yuktaṁ śastraiś cha vividhair yutam . . . 50. Jāmbūnadamayo nāgas taruṇāditya-sannibhaḥ | babhūvendrajitaḥ ketur vaidūrya-samalankṛitaḥ | Hutvā 'gniṁ Rākshasair mantrais tato vachanam abravīt |

"But Indrajit, being conquered in the conflict by the miracle-working son of Bāli, became inflamed with terrific anger. This wicked son of Rāvaṇa, fierce in battle, having become invisible, made an oblation to Pāvaka (Fire) in due form, on the sacrificial ground. When he was there throwing his oblation into the fire, wearing a red turban, garments, and garland, the reverent Rākshasas brought thither sharp-edged weapons, logs of wood, and myrobalan, blood-red vestments, and a ladle of black iron. Having heaped the fire all over with arrows, darts, and iron maces, and having drawn blood from the throat of a live black goat, he offered it as an oblation, being eager for battle. At the same time there appeared from the brightly-burning and smokeless fire omens which portended victory. Pāvaka himself, rising, with his flame sweeping round to the right, and luminous as refined gold, received the oblation. Then from the midst of the fire there arose a magnificent golden chariot, drawn by four lucky horses with golden head-ornaments; but became invisible, while glorious and lustrous as burning fire. Having satiated the sacrificial fire, with the Daityas, Dānavas, and Rākshasas, having caused a benediction (*svasti*) to be pronounced, and been blessed by the Brahmans, [Indrajit] ascended the beautiful chariot, moving invisibly, drawn by self-directed horses, and furnished with various weapons. . . . . 50. A golden serpent,[195] bright as the rising sun, and adorned with lapis lazuli, formed the banner of Indrajit. Having made an oblation to Fire with Rākshasa texts, he then spake," etc.

[195] See, in reference to this, the quotation from Signor Gorresio given above in p. 412.

The ceremony of Indrajit is again alluded to by Vibhīshaṇa in vi. 84, 14 ff. (Bombay ed.=vi. 63, 13 of Gorr. ed.):

Chaityaṁ nikumbhilām adya prāpya homaṁ karishyati | Hutavān upayāto hi devair api sa-vāsavaiḥ | durādharsho bhavaty esha saṅgrāme Rāvaṇātmajaḥ | . . . . 16. Sa-sainyās tatra gachchhāmo yāvat tan na samāpyate | . . . . 23. Samāpta-karmā hi sa Rākshasarshabho bhavaty adṛiśyaḥ samare surāsuraiḥ | yuyutsatā tena samāpta-karmaṇā bhavet surāṇām api saṁśayo mahān | "Having to-day resorted to the sacrificial ground, he will offer an oblation (*homa*). When he approaches after making this offering, this son of Rāvaṇa is invincible by gods and Vāsavas. . . . . 16. Let us go thither with our hosts before that ceremony is completed. . . . . 23. For when he has accomplished his rite,[196] that prince of the Rākshasas becomes invisible by either gods or Asuras in battle; and even the gods would hesitate to encounter him if he desired to fight."

In the following section Vibhīshaṇa returns to the subject (vi. 85, 12, Bombay ed.=vi. 64, 11 of Gorr.):

Tena vīreṇa tapasā vara-dānāt Svayambhuvaḥ | astram brahma-śiraḥ prāptaṁ kāmagāś cha turangamāḥ | sa esha saha sainyena prāptaḥ kila nikumbhilām | yady uttishṭhet kṛitam karma hatān sarvāṁś cha viddhi naḥ | nikumbhilām asamprāptam akṛitāgniṁ cha yo ripuḥ | tvām ātatāyinaṁ hanyāt Indraśatro sa te badhaḥ | "This hero has obtained through austerity, and by the gift of Svayambhū, a weapon called 'brahma-śiras,' and horses that go according to his will. He with his army has reached the sacrificial ground. If he rises after completing his ceremony, you may regard us all as destroyed. But if any foe slays thee, thou cruel tyrant (Indrajit), before thou hast reached that ground,[197]

[196] It is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 30, 12 ff., that after his victory over Indra, Indrajit asked, and obtained, this boon as the condition of releasing his captive foe. For a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit, see the Appendix.

[197] Explained by the commentator as *nikumbhilāṁ tad-yāga-bhūmim mahākālī-kshetraṁ tad-ākhya-nyagrodha-mūla-rūpam |* "That sacrificial ground, the sacred precinct of the great Kālī—viz. the root of the nyagrodha tree so called." This tree is mentioned in vi. 87, 2 ff., Bombay ed. (=vi. 66, 2, Gorr. ed.): . . . . *praviśya tu mahad vanam | adarśayata tat-karma-Lakshmaṇāya Vibhīshaṇaḥ | nīla-jīmūta-saṅkāśaṁ nyagrodham bhīmadarśanam | tejasvī Rāvaṇa-bhrātā Lakshmaṇāya nyavedayat | ihopahāram bhūtānām balavān Rāvaṇātmajaḥ | upahṛityа tataḥ paśchāt saṅgrāmam abhivartate | adṛiśyaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ tato bhavati Rākshasaḥ | nihanti samare śatrūn badhnāti cha śarottamaiḥ | tam apravishṭaṁ nyagrodham balinaṁ Rāvaṇātmajam | vidhivaṁsaya śarair dīptair ityādi |*

and kindled the fire, this, O enemy of Indra, is the manner of thy death," etc.

It is related in the following section (86, 14, f., Bombay ed.=65, 12 Gorr.) that he rose before his rite had been completed:

Svam anīkaṁ vishaṇṇaṁ tu dṛishṭvā śatrubhir arditam | udatishṭhata durdharshaḥ sa karmany ananushṭhite | vṛikshāndhakārād nirgamya jāta-krodhaḥ sa Rāvaṇiḥ | ityādi | "Hearing that his army was harassed by their enemies, and dispirited, the irresistible (Rākshasa) arose while his ceremony was unaccomplished. Issuing forth from the gloom of the tree, the son of Rāvaṇa, incensed, mounted his chariot," etc.

Again, in a passage of the Sundara Kāṇḍa, or Fifth Book, sect. 89, vv. 22 ff. (only found in Gorresio's, not in the Bombay ed.), which forms the sequel to the one given above, p. 370, Mahādeva is represented as receiving Vibhīshaṇa with favour, after he had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa. Now if the author of the poem had intended to represent Śiva as an especial object of adoration to the Rākshasas, he might have been expected to describe this deity as repaying their worship with especial favour and affection; but it is inconsistent with this that he should represent Śiva as receiving favourably a deserter from the Rākshasa camp.

There is a section (the forty-first) of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, or Sixth Book (which, however, is to be found only in Gorresio's ed.), wherein Rāvaṇa defies Vishṇu at great length. But I do not consider this as any proof that the poet intended to attribute to the speaker any especial hostility to Vishṇu's worship (particularly as Indra, Śiva, and Brahmā are also slightingly spoken of), but rather as a demonstration called forth by the poetical necessities of the argument. Even while the poet represented Rāma as the incarnation of Vishṇu, it was of course natural to make the arrogant Rāvaṇa defy him. The fact is, that the traits ascribed to the Rākshasas in the Rāmāyaṇa must be regarded as poetical far more than historical. The poet assigns to his personages such characteristics as he considered at the moment to be most conducive to the interest, and effective with a view to the action, of his poem. These characteristics are sometimes absolutely contradictory, as when Rāvaṇa is described both as an observer of the Vedas and at the same time as a persecutor of Brahmans and polluter of their sacrifices. I do not therefore see that the Rāmāyaṇa supplies any

sufficient grounds for regarding the non-Arian tribes of Southern India as being especially addicted to the worship of Śiva.[198]

SECT. VIII.—*The earlier and later representations of Umā, the wife of Śiva.*

We have already seen (p. 267) that in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (3, 57) Ambikā, who at a later period is identified with the wife of Rudra, is declared to be his sister.[199]

The earliest work, as far as I am aware, in which the name of Umā occurs, is the Talavakāra, or Kena Upanishad. In the third section of that Treatise (see Dr. Roer's translation in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv., p. 83 ff.) it is mentioned that on one occasion Brahma gained a victory for the gods. As, however, they were disposed to ascribe the credit of their success to themselves, Brahma appeared for the purpose of disabusing them of their mistake. The gods did not know him, and commissioned first Agni, and then Vāyu, to ascertain what this apparition was. When, in answer to Brahma's inquiry, these two gods represented themselves, the one as having the power to burn, and the other as able to blow away, anything whatever, he desired them to burn and to blow away, respectively, a blade of grass; but they were unable to do this, and returned without ascertaining who he was. Indra was then commissioned (Kena Up. iii. 11, 12; and iv. 1, 2):

[198] It is also related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (sections 4–8, of which I shall give the substance in the Appendix) that a Rākshasa named Sukeśa had formerly received a boon from Mahādeva and Pārvatī, and that his three sons, the lords of Lankā, had made an attack upon the gods, but had been driven back and defeated by Vishṇu, and compelled to take refuge in Pātāla. But neither does this, nor even the Linga-worship attributed to Rāvaṇa in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 31, 42 f., suffice to prove any special adoration of Śiva among the southern races more than among the northern.

[199] Rodasī is his wife according to the Nirukta xi. 49; and xii. 46; *Rodasī Rudrasya patnī.* Sāyaṇa, however, on R.V. i. 167, 4 and 5, says that she is the wife of the Maruts. On v. 4 his words are: *Tasya* (*Rudrasya*) *strī Rodasī iti kechid āhuḥ | apare tu Marud-āṁ striyo Rodasī iti nāmadheyam ity āhuḥ | ayam eva paksho yuktaḥ uttaratra evaṁ vyavahārāt |* "Some say Rodasī is Rudra's wife. Others say Rodasī is the name of the wife of the Maruts. This is the correct view, from the word being so applied afterwards" (in the next verse). On verse 5 Sāyaṇa says: *Rodasī Marut-patnī vidyud vā.* "Rodasī is the wife of the Maruts, or Lightning." In this verse she receives the epithet of *vishita-stukā*, "having dishevelled hair," and is said to seek the society of the Maruts (*Joshad yad īm asuryā sachadhyai vishita-stukā Rodasī nṛimaṇāḥ*). I doubt if she is much, if at all, noticed in the later literature. See the fifth volume of this work, pp. 148 and 345.

Atha Indram abruvan "Maghavann etad vijânîhi kim etad yaksham" iti | "tathâ" iti tad abhyadravat tasmât tirodadhe | 12. *Sa tasminn eva âkâśe striyam âjagâmâ bahu śobhamânâm Umâm Haimavatîm | tâm ha uvâcha kim etad yaksham iti |* iv. 1. *Sâ Brahma iti ha uvâcha Brahmano vai etad-vijaye mahîyadhvam iti | tato ha eva vidânchakâra Brahmeti |*

"They then said to Indra, 'Maghavan, ascertain what this apparition is.' He replied, 'So be it;' and approached that being, who vanished from him. In that sky he came to a woman who was very resplendent, Umâ Haimavatî. To her he said, 'What is this apparition?' She said, 'It is Brahma. In this victory of Brahma, exult.' By this he knew that it was Brahma." [200]

In his remarks[201] on this passage of the Kena Upanishad (Ind. Stud. ii. 186 ff.), Professor Weber supplies an interesting and ingenious contribution to the mythological history of Umâ. He says: "The representation in sections 3 and 4 indicates that the Kena Upanishad was produced at a time when,—in place of the three principal gods, Agni, Vâyu, and Sûrya,[202] who had become developed into the conjoint representatives of the divine principle on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven,—Agni, Vâyu, and Indra were regarded as such. These are properly only two, since Indra is essentially identical with Vâyu. Though I have found numerous examples of the first triad, especially in the two Yajur-vedas, I have noticed only one other of the second triad, which is properly only a duad, viz. in the Rik-text of the Purusha Sukta (R.V. x. 99, 13). Nor am I able to give a satisfactory

[200] This is explained by the commentator: *Tasya Indrasya yakshe bhaktim buddhvâ Vidyâ Umâ-rûpinî prâdurabhût strî-rûpâ | sa Indras tâm Umâm bahu śobhamânâm sarveshâm hi śobhamânânâm śobhanatamâm Vidyâm tadâ "bahu śobhamânâ" iti viśeshanam upapannam bhavati | Haimavatîm hema-kritâbharanavatîm iva bahu śobhamânâm ity arthah | athavâ Umâ eva Himavato duhitâ Haimavatî nityam eva sarvajnena Îśvarena saha vartate iti jnâtum samarthâ iti kritvâ tâm upâjagâma Indras tâm ha Umâm kila uvâcha paprachha kim etad darśayitvâ tirobhûtam yaksham |*

"Knowing Indra's devotion to this apparition, Knowledge, in the form of a woman, Umâ, appeared. Indra [came] to her who was very resplendent, to Knowledge who is the most resplendent of all the resplendent beings, and whose epithet 'very resplendent' is then established. 'Haimavatî' means that she was very resplendent like a female with ornaments made of gold. Or, it was Umâ Haimavatî, the daughter of Himavat, who from continually dwelling with the omniscient Îśvara (Mahâdeva) is able to know. With this belief Indra approached Umâ, and said to her, 'What is this apparition which appeared and vanished?'"

[201] Already translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 84 ff.).

[202] See above, pp. 163 and 298.

explanation of it. On the other hand, the totality of the divine was already comprehended in Brahman (neuter), and it is the object of the legend here to make clear and to enforce the supremacy of Brahma over all temporary divine manifestations, and even over the triad of such.

"But how shall we explain the position of Umā Haimavatī, who comes forward as mediatrix between the eternal Brahman and the gods? According to Śankara, she is Vidyā (knowledge) who appears Umārūpiṇī (in the form of Umā) to Indra. The same explanation is found in Sāyaṇa, who (on Taitt. Ār. x. 1, 150, p. 787 of the text in the Bibliotheca Indica), when interpreting the word *soma*, cites this passage, and remarks: *Himavat-putryāḥ Gauryāḥ brahma-vidyābhimānirūpatvād Gaurī-vāchakaḥ Umā-śabdo brahma-vidyām upalakshayati | atah eva Talavakāropanishadi brahma-vidyā-mūrti-prastāve brahma-vidyā-mūrtiḥ paṭhyate "bahu śobhamānām Umāṁ Haimavatīṁ tāṁ ha uvācha" iti | tad-vishayaḥ Paramātmā*[203] *Umayā saha vartamānatvāt Somaḥ* | '[Since Gaurī, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersonation of divine knowledge, the word Umā, which denotes Gaurī, indicates divine knowledge. Hence in the Talavakāra Upanishad, in the passage on the impersonation of divine knowledge, the impersonation of divine knowledge is introduced in these words: "He said to the very resplendent Umā Haimavatī. The supreme Spirit, who is the object of this Divine Knowledge, from his existing together with Umā, is called Soma (i.e. *Sa+Uma.*"]'[204] And again in the same commentary on Anuvāka 48, it is said: *Umā brahma-vidyā tayā saha vartamāna Soma paramātman* | 'Umā is divine knowledge: thou who existest with her, O Soma, supreme spirit,' etc. Further in the same commentary on Anuvāka 18, in explanation of the term *Ambikā-pataye*, we have the words: *Ambikā jaganmātā Pārvatī tasyāḥ bhartre* | 'Ambikā is Pārvatī, the mother of the world,—to her husband,' etc.; and the word *Umāpataye* (which stands in the Drāviḍa, but not in the Āndhra, text of the Taitt. Ār.) is thus interpreted: *Tasyāḥ eva brahma-vidyātmako dehaḥ Umā-śabdenochyate tasyāḥ svāmine* | 'Her (Ambikā's) body, consisting of divine knowledge, is designated by the word Umā—to her (Umā's) husband,'

[203] [The word *Paramātmā* is not in the text as given by Weber.]

[204] [The same explanation of Soma is given in the Atharvaśiras Upanishad. See above, p. 302.]

etc.[205] This last passage is the only one in the circle of the Vedic writings in which—with the exception of that in the Kena Upanishad—I have as yet directly met with the name Umā; for the expression 'Umā-sahāya' in the Kaivalya Upanishad (see above, p. 363) no longer belongs to the Vedic period; and further, though the commentaries in other places also[206] explain 'soma' by 'Umayā sahita,' 'accompanied by Umā' (as Sāyaṇa has done in the passage above cited), such an interpretation is just as groundless as in the texts commented on by Sāyaṇa, where the word signifies simply the Soma-libation. From the considerations just stated, therefore (*i.e.* partly from the unanimity of the commentaries, and partly from the very position which Umā here assumes in the Kena Upanishad), the signification of this word might seem to be fixed with tolerable certainty as denoting 'Brahma-vidyā,' 'divine knowledge,' and Umā might appear to be directly related to Sarasvatī, the divine word, and we might even be tempted to bring her into etymological connexion with the sacred word 'om.' There are, however, some additional points which seem to place the original signification of Umā in quite a different light. First of all, why is she called Haimavatī? What has she to do with the Himavat? Is it that the Brahma-vidyā (divine knowledge) came originally from the Himavat to the Arians dwelling in Madhyadeśa (the central region of Hindustan)? We have learnt from the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa (Ind. Stud. i. 153) that the north of India was distinguished by greater purity of speech, and that students travelled thither to learn the language (*vāchaṁ śikshitum*), and on their return thence enjoyed great consideration and authority. Now it would have been quite natural if this state of things had not been confined to language, but had become extended to speculation also, and if the knowledge of the one, eternal Brahma, had been sooner attained in the peaceful valleys of the Himālaya than was possible for men living

[205] [The entire text of the Anuvāka, and the part of its commentary which refers to the terms *Ambikāpataye* and *Umāpataye*, as given in the Bibl. Indica, are as follows: Text: *Namo hiraṇyabāhave hiraṇyavarṇāya hiraṇyarūpaya hiraṇyapataye Ambikāpataye Umāpataye paśupataye namo namaḥ* | Comm.: *Ambikā jaganmātā Pārvatī* | *tasyāḥ pataye bhartre* | *tasyāḥ eva Ambikāyāḥ brahma-vidyātmako dehaḥ Umāśabdena uchyate* | *tādṛiśyāḥ Umāyāḥ pataye svāmine Rudrāya punaḥ punaḥ namaskāro 'stu.*]

[206] *e.g.* Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 16, 39, and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra on the corresponding passage of the Taitt. Sanhitā.

in Madhyadeśa, where their minds were more occupied by the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Umâ Haimavatî appears to me, however, to be very hazardous. For—not to say that in our explanations of the ancient Indian deities we act wisely when we attach greater importance to the physical than to the speculative element—we are by no means certain that Umâ actually does signify divine knowledge (*brahma-vidyâ*); and, moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra's wife (in the Taitt. Âr.), and so Śiva's, would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz. Pârvatî, which would lead us in interpreting the word Haimavatî, to place the emphasis not upon the Himavat, but upon the mountain (*parvata*): and with this I might connect the epithets of Rudra which we have learnt from the Śatarudriya (see above, p. 322), Giriśa, Giriśanta, Giriśaya, Giritra, in which we recognize the germ of the conception of Śiva's dwelling on Kailâsa. He is the tempest, which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Pârvatî, Haimavatî, 'the mountaineer,' 'the daughter of Himavat.' At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife;[207] and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Umâ and Ambikâ are at a later period evidently identical, and Ambikâ is Rudra's sister (Ind. Stud. i. 183).[208] Besides, this identification of Umâ with Ambikâ leads us to a new etymology of the former. For as

[207] Indian mythology, however, assigns wives to the gods, without always, or even generally, ascribing to the wives any specific cosmical function. Weber adds in a note: "Does she perhaps denote the streams and torrents, poured forth by Rudra, the Storm, from the mountains and clouds? and does the name Ambikâ stand in direct relation thereto? In the same way Sarasvatî also, the goddess of streams and of speech, is called Ambitamâ, is addressed with the word 'Amba,' and is said to be 'produced on the highest peak on the mountain top' (*uttame śikhare jâtâ parvata-mûrdhani*). According to this view, *Umâ* and *Sarasvatî*, *Ambikâ* and *Ambitamâ*, *Pârvatî* and the *parvata-mûrdhani jâtâ*, would perhaps have been originally identical, and have only become gradually separated, in such a way that in the one the violent and destructive energy of nature had become concentrated, and in the other the harmonious music of the streaming waters? And should we thus have to seek in the Umâ of the Kena Upanishad and, on the other hand, in the Varadâ of the Taitt. Âr. two examples of the original identity of both? Kuhn, at least, as he has informed me, holds Ambikâ to be decidedly identical with Sarasvatî." [Is not a certain confirmation of this supposed original connexion of Umâ and Sarasvatî to be found in the fact that in the mythology of the Râmâyaṇa i. 36, 13 (quoted below in p. 430) Umâ is the younger, while the river Gangâ is the elder daughter of Himavat?—J.M.]

[208] See above, p. 321.

Ambikā, 'mother,' appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess (see Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 3, 57,[209]—just as Rudra was called Śiva), in the same way it appears that we must derive Umā from the root 'u,' 'av,' 'to protect.' It is true that a final vowel before 'ma' commonly takes 'guṇa,' or is lengthened, but the words 'sima' and 'hima' show that this is not necessary, and the name of Rumā is perhaps (unless we derive it from 'ram') a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the Kena Upanishad as the mediatrix between the supreme Brahma and Indra, for on that supposition this Upanishad would have to be referred to a period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the Īśvara, and thus also as Brahma; *i.e.* it would belong to the period of some Śaiva sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of Umā as representing 'divine knowledge' rests solely upon this passage of the Kena Upanishad, unless indeed the original identity of Umā with Sarasvatī, which in the last note was regarded as possible, is here again visible.

"I consider the present opportunity a favourable one for speaking of some other names of Śiva's spouse. As in Śiva, first of all two gods, Agni and Rudra, are combined, so too his wife is to be regarded as a compound of several divine forms,[210] and this becomes quite evident if we look over the mass of her epithets. While one set of these, as Umā, Ambikā, Pārvatī, Haimavātī, belong to the wife of Rudra, others, as Kālī, Karālī (see Ind. Stud. i. 287) carry us back to the wife of Agni, while Gaurī and others perhaps refer to Nirṛiti, the goddess of all evil.

[209] [The words of Mahīdhara here referred to are: *Yo 'yaṁ Rudrākhyaḥ krūro devas tasya virodhinaṁ hantum ichhā bhavati tadā anayā bhaginyā krūradevatayā sādhanabhūtayā taṁ hinasti* | "This cruel god called Rudra desires to slay his enemy. Then by the instrumentality of this sister, a cruel goddess, he destroys him." Then follow the words quoted above in p. 321, note 40, at the end.]

[210] "The most remarkable instance of this is to be found in Mahābhārata iv. 178 ff., in the hymn of Yudhishṭhira to Durgā, where he calls her *Yaśodā*, *Kṛishṇā*, 'born in the cowherd family of Nanda,' 'sister of Vāsudeva,' 'enemy of Kansa,' and 'having the same features as Sankarshaṇa,' etc., etc. However late the date of this hymn may be, it is still in the highest degree remarkable."

"The Tenth Book of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, in which she is several times invoked under different names, is particularly important for a knowledge of her character. The principal passage in which these invocations occur has been already noticed above (Ind. Stud. i. pp. 75 and 228[211]). It is, like the prayers which precede it, an imitation of the Gāyatrī, and runs thus: *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyakumāri*[212] *dhīmahi | tan no Durgiḥ prachodayāt |* ['We think on Kātyāyana and meditate on Kanyakumāri; may Durgi advance us.']

. . . "Now it is certainly difficult grammatically to find in this text the sense which Sāyaṇa puts into it,[213] and which must have been traditionally connected with it, as that sense is the basis of the modification of the passage as found in the Atharva collection of Upanishads.

[211] In the first of these passages (Ind. Stud. i. 75) the author remarks that the Nārāyaṇīya Upanishad (the part of the Taitt. Ār. in which the verse in question occurs) is also found among the Upanishads of the Atharva-veda, "but with remarkable variations, which indicate a later period. Thus the words quoted above according to the reading in the Taitt. Ār., viz. *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumārīṁ dhīmahi tan no Durgiḥ prachodayāt*, are, in the Upanishad as it is given in the Atharva collection, changed into *Kātyāyanāyai vidmahe Kanyākumārīṁ dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |* This agrees with the sense which Sāyaṇa, in his interpretation, puts on the words." In the passage of the Linga Purāṇa ii. 48, of which the commencement is given in the third volume of this work, p. 263 f., this invocation of Durgā occurs as follows in verse 26: *Kātyāyanyai vidmahe Kanyākumāryai dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |*

[212] The author observes here that in Ind. Stud. i. 75, he had incorrectly given *Kanyakumārim* as the proper reading. The text in the Bibl. Ind., p. 770, has *Kanyākumārī*.

[213] Sāyaṇa's interpretation, as given by Weber i. 228, note, and here, is as follows: *Paśchād Durgā-gāyatrī | Hema-prakhyām indu-khaṇḍāṅka-mauḷim* [*-āntamaulim*, in Bibl. Ind.] *ity āgama-prasiddha-mūrti-dharāṁ* [*-rīṁ*, B. I.] *Durgām prārthayate "Kātyāyanāya" iti | kṛittiṁ vaste iti Kātyo* [*Kārtyo*, B. I.] *Rudraḥ | . . . . sa eva ayanam adhiṣṭhānaṁ yasyāḥ sā Kātyāyanī* [*Kārtyayanī*, B. I.] *Athavā Katasya ṛishi-viśeshasya apatyaṁ Kātyaḥ | . . . : Kutsitam anishṭham mārayati iti kumārī kanyā dīpyamānā chāsau kumārī cha Kanyākumārī | Durgiḥ Durgā | lingādi-vyatyayaḥ savatra chhāndaso drashṭavyaḥ |* [There are other variations in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.] . . . . "Then follows Durgā's gāyatrī. In the words 'Kātyānāya,' etc., he supplicates Durgā, bearing the form celebrated in the śāstras 'as bright as gold, and having for a diadem the ornament of a section of the moon.' Kātya is he who wears a skin, Rudra . . . . . and Kātyāyanī is she whose path, support, is Kātya. Or, Kātya is the offspring of Kata, a particular rishi. . . . . Kumārī is she who destroys what is bad, undesirable. She who is both Kanyā, 'shining,' and Kumārī, is Kanyākumārī. Durgi is Durgā. Diversity in forms is to be seen everywhere in the Vedas."

All the other gods who are invoked are male—viz. Rudra, Mahādeva, Danti, Nandi, Shaṇmukha, Garuḍa, Brahman, Vishṇu, Nārasinha, Āditya, Agni; and it must therefore surprise us if we are to regard the twelfth deity as feminine, especially as the form is masculine. On the other hand, the sense of the words seems to compel us to adopt the traditional explanation. . . . . Moreover, Kātyāyanī, Kanyākumārī, and Durgā, are already well known to us as names of Śiva's consort: and, indeed, they all appear to carry us back to the flame of fire. It is true that as regards Kātyāyanī this is somewhat difficult; though when we consider the great importance of the Kātya family in reference to the sacrificial system of the Brahmans, it does not seem very improbable that a particular kind of fire, which perhaps was introduced by one of the Kātyas, was called after him, and that this name was then associated with Kālī, Karālī, and Durgā, which are originally mere appellations of fire. Kanyākumārī, or 'the maidenly,' is a very fitting epithet of the holy, pure, sacrificial flame; and even at the time of the Periplus, *i.e.* of Pliny, we find her worship extended to the southernmost point of India, to the Cape which was then, as now, called after her Cape Comorin: but does it not appear that she was then no longer worshipped as the sacrificial flame, but as the wife of Śiva himself (whose name Nīlakaṇṭha Lassen [Ind. Ant. i. 194] finds rendered in the Νελκύνδα of the Periplus)? The hymn to Agni in the second anuvāka of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (Āndhra recension) seems pretty decisive in favour of our connecting Durgā with the sacrificial fire. It is there said[214] in the second verse [Bibl. Ind., p. 788]: *Tām agnivarṇām tapasā jvalantīm vairo-chanīm karma-phaleshu jushṭām | Durgām devīm śaraṇam aham prapadye sutarasi tarase namaḥ* | ['I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity (or heat), daughter of the sun (or of fire), who is sought after for the reward of rites: adoration be to thy energy, O impetuous [goddess].'] The five following verses repeat (as does also the Durgā-stava in the Pariśishṭa) the same thought, which is also expressed in R.V. i. 99,[215] that Agni

[214] "This verse is also found in the *Durgā-stava* of the *Rātripariśishṭa* between the fourteenth and fifteenth divisions of the seventh section of the eighth Ashṭaka of the R.V." (*i.e.* between Maṇḍala x. 127 and 128). See note in the Appendix.

[215] This verse is as follows: *Jātavedase sunavāma somam arātīyato nidahāti vedaḥ | sa naḥ parshad ati durgāṇi viśvā nāveva sindhuṁ duritā 'ti Agniḥ* |

would help the suppliant over all 'durga' and 'durita' (difficulties and evils). Verse second could certainly be understood as if the worshipper turned to the personified Durgati (Evil) herself, and sought her protection, so that thus Durgā would have arisen out of Nirṛiti. But it appears to me better to understand the passage of the violent flame of the fire, which, like the fire itself, delivers, atones, and frees from all 'durga' and 'durita,' is a 'durgā,' a protecting fortress, against them; so that this name would belong to the same class as Ambikā, Śiva, Umā. If at a later period Durgā decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess Nirṛiti, this is no proof that the case was so from the beginning, but only shows that the original signification had been lost; which is in so far quite natural, as the consort of Śiva bore a terrific character, both from her connexion with Rudra and also with Agni (compare Karālī).

"The last name of Śiva's consort which I find in the Taitt. Ār. x. is Varadā, in anuvākas 26 and 30. It is true that there it appears rather to be the name of Sarasvatī, not of Durgā, when it is said: *Āyātu varadā devī aksharam brahma-sammitam | gāyatrīṁ [gāyatrī*, Bibl. Ind.] *chhandasām mātā idam brahma jushasva me | . . . . sarvavarṇe mahādevi sandhyā-vidye Sarasvati |* [216] But the words in anuv. 30 are not so clear: *Uttame śikhare jātā bhūmyām parvata-mūrdhani | brāhmaṇebhyo 'bhyanujñātā gachha devi yathāsukham | stuto (=stutā u) mayā varadā veda-mātā prachodayantī pavane dvijātā*,[217] etc.; where especially the first strophe reminds us of Pārvatī and Haimavatī, and one does not rightly comprehend how Sarasvatī obtains such an epithet (unless we are to understand the waters streaming from the hills, since Sarasvatī is, as is well known, at once a river goddess and the goddess of speech). In the same way the names Mahādevī and Sandhyāvidyā (see Wilson under Sandhyā) belong at a later period exclusively to the consort

[216] [The sense of these words, according to the reading in the Bibl. Ind., is: "May the boon-bestowing goddess (or the goddess Varadā) come: do thou, the mother of the Vedas, the letter equivalent to the Veda, the gāyatrī, receive with favour this my prayer . . . O thou who hast all letters, great goddess, Twilight-science, Sarasvatī." The latter portion of this quotation is not found in the text in the Bibl. Ind.]

[217] [The sense is: "Born on the highest peak, on the earth, on the summit of the mountain, dismissed from the Brahmans, go, goddess, wherever thou wilt. Praised by me, the boon-bestowing goddess, the mother of the Veda, twice born in the air, stimulating us," etc. The latter part of this quotation does not occur in the text as given in the Bibl. Ind.]

of Śiva. The other names, however, 'sarva-varṇā,' 'chhandasām mātā,' 'veda-mātā,' and finally 'Sarasvatī' itself, conduct us to Sarasvatī; and so does also the liturgical usage, and the sense itself of anuvākas 26–30. Thus there only remains to us the possibility of assuming here a blending (and so a reminiscence of the possible original identity) of both goddesses; as we may perhaps also assume in the case of Umā Haimavatī in the Kena Upanishad, agreeably to the conjecture intimated above, p. 189" (see p. 424, note 207, above).

Two of the names alluded to in the above extract from the Indische Studien, which were afterwards applied to the consort of Śiva, viz. Kālī and Karālī, occur in a passage of another of the Upanishads (the Muṇḍaka i. 2, 4), where they are appellations of two of the different tongues of fire: *Kālī Karālī cha Manojavā cha Sulohitā yā cha Sudhūmravarṇā | Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelāyamānāḥ iti sapta jihvāḥ |* which is thus translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 153): "The seven flickering tongues [of the fire] are—Kālī (the black one), Karālī (the terrific one), Manojavā (swift as the mind), Sulohitā (the very red one), Sudhūmravarṇā (of purple colour), Sphulinginī (emitting sparks), and the Viśvarūpī (all-shaped) goddess." The words "of the fire" are not in the original. The commentator, however, briefly remarks: *Kālī Karālī Manojavā cha Sulohitā cha yā cha Sudhūmra-varṇā Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelāyamānāḥ dahanasya jihvāḥ | Agner havir-āhuti-grasanārthāḥ etāḥ sapta jihvāḥ |* "Kālī, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravarṇā, Sphulinginī, and the goddess Viśvarūpī, are the seven flickering tongues of fire. These are the seven tongues which Agni has for devouring oblations of butter."

On this passage Prof. Weber has the following remarks in his Indische Studien i. 286 f., which are thus of an earlier date than those above cited: "The first two of these names were at a later period personified, and came to represent Durgā (the consort of Śiva, who was developed out of Agni), who (Durgā), as is well known, became the object of a bloody sacrificial-worship under the names Kālī (the dark, black), Kaṭālā, Karālavadanā, Karālānanā, Karālamukhī. It is evident that a considerable time was required for the sense of the word to become developed from that of the 'dark, terrific, tongue of fire' to that of a goddess Kālī, Karālā, worshipped with bloody sacrifices: and since

we find the latter in the drama of 'Mālati-Mādhava,' by Bhavabhūti, who is assigned by Wilson to the eighth century, the Muṇḍaka Upanishad must be considerably older; unless, indeed, the ancient signification of these names maintained itself at a later period alongside of the popular one. The worship of Durgā, Umā, and Pārvatī, may be shown in its beginnings, if not from this passage, at all events from the Upanishads of the Yajus, see Ind. Stud. i. p. 78." In a note Weber adds: "The third name (Manojavā) reminds us of Manojavas, the appellation of Yama, the god of death, in the Vāj. S. 5, 11. Does it at a later period denote his wife? for Yama too, like Śiva, is one stage of Agni, the older, certainly, while Śiva is the more recent."

In the passages quoted from the Bhāgavata and Vishṇu Purāṇas in section vi. (pp. 378, 385), the spouse of Mahādeva is said to have been originally the daughter of Daksha, and to have become the daughter of Himavat only when she was born the second time after her voluntary death at Daksha's sacrifice. The following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa says nothing of this double birth and parentage:

Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 13 ff. (ed. Schl. = Bombay ed. 35, 13 ff; Gorresio's ed. 37, 14 ff.).—*Śailendro Himavān nāma dhātūnām ākaro mahān | tasya kanyā-dvayaṁ jātaṁ rūpeṇāpratimam bhuvi | yā Meru-duhitā Rāma tayor mātā sumadhyamā | nāmnā Menā manojñā vai patnī Himavataḥ priyā | tasyāṁ Gangeyam abhavaj jyeshṭhā Himavataḥ sutā | Umā nāma dvitīyā 'bhūt kanyā tasyaiva Rāghava | . . . 19. Yā chānyā Śaila-duhitā kanyā "sīd Raghu-nandana | ugraṁ sā vratam āsthāya tapas tepe tapo-dhanā | ugreṇa tapasā yuktāṁ dadau Śaila-varaḥ sutām | Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umāṁ loka-namaskṛitām | Ity ete Śaila-rājasya sute Rāma babhūvatuḥ | Gangā cha saritām śreshṭhā devīnāṁ chāpy Umā varā |* "To Himavat, the chief of mountains, the great mine of metals, two daughters were born, in beauty unequalled upon earth. The daughter of Meru, Menā by name, the pleasing and beloved wife of Himavat, was their slender-waisted mother. Of her was born Gangā, the eldest daughter of Himavat; and his second daughter was called Umā. . . . 19. The other daughter of the mountain, rich in austere observances, having undertaken an arduous rite, fulfilled a course of severe austerity. This daughter, Umā, distinguished by severe austerity, adored by the worlds, the chief of mountains gave to the matchless Rudra.

These, Rāma, were the two daughters of the king of mountains, Gangā, the most eminent of rivers, and Umā, the most excellent of goddesses."

The Harivamsa (vv. 940 ff.) gives the following history of Umā, which differs in some points from that of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it assigns three daughters to Himavat and Menā, among whom the Gangā is not included:

Eteshām mānasī kanyā Menā nāma mahāgireḥ | patnī Himavataḥ śreshṭhā . . . . 943. *Tisraḥ kanyās tu Menāyām janayāmāsa S'aila-rāṭ | Aparṇām Ekaparṇām cha tritīyām Ekapāṭalām | tapaś charantyaḥ sumahad duścharaṁ Deva-Dānavaiḥ | lokān samtāpayāmāsus tās tisraḥ sthāṇu-jangamān | āhāram eka-parṇena Ekaparṇā samācharat | pāṭalāpushpam ekaṁ cha ādadhāv Ekapāṭalā | ekā tatra nirāhārā tām mātā pratyashedhayat | "u mā" iti nishedhantī mātṛi-snehena duḥkhitā | sā tathoktā tada mātrā devī duścharа-chāriṇī | Umety evābhavat khyātā trishu lokeshu sundarī | tathaiva nāmnā teneha viśrutā yogadharmiṇī | etat tu trikumārīkaṁ jagat sthāsyati Bhārgava | tapaḥ-śarīrās tāḥ sarvās tisro yoga-balānvitāḥ | sarvāś cha brahma-vādinyaḥ sarvāś chaivordhva-retasaḥ | Umā tāsām varishṭhā cha jyeshṭhā cha vara-varniṇī | mahāyoga-balopetā Mahādevam upasthitā | Asitasyaikaparṇā tu Devalasya mahātmanaḥ | patnī dattā mahābrahman yogāchāryāya dhīmate | Jaigīshavyāya tu tathā viddhi tām Ekapāṭalām |*

940. "Their (the Pitṛis') mental daughter was Menā, the eminent wife of the great mountain Himavat. . . . . 943. The king of the mountains begot three daughters upon Menā—viz. Aparṇā, Ekaparṇā, and Ekapāṭalā. These three, performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Dānavas, distressed [with alarm] both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparṇā ('One-leaf') fed upon one leaf. Ekapāṭalā took only one pāṭalā (Bignonia) for her food. One (Aparnā) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words *u mā* ('O don't'). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerity, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Umā. In this manner the contemplative goddess became renowned under that name. But this world shall remain [distinguished by] having these three maids. All these three had mortified bodies, were distinguished by the force of contemplation, and were all chaste, and expounders of divine knowledge. Umā was

the eldest and most excellent among the three. Distinguished by the force derived from deep contemplation, she obtained Mahādeva [for her husband]. Ekaparṇā was given as a wife to the great Asita Devala, the wise teacher of the Yoga. And know that Ekapāṭalā was in like manner bestowed on Jaigīshavya."

The following is the commencement of the hymn of Arjuna to Durgā which, as has been mentioned in p. 205, he uttered at the suggestion of Kṛishṇa:[218]

Mahābhārata, Bhīshma-parv. vv. 796 ff.—*Arjunaḥ uvacha | namas te Siddhasenāni ārye mandara-vāsini| Kumāri Kāli Kāpāli Kapile Kṛishṇa-pingale | Bhadrakāli namas tubhyam Mahākāli namo 'stu te | Chaṇḍi Chaṇḍe namas tubhyam Tāriṇi Varavarṇini| Kātyāyani mahābhāge Karāli Vijaye Jaye | śikhi-pichha-dhvaja-dhare nānābharaṇa-bhūshite | aṭṭa-śūla-praharaṇe khadga-kheṭaka-dhāriṇi | gopendrasyānuje jyeshṭhe Nanda-gopa-kulodbhave | Mahishāsṛik-priye nityaṁ Kauśiki pīta-vāsini | aṭṭa-hāse koka-mukhe namas te 'stu raṇa-priye | Ume Śākambhari Śvete Kṛishṇe Kaiṭabha-nāśini | Hiraṇyākshi Virūpākshi Dhūmrākshi cha namo 'stu te | Veda-śruti mahāpuṇye brahmaṇye Jātavedasi | Jambū-kaṭaka-chaityeshu nityaṁ sannihitālaye | tvam brahma-vidyā vidyānām mahānidrā cha dehinām | Skandha-mātar bhagavati Durge kāntāra-vāsini | . . . . Svāhākāraḥ Svadhā chaiva kalā kāshṭhā Sarasvatī | Sāvitrī Veda-mātā cha tathā Vedānta uchyate (uchyase?) | stutā 'si tvam Mahādevi viśuddhenāntarātmanā | Jayo bhavatu me nityaṁ tvat-prasādād raṇājire | kāntāra-bhaya-durgeshu bhaktānām pālaneshu cha | nityaṁ vasasi pātāle yuddhe jayasi dānavān | tvaṁ Jambhanī Mohinī cha Māyā Hrīḥ Śrīs tathaiva cha | Sandhyā prabhāvatī chaiva Sāvitrī Jananī tathā | Tushṭiḥ Pushṭir Dhṛitir Dīpṭiś chandrāditya-vivardhinī | bhūtir bhūtimatāṁ sankhye vīkshyase siddha-chāraṇaiḥ |*

"Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenānī (Generaless of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumārī, Kālī, Kāpālī, Kapilā, Kṛishṇa-pingalā. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakālī; reverence to thee, Mahākālī; reverence to thee, Chaṇḍī, Chaṇḍā; reverence to thee, O Tāriṇī (deliveress), O Varavarṇinī (beautiful-coloured), O fortunate Kātyāyanī, O Karālī, O Vijayā, O Jayā (victory), who bearest a peacock's tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wield-

[218] The Bhagavadgītā, in which Kṛishṇa himself is so highly extolled and glorified, begins shortly afterwards in the twenty-fifth section of the Bhīshma-parvan, vv. 830 ff.

ing sword and shield, younger sister of the chief of cowherds (Kṛishṇa), eldest, born in the family of the cowherd Nanda, delighting always in Mahisha's blood, Kauśikī, wearing yellow garments, loud-laughing, wolf-mouthed, reverence to thee, thou delighter in battle, O Umá, Śákambharī, thou white one [or Śvetá], thou black one [or Kṛishṇá], O destroyer of Kaiṭabha. Reverence to thee, O Hiraṇyákshī, Virúpákshī, Dhúmrákshī (golden-, distorted-, dark-eyed), O Vedaśruti (tradition of the Veda), most pure, devout, Játavedasī (female Agni), who dwellest continually near to (. . . . . ?) mountain-precipices and sepulchres. Of sciences thou art the science of Brahma (or of the Veda), the great sleep of embodied beings, O mother of Skanda, divine Durgá, dweller in wildernesses. Thou art called Svāhā, Svadhā, Kalā, Káshṭhā (minute divisions of time), Sarasvatī,[219] Sávitrī, mother of the Vedas, and the Vedánta (or end of the Vedas). Thou, great goddess, art praised with a pure heart. By thy favour let me be ever victorious in battle. In deserts, fears, and difficulties, and in the preservation of thy devout servants, and in Pátála, thou constantly abidest; and conquerest the Dánavas in battle. Thou art Jambhanī (destroyer?), Mohinī, Máyá, Hrī, Śrī, Sandhyá,[220] the luminous, Sávitrī, the mother, Tushṭi (contentment), Pushṭi (fatness), Dhṛiti (constancy), Dípti (light), increaser of the sun and moon, the power of the powerful in battle,—[all this] thou art seen by the Siddhas and Chárańas [to be]."

In another part of the Mahábhárata, (fourth or) Virāṭa-parvan, 178 ff., there is another hymn (already referred to above, p. 425, note) addressed by Yudhishṭhira to Durgá, and very similar to the preceding. Among other things, she is there said to "have her perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountains, and to delight in spirituous liquor, flesh, and sacrificial victims" (*Vindhye chaiva naga-śreshṭhe tava sthánam hi śáśvatam | Káli Káli Mahákáli sídhu-mámsa-paśu-priye*).

In the Harivaṁsa, vv. 3236 ff., it is related by Vaiśampáyana that with the view of defeating the designs of Kansa in regard to the destruction of Devakī's offspring, Vishṇu descended into Pátála, where he sought the aid of Nidrá Kála-rúpiṇī (Sleep in the form of Time); and

[219] Compare what has been said by Prof. Weber on the relation of Umá and Sarasvatī, above, p. 424, note, and p. 428.

[220] See above, p. 428.

promised her in return that through his favour she should be a goddess adored in all the world (v. 3242). He desires her to be born as the ninth child of Yaśodā on the same night on which he was to be born as the eighth child of Devakī (3247), when he would be carried to Yaśodā and she to Devakī. He tells her that she would be taken by the foot, and cast out upon a rock; but would then obtain an eternal place in the sky, becoming assimilated to himself in glory; would be installed by Indra among the gods (3251 ff.), received by him as his sister under the name of Kauśikī, and would obtain from him (Indra) a perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountain, where, thinking upon him (Vishṇu), she would kill the two demons Śumbha and Niśumbha, and would be worshipped with animal sacrifices (*tatraiva tvām bhaginy-arthe grahīshyati sa Vāsavaḥ | Kuśikasya tu gotreṇa Kauśikī tvam bhavishyasi*[221] | *sa te Vindhye naga-sreshṭhe sthānaṁ dāsyati śāśvatam | ityādi*). Vaiśampāyana then (vv. 3268 ff.) repeats a hymn to Āryā (Durgā) which had been "uttered by rishis of old," beginning *Nārāyaṇīṁ mamasyāmi devīṁ tribhuvaneśvarīm* | "I bow down before the goddess Nārāyaṇī, the mistress of the three worlds." She is here called by many of the names which we have already met in Arjuna's hymn (above, p. 432 f.), such as Śrī, Dhṛiti, Kīrti, Hrī, Sandhyā, Kātyāyanī, Kauśikī, Jayā, Vijayā, Tushṭi, Pushṭi (3269 f.). She is also called the eldest sister of Yama (*jyeshṭhā Yamasya bhaginī*, v. 3271); and it is worthy of remark that she is said to be worshipped by the [savage tribes of] Śavaras, Varvaras, and Pulindas (*Śavarair Varbaraiś chaiva Pulindaiś cha supūjitā*, v. 3274). She is also described as fond of wine and flesh (*surā-māṁsa-priyā*, v. 3279), the goddess of wine (*surā-devī*, v. 3286), as being Sarasvatī in Vālmīki (comp. pp. 424 f., 425 f.), and Smṛiti (memory) in Dvaipāyana, *i.e.* Vyāsa (*Sarasvatī cha Vālmīke Smṛitir Dvaipāyane tathā*, v. 3285), and among sciences, the science of Brahma or the Veda (*vidyānām brahma-vidyā*, v. 3291), and as pervading the entire world (*tvayā vyāptam idaṁ sarvaṁ jagat sthāvara-jangamam*, v. 3293).

The object of this passage seems to be to take Durgā and her worship (the extensive prevalence of which could not be ignored by the Vaishṇavas) under the protection and patronage of Vishṇu.

[221] Kauśika is applied as an epithet to Indra in R.V. i. 10, 11. See the first volume of this work, p. 347 f., and the fifth volume, p. 219.

A hymn addressed to Durgā by Pradyumna, the son of Kṛishṇa, is also to be found in Harivaṁsa vv. 9423 ff.; and another uttered by Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna and grandson of Kṛishṇa, occurs in vv. 10235 ff. of the same work. The latter hymn is repeated by Vaiśampāyana after he had made obeisance to the "infinite, imperishable, celestial, eternal primeval-god Nārāyaṇa" (*anantam akshayaṁ divyam ādi-devaṁ sanātanam | Nārāyaṇaṁ namaskṛitya*, 10232); and he talks of the goddess as being "adored by rishis and gods with flowers of eloquence" (*ṛishibhir daivataiś chaiva vāk-pushpair architāṁ śubhām*, 10234). The hymn addresses Durgā as the sister of Indra and Vishṇu (*Mahendra-Vishṇu-bhaginīm*, v. 10235), as Gautamī, and by many of the names which we have already found in the preceding hymns, as well as by many new appellations, and goes on thus (v. 10256 ff.): *Brahmā Vishṇuś cha Rudraś cha Chandra-sūryāgni-mārutāḥ | . . . . kṛitsnaṁ jagad idam proktaṁ devyāḥ nāmānukīrtanāt |* "Brahmā, Vishṇu, Rudra, the sun, moon, and wind . . . . all this world is pronounced by uttering the name of this goddess."

The worship of this goddess reaches its climax in such works as the Devī-māhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sections 81 ff.; where it is remarkable that she is connected with Vishṇu, and not with her proper consort, Mahādeva. She is there called Mahāmāyā (the great Illusion), Yoganidrā (the Sleep of meditation), etc. It is there said of her (v. 47 ff.): *Nityaiva sā jagan-mūrtir tayā sarvam idaṁ tatam | tathāpi tat-samutpattir bahudhā śrūyatām mama | devānāṁ kārya-siddhy-artham āvirbhavati sā yadā | utpanneti tadā loke sā nityā 'py abhidhīyate |* "She is the eternal form (or substance) of the world; by her all this [universe] is stretched out; and yet hear from me her manifold birth. Whenever she is manifested to effect the purposes of the gods, she, though eternal, is said in the world to be born." The narrative then proceeds, that when Vishṇu was sunk in this sleep of contemplation (*Yoganidrā*) at the end of the Kalpa, two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, sprang from his ear and were about to kill Brahmā; when the latter, seeing Vishṇu asleep, with the view of arousing him, began to celebrate the praises of Yoganidrā, "his divine sleep who was abiding in his eyes, the mistress of the universe, the support of the world, the cause of its continuance and destruction" (*Hari-netra-kṛitālayām | viśveśvarīṁ jagaddhātrīṁ sthiti-saṁhāra-kāri-*

ṇīm | nidrām bhagavatīm Vishṇoḥ). Some of the functions assigned to her are as follows (v. 56): *Tvayaiva dhāryate sarvaṁ tvayaitat sṛijyate jagat | tvayaitat pālyate devi tvam atsy ante cha sarvadā |* "By thee the universe is upheld; by thee the world is created, by thee it is preserved; and thou always devourest it at the end." Again, it is said of her (v. 63 ff.): *Yachcha kinchit kvachid vastu sad asad vā 'khilātmake | tasya sarvasya yā śaktiḥ sā tvaṁ kiṁ stūyase tadā | yayā tvayā jagat-srashṭā jagat-pātā 'tti yo jagat | so 'pi nidrā-vaśaṁ nītaḥ kas tvām stotum iheśvaraḥ | Vishṇuḥ śarīra-grahaṇam aham Īśāna eva cha | kāritās te yato 'tas tvām kaḥ stotuṁ śaktimān bhavet |* "Thou art the power (*śakti*) of whatever substance, existent or non-existent, anywhere is, O thou soul of all things: why art thou, then, lauded [by us who are unequal to the task]? Who is able to magnify thee by whom the Creator of the world, the Preserver of the world, and the Devourer of the world, have been subjected to sleep? Since thou hast caused Vishṇu, and me (Brahmā), and Īśāna (Śiva) to become incorporate, who has the power to praise thee?"

The following is the beginning of a hymn addressed to her after her destruction of the demon Mahisha:

Mārk. Pur. sect. 84, 1 ff.—*Śakrādayaḥ sura-gaṇāḥ nihate 'tivīrye tasmin durātmani surāribale cha devyā | tāṁ tushṭuvuḥ praṇati-namra-śirodharāṁsāḥ vāgbhiḥ praharsha-pulakodgama-chāru-dehāḥ | devyā yayā tatam idaṁ jagad ātma-śaktyā niḥśesha-deva-gaṇa-śakti-samūha-mūrtyā | tām Ambikām akhila-deva-maharshi-pūjyām bhaktyā natāḥ sma vidadhātu śubhāni sā naḥ | yasyāḥ prabhāvam atulam bhagavān Ananto Brahmā Haraś cha na hi vaktum alam balancha | sā Chaṇḍikā 'khila-jagat-paripālanāya nāśāya chāśubha-bhayasya matiṁ karotu |* "When the goddess had slain this very powerful and malignant [demon] and the host of the enemies of the gods,—the deities, headed by Indra, with their necks and shoulders bowed down in obeisance, and their bodies beautified by horripilation, delighted, lauded her with [these] words: 'We bow down with devotion before that goddess Ambikā, who stretched out this world by her own power, in whom are impersonated the various energies (*śakti*) of all the gods, who is to be adored by all the deities and rishis: may she confer upon us blessings. May Chaṇḍikā, whose unequalled majesty and might neither the divine Ananta (Vishṇu), nor Brahmā, nor Hara (Śiva) is competent to express, de-

termine upon the preservation of the world, and the destruction of the fear of evil."

These specimens may suffice to show the dignity to which this goddess has eventually been elevated in the estimation of her worshippers; and a comparison of the characteristics which are here assigned to her with the descriptions quoted above from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc. (pp. 364, 373 ff., 430 f.), will show that she has now attained a higher rank in the Indian pantheon than was originally enjoyed by the daughter of Daksha and Himavat.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—*Page* 33, *line* 19.

In the Uttarakāṇḍa, too, of the Rāmāyaṇa (iv. 9, Bombay ed.), it is said: *Prajāpatiḥ purā sṛishṭvā apaḥ salila-sambhavaḥ | tāsāṁ gopāyane sattvān asṛijat padma-sambhavaḥ |* "The lotus-born Prajāpati, sprung from the waters (or the source of the waters), having formerly created the waters, created beings to protect them;" who, from agreeing to undertake this function, were called Rākshasas (from the root *raksh*, "to protect").

On this verse the commentator remarks: "*Apaḥ sṛishṭvā*" *bhūmer adho-bhāga-vartinīr apaḥ sṛishṭvā ity arthaḥ | tatra* "*salila-sambhavaḥ*" *Prajāpatir abhūd ity anvayaḥ |* . . . . "'Having created the waters:' the sense is having created the waters existing beneath the earth. In them the water-born Prajāpati arose: such is the connexion." . . . . He then quotes Manu i. 8 (see p. 30, above), and two other texts from the Veda. See above, p. 24, note.

NOTE B.—*Page* 65, *line* 25.

In the description of the regions to which the monkeys were sent to search for Sītā after she had been carried off by Rāvaṇa, which is given in the Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa or fourth book of the Rāmāyaṇa, the following reference occurs to the three steps of Vishṇu; and it is of such a character as to preserve some trace of Aurṇabhāva's interpretation of those steps:

Sect. 40, vv. 54*a* ff. (Bombay ed.)[1]—*Tataḥ paraṁ hemamayaḥ śrīmān Udaya-parvataḥ | tasya koṭir divaṁ spṛishṭvā śata-yojanam āyatā | jāta-*

[1] Gorresio, iv. 40, 59 ff., has several various readings in this passage. I have noted those which occur in the most important verses.

rūpamayī divyā virājati sa-vedikā | . . . . 57. *Tatra yojana-vistāram uchhritaṁ daśa-yojanam* | *śringaṁ Saumanasam nāma jātarūpamayaṁ dhruvam* | 58. *Tatra pūrva-padaṁ kṛitvā purā Vishṇus trivikrame* (*trivikramaḥ*, Gorr.) | *dvitīyaṁ śikharе Meroś chakāra purushottamaḥ* | 59. *Uttareṇa parikramya Jambūdvīpaṁ divākaraḥ* | *dṛiśyo bhavati bhūyishṭhaṁ śikharaṁ tad mahochhrayam* (*dṛiśyo bhavati bhūtānāṁ śikharaṁ tam upāśritaḥ*, Gorr.) | 54. "Beyond that is the glorious, golden, Udaya parvata [mountain over which the sun rises]; the divine and golden peak of which shines, touching the sky, a hundred yojanas long, and supported by a basement. . . . . 57. There stands the firm, golden Saumanasa peak, a yojana broad and ten yojanas high. When Vishṇu, the chief of spirits, formerly strode three paces, he planted his first step there, and his second on the summit of Meru. When the sun has circled round Jambūdvīpa by the north [or, with his last (step)], he is mostly visible on that lofty peak;" (or, 'he is visible to living beings, resting upon that peak,' Gorr.).

The commentator remarks on vv. 57 and 58: *Tatra śata-yojana-dīrghe Udaya-giri-śikhare* | 58. *Tatra Saumanase śringe trivikrame tribhiḥ padais trilokyāḥ ākramaṇa-prastāve prathamam padaṁ tatra kṛitvā dvitīyam padam Meroḥ śikhare chakāra* | On v. 59: *Astānantaram uttareṇa Jambu-dvīpam parikramya tan mahochhrayaṁ śikharam Saumanasākhyam prāpya sthito divākaro Jambu-dvīpa-vartināṁ bhūyishṭhaṁ dṛishṭo bhavati Saumanasa-śikhare ity arthaḥ* | *idam satya-yugābhiprāyaṁ tretāyāṁ kshīra-sāgara-madhya-gasya dvāpare suroda-madhya-gasya kalau Lankā-madhya-gasya Jambudvīpa-stha-manushya-dṛiśyatāyāḥ anyatroktatvāt* | "'There,' on this summit of the Udaya-giri, a hundred yojanas long. 58. 'There,' on that peak Saumanasa, in his triple stride, on the occasion of his traversing the three worlds with three steps, [Vishṇu] placed his first step, and his second on the summit of Meru." On v. 59 he observes: "After sunset, when the sun has circled round Jambūdvīpa by the north [or, with his last (step)], he is mostly seen by the inhabitants of that Dvīpa standing on the lofty summit called Saumanasa. This refers to the Satya yuga. For it is said in other books that in the Tretā age the sun is beheld by the men of Jambūdvīpa to go through the ocean of milk, in the Dvāpara through the ocean of wine, and in the Kali through Lankā."

The three steps of Vishṇu are mentioned in other parts of the Rāmā-

yaṇa. Thus in book vi. 39, 21 (Bombay ed.), it is said: *Prāsādaiścha vimānaiś cha Lankā parama-bhūshitā | ghanair ivātapāpāye madhyamaṁ Vaishṇavam padam* | "Lankā was beautifully adorned with temples and palaces, as the middle step (or position) of Vishṇu, with clouds, at the departure of the hot season [and commencement of the rains]." The commentator explains the middle position of Vishṇu by *ākāśa*. This passage appears to refer to the zenith.

NOTE C.—*Page* 134, *line* 34.

It will be observed that in the text of the Bombay edition the two parts of the story, viz. (1) the request of the gods to Vishṇu that he would assume the form of a dwarf, and (2) the petition of Kaśyapa to the same deity that he would become the son of himself and Aditi, are more closely connected than they are in Schlegel's edition by the insertion of the words, "Bestow the boon which Aditi, the gods, and I solicit," which are wanting in Schlegel's text. Further, in the Bombay edition Kaśyapa is made to allude to "the hermitage where the work was accomplished," as if he was himself present there, of which nothing is said in Schlegel's edition. And again, as already noticed in note 129, p. 130, by the omission of the words "thus addressed by the deities," which occur at the beginning of verse 17 of Schlegel's text, the Bombay edition harmonizes the two parts of the story, and removes the appearance of interpolation which Schlegel's text exhibits.

NOTE D.—*Page* 175, *line* 33.

In this note I shall adduce some further evidence tending to confirm the supposition that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu.

In the summaries of the poem, contained in sections 1 and 3[2] of

[2] It is worthy of remark, that in the third section the poet is said to have "seen" all that he narrates in the poem; just as the Vedic rishis are said to have "seen" their hymns (see Nirukta ii. 11: *Ṛishir darśanāt | Stomān dadarśa ity Aupamanyavaḥ* | "'Ṛishi comes from seeing: he is one who saw the hymns,' so says Aupamanyava." See the second volume of this work, pp. 195 and 196; also the third vol., p. 85). Rāmāyaṇa i. 3, 3: *Rāma-Lakshmaṇa-Sītābhiḥ rājñā Daśarathena cha |*

the First Book, as given in the Bombay edition and in Schlegel's, no allusion is made to the divine origin of Rāma; and the same is the case in the first and third sections in Gorresio's edition also. In the fourth section, however, of the last-named recension (which the others do not contain), the plan pursued by the gods for the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the divine fluid through which the sons of Daśaratha were produced, are distinctly referred to (vv. 14, 15: "*Rāvaṇasya badhopāye mantraṇaṁ samudāhṛitam* | 15. *Svargāvataraṇaṁ chaiva surāṇāṁ samudāhṛitam* | *divyā cha pāyasotpattiḥ putra-janma nṛipasya cha*). In the first of the two summaries in Rāmāyaṇa i. 1, 13 and 18 (Bombay ed.), Rāma is described as "glorious like Prajāpati" (*Prajāpati-samaḥ śrīmān*, v. 13), and as "resembling Vishṇu in vigour, and pleasant to behold, like the Moon" (*Vishṇunā sadṛiśo vīrye soma-vat priyadarśanaḥ*, v. 18). The first of the epithets in the last line would imply that he was not Vishṇu. Otherwise, what necessity for the comparison? The commentator remarks thus on the expression in v. 18: *Yadyapi Rāmo Vishṇur eva sarva-rūpaś cha tathāpi mānushopādhi-bhedāt sarvatra sādṛiśyaṁ drashṭavyam* | *yadvā Vishṇunā sadṛiśaḥ ity ananvayālankāraḥ* | "Although Rāma was no other than Vishṇu, still, from the seeming distinctness of his humanity, resemblances may be regarded as existing in all points [between the one and the other]. Or, the comparison may be regarded as coming within the class of improper similes (*ananvayālankāra*)." See Professor Goldstücker's Dictionary under this word. In regard to the other epithet, "glorious like Prajāpati," v. 13, the commentator similarly observes: *Yadyapi Rāmo Brahma eva tathāpi mānusha-dharmāṇāṁ śoka-mohadīnām māyikānāṁ tatra darśanena aupādhika-bhedam ādāya tat-samatvoktiḥ* | *Bhāryava-loka-pratibandha-rūpāj*

sabhāryeṇa sarāshṭreṇa yat prāptaṁ tatra tattvataḥ | 4. *Hasitam bhāshitaṁ chaiva gatir yāvach cha cheshṭitam* | *tat sarvaṁ dharma-vīryeṇa yathāvat samprapaśyati* | 5. *Strī-tṛitīyena cha tathā yat prāptaṁ charatā vane* | *satyasandhena Rāmeṇa tat sarvaṁ chānvavaikshata* | 6. *Tataḥ paśyati dharmātmā tat sarvaṁ yogam āsthitaḥ* | *purā yat tatra nirvṛittam pāṇāv āmalakaṁ yathā*[c] | 7. *Tat sarvaṁ tattvato dṛishṭvā ityādi* | 3. "Whatever actually occurred to Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā, to king Daśaratha with his wives and dominions, (4) their laughing, their talking, their fates and their endeavours—all that he sees exactly by the power of righteousness. 5. He also beheld all that happened to the truthful Rāma while travelling in the forest with his wife as the third. 6. Then the righteous (bard), falling into a state of contemplation (*yoga*), sees all that had formerly happened, like an "āmalaka" fruit in his hand. 7. Seeing all this exactly," etc.

Jaṭāyu-moksha-pradāna-rupāt svena saha sarvāyodhyā-vāsi-janasya saśarīrasya Brahma-loka-nayana-rūpāch cha kāraṇāt tat-samatvam | sarvathā svatantrasya eva īdṛiśeshu yogyatvāt | "Although Rāma was no other than Brahma, still, owing to the circumstance that grief, delusion, and other illusory human attributes, were seen in him,—in reference to this apparent distinctness,—a resemblance is predicated. From the fact that he deprived Bhārgava (Paraśurāma, see above, p. 177) of his celestial abode, that he conferred final emancipation on Jaṭāyu (Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay ed., iii. 68, 37), and that he took with him to Brahmā's paradise the whole of the inhabitants of Ayodhyā in an embodied state, there is a similarity (between Rāma and Prajāpati); since only a being who was in all respects independent of others could be capable of such acts." As instances of Rāma's "illusory human attributes," I may mention his ignorance of Sītā's locality when she had been carried off by Rāvaṇa (Ār. Kāṇḍa 58, 1 ff., Bombay ed.= Gorr. sect. 65), and the consequent search instituted for her discovery (Kishkindhā K. 40, 11 ff., Bombay ed.=Gorr. ed. 40, 9 ff.), and his doubt regarding her purity after she had been rescued from the Rākshasa's palace (Bāla Kāṇḍa 1, 81 ff., Bombay ed.). There are some phrases in the summary of the poem, in the first chapter of the first book, which are of a hyperbolical character, and do not necessarily point to a divine character in Rāma. Thus, in verse 4 the hero about whom inquiry is made is described as one of whom the gods are afraid (*kasya bibhyati devāś cha*). In v. 84 Rāma is said to have been honoured, or worshipped, by all the gods (*pūjitaḥ sarva-devataiḥ*); while on the other hand he is said, v. 86, to have received a boon from the gods (*devatābhyo 'varam prāpya*). In verse 32 Rāma and his party, while living at Chitrakūṭa, are compared to gods and gandharvas (*deva-gandharva-sankāśāḥ*). In section 2, verse 32, the epithets *dharmātmano bhagavataḥ*, and *dhīmataḥ*, "righteous," "divine or venerable" (an epithet constantly applied to Kṛishṇa, as well as to Buddha), and "wise," are assigned to Rāma. "Bhagavat" need not necessarily mean "divine."

In the text, pp. 170 ff. (see also pp. 165 ff.), following Lassen, I have pointed out that the second sacrifice described in the fourteenth section in Schlegel's edition has some appearance of not having formed a portion of the original poem. It will also be seen from note 164

in p. 165, as compared with the quotation given in the text in the same and the following pages, that the Bombay edition, which frequently differs in its readings from Schlegel's, omits vv. 5–11 of the section in question (the fourteenth), as given in the latter, and passes at once from the fourth to the twelfth verse. In the account which follows of the request preferred by the gods to Vishṇu to become incarnate in the sons of Daśaratha, etc., the two editions differ in their arrangement of details, but not in the substance. In the Bombay edition the words *pitarañ rochayāmāsa tadā Daśaratham nṛipam* ("he accepted as his father the king Daśaratha"), which occur in section 15, 32, are repeated in section 16, 8.

In the text, pp. 174 f., I have given the account of the birth of Daśaratha's sons according to Schlegel's edition. I now subjoin the description of the same event as found in the Bombay edition and in Gorresio's:

[Bombay ed., sect. 18, vv. 8 ff.]

8. *Tato yajñe samāpte tu ṛitūnañ shaṭ samatyayuḥ | tataś cha dvādaśe māse chaitre nāvamike tithau | 9. Nakshatre 'diti-daivatye svochcha-saṁstheshu panchasu | graheshu karkaṭe lagne Vākpatāv Indunā saha | 10. Prodyamāne jagannāthāñ sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmañ divya-lakshaṇa-saṁyutam | 11. Vishṇor ardham mahābhāgam putram Aikshvākunandanam | lohitāksham mahābāhuñ raktoshṭham dundubhi-svanam | 12. Kauśalyā śusubhe tena putreṇāmita-tejasā | yathā vareṇa devānām Aditir Vajrapāṇinā | 13. Bharato nāma Kaikeyyām jajñe satya-parākramaḥ | sākshād Vishṇoś chaturbhāgaḥ sarvaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ | 14. Atha Lakshmaṇa-Śatrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau | vīrau sarvā-*

[Gorr. ed., sect. 19, vv. 10 ff.]

10. *Tāsām prajajñire putrāś chatvāro 'mita-tejasaḥ | Rāma-Lakshmaṇa-Śatrughna-Bharatāḥ devarūpiṇaḥ | 11. Janma-tejo-guṇajyeshṭham putram apratimaujasam | Kauśalyā 'janayad Rāmañ Vishṇutulya-parākramam | 12.* (almost the same as v. 12 of the Bomb. ed.) *13. Bhavāya sa hi lokānām Rāvaṇasya badhāya cha | Vishṇor vīryārdhato jajñe Rāmo rājīva-lochanaḥ | 14. Tejo-vīryādhikaḥ śūraḥ śrīmān guṇa-gaṇākaraḥ | babhūvānavaraś chaiva Śakrād Vishṇoś cha paurushe | 15. Tathā Lakshmaṇa-Śatrughnau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau | dṛidha-bhaktī mahotsāhau Rāmasyāvarajau guṇaiḥ | 16. Tāv 'apy āstām chatur-bhāgau Vishṇoḥ sampiṇḍitāv ubhau | ekaḥ eka-chaturbhāgād aparasmād ajāyata | 17.*

stra-kuśalau Vishṇor ardha-samanvitau | 15. *Puchye jātas tu Bharato mīnalagne prasanna-dhīḥ* | *Sārpe jatau tu Saumitrī kulīre 'bhyudite ravau* | 16. *Rājnaḥ putrāḥ mahātmānaś chatvāro jajnire pṛithak* | *guṇavanto 'nurūpāścha ruchyā proshṭhapadopamāḥ* |

[Bombay edition.]

8. "After the sacrifice had been completed, the six seasons passed; and then in the twelfth month, in Chaitra, on the ninth lunar day, (9) in the lunar mansion of which Aditi is the deity, when five planets were culminating, when Jupiter was rising with the moon in the sign of Cancer,—(10) Kauśalyā brought forth Rāma, the lord of the world, adored by all worlds, possessed of celestial marks, (11) a son of high destinies, the half of Vishṇu, and gladdener of the race of Ikshvāku, with red eyes, great-armed, with red lips, and with a voice like a kettle-drum. 12. Kauśalyā received lustre from this son of unbounded might, as Aditi did from the chief of the gods who wields the thunderbolt. 13. [A son] called Bharata, of real valour, possessed of all virtues, was born of Kaikeyī, who was manifestly the

Bharato nāma Kaikeyyāḥ putraḥ satya-parākramaḥ | *dharmātmā cha mahātmā cha prakhyāta-bala-vikramaḥ* | . . . 19. *Sa chaturbhir mahābhāgaiḥ putrair Daśaratho vṛitaḥ* | *babhūva parama-prīto devair iva Pitāmahaḥ* | 20. *Teshām ketur iva śreshṭho Rāmo loka-hite rataḥ* | *Svayambhūr iva devānāṁ sarveshāṁ sama-darśanaḥ* |

[Gorresio's edition.]

After naming Daśaratha's wives, the narrative proceeds:

10. "To them were born four sons, of boundless might, Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Śatrughna, and Bharata, in fashion like the gods. 11. Kauśalyā brought forth Rāma, a son of unparalleled vigour, the first in birth, might, and qualities, equal in valour to Vishṇu. 12. (=v. 12. of the Bomb. ed.) 13. For this lotus-eyed Rāma was born from the half of Vishṇu's generative power, for the good of the worlds, and the destruction of Rāvaṇa.[3] 14. This glorious hero, a mine of virtues, excelled in fire and energy, and in manly vigour was not inferior to Indra and Vishṇu. 15. So too Sumitrā bore two sons, Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna, firm in devotion, of great energy, second to Rāma in virtues. 16. These two also, combined, were two

[3] This verse, though not in the Bombay edition, is to be found in Schlegel's as the fifth.

fourth part of Vishṇu. 14. Then Sumitrā bore two sons, Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna, heroes, skilled in all weapons, who had [each] the half [of the fourth] of Vishṇu.[4] 15. But Bharata, of tranquil mind, was born under the lunar mansion Pushya and the sign of Pisces; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under Sārpa (or the ninth lunar mansion), when the sun had risen in Cancer. 16. The four great sons of the king were separately born, possessing great qualities, resembling one another, and in brilliancy like the constellation Proshṭhapadā."

fourth parts [*i.e.* were, together, the fourth part] of Vishṇu. From the other fourth part there was born (17) to Kaikeyī, one son named Bharata, of real valour, righteous, high-souled, renowned for power, and energy. . . . . 19. Daśaratha, surrounded by his four sons of high destinies, was highly pleased, like Pitāmaha, attended by the gods. 20. Rāma, devoted to the good of the worlds, was, like a banner, the most eminent among them, like Svayambhū among the gods, and impartial to all."

The Bombay edition has not the verse which is found as the fifth in Schlegel's edition, and the thirteenth in Gorresio's, but it, equally with the others, asserts in its eleventh verse (which is not in Schlegel's edition) that the half of Vishṇu was incarnate in Rāma. The same remark which in p. 175 I have made on the passage as given in Schlegel's edition, applies to this recension also—viz. that the verses which refer to Daśaratha's sons being incarnations of Vishṇu might be omitted with little injury to the connexion. The account of Bharata, Lakshmaṇa, and Śatrughna, given in vv. 13–15 (as they now stand), has a certain awkwardness, inasmuch as after leaving Bharata, and introducing (v. 14) Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna, the narrator recurs (v. 15) to Bharata, to give further particulars of his birth, and then goes back again to the other brothers. If, however, vv. 13 and 14 have been interpolated, it is possible that some other lines, which seem necessary to complete v. 15, and to tell the name of Bharata's mother, and the names of Sumitrā's sons (which that verse does not contain), may at the same time have been left out. In Gorresio's text of this passage, the verses describing the astrological influences under which Daśaratha's

[4] Which had been communicated to their mother. See sect. 15, 21, Schlegel.

sons were born, are left out; though these are not unlikely to have formed part of the original text of the poem.[5] The twelfth verse of this (as well as the corresponding verses of the other two recensions), where Rāma is compared to Indra,[6] and also the fourteenth verse (Gorr.), in which he is said to be not inferior to Indra and Vishṇu [these two verses, I say, if original portions of the poem, as is not unlikely], sound somewhat strangely as part of a work in which the incarnation of Rāma was originally contemplated, as it would not exalt the reader's conception of the dignity of the hero (supposed to be an incarnation of Vishṇu) to compare his might to that of Indra, an inferior god. On this subject Gorresio remarks, in note 90, p. 423 f. of his sixth volume, as follows: "This is one of the passages in the poem from which it might be inferred that the avātara of Vishṇu in Rāma was an interpolation in the epopee. If Rāma was a corporeal manifestation of Vishṇu, and consequently Vishṇu himself in a human form, the epithet 'not inferior to Vishṇu,' which is here assigned to him, has neither appropriateness nor sense. It would be as if it were said to any one that he was not inferior to himself. But we shall not anticipate the judgment of a question which has need to be maturely considered."

Again, it is related in the Āraṇya K., or Third Book, 30, 20 ff. of Gorresio's edition, that when the Rākshasas were about to attack Rāma, the gods and other beings became very anxious about his safety: *Tato devarshi-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha saha chāraṇaiḥ | ūchuḥ parama-santrastāḥ guhyakāś cha parasparam | chatur-daśa sahasrāṇi rakshasām bhīma-karmaṇām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathaṁ yuddham bhavishyati | Rāmo no vidito yo 'yaṁ yatiś cha vasudhāṁ gataḥ | manushyatvaṁ tu matvā 'sya kāruṇyād vyathitam manaḥ | nardantīva chamūs teshāṁ rakshasāṁ kāma-rūpiṇām | nānā-vikṛita-veśānāṁ Ramāśramam upāgamat |* "Then the gods, rishis, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Chāraṇas, and Guhyakas, being greatly terrified, spoke thus among themselves: 'There are fourteen thousands of Rākshasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one: how shall they fight together? We know who

[5] Signor Gorresio, on the other hand, thinks they are superfluous (Preface, vol. i., p. lii.).

[6] In the Āraṇya Kāṇḍa 68, 38 (Bombay ed.), Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are compared to the chiefs of the gods, Vishṇu and Vāsava (Indra, *surendrāv iva Vishṇu-vāsavau*) The commentator makes no remark on this.

this Rāma is, and how he went to the earth; but considering his human nature, our minds are distressed from compassion. The army of these Rākshasas, who take any shape they will, and who have assumed various disguises, has approached the hermitage of Rāma, as if shouting.'"

In the Bombay ed. iii. 24, 19 ff., however, most of the words ascribed to the gods, etc., are quite different: *Tato devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhāś cha saha chāraṇaiḥ | sameyuścha mahātmāno yuddha-darśana-kānkshayā* | 20. *Ṛishayaś mahātmāno loke brahmarshi-sattamāḥ | sametya chochuḥ sahitās te 'nyonyam puṇya-karmaṇaḥ*[7] | 21. *Svasti go-brāhmaṇānāncha lokānāṁ cheti saṁsthitāḥ*[8] | *jayatāṁ Rāghavo yuddhe Paulastyān rajanīcharān* | 22. *Chakra-hasto yathā yuddhe sarvān asura-pungavān | evam uktvā punāḥ prochur ālokya cha parasparam* | 23. *Chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi rakshasām bhīma-karmaṇām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathaṁ yuddham bhavishyati* | 24. *Iti rājarshayaḥ siddhāḥ sa-gaṇāś cha dvijarshabhāḥ | jāta-kautūhalās tasthur vimāna-sthāś cha devatāḥ* | 25. *Āvishṭaṁ tejasā Rāmaṁ saṅgrāma-śirasi sthitam | dṛishṭvā sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhayād vivyathire tadā* | 26. *Rūpam apratimaṁ tasya Rāmasyāklishṭa-karmaṇaḥ | babhūva rūpaṁ kruddhasya Rudrasyeva mahātmanaḥ* | . . . . . 35. *Tasya rushṭasya rūpaṁ tu Rāmasya dadṛiśe tadā | Dākshasyeva kratuṁ hantum udyatasya Pināķinaḥ*[9] | 19. "Then the great gods, Gandharvas, and Siddhas, with the Chāraṇas, (20) and the great rishis, the most excellent Brahman rishis, assembled in the world, eager to witness the battle: and being assembled, these holy beings thus spoke to one another: 21. 'Blessings be upon cows and Brahmans, and upon the worlds! may Rāma conquer in battle the Rākshasas, the descendants of Pulastya, (22) as the god who bears the discus (Vishṇu) [overcame] the chiefs of the Asuras.' Having thus spoken, and looked at each other, they said again: 23. 'There are fourteen thousands of Rākshasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one:

[7] *Adīrghatvaṃ ārsham* | Comm.

[8] The following is the commentator's note on the last four words of this line, of which it is difficult to make any sense as they stand: "*Lokānām ye 'bhisangatāḥ*" *iti pāṭhe lokānāṁ lokapālānāṁ sangatāḥ havir-homādi-dvārā upakārakāḥ ity arthaḥ.* "According to another reading, *lokānāṁ ye 'bhisangatāḥ*, the sense is, 'and upon those guardians of the world who have arrived, who aid us by means of oblations, sacrifices,' etc."

[9] This verse, as given in Gorresio's edition, will be found above, p. 373, note.

how shall they fight together?' 24. [Having] thus [spoken], the royal rishis, Siddhas, and Brahman rishis with the [other] hosts, stood in curious expectation, together with the gods in aerial cars. 25. Beholding Rāma, full of might, standing in the front of the battle, all creatures were agitated with fear. 26. The unparalleled form of Rāma, vigorous in action, was like that of the great Rudra when incensed. . . . . 35. The form of Rāma, incensed, was beheld then, like that of Pināk in (Rudra) when prepared to destroy the sacrifice of Daksha."

From a comparison of these passages, as given in the two different recensions, it appears probable that the speech which is put into the mouths of the gods and other spectators, in the Bombay edition, is the most ancient and original, as no mention is there made of the divine nature of Rāma, the reference to Vishnu in the twenty-second verse being introduced only by way of illustration, in the same way as the allusions to Rudra in the twenty-sixth and thirty-fifth verses. In Gorresio's edition, on the other hand, there is a distinct reference to the divine nature of Rāma; and I therefore conjecture that the short speech which it contains has been substituted for the other somewhat longer one, by a subsequent editor in support of this later conception.

The career of Rāma in his conflicts with the Rākshasas was not entirely unchequered by reverses. In the forty-fifth section of the sixth, or Yuddha Kāṇḍa, Bombay ed. (corresponding to section 20 of Gorresio's recension), it is related that both he and his brother Lakshmaṇa were severely wounded and rendered senseless by a cloud of serpents transformed into arrows, which were shot by Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa.

In the following citations I shall use the Bombay edition only, except when I specially refer to Gorresio's. In vv. 7 ff. (sect. 45) it is said: *Rāma-Lakshmaṇayor eva sarva-deha-bhidaḥ śarān | bhṛiśam āveśayāmāsa Rāvaṇiḥ samitiñjayaḥ | nirantara-śarīrau tu tāv ubhau Rāma-Lakshmaṇau*[10] *| kruddhenendrajitā vīrau pannagaiḥ śaratāṁ gataiḥ | tayoḥ kshata-ja-mārgeṇa sasrāva rudhiram bahu | . . . 16. Baddhau tu śara-bandhena tāv ubhau raṇa-mūrdhani | nimeshāntara-mātreṇa na śekatur avekshitum | . . . 22. Papāta prathamaṁ Rāmo viddho marmasu mārgaṇaiḥ | krodhād Indrajitā yena purā S'akro 'pi nirjitaḥ |* "The son of

[10] Instead of *tāv ubhau Rāma-Lakshmaṇau*, Gorresio's edition (vi. 20, 8) reads *kritau tau sāyakais tadā*.

Rāvaṇa, victorious in battle, discharged numerous arrows which pierced the whole bodies of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. Both of these two heroes had their bodies [wounded] in every spot by the incensed Indrajit with serpents[11] which had taken the form of arrows. Much blood flowed through the openings formed by their wounds. . . . . 16. Bound by the chain of these arrows in the front of the battle, those two could not look up even for a moment.[12] . . . . 22. Rāma first fell, pierced in the most vital parts, in anger, by Indrajit, by whom even Indra had formerly been conquered."[13] Their allies the monkeys arrive and find the two brothers lying helpless. Sect. 46, 3 ff. . . . *Anvaśochanta Rāghavau | acheshṭau manda-niśvāsau śoṇitena pariplutau | śara-jālāchitau*[14] *stabdhau śayānau śara-talpa-gau | niśvasantau yathā sarpau niśceshṭau dīna-vikramau | ityādi |* "They bewailed the two descendants of Raghu, incapable of effort, breathing slowly, bathed in blood, encompassed with a net of arrows, stiff, lying on a bed of arrows, breathing like serpents, helpless, their vigour quelled," etc. Vibhīshaṇa comforts the monkeys by saying that the good fortune of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa would not forsake them (vv. 38 ff.): *Athavā rakshyatāṁ Rāmo yāvat sanjñā-viparyayaḥ | labdha-sanjñau hi Kākutsthau bhayaṁ nau vyapaneshyataḥ | naitat kinchana Rāmasya na cha Rāmo mumūrshati | na hy enaṁ hāsyate Lakshmīr durlabhā yā gatāyushām |* "Or, let Rāma be guarded while his insensibility continues. When the two descendants of Kakutstha have recovered their senses, they shall remove our fear. This [mishap] of Rāma is nothing; he is not about to die: for Good Fortune (Lakshmī), who is beyond the reach of the dead, will not abandon him."

[11] The edition of Gorresio (see preceding note) supplies the word "arrows." Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. nirantara*, translate the clause thus: "There was no spot on their bodies in which an arrow was not sticking."

[12] On this the commentator, in conformity with his dogmatic views regarding the divine nature of the two heroes, remarks: *Na śekatur avekshitum | tādṛisāv iva sthitau manushyatva-naṭanāya iti bodhyam |* "'Could not look up:' remained, as it were, in this condition. This is to be understood as done to act (*i.e.* simulate) humanity (*i.e.* that they were mere men)."

[13] Indrajit's victory over Indra is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, section 27. He was originally called Meghanāda, but after he had taken Indra captive, he received from Brahmā the name of *Indra-jit*, or the "conqueror of Indra," *ibid.* section 30. A summary of the story will be found further on.

[14] Gorresio's ed. reads *śara-jālāvṛitau.*

It will be observed that nothing is here said of the divine nature of Rāma; and nothing is said of Lakshmī being his spouse, though she is regarded in Hindu mythology as the consort of Nārāyaṇa (see the commentator's remark on Uttara Kāṇḍa, 17, 35, which will be quoted below).

In the next section (the forty-seventh) of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa it is related that Rāvaṇa sent Sītā on his car Pushpaka, with the Rākshasī Trijaṭā (v. 14), to the spot where Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were lying wounded and helpless; and that on seeing these brothers, "powerful as the sons of the gods" (*deva-suta-prabhāvau*, v. 23), she broke out into lamentations, supposing them to be dead. The forty-eighth section contains her lament, in the course of which she says: 16. "Did not the two sons of Raghu possess the supernatural weapons of Varuṇa, Agni, Indra, and Vāyu, and the Brahma-śiras?[15] 17. My two lords (though I am now lordless), Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, the equals of Indra, have been slain in battle by an unseen foe, by enchantment. 18. For no foe, though swift as thought, could return living, after he had once been beheld by Rāma in the fight. 19. Nothing can counterbalance the power of Time, and Fate is invincible" (vv. 16 ff.: *Nanu Vāruṇam Āgneyam Aindraṁ Vāyavyam eva cha | astram Brahma-śiraś chaiva Rāghavau pratyapadyata | 17. Adṛiśyamānena raṇe māyayā Vāsavopamau | mama nāthāv anāthāyāḥ nihatau Rāma-Lakshmaṇau | 18. Na hi dṛishṭi-patham prāpya Rāghavasya raṇe ripuḥ | jīvan pratinivarteta yadyapi syād manojavaḥ | 19. Na Kālasyātibhāro 'sti kṛitāntaś cha sudurjayaḥ*). Sītā is then consoled by the Rākshasī Trijaṭā, who tells her (v. 22) that her husband is not dead; and explains why she thinks so. In vv. 30 f., she says: *Nemau śakyau raṇe jetuṁ sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | tādṛiśaṁ darśanam dṛishṭvā mayā chodīritaṁ tava | idaṁ tu sumahach chitraṁ śaraiḥ paśyasva Maithili | visanjnau patitāv etau naiva Lakshmīr vimunchati | prāyeṇa gata-sattvānām purushāṇāṁ gatāyushām | dṛiśyamāneshu vaktreshu paruṣhāṇi vaikṛitam* | "These two cannot be conquered in battle even by the Suras and Asuras, Indra included. Such a sight I have seen, and declared to thee. But behold this great wonder, that though they are lying senseless from the arrows, Fortune (Lakshmī)

[15] The commentator says on this verse: *Pratyapadyata pratyapadyetām | eka-vachanam ārsham | "nanv" itaḥ pūrvaṁ tat kiṁ idānīṁ na smṛitam iti śeshaḥ.*

does not abandon them. There is generally a great change in the countenances, when beheld, of men who have lost their lives, and whose breath has departed." While the monkeys were watching Rāma, he recovers his consciousness (sect. 49, v. 3): *Etasminn antare Rāmo pratyabudhyata vīryavān | sthiratvāt satva-yogāchcha*[16] *śaraiḥ sandānito 'pi san* | "In the mean time the heroic Rāma awoke, owing to his firmness and robustness of frame, though he had been bound by the arrows." He then begins to lament the loss of his brother Lakshmaṇa, whom he supposes to be dead; and ascribes the misfortune to his own bad generalship (v. 18: *Imām adya gato 'vasthām mamānāryasya durnayaiḥ*).

In sect. 50, Vibhīshaṇa laments the condition of Rāma and his brother, and the disappointment thereby caused to his own hopes of becoming king of Lankā; but is comforted by Sugrīva, who says to him (vv. 21 f.): *Rāyjyam prāpsyasi dharma-jna Lankāyāṁ neha saṁśayaḥ | Rāvaṇaḥ saha putreṇa sva-kāmaṁ neha lapsyate* | 22. *Garuḍādhishṭhitāv etāv ubhau Rāghava-Lakshmaṇau | tyaktvā moham badhishyete sa-gaṇaṁ Rāvaṇaṁ raṇe* | "Thou, O [prince], well skilled in duty, shalt without doubt obtain sovereignty in Lankā; but Rāvaṇa and his son shall not obtain the object of their desire. 22. Both Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are watched over by Garuḍa: having escaped from their swoon, they shall slay Rāvaṇa with his hosts." Sugrīva, however, proposes to his father-in-law Sushena, to remove Rāma and Lakshmaṇa from the scene of action to Kishkindhā; and promises that he himself will slay Rāvaṇa, his sons and kinsmen, and bring back Sītā, as Indra recovered the lost Śrī (24 f.: *Saha śūrair harigaṇair labdha-sanjnāv arindamau | gachha tvam bhrātarau gṛihya Kishkindhāṁ Rāma-Lakshmaṇau | ahaṁ tu Rāvaṇaṁ hatvā sa-putraṁ sahabāndhavam | Maithilīm ānayishyāmi Śakro nashṭām iva Śriyam*).[17]

Sushena, however, then relates (vv. 26–32) that once when the gods had been wounded with arrows and rendered senseless, in a combat with the Dānavas, they had been cured by Bṛihaspati by his knowledge and the use of herbs aided by sacred texts; and suggests that some of the monkeys should be sent to the ocean of milk to bring

[16] *Mahā-bala-yuktatvāt* | Comm.

[17] In Gorresio's edition fifteen more verses (vi. 25, 27–41) follow, in which Sugrīva boasts further of what he will accomplish; but they are not found in the Bombay ed.

those herbs. The Bombay edition then goes on at once in vv. 33 ff. to relate that a tempest arose, attended with lightnings, and announces the arrival of the celestial bird Garuḍa for the purpose of curing Rāma and his brother. In Gorresio's text the following verses are introduced between those which correspond to the thirty-second and thirty-third of the Bombay edition:

Gorresio, sect. 26, vv. 8, 9, 10, 11*a*.—*Athainam upasangamya Vāyuḥ karṇe vacho 'bravīt | Rāma Rāma mahābāho ātmānaṁ smara vai hṛidā | Nārāyaṇas tvam bhagavān Rākshasārthe 'vatāritaḥ | smara sarpa-bhujaṁ devaṁ Vainateyam mahābalam | sa sarpa-bandhād ghorāt tu yuvāṁ sammochayishyati | sa tasya vachanaṁ śrutvā Rāghavo Raghunandanaḥ | sasmāra Garuḍaṁ devam bhujagānām bhayāvaham |* "Then Vāyu, approaching him, spoke this word in his ear: 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, recollect thyself in thy heart: thou art the divine Nārāyaṇa, who hast descended [to earth] on account of the Rākshasas. Call to mind the snake-devouring god, the strong Vainateya (the bird Garuḍa); he shall deliver you twain from the dreadful bonds of the serpents.' Hearing Vāyu's words, Rāma called to mind the god Garuḍa, the terrifier of serpents."

The absence of these verses from the Bombay edition renders it probable that they formed no part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. But in addition to this fact, another proof to the same effect is to be found in the circumstance that in the verses which follow shortly after in both recensions Rāma, after being cured by Garuḍa, is represented as inquiring, and consequently, as being ignorant, who his benefactor is, although, according to Gorresio's edition, he had just before called Garuḍa to mind, *i.e.* summoned him. It is true Rāma had been senseless; but he had regained his consciousness so far as to call upon Garuḍa: so that in Gorresio's text it must be implied,—unless we are to suppose it to be inconsistent with itself,—that he again became unconscious. The verses in which this is shown are as follows (Bombay ed. 50, 37 ff. =Gorr. ed. 26, 16 ff.): *Tam āgatam abhiprekshya nāgās te vipradudruvuḥ | yais tu tau purushau baddhau śara-bhūtair mahābalaiḥ | tataḥ Suparṇaḥ Kākutsthau sprishṭvā pratyabhinandya cha | vimamarśa cha pāṇibhyām mukhe chandra-sama-prabhe | Vainateyena saṁsprishṭās tayoḥ samruruhur*[18] *vraṇāḥ | suvarṇe cha tanū snigdhe tayor āśu babhūvatuḥ |*

[18] *Yathā-pūrvaṁ saṁrūḍha-māṁsāḥ abhūvan* | Comm.

40. *Tejo vīryam balañ chavjaḥ utsāhaścha mahāguṇaḥ | pradarśanancha buddhiścha smṛitiś cha dviguṇā*[19] *tayoḥ | tāv utthāpya mahātejāḥ Garuḍo Vāsavopamau | ubhau cha sasvaje hṛishṭo Rāmaś chainam uvācha ha | bhavat-prasādād vyasanañ Rāvaṇi-prabhavam mahat | upāyena vyatikrāntau śīghrañ cha balinau kṛitau | yathā tātañ Daśarathañ yathā 'jancha pitāmaham | tathā bhavantam āsādya hṛidayam me prasīdati |* 44. *Ko bhavān rūpa-sampanno divya-srag-anulepanaḥ* (The last line is identical with that in Gorresio's edition) | "Beholding him arrived, the powerful serpents by whom, in the form of arrows, these two heroes had been bound, took to flight. Then Garuḍa, having touched and saluted the descendants of Kakutstha, soothed with his hands their faces brilliant as the moon. Touched by Garuḍa, their wounds closed up, and their bodies became speedily sleek and of a beautiful colour. 40. Their fire, strength, force, vigour, and energy became many degrees greater, and their insight, understanding, and memory, were doubled. The powerful Garuḍa raised up and embraced those two [princes] resembling Indra; and Rāma, delighted, thus addressed him: 'By thy favour, and through thy appliances, we have quickly got over the great calamity inflicted by the son of Rāvaṇa, and have become strong. Since I have found thee, who art as my father Daśaratha, and my ancestor Aja, my heart rejoices. 44. Who art thou,[20] distinguished by beauty, adorned with celestial garlands, and unguents?'" etc.

[19] In his remarks on vv. 40, 41, the commentator, in the Bombay ed., explains this as follows: *Dviguṇā Vainateya-sparśāt pūrvato 'py adhikā | atra anyair devair avatīrya bhagavato Rāmasya mūla-mūrter ājnayā upakāraḥ saṃpādito Garuḍena tu sva-rūpataḥ eva iti bodhyam | . . . .* "Though formerly great, their insight, etc., became doubled from the touch of Garuḍa. Here it is to be understood that the assistance was rendered by the command of the divine Rāma, the root [of all things] by other gods descending to the earth, but by Garuḍa in his own form."

[20] In his remarks on this verse, the same commentator says: "*Ko bhavān*" *ity ayam praśno 'pi manushya-śarīrochita-vyavahāraḥ eva tat-satyatva-pratyāpanārthaḥ | atra Rāma-samīpāgacchamana-paryantam paksha-śarīra-sthatva-sannidhi-mātrena nāga-bandhanancha nirasya Rāghava-sparśanādy-artham purushākāreṇa vyavahritavān iti bodhyam |* "This question 'who art thou?' also harmonizes with [Rāma's assumption of] a human body, and is designed to convince men of its reality. Here it is to be understood that the author accommodates to Rāma's human character the entire narrative from [Garuḍa's] appearance in the form of a bird, his removal, by his mere proximity, of the fetters of the snakes, and his touching Rāma, and ending with his near approach to the latter," etc.

The corresponding passage in Gorresio's edition (sect. 26, vv. 16 ff.) does not, as I have intimated, differ materially from the above, and in it, in like manner, Rāma is distinctly represented as inquiring who Garuḍa is.

In reply to Rāma's question, Garuḍa tells him (vv. 46 ff.) who he is, says he is his friend, and that no one but himself, whether god or Asura, could have delivered Rāma from the bonds of the serpents, which had been turned into arrows by the magic art of Indrajit. He warns him that in dealing with the treacherous Rākshasas he must proceed warily, and finally assures him that he shall slay Rāvaṇa and recover Sītā; and then departs after walking round and embracing him (v. 60: *Pradakshiṇaṁ tataḥ kṛitvā parishvajya cha*).[21]

There is another passage in Gorresio's edition (book vi., sect. 33) in which it is related that after the fall of Prahasta, one of the Rākshasas, Mandodarī, Rāvaṇa's queen, went into the assembly to dissuade her husband from contending any further against Rāma, when she is introduced as saying (v. 25 f.): *Na cha mānusha-mātro 'sau Rāmo Daśarathātmajaḥ | ekena yena vai pūrvam bahavo rākshasāḥ hatāḥ |* "Nor is this Rāma a mere man, he by whom singly many Rākshasas have formerly been slain." The same idea is repeated in the two following verses, where the number of the slain and the names of some of them are given.

The passage in which these verses occur is not, however, to be found in the corresponding section (the fifty-ninth) of the Bombay edition, which omits verses 6–51 of the thirty-third, and the whole of the thirty-fourth sections of Gorresio's edition.

In the fifty-ninth section of the same book (Bombay ed.) it is related that Lakshmaṇa was wounded by Rāvaṇa with an iron lance given to the latter by Brahmā (v. 105–7); but that when Rāvaṇa tried to lift his fallen foe, he was unable (v. 109 f.): *Himavān Mandaro Merus trailokyaṁ vā sahāmaraiḥ | śakyam bhujābhyām uddhartuṁ na śakyo Bharatānujaḥ | śaktyā bṛāhmyā tu Saumitris tāḍito 'pi stanāntare | Vishṇor amīmāṁsya-bhāgam ātmānam pratyanusmarat |* "Himavat, Mandara,

[21] From this last circumstance the commentator infers the divine nature of Rāma. His words are: *Pradakshiṇaṁ kṛitvā iti anena divya-devatāvatāro Rāmaḥ iti sarvān prākṛita-kapīn praty api bodhitam |* "By these words, 'having walked round him, with the right side towards him,' it is intimated even to all the ordinary monkeys that Rāma was an incarnation of a celestial deity."

Meru, or the three worlds with the immortals, might be lifted by him with his arms, but not the younger brother of Bharata. But Lakshmaṇa, though smitten on the chest with the lance given by Brahmā, recollected himself to be an incomprehensible portion of Vishṇu."[22] Similar words are again ascribed to him in v. 120: *Vishṇor bhāgam amīmāṁsyam ātmānam pratyanusmaran.* Expressions of the same purport occur in the parallel verses in Gorresio's edition, sect. 36, vv. 86, 88, and 98. The words in v. 88 are *Vishṇor achintyo yo bhāgo mānushaṁ deham āsthitaḥ* | "The inconceivable portion of Vishṇu residing in a human body." The expressions, however, may be later interpolations in both editions. In vv. 122 f. of the same section

[22] The commentator's note on v. 110 is as follows: *Amoghayā Brahma-dattayā stanāntare āhataḥ Saumitrir Vishṇor amīmāṁsyaṁ niśśaṁśaya-Vishṇu-bhāgatvavantam iyattayā chintayitum aśakyaṁ vā Vishṇor bhāgam ātmānam pratyanusmarat anvasmarat | na hi svīyaṁ svaṁ hinasty ity āśayena Brahma-śakti-mūlāya (?) trāṇārtham bhagavat-tejo'ṁśaḥ eva aham asmi iti dhyātavān | naṭa-vad angīkṛita-manushyatvasya itareshāṁ dṛiḍha-pratīty-artha-paraṁ na sarvadā tathā dhyānam | evaṁ cha Brahmabhāvanayā Lakshmaṇena sva-śarīrasya garīyastvam āpāditam ity uktam bhavati* | "Being struck on the breast with the unfailing (dart) given by Brahmā, Lakshmaṇa recollected himself to be indubitably a portion of Vishṇu, or to be a portion of Vishṇu which could not be conceived of as being of such and such magnitude. With reference to the principle that nothing destroys that which belongs to itself, he reflected, with a view to his preservation from the lance of Brahmā (?), that he was a part of the divine energy. As he had, like an actor, assumed the human form, this reflection of his had the object of confirming the belief of others, and it is not (to be imagined) that he always so reflected. And so too by conceiving himself as Brahma, he made his body very ponderous." It is afterwards said in verse 117 that Hanumat took Lakshmaṇa in his arms and carried him to his brother, and that, though he could not be moved by his enemies, he made himself light to Hanumat in consequence of the latter's friendship and devotion. On this the commentator remarks: *Idaṁ cha bhakta-mātrasugrahatvam bhagavato bhagavad-avatārāṇāṁ cha svabhāva-siddhaṁ eva iti bodhyam | evaṁ cha Rāma-Lakshmaṇayor ajnāna-śaktimatva-tātparyatayā bhāsamānāni vachanāni mānusha-vesha-nirvahaṇa-mātra-parāṇi iti bodhyam | tad uktam Bhāgavate* | "*Martyāvatāras tv iha martya-śikshaṇaṁ raksho-badhāyaiva na kevalaṁ vibhoḥ | kuto 'nyathā syuḥ ramataḥ sve ātmanaḥ Sītā-kṛitāni vyasanānīśvarasya*" | "This capability of being taken up by a devoted person alone is to be understood as resulting from the nature of the Deity and of His incarnations. And so it is to be understood that the expressions which seem to ascribe the capability of ignorance to Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are only intended to serve the purpose of carrying out their characters in their human disguise. This is declared in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (the verse occurs in v. 19, 5, as I learn from Böhtlingk and Roth's reference, *s.v. śikshaṇa*), 'The Lord's incarnation as a man on this earth was meant for the instruction of men, and had not merely in view the slaughter of the Rākshasa. Otherwise, how could the Lord, the Spirit, whose delight is in himself, have undergone the sufferings arising from Sītā?'"

(fifty-ninth, Bombay ed.) Hanumat tells Rāma to mount on his back, as Vishṇu on that of Garutmat or Garuḍa (*Vishṇur yathā Garutmantam āruhya*); and in verse 125, Rāma is said to have rushed on Rāvaṇa as Vishṇu rushed on Vairochana (*Vairochanāṁ iva kruddho Vishṇur ityādi*).

In the same sect. (59, 135 ff., Bombay ed.) it is related that Rāvaṇa was defeated by Rāma, but spared, and sent back to Lankā. After his return he thus speaks (sect. 60, v. 5 ff.): *Sarvaṁ tat khalu me moghaṁ yat taptam paramaṁ tapaḥ | yat sanātano Mahendreṇa mānusheṇa vinirjitaḥ* | 6. *Idam tad Brahmaṇo ghoraṁ vākyam mām abhyupasthitaṁ | "mānushebhyo vijānīhi bhayaṁ tvam iti tat tathā* | 7. *Deva-dānava-gandharvair yaksha-rākshasa-pannagaiḥ | abadhyatvam mayā proktam mānushebhyo na yāchitam"* | 8. *Tam imaṁ mānusham manye Rāmaṁ Daśarathātmajam | Ikshvāku-kula-jātena Anaraṇyena*[23] *yat purā* | 9. *"Utpatsyati hi mad-vaṁśe purusho rākshasādhama | yas tvāṁ sa-putraṁ sāmātyam sa-balaṁ sāśva-sārathim* | 10. *Nihanishyati sangrāme tvāṁ kulādhama durmate"* | *śapto 'ham Vedavatyā cha yathā sā dharshitā purā* | 11. *Seyaṁ Sītā mahābhāgā jātā Janaka-nandinī | Umā Nandīśvaraś chāpi Rambhā Varuṇa-kanyakā* | 12. *Yathoktās*[24] *tan mayā prāptaṁ na mithyā ṛishi-bhāshitam | etad eva samāgamya yatnaṁ kartum ihārhatha* | "All the extreme austerity that I have undergone is then vain, since

[23] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 371: "Whose (Sambhūta's) son was Anaraṇya, who was slain by Rāvaṇa in his triumphant progress through the nations" (*tato 'naraṇyas | taṁ Rāvaṇo dig-vijaye jaghāna*). Here, and in the legend related in the second volume of this work, p. 421, note 129, a set of events different from those narrated in the earlier books of the Rāmāyaṇa, is referred to.

The story of Anaraṇya is, however, told in the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, section 19. Dushkānta (sic), Suratha, Gādhi, Gaya, Purūravas (though, as the commentator remarks, they lived at different periods [*bhinna-bhinna-kāla-vartino 'pi Dushkantādayaḥ sva-sva-kāle Rāvaṇam prati jitatva-vādaṁ vara-dānād uktavantaḥ*], yet they all in their own times) submitted, without fighting, acknowledging themselves conquered, to Rāvaṇa on his victorious march through the world in consequence of the boon Brahmā had given to him (v. 5). Anaraṇya, a descendant of Ikshvāku, and king of Ayodhyā, however, when called upon either to fight, or acknowledge himself conquered, prefers the former alternative (v. 9); but his army is overcome, and he himself is thrown from his chariot (v. 21). When Rāvaṇa triumphs over his prostrate foe, the latter says that he has been vanquished, not by him, but by fate, and that Rāvaṇa is only the instrument of his overthrow (v. 26); and he predicts that Rāvaṇa should one day be slain by his descendant Rāma (v. 29: *Utpatsyate kule hy 'asmiṁ Ikshvākūṇāṁ mahātmanāṁ | Rāmo Dāśarathir nāma yas te prāṇān harishyati*).

[24] *Yathoktavantaḥ . . . . yad uchus tan mayā iti pāṭhāntaram* | Comm.

I, though the equal of Indra, have been overcome by a man. This is the direful word of Brahmā that has now reached me, [when he said]: 'Know that thy great cause of apprehension is from men. I have decreed thy indestructibility by gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, and Pannagas: but thou hast asked no [security] from men.' This man I consider to be Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, since I was formerly thus cursed by Anaraṇya of the race of Ikshvāku; 'There shall arise among my posterity a man who shall slay thee in battle, thou lowest of Rākshasas, and wicked wretch, along with thy sons, ministers, hosts, and charioteers.' And I was also cursed by Vedavatī when she was insulted by me: it is she who has been born as the great Sītā, the gladdener of Janaka. And that which Umā, Nandiśvara, Rambhā, and the daughter of Varuṇa[25] (Puñjikasthalā) uttered, has befallen me. What has been spoken by rishis[26] is never falsified. Wherefore, ye must assemble, and make exertions."

In this passage it will be observed that there is no express reference to the divine nature of Rāma: and it is conceivable that the original legend may have represented him as being, even in his human capacity, of sufficient prowess to slay the king of the Rākshasas.

[Most of the stories referred to in the preceding passage are given in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, and I shall supply an abstract of them here. That of Anaraṇya will be found in note 23.

The rather pretty story of Vedavatī is related in the seventeenth section of that book, vv. 1 ff., as follows: Rāvaṇa, in the course of his progress through the world, comes to the forest on the Himālaya, where he sees a damsel of brilliant beauty, but in ascetic garb, of whom he straightway becomes enamoured. He tells her that such an austere life is unsuited to her youth and attractions, and asks who she is, and why she is leading an ascetic existence. She answers that she is called Vedavatī, and is the Vocal daughter (*vāṅmayī kanyā*) of Vṛihaspati's son, the rishi Kuśadhvaja, sprung from him during his constant study of the Veda. The gods, Gandharvas, etc., she says, sought to woo her, but her father would give her to no one else than

[25] The stories connected with all these names are briefly referred to by the commentator.

[26] The commentator remarks here: *Ṛishi-padena tapo-yuktāḥ uchyante* | "The word "ṛishi" denotes persons distinguished by austerity." It would thus refer to Vedavatī and others.

to Vishṇu, the lord of the world, whom he desired for his son-in-law (v. 12: *Pitus tu mama jāmātā Vishṇuḥ kila sureśvaraḥ | abhipretas trilokeśas tasmān nānyasya me pitā | dātum ichhati tasmai tu*). This resolution provoked Śambhu, king of the Daityas, who slew her father, Kuśadhvaja, while sleeping, on which her mother (whose name is not given), after embracing his body, entered into the fire (15). Vedavatī then proceeds (v. 16): *Tato manorathaṁ satyam pitur Nārāyaṇam prati | karomīti tam evāhaṁ hṛidayena samudvahe | iti pratijñām āruhya charāmi vipulaṁ tapaḥ | . . . .* 18. *Nārāyaṇo mama patir na tv anyaḥ purushottamāt | āśraye niyamaṁ ghoraṁ Nārāyaṇa-parīpsayā |* "In order that I may fulfil this desire of my father in respect of Nārāyaṇa, I wed him with my heart.[27] Having entered into this engagement, I practise great austerity. Nārāyaṇa, and no other than he, Purushottama, is my husband. From the desire of obtaining him, I resort to this severe observance." Rāvaṇa's passion is not in the least diminished by this explanation, and he urges that it is the old alone who should seek to become distinguished by accumulating merit through austerity; prays that she who is so young and beautiful will become his bride; and boasts that he is superior to Vishṇu (v. 24). She rejoins that no one but he would thus contemn that deity. On receiving this reply, he touches the hair of her head with the tip of his finger (27). She is greatly incensed, and forthwith cuts off her hair, and tells him that as he has so insulted her, she cannot continue to live, but will enter into the fire before his eyes. She goes on (v. 31 ff.): *Yasmāt tu dharshitā chāhaṁ tvayā pāpātmanā vane | tasmāt tava badhārthaṁ hi samutpatsyaty aham (samutpatsyati samutpatsye ity arthaḥ)* | Comm.) *punaḥ | nahi śakyaḥ striyā hantum purushaḥ pāpa-niśchayaḥ | śape tvayi mayotsṛishṭe tapasaś cha vyayo bhavet | yadi tv asti mayā kinchit kṛitaṁ dattaṁ hutaṁ tathā | tasmāt tv ayonijā sādhvī bhaveyaṁ dharmiṇaḥ sutā | evam uktvā pravishṭā sā jvalitaṁ jātavedasam | papāta cha divo divyā puṣhpa-vṛishṭiḥ samantataḥ | saishā Janaka-rājasya prasūtā tanayā prabho | tava bhāryā mahābāho Vishṇus tvaṁ hi sanātanaḥ | pūrvaṁ krodha-hataḥ śatrur yayā 'sau nihatas tayā | upāśrayitvā śailābhas tava vīryam amānusham |* "'Since I have been insulted in the forest by thee who art wicked-hearted, I shall be born

[27] This language offers an exact parallel to that of devout female ascetics in other parts of the world.

again for thy destruction. For a man of evil designs cannot be slain by a woman; and the merit of my austerity would be lost if I were to launch a curse against thee. But if I have performed, or bestowed, or sacrificed, aught, may I be born the virtuous daughter, not produced from the womb, of a righteous man.' Having thus spoken, she entered the blazing fire. Then a shower of celestial flowers fell from every part of the sky. It is she, lord, who (having been Vedavatī in the Kṛita age, v. 38) has been born (in the Tretā age, v. 38) as the daughter of king Janaka, and [has become] thy bride; for thou art the eternal Vishṇu. The mountain-like enemy who was [virtually] destroyed before by her wrath, has now been slain by her, after she had associated herself with thy superhuman energy." On this the commentator remarks: *Aneha Sītā eva Rāvaṇa-badhe mukhyaṁ kāraṇam Rāme tu hantṛitvam āropitam iti sūchitam* | "By this it is signified that Sītā was the principal cause of Rāvaṇa's death; but the function of destroying him is ascribed to Rāma." On the words "thou art Vishṇu," in the preceding verse, the same commentator remarks: *Anena Sītāyāḥ Lakshmītvaṁ sphuṭam evoktam | tad uktam Parāśareṇa "Rāghavatve 'bhavat Sītā Rukmiṇī Kṛishṇa-janmani" iti* | "By this it is clearly affirmed that Sītā was Lakshmī. Parāśara says: 'In the god's life as Rāma, she became Sītā, and in his birth as Kṛishṇa [she became] Rukmiṇī.'"

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any separate legend about Umā, but the commentator[28] connects this allusion to her in the preceding passage (vi. 60, 11) with the following story about Nandīśvara, which is thus told in the sixteenth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa (v. 1 ff.): After his victory over Kuvera, Rāvaṇa went to Saravaṇa, the birthplace of Kārttikeya. Ascending the mountain, he sees another delightful wood, where his car Puṣhpaka stops, and will proceed no further. He then beholds a formidable dark tawny-coloured dwarf, called Nandīśvara, a follower of Mahādeva, who desires him to halt, as that deity is sporting on the mountain, and has made it inaccessible to all creatures, the gods included (v. 10). Rāvaṇa angrily

[28] His words are: *Tatra Umā-śāpaḥ | Kailāśa-śikhara-chālana-velāyāṁ Rāvaṇasya strī-nimittam maraṇam ity evaṁ-rūpam ity āhuḥ* | "They say that at the time when he shook the summit of Kailāsa, a curse was pronounced on Rāvaṇa that he should die on account of a woman."

demands who Śankara (Mahādeva) is, and laughs contemptuously at Nandīśvara, who has the face of a monkey. Nandīśvara, who was another body (*aparā tanuḥ*) of Śiva, being incensed at this contempt of his monkey form, declares that beings, possessing the same shape as himself, and of similar energy, monkeys, shall be produced to destroy Rāvaṇa's race (v. 17: *Tasmād mad-vīrya-saṁyuktāḥ mad-rūpa-sama-tejasaḥ | utpatsyanti badhārthaṁ hi kulasya tava vānarāḥ*). Nandīśvara adds that he could easily kill Rāvaṇa now, but that he has been already slain by his own deeds (v. 20). Rāvaṇa threatens (v. 23 ff.) that as his car has been stopped, he will pluck up the mountain by the roots, asking in virtue of what power Śiva continually sports on that spot, and boasting that he must now be made to know his danger. Rāvaṇa then throws his arms under the mountain, which, being lifted by him, shakes, and makes the hosts of Rudra tremble, and even Pārvatī herself quake, and cling to her husband (v. 26: *Chachāla Pārvatī chāpi tadā śliṣhṭā Maheśvaram*). Śiva, however, presses down the mountain with his great toe, and along with it crushes the arms of Rāvaṇa, who utters a loud cry, which shakes all creation. Rāvaṇa's counsellors then exhort him to propitiate Mahādeva, the blue-throated lord of Umā, who on being lauded will become gracious. Rāvaṇa accordingly praises Mahādeva with hymns, and weeps for a thousand years. Mahādeva is then propitiated (v. 35), lets go Rāvaṇa's arms, says his name shall be Rāvaṇa from the cry (*rāva*) he had uttered, and sends him away, with the gift of a sword bestowed on him at his request (v. 43).

The legend of Rambhā is narrated in the twenty-sixth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa goes with his army to Kailāsa, to conquer the gods. He there sees the Rambhā, the most beautiful of all the Apsarases, and is smitten with her charms (v. 20). She says she is properly his daughter-in-law, being the wife of Nalakūvara (son of his brother Kuvera), with whom she has an assignation, and cannot therefore receive his addresses (v. 34). Rāvaṇa says the Apsarases are mere courtezans, without any husbands, and ravishes her (v. 41). She goes and reports the outrage to Nalakūvara (46), who, after touching all his organs of sense (*chakshur-ādīndriya-gaṇaṁ sarvam* | Comm.) with water, launches the following curse against Rāvaṇa: v. 54. *Akāmā tena yasmāt tvam balād bhadre pradharshitā | 55. Tasmāt sa*

yuvatīm anyāṁ nākāmām upayāsyati | yadā hy akāmāṁ kāmārto dharshayishyati yoshitam | mūrdhā tu saptadhā tasya śakalībhavitā tadā | "Since thou, kind lady, who hadst no passion for him, hast been forcibly insulted by him, he shall not approach any other damsel who does not reciprocate his passion. For when through passion he shall ravish any woman who has no passion for him, his head shall split into seven fragments." Hearing of this curse, Rāvaṇa resolves to abstain from offering violence to women.

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any story about the daughter of Varuṇa, but the commentator on the text (vi. 60, 11) explains the allusion to her thus: *Varuṇa-kanyakā Punjikasthalā tan-nimittam brahma-śāpaḥ strī-dharshaṇe maraṇa-rūpaḥ |* "The daughter of Varuṇa was Punjikasthalā. On her account, a curse of Brahmā, involving the penalty of death, [was pronounced] on the rape of women."]

After expressing himself as above (p. 458), Rāvaṇa desires his brother Kumbhakarṇa (a monster who, owing to the curse of Brahmā,[29] slept for six months at a time, and remained awake for a single day) to be awakened. This is with immense difficulty effected. Kumbhakarṇa asks (book vi., sect. 60, Bombay ed., vv. 67 ff.) why they have awakened him, and is told that they stand in dread, not of the gods, but of a man, Rāma (v. 72: *Mānushān no bhayaṁ rājan tumulaṁ samprabādhate | ityādi*); when he assures them that he will destroy their foes, and himself drink the blood of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. After drinking two thousand jars of liquor, he goes to see and consult with his brother Rāvaṇa; who, in answer to his inquiry, describes to him (sect. 62) the present position of affairs, and the necessity there is to obtain his assistance. Kumbhakarṇa, in reply, delivers (sect. 63, Bombay ed., vv. 2–21) a moral discourse on the wickedness of Rāvaṇa's conduct, such as we should scarcely have expected from the speaker's antecedents;[29] and is told by Rāvaṇa in answer (vv. 23–27) that this is not the time for such laboured lectures, but for action, to which he calls upon him to proceed, if he has any regard for him, or pretensions to valour. Kumbhakarṇa then promises (vv. 30 ff. of the same section) to destroy the enemies of his brother. But before this last speech of Kumbhakarṇa, which is given in the forty-second section of Gorresio's recension, that text introduces another speech of

[29] See sect 61, vv. 19 ff.

the same personage, which occupies vv. 30–53 of the fortieth section, and a further speech of Rāvaṇa which fills the forty-first section; both of which are wanting in the Bombay edition, and even in one of the MSS. consulted by Signor Gorresio, as we learn from his Preface, vol. v., p. xlvi.; and might, as he thinks, be omitted without detriment, or perhaps with advantage, to the connexion of the ideas, and the march of the poem. Some mention must, however, be made of this speech, as in it Kumbhakarṇa gives the same account of the divine origin of Rāma, as we have already met with in the earlier part of the poem (see p. 168 ff., above). He says that one day he had seen the divine sage Nārada, who had told him that he had just returned from an assembly of the gods who had met to take counsel for the destruction of the Rākshasas, on which occasion Brahmā had spoken as follows (sect. vi. 40, 44 ff., ed. Gorr.): *Evam ukte tu vachane Brahmā devān uvācha ha | abadhyatvam mayā dattam deva-daityaiścha rākshasaiḥ | mānushebhyo bhayaṁ tasya vānarebhyaścha devatāḥ | surāsura-samūhe'pi badhas tasya na vidyate | tasmād esha Harir devaḥ padmanābhas trivikramaḥ | putro Daśarathasyāstu chaturbāhuḥ sanātanaḥ | bhavanto vasudhāṁ gatvā Vishṇor asya mahātmanaḥ | vānarāṇāṁ tanuṁ kṛitvā sahāyatvaṁ karishyatha |* "When [the priest of the gods Vṛihaspati] had thus spoken, Brahmā said to the gods: 'I have conferred [on Rāvaṇa] indestructibility by gods, Daityas and Rākshasas: he has, O gods, to fear men and monkeys. Nor can he be killed by all the Suras (gods) or Asuras. Wherefore let this god (devaḥ) Hari (Vishṇu), from whose navel sprang a lotus, who is thrice-striding, four-armed, and eternal, become the son of Daśaratha. You, gods, repairing to the earth, and assuming the form of monkeys, shall assist the mighty Vishṇu.'" Kumbhakarṇa says that Vishṇu has taken the human form of Rāma, and come to slay them. He therefore advises that Sītā should be restored, and peace made with Rāma, before whom the three worlds bow down.

In reply to this exhortation, Rāvaṇa utters the following defiance of Vishṇu (sect. 41, 2 ff., ed. Gorr.): *Ko 'sau Vishṇur iti khyāto yasya tvam tāta bibhyase | devatve na namasye tam tathā 'nyān devatā-gaṇān | manushyatvaṁ gate tasmin kim bhayam tvām upasthitam | nityam samara-bhītās tu mānushāḥ sumahābala | khādayitvā tu tān pūrvaṁ katham paśchād namāmy aham | praṇamya mānushaṁ Rāmaṁ Sītām datvā tu tasya vai |*

hāsya-bhūtas tu lokānām anuyāsyāmi pṛishṭhataḥ | Rāghavāñ tam mahābāho dīna-rūpo 'tha dāsa-vat | ṛiddhiñ cha paśyamāno 'sya kathañ śakshyāmi jīvitum | hṛitvā tasya purā bhāryām māyāñ kṛitvā sudāruṇam | praṇamed Rāvaṇo Rāmam esha te buddhi-niṛṇayaḥ | yadi Rāmaḥ svayañ Vishṇur Lakshmaṇo 'pi Śatakratuḥ | Sugrīvas Tryambakaḥ sākshāt svayam Brahmā tu Jāmbavān | aho śāstrāṇy adhītāni yasya te buddhir idṛiśī | atītāśramiṇañ Rāmañ yo namaskartum ichhasi | devatvañ yaḥ parityajya mānushīñ yonim āśritaḥ | asmān hantuñ khilāyātaḥ sa sandheyaḥ katham mayā | yadi vā Rāghavo Vishṇur vyaktañ te śrotram āgataḥ | devatānāñ hitārthañ tu pravishṭo mānushīñ tanum | sa vānarāṇāñ rājānañ Sugrīvañ śaraṇāñ gataḥ | aho 'sya sadṛiśañ sakhyañ tiryagyoni-gataiḥ saha | vīrya-hīnas tu kiñ Vishṇur yaḥ śritaḥ ṛiksha-vānarān | athavā vīrya-hīno 'sau yena pūrvam mahāsuraḥ | vāmanañ rūpam āsthāya yāchitas tripadaḥ padam | Balis tu dīkshito yajñe tena tvañ sakhyam ichhasi | yena dattā mahī sarvā sa-sāgara-vanārṇavā | upachāra-kṛitā pūrvam 'sa baddho yajña-dīkshitaḥ | upakārī hatas tena so 'smān rakshati vairiṇaḥ | yadā me nirjitāḥ devāḥ svargañ gatvā tvayā saha | tadā kim nāsti Vishṇutvañ tasya devasya Rākshasa | sāmprataṁ kutaḥ āyātaḥ sa Vishṇur yasya bibhyase | śārīra-rakshaṇārthāya brūshe tvañ vākyam īdṛiśam | nāyañ klīvayituñ kālaḥ kālo yoddhuñ niśāchara | svāmyam Pitāmahāt prāptañ trailokyañ vaśa-gañ kṛitam | Rāghavam praṇame kasmād hīna-vīrya-parākramam | tad gachha śayanīyañ tvam piva tvam vigata-jvaraḥ | śayamānañ na hanyāt tvāñ Rāghavo Lakshmaṇas tathā | ahañ Rāmam badhishyāmi Sugrīvancha sa-Lakshmaṇam | vānarāñścha hanishyāmi tato devān mahāraṇe | Vishṇunchaiva badhishyami ye cha Vishṇv-anuyāyinaḥ | gachha gachhasva tat kshetraṁ chiraṁ jīva sukhī bhava | bhrātaraṁ tv evam uktvā 'sau Rāvaṇaḥ Kāla-choditaḥ | sāvalepañ sa-garjanchā punar vachanam abravīt | jānāmi Sītāñ dharaṇī-prasūtāñ jānāmi Rāmam Madhusūdanancha | etad hi jāne tv aham asya badhyas tathāhṛitā me Janakātmajaishā[30] *| na kāmāchchaiva na krodhād dharāmi Janakātmajām | nihato gantum ichhāmi tad Vishṇoḥ paramam padam |*

[30] A verse resembling this in most of its clauses had previously occurred in a similarly defiant speech of Rāvaṇa's in sect. 34, 7, of Gorresio's recension: *Jānāmi Sītāñ Janaka-prasūtāñ jānāmi Rāmam Madhusūdanañ cha | Etad hi jānāmy aham asya badhyas tathāpi sandhiñ na karomy anena* | "I know Sītā to be Janaka's daughter, and Rāma to be Madhusūdana; and I know this that I shall be slain by him; and yet I cannot make peace with him." Gorresio regards both passages as of doubtful authenticity. In explanation of the epithet *dharaṇī-prasūtā* applied to Sītā, I may quote these lines from the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay ed.) i. 66, 13 ff., where

"'Who is that being called Vishṇu, whom thou fearest? In his divinity I reverence neither him, nor any of the other hosts of gods: what fear is this, then, which has seized you, now that he has become a man? Men are always afraid of battle. When I have formerly eaten them, how can I afterwards bow down before them? Paying reverence to the mortal Rāma, and restoring Sītā, how could I,—an object of derision to the universe,—follow behind Rāghava in humility like a slave? and beholding his prosperity, how could I live? This is thy opinion, that after carrying off Rāma's wife, and manifesting terrible haughtiness, Rāvaṇa should bow down before him! Even if Rāma were Vishṇu himself, and Lakshmaṇa were Indra, if Sugrīva were Tryambaka (Śiva), and if Jāmbavat were Brahmā—O thou hast [well] studied the Sāstras, thou who so thinkest, and who desirest to make obeisance to Rāma who stands without the four orders of society; who, abandoning his divine nature, has entered into a mortal womb! How can I make peace with him who has come to kill us? Or if it has distinctly reached thy ears that Rāma is Vishṇu, and has entered into a mortal body for the welfare of the gods, [still] he has resorted [for help] to Sugrīva the king of the monkeys. How suitable is his friendship with brutes! Is then Vishṇu destitute of valour that he has sought [the aid of] bears and monkeys? Or, he is [certainly] devoid of valour who formerly assuming the form of a dwarf, demanded of the great Asura Bali three paces of ground, while he was consecrated for the sacrifice: with such a person thou desirest friend-

Janaka says of his daughter: *Atha me kṛishataḥ kshetraṁ lāṅgalād utthitā tataḥ* | 14. *Kshetraṁ śodhayatā labdhā nāmnā Sīteti viśrutā* | *bhūtalād utthitā sā tu vyavardhata mamātmajā* | etc. 13. "Now as I was ploughing my field, there sprang from the plough (a girl), (14) obtained by me while cleansing my field, and known by name as Sītā (the furrow). This girl, sprung from the earth, grew up as my daughter." In the next verse she is styled *ayonijā*, "not born from the womb." The commentator quotes the following lines from the Padma-purāṇa on the same subject: *Atha lokeśvarī Lakshmīr Janakasya pure svataḥ* | *śubha-kshetre halotkhāte tāre chottara-phālgune* | *ayonijā padma-karā bālārka-śata-sannibhā* | *Sītā-mukhe samutpannā bāla-bhāvena sundarī* | *Sītā-mukhodbhavāt Sītā ity asyai nāma chākarot* | *tato 'bhūd aurasī tasya Urmilā nāma kanyakā* | *iti* | "Now Lakshmī, the mistress of the worlds, was born by her own will in the city of Janaka, in a beautiful field opened up by the plough, under the star in the second half of the month Phālguna. She sprang from the womb of no female, with a lotus in her hand, like a hundred young suns, but arose from the opening of the furrow, beautiful, in the form of a child. He gave her the name of Sītā, because she sprang from the opening of the furrow (*sītā*). Then his daughter Urmilā was born by ordinary generation."

ship! He (Bali) who formerly presented to him the whole earth with its oceans, forests, and seas, was bound by him when consecrated for sacrifice! A benefactor was destroyed by him, and he is to deliver us who are his enemies![31] When I went to heaven with thee and conquered the gods, had not this god then his character of Vishṉu? Whence has this Vishṉu now come, whom thou fearest? Thou speakest in this strain to save thy body [from injury in battle]. This is not the time for timidity, Rākshasa, but for fighting. I have obtained dominion from Brahmā; the three worlds are subject to me; why should I bow down before Rāma who is destitute of energy and valour? Go, therefore, to thy couch; drink, free from disquiet. Neither Rāma nor Lakshmaṉa will kill thee when thou art sleeping. I shall slay Rāma, and Sugrīva, and Lakshmaṉa, and the monkeys, and then the gods also in a great battle. I shall kill Vishṉu too, and all Vishṉu's followers. Go, go then to thy abode, live long, live at ease.' Having thus, impelled by fate, spoken to his brother with arrogance and in a loud tone, Rāvaṉa said again: 'I know Sītā to be sprung from the earth; I know Rāma to be Madhusūdana. And this I know, that I am to be slain by him; and therefore have I carried off this daughter of Janaka. It is not from passion or from anger that I retain her: I desire, being slain, to go to that highest abode of Vishṉu.'" Compare the quotation from the Vishṉu Purāṉa, given above, regarding S'iśupāla, pp. 215 f., note 212.

The change of tone in this last short speech is remarkable. The defier of Vishṉu all at once acknowledges his deity and becomes his humble worshipper. This looks like a still later addition to the preceding part of the section, inserted by some editor who considered the earlier portion to be too blasphemous to be allowed to stand without some qualification, or recantation.

Again, after Rāvaṉa's death, Mandodarī, the highest in rank of his queens, in the lament which she utters for her husband's loss, speaks as follows (sect. 113, 5 ff., Bombay ed.): *Sa tvam mānusha-mātreṉa Rāmeṉa yudhi nirjitaḥ| na vyapatrapase rājan kim idam̃ rākshaseśvara|* 6. *Katham̃ trailokyam ākramya śriyā vīryeṉa chānvitam | avishahyam̃ jaghāna tvām mānusho vana-gocharaḥ |* 7. *Mānushāṉām avishaye charataḥ kāma-rūpiṉaḥ | vināśas tava Rāmeṉa sam̃yuge nopapadyate |* 8. *Na chaitat*

[31] Such is the sense—apparently not a very suitable one—of the words.

karma Rāmasya śraddadhāmi chamū-mukhe | sarvataḥ samupetasya tava tenābhimarshaṇam | 9. Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Kṛitāntaḥ svayam āgataḥ | māyāṁ tava vināśāya vihāyāpratitarkitām | 10. Athavā Vāsavena tvaṁ dharshito 'si mahābala | 11. Vāsavasya tu kā śaktis tvāṁ drashṭum api saṁyuge | Mahābalaṁ mahāvīryaṁ deva-śatrum mahaujasam | 12. Vyaktam esha mahāyogī[32] *paramātmā sanātanaḥ | an-ādi-madhya-nidhano mahataḥ paramo mahān | 13. Tamasaḥ paramo dhātā śankha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | 14. Śrīvatsa-vakshāḥ nitya-śrīr ajayyaḥ śāśvato dhruvaḥ | mānushaṁ rūpam āsthāya Vishṇuḥ satya-parākramaḥ | 15. Sarvaiḥ parivṛito devair vānaratvam upāgataiḥ | sarva-lokeśvaraḥ śrīmān lokānāṁ hita-kāmyayā | sa-rākshasa-parīvāraṁ deva-śatrum bhayāvaham | 16. Indriyāṇi purā jitvā jitam tribhuvanaṁ tvayā | smaradbhir iva tad vairam indriyair eva nirjitaḥ | 17. Yadaiva hi Janasthāne Rākshasair bahubhir vṛitaḥ | Kharas tu nihato bhrātā tādā Rāmo na mānushaḥ |*

"5. Art not thou ashamed, O king, to have been conquered by Rāma, a mere man? What is this, lord of the Rākshasas? 6. How did a man frequenting the forests slay thee who hadst assailed the three worlds, who wast distinguished by good fortune and heroism, and unconquerable? 7. That thou who movedst at will, invisible to men, shouldst have been destroyed by Rāma, is inconceivable. 8. I do not credit this act of Rāma in the front of the battle, the overthrow by him of thee who wast endowed in every way. 9. Either Death (*Kṛitānta*) came in the form of Rāma, applying an unimagined magic for thy destruction, (10) or thou hast been overwhelmed by Vāsava (Indra). 11. But what power had Vāsava in battle even to look at thee, who wast the mighty in force and heroism, the glorious enemy of the gods? 12. This was manifestly the great contemplator (*Mahāyogin*),[33] the supreme spirit, the eternal, without beginning, middle, or end, the great Being superior to the great (or to Mahat,[34] *i.e.* Prakṛiti or matter), (13) superior to darkness,[35] the sustainer, the wielder of the shell, the discus, and the club, (14) who bears the śrīvatsa on his breast, who

[32] *Svābhāvika-sarva-śakti-yuktaḥ* | Comm.

[33] This knowledge of the truth, says the commentator, was derived by Mandodarī from the divine favour (*satyam evam Mandodarī jānīte Bhagavat-kṛipayā*).

[34] The commentator does not say in what sense the word *mahat* should be taken.

[35] The commentator says that *tamasaḥ paramaḥ* means *prakṛiteḥ pravartakaḥ*, "he who causes the activity of Prakṛiti (or matter)." Instead of *tamasaḥ*, he adds, some read *tapasaḥ*.

enjoys perpetual prosperity, the invincible, everlasting, unchanging, Vishṇu, of genuine prowess, who had assumed a human form, (15) and was attended by all the gods in the shape of monkeys, the glorious lord of all the worlds, who desired the good of all the worlds. [He slew thee],[36] the terrific enemy of the gods, with thy attendant Rākshasas. 16. Formerly, by subduing thy senses, thou didst subdue the three worlds; but thou wast [afterwards, *i.e.* when thou didst carry off Sītā, etc.] overcome by thy senses, which, as it were, remembered[37] [and revenged] that [former] hostility [of thine towards them]. 17. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rākshasas, was slain [by Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal."

If this quotation from the Bombay edition be compared with the corresponding passage of Gorresio's text (sect. 95), it will be found that, on this occasion, the former is more diffuse than the latter. Verses 5–8 are nearly the same in both recensions; but instead of two verses (the ninth and tenth) affirming the divine character of Rāma, which we find in Gorresio's edition, there are in the Bombay recension seven verses, in most of which, at least, the same idea is enforced. The ninth and tenth verses of Gorresio's edition are as follows: 9. *Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Vishṇuś cha svayam āgataḥ | tava nāśāya māyābhiḥ praviśyānupalakshitaḥ |* 10. *Yadaiva hi Janasthāne rākshasair bahubhir vṛitaḥ | Kharas tava hato bhrātā tadaivāsau na mānushhaḥ |* "Or Vishṇu himself came in the form of Rāma, having entered into him unperceived, through supernatural powers, for thy destruction. 10. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rākshasas, was slain by [Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal." It will be observed that here a verse (the tenth), which corresponds to the seventeenth of the Bombay edition, immediately succeeds the ninth, and that consequently there is in Gorresio's text no such development of the idea contained in the ninth verse as we find in vv. 10–15 of the other edition. Now if we are to suppose that the original text of the Rāmāyaṇa made no allusion to Rāma being an incarnation of Vishṇu, it might at first sight seem as if the ninth and tenth verses of the Bombay text,

[36] It is necessary (with the commentator, who says *hatavān iti śeshaḥ*) to supply the words in brackets, or some others of a similar tenor, in order to make sense.

[37] This clause the commentator explains thus: "*Purā*" *Bhagavad-uddeśena tapo-'nushṭhāna-kāle | "tad vairaṁ" sva-jaya-nimittaṁ vairaṁ smaradbhir indriyair akarma-pravṛitti-sampādanena nirjitaḥ |*

which represent Death (*Kṛitānta*), or Indra, as taking the form of Rāma, were more genuine than the corresponding verse of Gorresio's edition, which declares that Vishṇu assumed the form of that hero. In this case, verses 12 ff. of the Bombay edition, which represent Rāma as an incarnate deity, would be a subsequent interpolation. But the twelfth and following verses appear, on examination, to hang well enough together with those which precede; and if the entire passage thus forms one connected whole, we can only (on the hypothesis that Rāma's divine nature was foreign to the original poem) suppose that the interpolation, or alteration, has extended over a wider surface. It is worthy of remark that the hundred and thirteenth section of the Bombay edition is in other parts also more developed than Gorresio's. Thus after verse 40 of the Bombay edition, corresponding to verse 28 of Gorresio's, eighteen verses are inserted which are not in the latter, and after verse 59 of the Bombay edition = verse 29 of Gorresio's, twelve verses are found which are wanting in the latter. From this it would appear that both recensions have, in different places, received developments after they began to be separately handed down, unless, indeed, we are to assume that that followed by Gorresio omitted passages which had previously existed in the common source of both.

In the passage which I shall next quote, the legend makes no mention of the incarnation of Vishṇu, but specifies the birth of Sītā as the means whereby Rāvaṇa is to be destroyed. After the Rākshasas had been defeated by Rāma and driven back into Lankā, their females loudly bewailed the calamities by which their race had been overtaken. In the course of this lament they say (sect. 95, vv. 25 ff., Bombay ed. = sect. 74, vv. 27 ff., Gorresio): *Rudro vā yadi vā Vishṇur Mahendro vā S'atakratuḥ | hanti no Rāma-rūpeṇa yadi vā svayam Antakaḥ | 26. Hata-pravīrāḥ Rāmeṇa nirāśāḥ jīvite vayam | apaśyanto*[38] *bhayasyāntam anāthāḥ vilapāmahe | 27. Rāma-hastād Daśagrīvaḥ śūro datta-mahā-varaḥ | idam bhayam mahāghoraṁ samutpannaṁ na budhyate | 28. Taṁ na devāḥ na gandharvāḥ na piśāchāḥ na rākshasāḥ | upasṛishṭam*[39] *parītrātuṁ śaktāḥ Rāmeṇa saṁyuge | 29. Utpātāśchāpi dṛiśyante Rāvaṇasya raṇe raṇe | kathayanti hi Rāmeṇa Rāvaṇasya nibarhaṇam |*

[38] *Apaśyanto 'paśyantyaḥ* | Comm.
[39] *Upasṛishṭaṁ hantum ārabdham* | Comm.

30. *Pitāmahena prītena deva-dānava-rākshasaiḥ | Rāvaṇasyābhayaṁ dattam manushebhyo na yāchitam* | 31. *Tad idam mānusham manye prāptaṁ nihsaṁśayam bhayaṁ | jīvitānta-karaṇaṁ ghoraṁ rakshasāṁ Rāvaṇasya cha* | 32. *Pīḍyamānās tu balinā vara-dānena rakshasā | dīptais tapobhir vibudhāḥ Pitāmahaṁ apūjayan* | 33. *Devatānāṁ hitārthāya mahātmā vai Pitāmahaḥ | uvācha devatās tushṭaḥ idaṁ sarvāḥ mahad vachaḥ* | 34. *Adya-prabhṛiti lokāṁs trīḥ sarve dānava-rākshasāḥ | bhayena prabhṛitāḥ nityaṁ vicharishyanti śāśvatam*[40] | 35. *Daivatais tu samāgamya sarvaiś chendra-purogamaiḥ | vṛisha-dhvajas Tripura-hā Mahādevaḥ pratoshitaḥ* | 36. *Prasannas tu Mahādevo devān etad vacho 'bravīt | utpatsyati hitārthaṁ vo nārī rakshaḥ-kshayāvahā* | 37. *Eshā devaiḥ prayuktā tu kshud yathā*[41] *dānavān purā | bhakshayishyati naḥ sarvān rākshasa-ghnī sa-rāvaṇān* | 38. *Rāvaṇasyāpanītena*[42] *durvinītasya durmateḥ | ayaṁ nishṭānako*[43] *ghoraḥ śokena samabhiplutaḥ* | 39. *Tan na paśyāmahe loke yo naḥ śaraṇa-do bhavet | Rāghaveṇopasṛishṭānāṁ kāleneva yugakshaye* | 25. "Either Rudra, or Vishṇu, or the great Indra Śatakratu, or Death himself, slays us in the form of Rāma. 26. Having had our heroes destroyed by Rāma, we despair of life. Seeing no end of our apprehension, we lament, deprived of our protectors. 27. The heroic Daśagrīva (Rāvaṇa), who had received a great boon [from Brahmā] does not perceive this great cause of alarm which [comes] from the hand of Rāma. 28. Neither Gods, nor Gandharvas, nor Piśāchas, nor Rākshasas, are able to deliver him when assailed by Rāma in fight. 29. Portents, too, regarding Rāvaṇa are seen in every battle, which foretell his destruction by Rāma. 30. Pitāmaha, gratified, granted to Rāvaṇa security against Gods, Dānavas and Rākshasas, but he did not ask [to be secured] against men. 31. This dreadful danger from men has now, I think, without doubt arrived, which shall

[40] These words are thus explained by the commentator: *Dānavāḥ rākshasāś cha bhayena prabhṛitāḥ devebhyo bhayaṁ bibhrāṇāḥ eva vicharishyanti | devāḥ svataḥ parato vā 'smān pīḍayishyanti ity arthaḥ* | "The Dānavas and Rākshasas shall roam about entertaining fear of the gods: viz. that the gods themselves, or through others, would distress them." This verse is thus given in Gorresio's edition (74, 36 f.): *Adya-prabhṛiti lokeshu ye bhūtāḥ bhaya-varjitāḥ | bhayārtās te punar iha vicharishyanti rākshasāḥ.*

[41] "*Purā*" *pūrva-kalpe | devair dānava-nāśārtham prayuktā kshud yathā dānavān harati sma* | Comm. "'As formerly,' in a former Kalpa, Hunger, being appointed by the gods for the destruction of the Dānavas, carried them off."

[42] *Apanītena anayena* | Comm.

[43] *Nishṭānako nāśaḥ* | Comm.

terminate the life of Rāvaṇa and the Rākshasas. 32. Now the gods, when oppressed by the Rākshasa (Rāvaṇa), who was mighty through the boon which [Brahmā] had conferred on him, worshipped Pitāmaha (Brahmā) with ardent austerities. 33. The great Pitāmaha, pleased, addressed this great word to all the deities for their benefit: 34. 'From this day forward all the Dānavas and Rākshasas shall roam continually through the three worlds, influenced by fear.' 35. But all the gods,[44] with Indra at their head, assembled and propitiated Mahādeva, whose banner is a bull, and who destroyed Tripura (or, the three castles). 36. He, being pleased, thus spake to them: 'For your benefit there shall arise a female who shall bring destruction to the Rākshasas.' 37. This female slayer[45] of Rākshasas, being commissioned by the gods, shall [now] devour all of us, including Rāvaṇa; as Hunger formerly [devoured] the Dānavas. 38. Through the folly of the misguided and wicked Rāvaṇa this dreadful destruction, accompanied by affliction, has come upon us. 39. We see no one in the world who shall afford protection to us assailed by Rāma, as it were by Time at the end of the ages."

Compare with the preceding passage the story of Devavatī, extracted above (p. 458 ff.) from the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Both of these forms of the legend appear to regard Sītā, and not Vishṇu, as the real destroyer of Rāvaṇa.

In an earlier part of the poem it is related that after Rāma had slain the Rākshasa Khara, he was congratulated by the gods in a way which, strictly speaking, is scarcely consistent with the idea that the poet regarded him as an incarnation of Vishṇu:

Āraṇya Kāṇḍa (or Third Book) 30, v. 27 ff. (Bombay edition = section 35, vv. 93 ff., Gorresio's edition). — *Sa papāta Kharo bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śarāgninā | Rudreṇeva vinirdagdhaḥ Śvetāraṇye yathā 'ntakaḥ | 28. Sa Vṛitraḥ iva vajreṇa phenena Namuchir yathā | Balo vendrāśani-hato nipapāta 'hataḥ Kharaḥ | 29. Etasminn*

[44] The commentator remarks here: *Evam Brahmaṇaḥ prāsādāt sabhayatva-mātram prāptam | saṁhārādhikṛita-Rudra-prasādena tu nāśaḥ evāsmākam ity āhuḥ* | "Thus by the favour of Brahmā, the gods only obtained that the [Dānavas, etc.] should be terrified: but through the favour [granted to them] by Rudra, whose function is destruction, we shall be destroyed."

[45] Said to be Sītā, according to the commentator (*sā eshā Sītā eva ity āhuḥ*). Gorresio's text has *Saishā daiva-prasṛishṭā tu kshudhitā Janakātmajā*, etc.

antare devāś chāraṇaiḥ saha sangatāḥ | dundubhīṁśchābhinighnantaḥ pushpa-varshaṁ samantataḥ | 30. Rāmasyopari saṁhṛishṭāḥ vavarshur vismitās tadā | ardhādhika-muhūrtena Rāmeṇa niśitaiḥ śaraiḥ | 31. Chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi rakshasāṁ kāma-rūpiṇāṁ | Khara-Dūshaṇa-mukhyānāṁ nihatāni mahāmṛidhe | 32. Aho bata mahat karma Rāmasya viditātmanaḥ | aho vīryam aho dārḍhyaṁ Vishṇoḥ iva hi dṛiśyate | 33. Ity evam uktvā te sarve yayur devāḥ yathāgatam | 27. "Burnt up by the fire of the arrow, Khara fell like Antaka, who was formerly consumed by Rudra in the S'veta (white) forest.[46] 28. He fell like Vṛitra smitten by the thunderbolt, like Namuchi by the foam,[47] or like Bala by the lightning of Indra. 29. At this moment the gods, joined with the Chāraṇas, beating kettle-drums, delighted, (30) rained on Rāma a shower of flowers all round, and [said] in astonishment: 'In a muhūrta and a half (two hours) (31) fourteen thousand Rākshasas, changing their shapes at will, headed by Khara and Dūshaṇa, have been slain by Rāma with sharp arrows in a great fight. 32. O what a mighty exploit of Rāma, who knows himself![48] O, his valour and his firmness are seen to be like those of Vishṇu!' 33. Having thus spoken, all those gods went as they came."

If the writer of these verses regarded Rāma as an incarnation of Vishṇu, it would seem to have been superfluous to compare him with that deity. In the corresponding section of Gorresio's edition (the thirty-fifth) the several classes of ṛishis are introduced as [among

[46] On this legend the commentator informs us as follows: *Andhakāsuraḥ S'vetāraṇye Rudreṇa hataḥ iti purāṇa-prasiddham | . . . . "S'vetāraṇye yathā 'ntakaḥ" iti prachuraḥ pāṭhaḥ | tatra Kāverī-tīra-vartini S'vetāraṇye Mārkaṇḍeya-chirajīvitvāya Antaka-saṁhāro Rudreṇa kṛitaḥ iti tan-māhātmye prasiddhiḥ | Kaurme tu uttarakhaṇde S'vetasya rājarsheḥ paramaśaivasya Kālanjare parvate tapasy abhiratasya māraṇāya āgatasya Antakasya S'ivena vāma-pāda-prahāreṇa saṁhāraḥ kṛitaḥ iti shaṭtriṁśe 'dhyāye uktam |* "The asura Andhaka was slain by Rudra in the S'veta forest, as is well known from the Purāṇas. . . . . The reading, 'as Antaka in the S'veta forest,' is frequently met with. Regarding him it is told in the Glorification of Mārkaṇḍeya, that, to prolong the life of that sage, Antaka (the Ender, Death) was destroyed by Rudra. But in the latter part of the Kūrma-purāṇa, sect. 36, it is related that Antaka, who had come to kill the royal ṛishi S'veta, an eminent votary of S'iva, who was addicting himself to austerities on the Kālanjara mountain, was destroyed by a blow of S'iva's left foot." Compare A.V. xi. 2, 7, quoted above, p. 336, where Rudra is called "the slayer of Ardhaka."

[47] See above, p. 261, and note 259.

[48] *Viditātmanaḥ.* This epithet is not explained by the commentator.

other things] applauding Rāma for displaying the qualities of a Kshatriya (*dhārmajna vardhase dishṭyā kshatra-dharmeṇa Rāghava*, v. 99), and as saying to him (vv. 105 ff.) that all the gods, Gandharvas, etc., were saluting him with congratulations on his victory (*jayāśīrbhiḥ*), and that Brahmā and Mahādeva were paying him honour. Rāma is then said to have "made obeisance to the gods whom he saw not far off standing on their celestial cars" (*namaś chakre vimānasthān dṛishṭvā 'dūre 'divaukasaḥ*).

The following is another passage of the sixth or Yuddha Kāṇḍa occurring in the Bombay edition, but not in Gorresio's, in which Rāma, when about to engage in battle with Rāvaṇa, is recommended by Agastya to utter a hymn to the Sun, which will insure his victory over his enemy. Not a word is said of Rāma's own divinity; and in fact the use of such a prayer does not seem to harmonize with such a character:

vi. 106, 1 ff. (Bombay ed.): *Tato yuddha-pariśrāntaṁ samare chintayā sthitam | Rāvaṇaṁ chāgrato dṛishṭvā yuddhāya samupasthitam | 2. Daivataiś cha samāgamya drashṭum abhyāgato raṇam | upagamyābravīd Rāmam Agastyo bhagavāṁs tadā | 3. Rāma Rāma mahābāho śṛiṇu guhyaṁ sanātanam | yena sarvān arīn vatsa samare vijayishyase | 4. Āditya-hṛidayam puṇyaṁ sarva-śatru-vināśanam | jayāvahaṁ japan nityam akshayam paramaṁ śivam | 5. Sarva-mangala-māngalyaṁ sarva-pāpa-praṇāśanam | chintā-śoka-praśamanam āyurvardhanam uttamam | 6. Raśmimantaṁ samudyantaṁ devāsura-namaskṛitam | pūjayasva Vivasvantam bhāskaram bhuvaneśvaram | 7. Sarva-devātmako hy esha tejasvī raśmi-bhāvanaḥ | esha devāsura-gaṇān lokān pāti gabhastibhiḥ | 8. Esha Brahmā cha Vishṇuś cha Śivaḥ Skandaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | Mahendro Dhanadaḥ Kālo Yamaḥ Somo hy Apāmpatiḥ | 9. Pitaro Vasavaḥ Sādhyāḥ Aśvinau Maruto Manuḥ | Vāyur Vahniḥ prajāḥ prāṇaḥ ṛitu-kartā prabhākaraḥ | 10. Ādityaḥ Savitā Sūryaḥ kha-gaḥ Pūshā gabhastimān | suvarṇa-sadṛiśo bhānur hiraṇya-retāḥ[49] divākaraḥ | . . . . 26. Pūjayasvainam ekāgro deva-devaṁ jagat-patim | etat triguṇitaṁ japtvā yuddheshu vijayishyati | 27. Asmin kshaṇe mahābāho Rāvaṇaṁ tvaṁ jahishyasi | evam uktvā tato 'gastyo jagāma sa yathāgatam | 28. Etach chhrutvā mahātejāḥ nashṭa-śoko 'bhavat tadā | dhārayāmāsa suprīto Rāghavaḥ prayatātmavān | 29. Ādityam prekshya japtvedam paraṁ harsham avāptavān | trir āchamya*

[49] *Aksharādhikyaṁ ārsham* | Comm.

śuchir bhūtvā dhanur ādāya vīryavān | 30. *Rāvaṇam prekshya hṛishṭātmā jayārthaṁ samupāgamat* | *sarva-yatnena mahatā vṛitas tasya badhe 'bhavat* | 31. *Atha ravir avadad nirīkshya Rāmam mudita-manāḥ paramam prahṛishyamāṇaḥ* | *niśicharapati-sankshayaṁ viditvā sura-gaṇa-madhya-gato vachas tvareti* |

"The divine Agastya then beholding [Rāma] fatigued with the conflict, standing anxious[50] in the battle, and in his front Rāvaṇa, who had drawn near to the combat, [Agastya, I say], (2) who had arrived to see the conflict, joining the gods, and coming near to Rāma, said: 3. 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, hear the eternal mysterious [prayer], by which, my son,[51] continually muttering it,—(4) the holy Āditya-hṛidaya ('heart of the sun'), which destroys all enemies, brings victory, is undecaying, supreme, beneficent, (5) the auspiciousness of all auspicious things, the destroyer of all sins, the allayer of anxieties and sorrows, the prolonger of life, the most excellent—thou shalt conquer all thine enemies in battle. 6. Worship the rising Vivasvat,[52] the radiant sun, adored by gods and Asuras, the lord of the world. 7. For he possesses the essence of all the gods, is fiery, the producer of rays. He by his beams sustains the gods, the Asuras, and the worlds. 8. He is both Brahmā and Vishṇu, Śiva and Skanda, Prajāpati, Indra, Kuvera, Kāla (Time), Yama, Soma, and the lord of waters (Varuṇa), (9) the Pitṛis, Vasus, Sādhyas, Aśvins, Manu, Vāyu, Agni, created beings, breath, the former of the seasons, the producer of light, (10) Āditya, Savitṛi, Sūrya, moving in the sky, Pūshan, the radiant,

[50] The commentator will not allow this apprehension to be real: *Evam bhayanāṭanaṁ tan-mūlakam Agastyād upadeśa-grahaṇaṁ lokanugrahāya lokasya jayasādhana-vastu-prakāśanārtham iti tattvam* | "The truth is that this acting (or simulation) of fear, and the acceptance of instruction from Agastya founded thereon, originated in kindness to mankind, and in a desire to reveal to them the means of gaining victory."

[51] See above, p. 389, how much Brahmā was offended by having this appellation, *vatsa*, "my son," applied to him by Vishṇu. If, then, the poet here intended to represent Rāma as possessing a divine nature, he must have conceived of Vishṇu as less susceptible than Brahmā, when he makes Agastya address him thus.

[52] Compare the hymn to Sūrya in the Mahābh. iii. 166 ff., of which some specimens are given in the fifth volume of this work, p. 161. It is there said, v. 190: *Tvāṁ Indram āhus tvaṁ Vishṇus tvaṁ Rudras tvam Prajāpatiḥ* | *tvam Agnis tvam manaḥ sūkshmaṁ prabhus tvam Brahma śāśvatam* | "They call thee Indra; thou art Vishṇu, Rudra, Prajāpati: thou art Agni, the subtile Mind, thou art the lord, the Eternal Brahma."

of golden hue, the shining, who has golden seed, the maker of the day." Then follow (vv. 11–15) many other titles of the Sun, succeeded (vv. 15–21) by invocations addressed to him under various appellations, among which is (v. 19) *Brahmeśānāchyuteśāya*,[53] "to the lord of Brahmā, Īśāna (Śiva), and Achyuta (Vishṇu)." After some further eulogies of the Sun, Rāma is again exhorted to worship this deity (vv. 26 ff.): "Worship with fixed mind this god of gods, the lord of the world. Having thrice muttered this [hymn], a man shall conquer in battles. 27. In this moment, O great-armed, thou shalt slay Rāvaṇa.' Having thus spoken, Agastya went as he had come. 28. After hearing this, the vigorous Rāma became then freed from grief; and, with well-governed spirit, bore it in his memory. 29. Beholding the Sun, and muttering this hymn, he attained the highest joy. Having thrice rinsed his mouth, and become pure, the hero took his bow. 30. Beholding Rāvaṇa with gladdened spirit, he approached to vanquish him; and with great intentness became bent upon his slaughter. 31. Then the Sun, with rejoicing mind, exceedingly exulting, looking upon Rāma, knowing the [approaching] destruction of the chief of the Rākshasas, and standing in the midst of the gods, uttered the word 'speed.'"

This extract, as I have said above, is entirely wanting in Gorresio's edition, in which a verse (the last of its eighty-ninth section) corresponding with the last in the hundred and fifth section of the Bombay edition, is succeeded immediately by one (Gorr. 90, 1) corresponding to the second half of the fourth verse of the hundred and seventh section of the Bombay edition. The whole of the matter which is wanting in Gorresio may be omitted without detriment to the connexion; and in fact the recurrence at the beginning of the hundred and seventh section (Bombay ed.) of an expression repeating in substance what had been said at the close of the hundred and fifth might

[53] *Brahmeśānāchyutānāṁ sṛishṭi-saṁhāra-sthiti-kartṛīṇāṁ īśāya svāmine | "sṛishṭi-sthity-anta-karaṇīm Brahma-Vishṇu-Śivātmikāṁ sa sanjñāṁ yāti bhagavān ekaḥ eva Janārdanaḥ" iti smṛiteḥ |* "To the lord of Brahmā, Īśāna, and Achyuta, who are the authors of the creation, destruction, and continuance (of the world); according to the Smṛiti text: 'The divine Janārdana alone receives the conjoint title of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva, representing the causes of the creation, continuance and end (of the universe).'" Such is the manner in which the commentator chooses to explain away his text.

lead to the conclusion that the whole of the hundred and sixth section was interpolated. On the other hand, it seems strange that a passage which appears to militate against Rāma's divine character should be a later addition. The only conceivable motive for such an interpolation would be to glorify the Sun by the insertion of this hymn in celebration of his praise, an object which does not bear upon the main design of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The following is, on the other hand, a passage which may be understood as ascribing a superhuman nature to Rāma. After Vibhīshaṇa had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa, and come over to Rāma's side, a consultation took place among the friends of the latter, whether the deserter was deserving of confidence or not. Some regarded him with suspicion, but Rāma himself was in favour of receiving him with open arms. In the course of the conversation he asks (Yuddha Kāṇḍa 18, 22 f., Bombay ed.): *Sa dushṭo vā 'py adushṭo vā kim esha rajanīcharaḥ | sūkshmam apy ahitaṁ kartum mama śaktaḥ kathanchana | pisāchān dānavān yakshān pṛithivyāṁ chaiva rākshasān | anguly-agreṇa tān hanyām ichhan hari-gaṇesvara |* "Whether the Rākshasa be good or bad, what, even the smallest, injury can he do to me in any way? If I wish, I can destroy Piśāchas, Dānavas, Yakshas, and Rākshasas on the earth, with the tip of my finger."[54] This mode of expression

[54] On this the commentator remarks: *Anena sankalpa-siddhir aiśvaraṁ chihnam uktam | yady evam asmadādi-sangraho vyarthas tatra āha "ichhann" iti | svasya niratiśaya-mahimānaṁ tāttvikam Brahma-bhāvam prakaṭīkartum ichhan yadi syāṁ tadā tathaiva kuryām | samprati tu deva-bhāvopeta-nija-vilāsair aśeshair "abadhyatvam asya mayaiva dattam" iti tat-paripālanāya sva-divya-bhāvaṁ sva-śaktyā eva antardhāya mānusha-maryādāyāṁ sthityā tad-bhāvya-prakaṭanāya eva Sītā-viyoga-prayukta-rodana-vad bhavādṛiśa-sahāya-melanam | vastuto na svātirikta-sahāyāntarāpekshā mama | manushyāṇāṁ saṁsāra-maryāda-jñāpanaṁ tad-vyavahāra-phalam iti bhāvaḥ |* "By this [phrase 'with the tip of my finger'] the accomplishment of an intention is declared to be the mark of the Deity. If thus the efforts of persons such as we [men] are, be vain,—in regard to this the author says, 'If I wish.' If I be desirous to manifest my own surpassing greatness, my real character as Brahmā, then I can do this. But now, with the view of maintaining my fiat, [declared in the words] 'I have conferred [on Rāvaṇa] indestructibility,' which I issued agreeably to all the sportive manifestations of my divine nature, suppressing that celestial nature through my own power by remaining within the limits of humanity, with the view of displaying that character, I have associated with myself such allies as you, (Sugrīva), just as I wept for my separation from Sītā. In reality I have no need for any other ally but myself. To show to men the limitations of worldly existence is the fruit of my so acting. Such is the purport." The meaning of this passage is clear, though I may not have succeeded in accurately rendering all the phrases in it.

rather points to an inherent divine power. In Gorresio's edition the expression is somewhat different. Rāma there says (Sundara K. 91, 3) that he could destroy all those beings "forthwith, and by the power of a divine weapon" (*śakto 'haṁ sahasā hantuṁ divyenāstra-balena cha*), which may be understood of a derived power. However this may be, it turned out upon trial that Rāma was unable to dispose of his enemies so summarily, as we have seen above in the case of his conflict with Indrajit (p. 383 ff.).

The termination of Rāma's terrestrial career is thus told in sections 103 ff. of the Uttara Kāṇḍa.[55] Time, in the form of an ascetic, comes to his palace-gate (103, 1 ff.), and asks, as the messenger of the great Rishi (Brahmā), to see Rāma. He is admitted and received with honour (v. 8), but says, when asked what he has to communicate, that his message must be delivered in private, and that any one who witnesses the interview is to be slain by Rāma (v. 11 f.). Rāma promises to abide by this, informs Lakshmaṇa of it, and desires him to stand outside (v. 13 f.). Time then tells Rāma (104) that he has been sent by Brahmā to say that when he (Rāma, *i.e.* Vishṇu), after destroying the worlds, was sleeping on the ocean, he had formed him (Brahmā) from the lotus springing from his navel, and committed to him the work of creation (vv. 4–7); that he (Brahmā) had then entreated Rāma to assume the function of Preserver, and that the latter had in consequence become Vishṇu, being born as the son of Aditi (v. 9 f.), and had determined to deliver mankind by destroying Rāvaṇa, and to live on earth ten thousand and ten hundred years (v. 11 f.): that period, adds Time, was now on the eve of expiration (v. 13), and Rāma could either, at his pleasure, prolong his stay on earth, or ascend to heaven and rule over the gods (v. 14 f.). Rāma replies (v. 18) that he had been born for the good of the three worlds, and would now return to the place whence he had come, as it was his function to fulfil the purposes of the gods. While they are speaking, the irritable rishi Durvāsas[56] comes to visit Rāma, and when Lakshmaṇa asks him to wait a little, insists on being introduced into the presence of the former immediately, under a threat, if refused, of cursing Rāma, his city, kingdom,

[55] All the references to this Kāṇḍa apply to the Bombay edition. I have not seen Gorresio's edition of this book.

[56] Compare p. 196, above.

and all his family (105, 1 ff.). Lakshmaṇa, peferring to save his kinsmen, though knowing that his own death must be the consequence of interrupting the interview of Rāma with Time, enters the palace, and reports the rishi's message to Rāma (v. 9). Rāma dismisses Time, comes out, and receives Durvāsas, and when the sage has got the food he wished, and departed, Rāma reflects with great distress on the words of Time, which require that Lakshmaṇa should die (vv. 10–16). Lakshmaṇa, however (106, 2 ff.), exhorts Rāma not to grieve, but to slay him, and not break his own promise. The counsellors who are consulted concurring in this advice (vv. 5 ff.), Rāma abandons Lakshmaṇa, (v. 13) who goes to the river Sarayū, suppresses all his senses (*nigṛihya sarva-srotāṁsi*), and after the gods had showered down flowers upon him, is conveyed bodily by Indra to heaven (vv. 15 ff.). The gods are delighted by the arrival of the fourth part of Vishṇu (v. 18). Rāma then resolves to install Bharata as his successor, and retire to the forest and follow Lakshmaṇa (107, 1 ff.). Bharata, however, refuses the succession, and determines to accompany his brother (v. 5 f.). Rāma's subjects are filled with grief, and say they also will follow him wherever he goes (vv. 9 ff.). Kuśa and Lava, Rāma's two sons,[57] are then installed as kings of the Southern and Northern Kośalas (vv. 17 ff.). Messengers are sent to Śatrughna, the other brother, at Madhurā, and he also resolves to accompany Rāma (108, 1–14); who at length sets out in procession from his capital with all the ceremonial appropriate to the "great departure" (*mahā-prasthāna*, 109, 1 ff.), silent, indifferent to external objects, and to ease, with Śrī on his right, the goddess Earth on his left, Energy in front, attended by all his weapons in human shapes, by the Vedas in the form of Brahmans, by the all-protecting Gāyatrī, the Omkāra, the Vashaṭkāra, by rishis, by earthly divinities (*i.e.* Brahmans, *mahīsurāḥ*), by his women, female slaves, old and young, eunuchs (*varshavarāḥ*), and servants. Bharata with his wives, and Śatrughna, follow, together with Brahmans bearing the sacred fire, and accompanied by their families, with the ministers of state, and the whole of the people of the country, and even with animals, and birds, etc., etc. Rāma, with all these attendants, comes to the banks of the Sarayū (sect. 110). Brahmā, and all the gods, in innumerable celestial cars, now appear,

[57] See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. p. 318 (Dr. Hall's ed.).

and all the sky is refulgent with the divine splendour of their apparition. Pure, fragrant, and delightful breezes blow, a shower of flowers falls, thrown by the gods. While hundreds of musical instruments sound, and the air is crowded with Gandharvas and Apsarases, Rāma enters the waters of the Sarayū; and Brahmā utters a voice from the sky, saying: "Approach, Vishṇu; Rāghava, thou hast happily arrived, with thy god-like brothers. Enter whatever body thou pleasest, thine own body as Vishṇu, or the eternal ether. For thou art the abode of the worlds (*loka-gatiḥ*): no one comprehends thee, the inconceivable and imperishable, except the large-eyed Māyā, thy primeval spouse." Hearing these words, Rāma enters the glory of Vishṇu (*Vaishṇavaṁ tejas*) with his body and his followers; and is worshipped by the gods, rishis, etc. He then asks Brahmā to find an abode for the people who had accompanied him from devotion to his person, and Brahmā appoints them a celestial residence accordingly (*lokān santānakān*).[58]

Instead of describing any such resumption of his divine nature, the Mahābhārata, which in the Droṇa-parvan 2224–2248, refers to Rāma as one of the great kings of old, merely speaks in v. 2246 of his going to heaven with four kinds of creatures (*chaturvidhāḥ prajāḥ Rāmaḥ svargaṁ nītvā divaṁ gataḥ*). He is, however, celebrated in the most hyperbolical language, as where he is said (v. 2235) to "have transcended all beings, rishis, gods, and men" (*Ati sarvāṇi bhūtāni Rāmo Dāśarathir babhau | ṛishīṇāṁ devatānāṁ cha mānushāṇāṁ cha sarvaśaḥ*), but no reference is made to his being an incarnation of Vishṇu. The word *īśvara* applied to him in v. 2242 may mean only "lord," and need not be employed in the sense of "god." (This passage is referred to in Professor M. Williams's Indian Epic Poetry, p. 104.) The Rāmopākhyāna (see further on) in the Mahābhārata does not describe the apotheosis of Rāma at all.

The probability that many of the verses in the preceding passages which I have above suspected to be spurious may really be such, is

[58] These worlds are explained by the commentator as realms an abode in which gradually leads to final liberation by the attainment of Brahmā's heaven (*Krameṇa Brahma-loka-prāpti-dvārā mukti-janakān*).

greatly strengthened by the fact that the commentators on the poem themselves note various texts which they regard as interpolated. Thus the commentator an Kishk. K., sect. 43 (Bombay ed.), remarks on 46 ff.: *Itaḥ uttaram kechit ślokāḥ "ramante 'tatatam tatra nārībhiḥ bhāsvara-prabhāḥ"* (v. 50) *ity antāḥ ślokāḥ prakshiptāḥ prāchīna-pustakeshv anupalambhād iti Kataḳaḥ* | "Kataka (a previous commentator) says that after this some verses ending with the words (in the fiftieth verse) 'They sport there resplendent, along with their women,' are rejected, because they are not found in the old copies."

At the end of the twenty-third section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa the commentator remarks: *Itaḥ param pancha-sargāḥ prakshiptāḥ bodhyāḥ* | "After this five sections are to be regarded as rejected." On these sections, to which he assigns separate numbers, he gives no commentary. In the first of these sections, v. 42, Kansa is mentioned by anachronism.

At the end of the thirty-seventh section of the same book the commentator furnishes the following piece of sensible criticism: *Etad-uttaram Bāli-Sugrīvotpattītihāso Rāvaṇasya Śvetadvīpa-gamanetihāsaś cha katipayaiḥ sargair Agastyoktitayā kvachit pustakeshu driśyante | te tu pūrva-sargānte eva Agastyasya svāśrama-gamana-kathanād asangatāḥ Kataka-Tīrthādy-anādṛitatvāch cha mayā 'pi na vyākhyātāḥ* | "That which follows—viz. the tale of the birth of Bāli and Sugrīva, and the story of Rāvaṇa's journey to Śveta-dvīpa—is found in some copies, as being related by Agastya in several sections. But as these sections are inconsistent with the account [given] at the end of the previous section (36, vv. 51, 58 f.) of Agastya's departure to his hermitage, and have not been received by Kataka, Tīrtha, and other [previous commentators], I also have left them uncommented." These sections are accordingly without any commentary.

Again, at the close of section 59, he remarks: *Etad uttaraṁ śvamātur akhyānaṁ gridhrolūkākhyānancha kvachid driśyate | Tīrtha-Katakādy-aspṛishṭatvena prakshiptam iti na vyākhyātam* | "The story of the dog's mother and that of the vulture and owl which follow, are found in some copies: but as they are left untouched by Tīrtha, Kataka, and others, they are rejected, and consequently have not been explained."

From these extracts it is clear that various passages which are still preserved in the Rāmāyaṇa were regarded by the commentators as

spurious because they were not to be found in the oldest MSS. extant in their day, or because they contained something inconsistent with the context in which they occur. The judgment of these commentators is no doubt correct, especially as they must have been well acquainted with the habit which, we need not hesitate to assume, prevailed in their day, of interpolating legendary works such as the Purāṇas and Itihāsas, the style of which, from its simplicity, offers the greatest facilities for imitation. But if such interpolation be admitted by the commentators as practised in their time, it is natural to suppose that it must have been practised at an earlier period also. And the example of the Mahābhārata confirms this supposition.

After reviewing most of the passages, which I have cited above, in which Rāma's divine character is alluded to, as they are given in his own edition, and, in addition, the section which I have cited in p. 180 ff.,[59] Signor Gorresio remarks as follows (vol. v., Preface, p. xlvii. f.): "What are we to conclude from all this? Notwithstanding the citations adduced, I would not yet venture to pronounce a definitive judgment on this question" (whether the idea of the incarnation of Vishṇu in Rāma was an original part of the conception of the poem, or interpolated). "The passages quoted only prove that the interpolation, if it be such, has been made with great study and much art. But in order thoroughly to elucidate this question, we must have recourse to other documents, and seek for other proofs and indications than the poem itself supplies. Our sentence, therefore, remains suspended."

The Mahābhārata also contains a history of Rāma, (Rāmopākhyāna) which is told to Yudhishṭhira by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya, in the Vana-parvan, vv. 15872–16602. In this episode it is briefly related (v. 15878 f.) that Daśaratha had four sons, born of his three queens.

[59] On this passage he observes (p. xlvii.): "Among the names here assigned to Vishṇu some of a sufficiently suspicious character are found, such as that of Kṛishṇa, which I do not recollect to have discovered in any other part of the poem. Besides, this chapter has no close bond to connect it with the context, and might be removed without the least injury to the poem."

The birth and history of Rāvaṇa and his brothers are described in much greater detail (vv. 15881–15928), and many particulars are given which do not occur in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, though the Uttara Kāṇḍa contains a similar account. According to the episode in the Mahābhārata, Brahmā had a mental son Pulastya, who again had a son Gaviputra Vaiśravaṇa (v. 15883). The latter deserted his father and went to Brahmā, who as a reward made him immortal and appointed him to be the god of riches, with Laṅkā for his capital, and the car Pushpaka for his vehicle (vv. 15886 ff.). His father, Pulastya, however, being incensed at this desertion of himself, reproduced the half of himself in the form of Viśravas, vv. 15884 (*tasya kopāt pitā rājan sasarjātmānam ātmanā | sa jajne Viśravāḥ nāma tasyātmārdhena vai dvijaḥ |* and again, v. 15889 : *Pulastyasya tu yaḥ krodhād ardhadeho 'bhavad muniḥ | Viśravāḥ nāma ityādi*). This Viśravas looked upon Vaiśravaṇa with indignation. The latter strove to pacify his father[60] (v. 15890 ff.), and with this view gave him three elegant Rākshasīs to attend on him: Pushpotkaṭā, who had two sons, Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa; Mālinī, who bore Vibhīshaṇa; and Rākā, who bore Khara and Śūrpaṇakhā. These sons were all valiant, skilled in the Veda, and observers of religious rites; but perceiving the prosperity of Vaiśravaṇa, they were filled with jealousy. They accordingly (except Khara and Śūrpaṇakhā) began to practise austerities to propitiate Brahmā, and at the end of a thousand years Rāvaṇa cut off his own head and threw it as an oblation into the fire (v. 15908). Brahmā then appeared to stop their austerities and offer them boons (except that of immortality).[61] He ordained that Rāvaṇa should have heads and shapes at will, and should be invincible, except by men; that Kumbhakarṇa, who was influenced by the quality of darkness (*tamas*), should, according to his request, enjoy long sleep[62] (*sa vavre*

[60] Viśravas is here meant, although according to v. 15883 ff. Pulastya reproduced himself as Viśravas after the birth of Vaiśravaṇa, and in consequence of the latter having deserted his father in his original form as Pulastya. Vaiśravaṇa means the son of Viśravas, and in v. 15925, Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) is said to be the brother of Vibhīshaṇa, who must have been the son of Viśravas, as his brother Rāvaṇa is called in v. 15930.

[61] See above, p. 223 and p. 488, below.

[62] This disagrees with the statement in the Rāmāyaṇa (quoted above, p. 462) that he was doomed to long sleep as a curse.

mahatīm̃ nidrām̃ tamasā grasta-chetaṇaḥ, v. 15916). Vibhīshaṇa asks that even in the greatest misfortunes he may never meditate any unrighteousness, and that the Brāhman's weapon may become manifest to him without being learned.[63] Brahmā promises him immortality. Having obtained the power above described, Rāvaṇa expels Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) from Lankā (v. 15920). The righteous Vibhīshaṇa follows his brother[64] (v. 15925), Kuvera, who had retired to Gandhamādana (v. 15921). Rāvaṇa having been installed as king, and begun to exercise his power tyrannically, the rishis resort for deliverance to Brahmā (v. 15929 ff.), who promises that as Rāvaṇa could not be killed either by gods or Asuras, the four-armed Vishṇu, the chief of

[63] *Aśikshitancha bhagavan Brahmāstram pratibhātu me* | See the second volume of this work, 2nd ed., p. 416, where the sense of the line is not correctly rendered. See the note on a similar line from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa below in p. 489. In v. 15897 Vibhīshaṇa is said to be the handsomest of Pulastya's sons (*rūpeṇa sarvebhyo 'bhyadhikaḥ*), and a protector of righteousness, and practiser of religious rites (*dharma-goptā kriyāratiḥ*).

[64] In v. 16157 f. Vibhīshaṇa is said to dwell, shaded by a white umbrella, and with white garlands, on the S'vetaparvata, or, "white mountain," attended by his four counsellors, and apart from his disreputable brothers Kumbhakarṇa, etc., who, naked, with dishevelled hair, and red garlands, frequented the south. In v. 16314 f. he is said to join Rāma, and it is not mentioned whence he comes; but as his treachery is at first suspected by Sugrīva, it might appear to be implied that he came from Lankā, as is expressly related in the Rām., vi. 17, 1, Bombay ed. In Gorr. ed. (Sundara Kāṇḍa, 89, 1–43) forty-two verses are introduced between the two lines which make up the first verse of the 17th section of book sixth in the Bombay ed. That verse states that after addressing some harsh words to Rāvaṇa, Vibhīshaṇa came immediately to Rāma. Gorresio's text adds that after leaving his brother, Vibhīshaṇa first tells his mother all that had happened, and then went through the air to Kailāsa, the residence of Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera, v. 4). Before his arrival, however, Mahādeva had gone with Umā and his attendants to the abode of Kuvera (vv. 6 ff.), had dismounted from his bull, and entered the assembly; when the two gods embraced each other, sat down, and began to play at dice. At this conjuncture Mahādeva sees Vibhīshaṇa approaching, and tells Kuvera that he has come to seek his protection; but that he ought to go to Rāma, who would install him as monarch of the Rākshasas (vv. 11 ff.). Vibhīshaṇa arrives, kneels and touches the ground with his forehead, when the two gods give him the advice which Mahādeva had proposed (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhīshaṇa remains thoughtful (v. 36). Mahādeva again addresses him (v. 37), and tells him to "rise and resort to the ancient lord, the imperishable, the support of all beings, the eternal, the irresistible, the treasury of righteousness, the refuge of those who seek him, the root of the whole world, Rāma" (v. 39) (*Tasmad uttishṭha gachha tvam purāṇam prabhum avyayam* | *ādhāram sarva-bhūtānām śāśvatam̃ niravagraham* | 40. *Sa hi dharma-nidhānam̃ cha gatir gatimatām̃ varaḥ* | *kṛitsnasya jagato mūlam̃ tasmād gachhasva Rāghavam*). Vibhīshaṇa hereupon rises, makes obeisance to the two gods, and goes to Rāma through the sky (vv. 41 ff.).

warriors, should, by his (Brahmā's) appointment, descend to earth for his destruction (*tad-artham avatīrṇo 'sau man-niyogāch chaturbhujaḥ | Vishṇuḥ praharatāṁ śreshṭhaḥ sa tat karma karishyati*). No account is, however, given of the way in which Vishṇu was to become incarnate in one or more of the sons of Daśaratha; or how this was accomplished. Brahmā also desired Indra and the other gods to be born on earth, and beget on the she-bears and she-monkeys sons who should assist Vishṇu, which they accordingly did. He also gave injunctions and instructions to a Gandharvī called Dundubhī, who was born on earth as the hunchbacked Mantharā, and stirred up enmity by urging Kaikeyī to claim the succession to Daśaratha's throne for her own son Bharata (vv. 15934 f., and 15960 ff.).

Whether the portion of the episode which relates the earlier history of Rāvaṇa, and the means adopted by Brahmā for his destruction, formed an original part of the poem, I need not attempt to decide; but an allusion is afterwards made in a later part of it to the monkeys of Rāma's army having been begotten by the gods (v. 16309), where Sāgara, the Ocean, who had appeared to Rāma, is introduced as saying: *Asti tatra Nalo nāmo vānaraḥ śilpi-sammataḥ | Tvashṭur devasya tanayo balavān Viśvakarmaṇaḥ |* "There is there a monkey called Nala, approved by artizans, the strong son of the god Tvashṭri Viśvakarman."

The main incidents in this episode agree, as far as I have examined them, with those of the Rāmāyaṇa: though there are some minor points in which there is a difference between the two. Thus the larger poem appears (as far as I have looked into it) to say nothing of Mantharā being the incarnation of a Gandharvī, though this is alluded to by the commentator in ii. 7, 1 of the Bombay edition, in these words: *Atha Sītāyāḥ Lankā-pura-praveśaṁ vinā Rāvaṇa-badhasyāśakyatayā tat-siddhaye devaiḥ preritāyāḥ kṛita-kubjā-veshayāḥ Mantharāyāḥ Rāmābhisheka-vighna-pravṛittim . . . . . vaktum upakramate |* "Now since Rāvaṇa could not be killed unless Sītā entered into Lankā,—with a view to the accomplishment of that, he (the poet) begins to relate how Mantharā, who had been sent by the gods, and had taken the disguise of a hunchback, threw obstacles in the way of Rāvaṇa's inauguration, etc." Again, as we have already seen, long periods of sleep are said, in the larger poem, to have been inflicted by Brahmā on Kumbhakarṇa as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a

boon.[65] The account which will be given below from the Mahābhārata is a sort of reconciliation of these two statements. Another discrepancy noticed by the commentator has been already cited above, p. 415, note 193.

In the sequel of the story, as given in the Mahābhārata, it is said that, after the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the appearance of the gods to persuade Rāma to take back his wife Sītā, Brahmā offered Rāma any boons he might choose, and that Rāma accordingly desired that he might continue steadfast in righteousness, and unconquered by his enemies; and solicited the resurrection of the monkeys who had been killed by the Rākshasas (vv. 16570 ff.). The poet, who represents Rāma as consenting to receive these boons from Brahmā, could scarcely have regarded him as the Supreme Spirit, as he is declared in some parts of the Rāmāyaṇa to have been (see above, p. 180 ff.). The last act of his which is described (vv. 16600 f.) is the celebration of ten aśvamedhas. No reference is made to his death.

As I have noticed above, the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa contains an account of the birth, and a sketch of the earlier history, of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, which varies in some particulars from the narrative in the Mahābhārata. We are there told how after Rāma had returned to Ayodhyā, and taken possession of the throne, the rishis assembled from the east, west, north, and south, to greet him (1, 1 ff.), and Agastya, in answer to his questions, recounted many particulars regarding his old enemies. In the Kṛita Yuga (or Golden Age) the austere and pious Brahman-rishi Pulastya, a son of Brahmā, and who was like his father, being teased with the vicinity, sports, singing, and dancing of different damsels, who interrupted his austerities,[66] proclaimed that any one of them whom he again saw near his hermitage, on the side of Mount Meru, should become pregnant. The others kept

[65] The story of Rambhā, which is related in the passage referred to above (461 f.), is in this episode briefly sketched in these words (v. 16151 ff.): *Nalakūvara-śāpena rakshitā hy asi nandini | śapto hy esha purā pāpo badhūm Rambhām parāmṛishan | na śaknoty avaśām nārīm upaitum ajitendriyaḥ* | "Thou art protected, charming one, (*i.e.* Sītā) by the curse of Nalakūvara. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvaṇa), having formerly been cursed when insulting his (N.'s) wife Rambhā, is unable to approach a helpless woman." See also v. 16563 f.; and p. 461 f., above.

[66] "Not intentionally," says the commentator on v. 8, "but like (dried) grass and fire" (*tṛiṇāgni-nyāyena na tu buddhi-pūrvam*).

at a distance, but the threat had not been heard by the daughter of the royal-rishi Tṛiṇavindu, who one day came into Pulastya's neighbourhood, and her pregnancy was the result (sect. 2, vv. 14 ff.). After her return home, her father, seeing her condition, took her to Pulastya, who accepted her as his wife, and she bore a son who received the name of Viśravas (v. 32). This son was, like his father, an austere and religious sage. He married the daughter of the muni Bharadvāja, who bore him a son, to whom Brahmā gave the name of Vaiśravaṇa= Kuvera (sect. 3, vv. 1 ff.). The latter performed austerity for thousands of years, when he obtained from Brahmā as a boon, that he should be one of the guardians of the world [along with Indra, Varuṇa, and Yama] and the god of riches (vv. 11 ff.). He afterwards consulted his father Viśravas about an abode, and, at his suggestion, took possession of the city of Lankā, which had formerly been built by Viśvakarman for the Rākshasas, but had been abandoned by them through fear of Vishṇu, and was at that time unoccupied (vv. 23 ff.). Rāma then (sect. 4) says he is surprised to hear that Lankā had formerly belonged to the Rākshasas, as he had always understood that they were the descendants of Pulastya, and now he learns that they had also another origin (v. 4. *Pulastya-vaṁśād udbhūtāḥ rākshasāḥ iti naḥ śrutaṁ | idānīm anyataś chāpi sambhavaḥ kīrtitas tvayā*). He therefore asks who was their ancestor, and what fault they had committed that they were chased away by Vishṇu. Hearing the polished (*saṁskārālankṛitam*)[67] words of Rāma, Agastya replies (vv. 9 ff.) that when Brahmā created the waters, he formed certain beings—some of whom received the name of Rākshasas—to guard them.[68] The first Rākshasa kings were Heti and Praheti (v. 14). Heti married Bhayā, the sister of Kāla (Time). She bore him a son Vidyutkeśa (v. 17), who in his turn took for his wife Sālankaṭankaṭā, the daughter of Sandhyā (v. 21). She bore him a son Sukeśā (v. 32), whom she abandoned (v. 24), but he was seen by Śiva, as he was passing by with his wife Pārvatī (v. 27 ff.), who made the child as mature as his mother, and immortal, and gave him a city which moved through the ether. Pārvatī, too, gave as a boon to the Rākshasa women the power of immediate conception and parturition, and to their children instant maturity equal

[67] See the second volume of this work, pp. 157–159.

[68] See Note A., p 439.

to that of their mothers (v. 30 f.). Sukeśa married a Gandharvī called Devavatī (sect. 5, v. 3), who bore three sons, Mālyavat, Sumāli, and Māli (v. 6). These sons practised intense austerities (v. 9), when Brahmā appeared (v. 12), and conferred on them invincibility and long life (15). They then harassed the gods and Asuras (16). Viśvakarman, at their request, gave them a city, Lankā, on the mountain Trikūṭa, on the shore of the southern ocean, which he had built (vv. 18 ff.). They marry the three daughters of the Gandharvī Narmadā. Mālyavat's wife, Sundarī, bears Vajramushṭi, Virūpāksha, Durmukha, Suptaghna, Yajnakopa, Matta, Unmatta, and one daughter Anala (v. 35 ff.). Sumāli's wife, Ketumatī, bears Prahasta, Kampana, Vikaṭa, Kālikāmukha, Dhūmrāksha, Daṇḍa, Supārśva, Sanhrādi, Praghasa, Bhāsakarṇa, and four daughters, Rākā, Pushpotkaṭā, Kaikasī, and Kumbhīnasī (vv. 39 ff.). Māli's wife, Vasudā, bore Anala, Nila, Hara, and Sampāti (v. 43). The three Rākshasas, Mālyavat and his two brothers, with their sons, continue to oppress the gods, rishis, etc. (v. 44), who (sect 6, v. 1 ff.) in consequence resort for aid to Mahādeva, "the creator and destroyer of the world, the unborn, imperceptible, the support of all worlds" (*Jagat-srishty-anta-kartāram ajam avyakta-rūpiṇam | ādhāraṁ sarva-bhūtānām*), who, having regard to his protegé Sukeśa (the father of Mālyavat, etc., see above), says that he cannot kill the Rākshasas (v. 10); but advises the suppliants to go to Vishṇu, which they do (v. 12), and receive from him a promise that he will destroy their enemies (v. 21). One of the three Rākshasa kings, hearing of this, informs his brothers, and, after consultation (v. 23 ff.), they proceed to heaven to attack the gods (v. 46), unterrified by the portents which were manifested (vv. 53 ff.). Vishṇu prepares to meet them (v. 63). The battle is described in the seventh section. The Rākshasas are defeated by Vishṇu with great slaughter, and driven back to Lankā, one of their leaders, Māli, being slain (vv. 42 ff.). Mālyavat remonstrates with Vishṇu, who was assaulting the rear of the fugitives, on his unwarriorlike conduct (*na jānīshe kshātraṁ dharmam purātanaṁ*),[69] and wishes to renew the combat (sect. 8, v. 3 ff.).

[69] The next verse (4) adds: *Parāṅmukha-vadham pāpam yaḥ karoti sureśvara | sa hantā na gataḥ svargaṁ labhate puṇya-karmaṇām |* "The slayer who wickedly slaughters foes who have turned their backs, after his death does not attain to the heaven of the meritorious."

Vishṇu replies that he must fulfil his promise to the gods by slaying the Rākshasas, and that he would destroy them even if they fled to Pātāla (v. 7 ff.). The battle is renewed, but Mālyavat and Sumāli are driven into Lankā (v. 20), and being unable to withstand Vishṇu, at length retire to Pātāla (v. 22). These Rākshasas, Agastya says, were more powerful than Rāvaṇa, and could only be destroyed by Nārāyaṇa, *i.e.* by Rāma himself, the eternal indestructible god (v. 24 ff.). Sumāli with his family lived for a long time in Pātāla, while Kuvera dwelt in Lankā (v. 29). In section 9 it is related that Sumāli once happened to visit the earth, when he observed Kuvera going in his chariot to see his father Viśravas. This leads him to consider how he might restore his own fortunes. He consequently desires his daughter Kaikasī to go and woo Viśravas (v. 12), who receives her graciously (vv. 18 ff.). She becomes the mother of the dreadful Rāvaṇa (v. 29) whose birth was succeeded by portents, of the huge Kumbhakarṇa (v. 34), of Śūrpaṇakhā, and of the righteous Vibhīshaṇa, who was the last son (v. 35),[70] and whose nativity was followed by a shower of celestial flowers, by the sound of celestial drums, and exclamations of delight in the air (v. 36). These children grow up in the forest. Kumbhakarṇa goes about eating rishis (v. 38). Vibhīshaṇa lives in the practice of duty, the study of the Veda, and temperance, and controls his senses (v. 39). Kuvera comes to visit his father (v. 40), when Kaikasī takes occasion to urge her son Rāvaṇa to strive to become like his brother (Kuvera) in splendour. This Rāvaṇa promises to do (v. 45). He then goes to the hermitage of Gokarṇa with his brothers to perform austerity (v. 47). In section 10 their austere observances are described. After a thousand years' penance, Rāvaṇa throws one of his heads as an offering into the fire (v. 10). He performs this oblation nine times at equal intervals, and is about to do it the tenth time, when Brahmā appears (v. 12 ff.), and offers a boon. Rāvaṇa asks immortality, but is refused (17). He then asks that he may be indestructible by all creatures more powerful than men, etc.; which boon is accorded by Brahmā (v. 22), together with the recovery of all the heads he had sacrificed, and the power of assuming any shape he pleased. Vibhī-

[70] This account varies from that of the Mahābhārata (above, p. 482), according to which the mothers are different, and Khara (who is not named here) is also a son of Viśravas.

shaṇa (nearly as in the Mahābhārata, see above, p. 483) asks as his boon (v. 30 f.) that "even amid the greatest calamities he may think only of righteousness, and that the Brahman's weapon may become manifest to him without being learned; and that in every stage of life his aims may be righteous" (*paramāpad-gatasyāpi dharme mama matir bhavet | aśikshitaṁcha brahmāstram bhagavan pratibhātu me*[71] | *yā yā me jāyate buddhir yeshu yeshv āśrameshu cha | sā sā bhavatu dharmishṭhā taṁ taṁ dharmaṁ cha pālaye*). The god grants his request, and adds the gift of immortality. When Brahmā is about to offer a boon to Kumbhakarṇa, the gods interpose (v. 35 ff.), as, they say, he had eaten seven Apsarases and ten followers of Indra, besides rishis and men; if he has done this without receiving any boon from Brahmā, he would, if he should obtain such a favour, devour the three worlds; and they end by suggesting that under the guise of a boon stupefaction should be inflicted on him (v. 39). Brahmā thinks on Sarasvatī, who arrives (v. 40), and by Brahmā's command (v. 42. *Vāṇi tvaṁ Rākshasendrasya bhava vāg-devatepsitā*) enters into Kumbhakarṇa, that she may speak for him. Under this influence he asks, when desired to choose a favour, that he may receive the boon of sleeping for many years, which is granted (v. 45).[72] When, however, Sarasvatī has left him, and he recovers his own consciousness, he perceives that he has

[71] The commentator explains these last words thus: *Aśikshitaṁ sad-gurūpadeśaṁ vināpīty arthaḥ | brahmāstram brahma-vidyā | etad varaṇam aśesha-brahma-vidyā-siddhi-pratibandhaka-nivṛittaye |* "Unlearnt, that is, [may it appear to me] even without the instruction of a good teacher. The Brahman's weapon is the science of Brahma (or of the veda). This choice of a boon seeks the removal of all obstacles to the attainment of divine knowledge." The commentator also says that by *dharme* ("righteousness") in the first line is meant Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), according to the saying, 'Rāma is the incarnate righteousness': as looking to what follows, the passage would otherwise be tautological ("*Dharme*" *Nārāyaṇe matir bhavet |* "*Rāmo vigrahavān dharmaḥ*" *ity ukter atra dharma-padena Nārāyaṇaḥ | anyatha* "*sā sā bhavatu dharmishṭhā*" *ity anena paunaruktyaṁ syāt |*

[72] The commentator remarks here: *Evam iti | atra shaṇ-māsād arvāk jāgaraṇaṁ na iti niyamaḥ | tad-adhikā 'pi nidrā tu bhavaty eva iti vara-svarūpam bodhyam | ataḥ eva shaṇ-māsā 'svapiti iti pūrvaṁ Vibhīshaṇoktyā varshāṇy anekāni iti Kumbhakarṇoktyā cha pūrvoktasya na virodhaḥ |* "In these words of Brahmā (v. 45) there is no condition that Kumbhakarṇa should wake after six months, but it is understood as the nature of the boon that he might sleep for even a longer time. Wherefore, although it was formerly said by Vibhīshaṇa that 'he sleeps six months,' and Kumbhakarṇa here speaks of sleeping many years, there is no discrepancy between the latter and the former."

been deluded (v. 47). Kuvera, on the demand of Rāvaṇa, and by his father's advice, gives up the city of Lankā to Rāvaṇa (sect. 11, v. 39 ff.).

The Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 36, vv. 44 ff., contains in its description of the monkey Hanumat's history the following testimony to his literary merits: 44. *Asau punar vyākaraṇaṁ grihīshyan sūryonmukhaḥ prashṭumanāḥ kapīndraḥ | udyad-girer asta-giriṁ jagāma grantham mahad dhārayan aprameyaḥ |* 45. *Sa-sūtra-vṛitty-artha-padam mahārthaṁ sasangrahaṁ sidhyati vai kapīndraḥ | na hy asya kaśchit sadṛiśo 'sti śāstre vaiśārade chhanda-gatau tathaiva | sarvāsu vidyāsu tapo-vidhāne praspardhate 'yaṁ hi guruṁ surāṇām |* 44. "Again the chief of monkeys (Hanumat), measureless, seeking to acquire grammar, looking up to the sun, bent on inquiry, went from the mountain where the sun rises to that where he sets, apprehending the mighty collection—(45) viz. the aphorisms (*sūtra*), the commentary (*vṛitti*), the vārttika (*artha-pada*), the Mahārtha, and the Sangraha [of Vyāḍi]. The chief of monkeys is perfect, no one equals him in the śāstras, in learning, and in ascertaining the sense of the Scripture, [or in moving at will]. In all sciences, in the rules of austerity, he rivals the preceptor of the gods."

The following is the commentary on the above passage: *Udyad-girer udaya-girer mahad granthaṁ dhārayan arthataḥ pāṭhataś cha gṛihṇan | dhārayan aprameyaḥ iti nuḍ-abhāva ārshaḥ | sūrya-sāmmukhyārthaṁ tāvad gamanam |* 45. *Ko 'sau granthas tatrāha "sa-sūtra" iti | sūtram ashṭādhyāyī-lakshaṇam | vṛittis tātkālika-sūtra-vṛittiḥ | artha-padaṁ sūtrārtha-bodhaka-padavad vārttikam mahārtham mahābhāshyam Patanjali-kṛitam | "sa-sangraham" Vyāḍi-kṛita-sangrahākhya-grantha-sahitam | "sidhyati vai" siddho bhavati śāstrāntareshv apīty arthaḥ | tad evāha | na hy asya śadṛisaḥ śāstre kaśchit "chhanda-gatau" pūrvottara-mīmāṁsā-mukhena vedārtha-nirṇaye "vaiśārade" vaidushye | viśishya navama-vyākaraṇa-kartā Hanūmān iti cha prasiddhir iti Katakaḥ |* "From the mountain where the sun rises, 'helping,' apprehending in sense and in text 'the great collection.' The absence of the reduplicated *n* in *dhārayan aprameyaḥ* is vedic (*ārska*). He went to face the sun. 45. In the words 'with the sūtras,' etc., he describes what the book was. The sūtras mean the eight books of Pāṇini (*ashṭādhyāyī*). The *vṛitti* is the contem-

poraneous gloss on the sūtras (*sūtra-vṛitti*). The *artha-pada* is the *vārttika*, containing sentences explaining the sense of the sūtras; the *Mahārtha* is the Mahābhāshya composed by Patanjali. 'With the *sangraha*' means with the book called Sangraha, composed by Vyāḍi. 'He is perfect' means he excels in other śāstras also, as the author goes on to say: 'for no one is like him in the śāstras, in ascertaining the sense,' in determining the meaning of the Veda by the mouth of the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmānsā. 'In skill,' *i.e.* in learning. When specifying, it is well known that Hanumat was the ninth author of Grammar; such is Kataka's explanation."

The other eight grammarians are mentioned by Colebrooke—Essays, ii., pp. 39, 48 (ed. 1837).

NOTE E.—*Page* 261, *note* [259], *line* 3 *from bottom.*

With this compare the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa xiv. 11, 28, where it is said: *Indro Yatīn sālāvṛikebhyaḥ prāyachhat | tam aślīlā vāg abhyavadat | so 'śuddho 'manyata | sa etat śuddhāśuddhīyam apaśyat | tena aśudhyat |* "Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals. An evil voice addressed him" [charging him with the murder of Brāhmans, according to the Commentator]. "He recognized himself as unclean. He beheld this 'Suddhāśuddhīya,' [a particular sāman text] and became purified." The story is repeated further on in the same Brāhmaṇa xviii. 1, 9, where it is said that instead of beholding the "Suddhāśuddhīya," Indra went to Prajāpati, who gave him the "Upahavya" (*Prajāpatim upādhāvat | tasmai etam upahavyam prāyachhat*). This story of Indra and the Yatis is alluded to in Ait. Br. vii. 28, which is quoted in the first volume of this work, pp. 437 f. It is also referred to in the Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 1, 4, and xiii. 8, 17. The latter passage is as follows: *Indro Yatīn sālāvṛikebhyaḥ prāyachhat | teshāṁ trayaḥ udaśishyanta Pṛithuraśmir Bṛihadgiriḥ Rāyovājaḥ | te 'bruvan "ko naḥ imān putrān bharishyati" iti | "aham" iti Indro 'bravīt | tān ajihnidhāya parichārya charaḥ vardhayaṁs tān vardhayitvā 'bravīt "kumārakāḥ varān vṛiṇīdhvam" iti | "kshatram mahyam" ity abravīt Pṛithuraśmiḥ | tasmai etena pārtharaśmena kshatram prāyachhat | kshatrakāmaḥ etena stuvīta | kshatrasya iva asya prakāśo bhavati | "Brahmavarchasam mahyam" ity abravīd Bṛihadgiriḥ | tasmai etena bārhadgireṇa brahmavarchasam prāyachhat | brahmavarchasa-kāmaḥ etena stuvīta | brahmavarchasī bhavati | "paśūn mahyam" ity abravīd*

Rāyovājaḥ | tasmai etena rāyovājīyena paśūn prāyachhat | paśukāmaḥ etena stuvīta | paśumān bhavati | 18. *Pārtharaśmaṁ rājanyāya brahmasāma kuryāt bārhadgiram brāhmaṇāya rāyovājīyaṁ vaiśyāya | svena eva enāṁs tad-rūpeṇa samardhayati stomaḥ |* "Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals. Three of them were left, Pṛithuraśmi, Bṛihadgiri, and Rāyovāja. They said, 'Who will cherish these persons, us, as sons?' 'I,' said Indra. Having placed them [on his car, according to the comm.], he went on tending and rearing them. When he had reared them, he said, 'Youths, choose boons.' Pṛithuraśmi said, 'May regal power be mine!' He accordingly gave him regal power by means of this 'pārtharaśma' sāman. Let the man who desires regal power offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains distinction like that of regal power. Bṛihadgiri said, 'May Brahmanic lustre be mine!' He gave him Brahmanic lustre by means of this 'bārhadgira' sāman. Let him who desires this characteristic offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains it. Rāyovāja said, 'Let me have cattle!' He gave him cattle by means of this 'rāyovājīya' sāman. Let him who desires cattle offer praise with this sāman; and he obtains them. 18. Let a 'pārtharaśma' be the 'brahma-sāman' performed for a Rājanya, a 'bārhadgira' that for a Brahman, and a 'rāyovājīya' for a Vaiśya. The 'stoma' thus brings prosperity to each of them after his own fashion." The Yatis are declared by the commentator on Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 1, 4, to be persons "who practised observances contrary to the Veda" (*veda-viruddha-niyamopetān*); on xiii. 4, 17, to be "the persons so called who were hostile to sacrifices" (*etat-sanjnakān yajna-virodhi-janān*); on xiv. 11, 28, to be "persons hostile to rites" (*karma-virodhi-janān*); and on xviii. 1, 9, to be "Brahmans who did not celebrate the jyotishṭoma and other sacrifices, but lived in another way" (*jyotishṭomādy akṛitvā prakārāntareṇa vartamānām brāhmaṇān*). The Yatis are also mentioned in the Taitt. Sanhitā ii. 4, 9, 2, in these words: *Yatīnām adyamānānāṁ śīrshāṇi parāpatan | te kharjūrāḥ abhavan |* "The heads of the Yatis who were being eaten fell off. They (the Yatis) became date-trees." In the same Sanhitā, vi. 2, 7, 5, they are again referred to thus: *Indro Yatīn sālāvṛikebhyaḥ prāyachhat | tān dakshiṇataḥ uttara-vedyāḥ ādan |* "Indra gave up the Yatis to the jackals: they devoured them on the south side of the northern altar." On the former of these texts the commentator remarks as follows: *Pāramahaṁsya-rūpaṁ cha-*

turthāśramam prāptānāṁ yeshāṁ Yatīnām mukhe Brahmātmaka-prati-pādako vedānta-śabdo nāsti tān Yatīn Indraḥ āraṇyebhyaḥ śvabhyaḥ prāyachhat | tathā Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇopanishadi Indrasya pratijñā samāmnāyate "Aruṇmukhān Yatīn sālāvṛikebhyaḥ prāyachham" iti | patitatvāt teshāṁ tathātvaṁ yuktaṁ | tathā cha smaryate "nitya-karma parityajya vedānta-śravaṇaṁ vina | vartamānas tu sannyāsī pataty eva na saṁśayaḥ" iti | teshāṁ cha sālāvṛikair bhakshaṇaṁ shashṭha-kāṇḍe samāmnāyate . . . . iti | vedānta-śravaṇa-vāñchhāṁ vinā nitya-karma-parityaktavatāṁ bhavatām api īdṛiśī gatir iti darśayituṁ vedi-samīpe bhakshaṇam eva | "Indra gave up to the wild dogs those Yatis in whose mouth (although they had attained the fourth stage of life [*āśrama*], that of Paramahaṁsas) the word of the Vedānta [or Upanishads] which sets forth that the soul is Brahma, was not found. Accordingly Indra's declaration that he 'gave up the Arunmukha Yatis to the jackals is recorded in the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa Upanishad" (iii. 1; see p. 161 of Prof. Cowell's translation in the Bibliotheca Indica). "In consequence of their fallen condition, it was fit that this should have been done: according to the text of the Smṛiti, 'A Sannyāsin who lives in the neglect of the fixed observances, and without hearing the Vedānta [or Upanishads], sinks without doubt into a fallen condition.' And the fact of the Yatis being eaten by jackals is recorded in the sixth book (of this Sanhitā, as quoted above). The circumstance of their being devoured near the altar is intended to show that the same fate awaits you gentlemen also, who live without desiring to hear the Upanishads, and in the neglect of the fixed ceremonies." From Prof. Cowell's note in the Kaushītaki Br. Up. transl., p. 161, it appears that Sāyaṇa, the commentator on the Ait. Br. vii. 28, regarded the Yatis there mentioned as being Asuras in the disguise of devotees, and the Arurmaghas referred to there as being Asuras in the form of Brahmans. Prof. Cowell adds in a second note that the commentator (in the Kaush. Br. Up.) "explains the Arunmukhas" (there mentioned), "as those in whose mouths the reading of the Vedas is not;" and observes that "they and the Arurmaghas of the Ait. Br. are equally obscure." See the remainder of the note, and Prof. Haug's note on the latter passage in his translation of the Ait. Br., p. 483 f. He thinks the Arurmaghas "were no doubt a kind of degraded Aryas, very likely a tribe of the ancient Iranians," etc.

NOTE F.—*Page* 310, *note* [19].

In regard to this note I have been favoured with a communication from Prof. Roth, who is of opinion that there are two substantives *śravos*, as there are two roots *śru*. There is not only, he considers, a root *śru*, "to hear," but a second *śru=sru*; and there are, he adds, a number of passages where the sense "renown," traditionally ascribed to *śravas*, however wide this idea is, and in however forced a manner it may be applied, does not suffice. The forthcoming fasciculus of his Lexicon will, Prof. Roth informs me, supply details on this subject.

Wilson, Westergaard, and Williams, in their Dictionaries, give a second *śru* as equivalent to *sru*, "to move," "to flow," etc. Prof. Aufrecht is of opinion that in addition to *śru*, "to hear," there is another root *śru*, with the meaning "to quake," "to shake," "to tremble." This root, he states, occurs only twice in the whole Vedic literature which we have before us. The passages in which it is found are R.V. i. 127, 3: *Vīḷu chid yasya samṛitau śruvad vaneva yat sthiram* | "Even the strong quakes at his attack, and even the firm shakes like trees;" and R.V. i. 39, 6: *Ā vo yāmāya pṛithivī chid aśrot* | "Even the earth trembled before your rush." From this root is derived *çrona*, "lame." Prof. Aufrecht does not think that in any Vedical passage the root *çru* has the meaning of *sravati*, "to flow." In his note on the former of these two passages, Sāyaṇa explains *śruvat* by *gachhet, śiryeta*, i.e. "will move," "will crumble."

NOTE G.—*Page* 412, *line* 19.

In her lamentation for Rāvaṇa (Rām., Bombay ed. vi. 113) his queen Mandodarī, among other attributes which she ascribes to him, speaks of him (v. 49) as *jetāraṁ lokapālānāṁ kshaptāraṁ S'ankarasya cha*, "conqueror of the guardians of the world, and caster down (or, contemner) of Śankara." Śankara could not therefore have been looked on by the writer of this as the Supreme Deity. From the story of Nandīśvara, quoted in the Appendix, above, p. 460 f., it will have been seen, however, that Rāvaṇa was really no match for Śankara.

NOTE H.—*Page* 418, *note* [196].

The following is a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit, as

given in the twenty-seventh and following sections of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa in the course of his expeditions goes to Indra-loka. Indra tells the gods to get ready for battle; but, being afraid, resorts to Vishṇu (sect. 27, 6), whom he glorifies as the Creator and the Being into whom all things are absorbed at the end of the world, and asks his advice (v. 13). Vishṇu reassures him; but says that he could not interfere without killing Rāvaṇa,—which he is unable to do on account of the boon conceded to the Rākshasa chief by Brahmā (v. 18); but he would slay him at the proper time (v. 20). Meanwhile he tells Indra to fight with Rāvaṇa (v. 21). A battle takes place between the gods and Rākshasas (v. 26 ff.). The eighth Vasu Sāvitra comes on the field (vv. 34 and 43), fights with Sumāli, one of the Rākshasas, and grandfather of Rāvaṇa, who had routed the gods, kills him, reducing to ashes his bones and all the rest of him (v. 50), and puts the Rākshasas to flight. They are, however, rallied by Indrajit (sect. 28, 1 ff.), and the gods repulsed. Indra's son, Jayanta, enters the fray (vv. 6 ff.). The gods are furiously assailed by Indrajit. Both sides, in the confusion, smite their own warriors (vv. 17 f.). Jayanta is carried off by his grandfather, his mother Sachī's father, Puloman, the Daitya, who enters with him into the sea (vv. 19 f.). The gods, thinking that Jayanta had been killed, take to flight (v. 21), and are pursued by Indrajit. Indra himself now comes upon the scene (v. 23), and is opposed by Rāvaṇa (vv. 29 ff.), whom he eventually captures (sect. 29, v. 18 f.). Meghanāda (son of Rāvaṇa), afterwards called Indrajit, becoming invisible by his magical power, which he had obtained from Mahādeva, binds Indra and carries him off (v. 27). The gods, headed by Brahmā, follow them to Laṅkā (sect. 30). Brahmā praises Meghanāda's valour, and declares that he shall be called Indrajit ("the conqueror of Indra," v. 5). Brahmā then asks that Indra shall be released (v. 7). Indrajit, as a condition, requires the boon of immortality (v. 8). This Brahmā refuses (v. 9).[73] Indrajit then says, v. 11: *Śrūyatāṁ vā bhavet siddhiḥ Śatakratu-vimokshaṇe* | 12. *Mameshṭaṁ nityaśo havyair mantraiḥ sampūjya Pāvakam* | *saṅgrāmam avatartuṁ cha śatrunirjaya-kāṅkshiṇaḥ* | 13. *Aśva-yukto ratho mahyam uttishṭhet tu Vibhāvasoḥ* | *tat-sthasyāmaratā syād me esha me niśchito varaḥ* | 14. *Tasmin yady asamāpte cha japyahome Vibhāvasau* | *yudhyeyaṁ deva-saṅgrāme*

[73] See similar cases above, pp. 223 and 482.

tadā me syād vināśanam | 15. *Sarvo hi tapasā deva vṛiṇoty amaratām pumān* | *vikrameṇa mayā tv etad amaratvam pravartitam* | 16. *Evam astv iti taṁ chāha vākyaṁ devaḥ Prajāpatiḥ* | *mukto 'si chendrajitā S'akro gatāś cha tridivaṁ surāḥ* | 11. "Listen: or let me attain perfection by releasing Śatakratu (Indra). 12. My wish is,—desirous as I am of conquering my enemies,—to enter into battle after constantly worshipping Agni with texts and oblations: (13) and the boon I have fixed to ask for is that (whenever I shall do so) a chariot with horses may rise up for me out of the Fire, and that while I stand in it I may remain immortal: (14) and if I fight in it against the gods before I have finished my prayers and oblations to Agni, let me perish. 15. For, O god, every man desires by austerities to attain immortality. And by my valour I have sought for this immortality. 16. 'So be it,' said Brahmā. Then Indra was released by Indrajit, and the gods went to heaven." Brahmā then tells Indra (vv. 17–48), who was standing humiliated and thoughtful, that he had incurred this misfortune because he had corrupted Ahalyā (v. 46), the first woman, whom Brahmā had made and had given to the sage Gautama (v. 27), as a reward for his austere virtue. For this he had been cursed by the sage (vv. 31 ff.). Ahalyā, too, was reprehended by the sage, expelled from his hermitage, and condemned to lose her prerogative of being the only beautiful woman in the world (vv. 36 ff.). She excuses herself by saying that Indra had assumed the form of her husband, and thus deceived her, and that she had not yielded to illicit passion (vv. 40 f.). She is then assured that she would be restored to purity by the vision of Vishṇu incarnate in Rāma, and received again by her husband (vv. 41 ff.); and Indra himself was enjoined to offer a Vaishṇava sacrifice by which he would be purified (v. 47 f.).[74] (Compare the forty-eighth and forty-

[74] The commentator remarks on verse 49, where the performance of this sacrifice is mentioned: *Devānāṁ na yajneshv adhikāraḥ iti Jaiminy-uktaṁ tu pramādād iti nirūpitam prāk* | "The saying of Jaimini that the gods have not the prerogative of sacrificing has been before determined to be founded on an inadvertence." The end of the remarks on Rāmāyaṇa i. 29, 7, quoted above, p. 131, note 151, may be here referred to by the commentator. Besides the text cited in p. 262, note, mention is elsewhere found of sacrifice being offered by Indra. See the story of Nahusha adduced in the first volume of this work, pp. 307 ff., where such a sacrifice is referred to (p. 310). The lines of the Udyoga-parvan (414 f.) in which this is mentioned are as follows: *Mām eva yajatāṁ S'akraḥ pāvayishyāmi vajriṇam* | *punyena hayamedhena mām ishṭvā Pākaśāsanaḥ* | *punar eshyati devānām indratvam akutobhayaḥ* | Vishṇu

ninth sections of the first book of the Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay ed., the note in p. 49, above; and a similar purification of Indra for another sin, above, p. 262, note, and the beginning of Note E., p. 491.) I quote the verses in which Brahmā here describes the creation of the first woman Ahalyā:

Sect. 30, 19 ff.—*Amarendra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ sṛishṭās tathā prabho | eka-varṇāḥ samābhāshāḥ eka-rūpāś cha sarvaśaḥ | 20. Tāsāṁ nāsti viśesho hi darśane lakshaṇe 'pi vā | tato 'haṁ ekāgra-manās tāḥ prajāḥ samachintayam | 21. So 'haṁ tāsāṁ viśeshārthaṁ striyam ekāṁ vinirmame | yad yat prajānām pratyangaṁ viśishṭaṁ tat tad uddhṛitam | 22. Tato mayā rūpa-guṇair Ahalyā strī vinirmitā | Halaṁ nāmeha vairūpyaṁ halyaṁ tat-prabhavam bhavet | 23. Yasyāḥ na vidyate halyaṁ tenāhalyeti viśruta | Ahalyety eva cha mayā tasyāḥ nāma prakīrtitam |* 19. "O chief of immortals (Indra), all creatures were by my understanding formed by me of one caste, of the same speech, and of one form in every respect. 20. There was no distinction of them in appearance or characteristic (sexual) mark. I then, with intent mind, reflected on these creatures. 21. In order to distinguish them, I formed one woman. Whatever there was most distinguished (excellent) in the several members of [different] creatures was taken [to compose her]. 22. A woman faultless (*ahalyā*) in form was then fashioned by me. *Hala* means ugliness, and *halya* that which springs from ugliness. 23. She who has nothing sprung from ugliness (*halya*) is known as 'Ahalyā.' And I have made her known by this name."

NOTE I.—*Page* 427, *line* 7 *from the foot.*

Professors Aufrecht and Müller have been good enough to furnish me with the text of this Durgā-stava, or Rātri-sūkta, which, in the Sanhitā MSS. of the R.V., follows a hymn addressed to Night (the 127th of the Tenth Maṇḍala=Aṣhṭaka viii. 7, 14). I will first give the text, with a translation, of the genuine hymn to Night (R.V. x. 127), and then quote the Pariśishṭa:

R.V. x. 127.—1. *Ratrī vi akhyad āyatī purutrā devī akshabhiḥ | viśvāḥ adhi śriyo 'dhita | 2. Ā uru aprāḥ amartyā nivato devī udvataḥ |*

speaks: "Let S'akra (Indra) worship me: I will purify the thunderer. Having sacrificed to me with a pure horse sacrifice, he shall again obtain the headship of the gods, and be delivered from fear."

jyotishā bādhate tamaḥ | 3. *Nir ū svasāram askṛita ushasam devī āyatī* | *apa id u hāsate tamaḥ* | 4. *Sā no adya yasyāḥ vayaṁ ni te yāmann avikshmahi* | *vṛikshe na vasatiṁ vayaḥ* | 5. *Ni grāmāso avikshata ni padvanto ni pakshiṇaḥ* | *ni śyenāsaś chid arthinaḥ* | 6. *Yavaya vṛikyaṁ vṛikaṁ yavaya stenam ūrmye* | *atha naḥ sutarā bhava* | 7. *Upa mā pepiśat tamaḥ kṛishṇaṁ vyaktam asthita* | *ushaḥ ṛiṇā iva yātaya* | 8. *Upa te gāḥ iva ā akaraṁ vṛiṇīshva duhitar divaḥ* | *rātri stomaṁ na jigyushe* | "The divine Night arriving, hath shone in many places with her eyes; she has assumed all her splendours. 2. The immortal goddess has widely filled the lower and the upper regions: by light she destroys the darkness. 3. Arriving, the goddess has driven away her sister the Twilight: the darkness departs. 4. Be to-day [favourable] to us who have gone to rest at thy coming, as birds to their nests in a tree. 5. Men, cattle, and even suppliant hawks, have gone to rest. 6. Drive away, O Night, the she-wolf and the wolf: drive away the thief; and carry us safely across [thyself]. 7. Darkness adorned [with stars], black, and yet illuminated, has approached me: do thou, Ushas, drive it away like one who is bound [to do so]. 8. I have brought for thee a hymn, as it were an offering of cows, like [an encomium] for a conqueror. Receive it, O Night, daughter of the Day."

1. (=Nir. iv. 29; A.V. 19, 47, 1; and Vāj. S. 34, 32)—*Ā rātri pārthivaṁ rajaḥ pitur aprāyi dhāmabhiḥ* | *divaḥ sadāṁsi bṛihatī vi tishṭhase āttveshaṁ vartate tamaḥ* | 2. (A.V. 19, 47, 3) *Ye te rātri nṛichakshaso yuktāso*[75] *navatir nava* | *aśītiḥ santv ashṭā uto te sapta saptatiḥ* | 3. *Rātrim prapadye jananīṁ sarva-bhūta-niveśanīm*[76] | *bhadrām bhagavatīṁ kṛishṇāṁ viśvasya jagato niśām* | 4. *Saṁveśanīṁ saṁyamanīṁ graha-nakshatra-mālinīm* | *prapanno 'haṁ śivāṁ rātrīm bhadre pāram aśīmahi bhadre pāram aśīmahi oṁ namaḥ* | 5. *Stoshyāmi prayato devīṁ śaraṇyām bahvṛicha-priyām* | *sahasra-saṁmitāṁ Durgāṁ Jātavedase sunavāma somam*[77] | 6. *Śānty-arthaṁ dvijātīnām ṛishibhiḥ samapāśritāḥ* (*samupāśritā?*) | *ṛig-vede tvaṁ samutpannā 'rātīyato nidahāti vedaḥ* | 7. *Ye tvāṁ devi prapadyante brāhmaṇāḥ havya-vāhanīm* |

[75] For *yuktāsaḥ*, the A.V. reads *drashṭāraḥ*, "seers."

[76] This, Professor Aufrecht remarks, is imitated from R.V. i. 35, 1: *Rātrīṁ jagato niveśanīm.*

[77] The final pādas of this and the three following verses are, as Prof. Aufrecht observes, borrowed from R.V. i. 99.

avidyāḥ bahuvidyāḥ vā sa naḥ parshad ati durgāṇi viśvā | 8. *Agni-varṇāṁ śubhāṁ saumyāṁ kīrtayishyanti ye dṛijāḥ* | *tān tārayati durgāṇi nāveva sindhuṁ duritā 'ty Agniḥ* | 9. *Dṛ́rgeshu vishame ghore sangrāme ripu-sankaṭe* | *agni-chora-nipāteshu ,dushṭa-graha-nivāraṇe* | 10. *Durgeshu vishameshu tvāṁ saṅgrāmeshu vareshu cha* | *mohayitvā prapadyante teshām me abhayaṁ kuru teshāṁ me ábhayaṁ kuru oṁ namaḥ* | 11. *Keśi-nīṁ sarva-bhūtānām pañchamīti cha nāma ch*a | *sā mām samāḥ niśāḥ devī sarvataḥ parirakshatv sarvataḥ parirakshatu oṁ namaḥ* | [v. 12 is the same as the verse quoted by Weber in the text, beginning *tām agni-varṇām*, etc.] | 13. *Durgā durgeshu sthāneshu śaṁ no devīr abhiṣh-ṭaye* | *yaḥ imaṁ Durga-stavam puṇyam rātrau rātrau sadā paṭhet* | *rātriḥ kuśikaḥ saubharo rātrī-stavo gāyatrī* | *rātri-sūktaṁ japed nityaṁ tat-kālam upapadyate* |

I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for assistance in correcting the corrupt text and in explaining parts of this composition.

1. "O Night, the terrestrial atmosphere was filled with thy father's might. Thou, the mighty one, pervadest the celestial mansions, and awful darkness returns. 2. Night, may the man-beholders which are united with thee[78] be 99, 88, or 77. 3. I attain to Night, the mother, who brings rest to all creatures, kind, divine, dark, the night of the whole world. 4. I have attained the auspicious Night, who causes men to rest, who composes [them], who is invested with a garland of planets and stars. May we reach the other side in safety! may we reach the other side in safety! 5. Intent, I will praise the divine Durgā, who affords a refuge, who is beloved by the Bahvṛichas (priests of the Rig-veda ceremonial), who is equal to a thousand. Let us pour forth soma to Jātavedas (Fire). 6. For the tranquillization of the twice-born, thou art resorted to by rishis, and hast thy origin in the Rig-veda. May [Agni] burn up the wealth of him who seeks to hurt us! 7. The Brahmans, learned or ignorant, who resort, O goddess, to thee, the carrier of oblations,—may he transport us over all difficulties. 8. Agni transports over all evils [though] hard to be traversed,—as in a boat across the ocean,—those twice-born men who shall celebrate the fire-coloured, auspicious, beautiful goddess. 9. In difficulties, in dire perplexity, in battle, in trouble from enemies, in

[78] Or, according to the reading of the A. V., "May thy man-beholders, lookers be," etc.

visitations of fire, and thieves, for the prevention of inauspicious planets, (10) in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and forests, men, bewildered, resort to thee. Give us security from these things, give us security from these things! 11. [I praise] her the long-haired, and whose name among all creatures is Panchamī. May this goddess every night preserve me in every way. (12. The same as the verse already quoted in the text, p. 427, line 26.) 13. May the divine Durgā be propitious for our good in difficulties. He who always every night reads this holy Durgā-stava,—(the night, Kuśika, Saubhara, the rātri-stava, gāyatri),—he who continually mutters the rātri-sūkta, arrives at that time."

It will be seen that the sense of some parts of this production is not very clear, but to ascertain it is of little consequence.

NOTE J.—*Page* 429, *lines* 13 *f.*

These same tongues of fire are also mentioned in a hymn to Agnī, in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sect. 99, vv. 52 ff.: *Yā jihvā bhavataḥ Kālī kāla-nishṭhā-karī prabho | bhayān naḥ pāhi pāpebhyaḥ aihikāchcha mahā-bhayāt | 53. Karālī nāma yā jihvā mahā-pralaya-kāraṇam | tayā na pāhi ityādi | 54. Manojavā cha yā jihvā laghimā guṇa-lakshaṇā | tayā ityādi | 55. Karoti kāmam bhūtebhyo yā te jihvā Sulohitā | tayā ityādi | 56. Sudhūmra-varṇā yā jihvā prāṇināṁ roga-dāyikā | tayā ityādi | 57. Sphulinginī cha yā jihvā yataḥ [yā te?] sakala-pudgalā | tayā ityādi | 58. Yā te Viśvā sadā jihvā prāṇināṁ śarma-dāyinī | tayā ityādi |* 52. "By thy tongue Kālī, the final destroyer [of the world], preserve us from sins and from great present alarm. 53. By thy tongue Karālī, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve us, etc. 54. By thy tongue Manojavā, which is distinguished by the quality of lightness, preserve us, etc. 55. By thy tongue Sulohitā, which accomplishes the desires of creatures, preserve us, etc. 56. By thy tongue Sudhūmravarṇa, which inflicts diseases on living beings, preserve us, etc. 57. By thy tongue Sphulinginī, the loveliest of all, preserve us, etc. 58. By thy tongue Viśvā, which always bestows blessings on living beings, preserve us, etc."

In the course of this hymn to Agni he is said (v. 41) to have been formed eightfold: *Tvām ashṭadhā kalpayitvā yajnam ādyam akalpayan |*

"Having formed thee in eight ways, they performed the earliest sacrifice." This seems to refer to the legend from the Brāhmaṇas given in pp. 339–347. Again, we are reminded of some characteristics which are ascribed to Rudra in the Śatarudriya vv. 2 and 11 (above, pp. 322 f.) by the expressions which are applied to Agni in the seventieth verse of this hymn: *Yat te Vahne śivaṃ rūpaṃ ye cha te sapta hetayaḥ | taiḥ pāhi naḥ stuto deva pitā putram ivātmajam* | "When thou art lauded, Agni, preserve us by thine auspicious form, and by thy seven shafts, as a father preserves his own son."

In v. 63 Agni is said to have "stretched out the whole universe, and, though one, to exist in manifold shapes" (*tvayā tataṃ viśvam idaṃ charācharam Hutāśanaiko bahudhā tvam atra*).

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

i. *Page* 6, *note* 13.

See further R.V. ii. 33, 1; and Dr. Bollensen's remarks on the word *sandṛiś* in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxii., p. 588.

ii. *Page* 9, *line* 11.

See Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, viii. 2, 1 f.

iii. *Page* 19, *line* 3 *from the top and line* 11 *from the foot.*

I learn by a communication, dated some months ago, from Professor Aufrecht, that *anvāśaye* is not a substantive, as I had understood it, but the third person singular present, from the root *śī*+*anu*+*ā*. He would translate the whole verse thus: "With which body has Skambha entered the past, and which body of his rests over the future? When he divided his one body into a thousand bodies, with which of them did he enter there?" And he thinks that the second half of verse 8 has exactly the same sense. *Śaye* is, he adds, a very common Vedic form for *śete*. See also the fasciculus of Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon (recently received), *s.v. śī*, where also *śaye* is stated to be the 3rd pers. sing.; and the scholiast on Pāṇini vii. 1, 41, is referred to in proof. In the same work the root *śī*+*aṇu*+*ā* is explained as, in this passage, signifying "to stretch over."

iv. *Page* 28, *line* 8.

I find from Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v. śatalēhu*, that the words here referred to occur in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka x. 1, 8. I quote in full the verse in which they occur, as well as that which precedes it: *Aśvakrānte rathakrānte Vishṇukrānte vasundharā | śirasā dharāyishyāmi rakshasva mām pade pade | bhūmir dhenur dharaṇī lokadhāraṇī | uddhṛitā 'si varāhena kṛishṇena śatabāhunā |*

v. *Page* 28, *line* 14.

See Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, xx. 14, 2 ff.; the commencement of which corresponds with the text from the Paṅchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, quoted in the fifth volume of this work, p. 392.

vi. *Page* 29, *line* 9.

See Tāṇḍya Br. iv. 1, 4.

vii. *Page* 39, *line* 17.

For "vi. 2, 42," read "vi. 2, 4, 2."

viii. *Page* 39, *line* 23.

Ahaṁ durgād āhartā. Compare R.V. i. 61, 7, and viii. 66, 10, in pp. 67 and 91, and the quotation from Sāyaṇa's commentary given in p. 92 f., above.

ix. *Page* 44, *line* 22.

For "5, 32," read "5, 34."

x. *Page* 45, *line* 5.

See Tāṇḍya Br. viii. 2, 10.

xi. *Page* 56, *line* 11.

Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 4, 2; where it is told that the gods failed to gain heaven by either the Gāyatrī, the Triṣhṭubh, the Jagatī, or the Anushṭubh metres, but gained it by the Bṛihatī.

xii. *Page* 58, *last line of the text.*

Compare Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 5, 11; 6, 5; xii. 5, 23; 9, 21; 13, 27 f.

xiii. *Page* 61, *line* 5.

See the discussion among the gods about a formula in Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 8, 1 f.

xiv. *Page* 67, *line* 18.

On the word *mātṛi*, "measurer," Böhtlingk and Roth have the following explanation: "Sāyaṇa brings under this head the verse 1, 61, 7, making the word equivalent to 'the world-creating (-sustaining) sacrifice.' Benfey translates 'carpenter.' But Vṛitra's mother may be here spoken of."

xv. *Page* 78, *line* 11 *from the foot.*

See also Tāṇḍya Br., xx. 15, 6, ff.

xvi. *Page* 80, *line* 5 *from the foot.*

Vishṇu is also mentioned in R.V. v. 49, 3: *Indro Vishṇur Varuṇo Mitro Agnir ahāni bhadrā janayanta dasmāḥ |*

xvii. *Page* 81, *line* 27.

In R.V. viii. 12, 8, Indra is said to have eaten a thousand buffaloes and to have in consequence gained in vigour (*yadi pravṛiddha satpate sahasram mahishān aghaḥ | ād it te indriyam mahi pra vavṛidhe*).

xviii. *Page* 85, *line* 13.

"The Aśvins," etc. Read "Ye, Aśvins, have come by a path which yields enjoyment."

xix. *Page* 88, *lines* 16, 22 and 28.

For "*yan na*" read "*yan naḥ:* and in line 22, for "tellest not" read "tellest to us."

The passage of the Taitt. San. referred to in p. 88, line 28, viz. ii. 5, 5, 2 (p. 585 of Bibl. Ind., vol. ii.), gives the following explanation of the words Vishṇave Śipivishṭāya: *Yajno vai Vishṇuḥ | paśavaḥ śipiḥ | yajnaḥ eva paśushu pratishṭhati |* "'Vishṇu' means sacrifice, and 'Śipi' means victims; for sacrifice depends upon victims." See also the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa ix. 7, 9 ff. R.V. vii. 100, 6, is translated by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 59. I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht for the following remarks on "Śipiviṣhṭa:" "This attribute of Vishṇu occurs only in R.V. vii. 99, 6 (a verse which ought to have stood only at the end of hymn 100, as hymn 99 is devoted to the celebration of Indra and Vishṇu), and in the only important verses vii. 100, 5 and 6. The A.V. does not know the word, and in the other Saṇhitās and Brāhmaṇas it has been, as in other cases, adopted from the R.V. It is perfectly clear that something opprobrious was expressed by the epithet, for vii. 100, 6, means: 'Why should any one, O Vishṇu, have found a subject for reproof when thou didst say, "I am Śipiviṣhṭa"? Do not conceal even that shape of thine from us, as thou wearest another form in public.' Now Aupamanyava says clearly that 'Śivipiśhṭa' is 'kutsitārthīya' (has a bad,

or contemptuous, sense).[79] The commentator on the Taittirīya Sanhitā ii. 2, 12, 5 (vol. ii., p. 390) says that it is used for *atyanta-rogin*.[80]

[79] The complete words of Aupamanyava are as follows: *S'ipivishṭo Vishṇur iti Vishṇor dve nāmanī bhavataḥ | kutsitārthīyam pūrvam ity Aupumanyavaḥ* | "Aupamanya says that there are two names of Vishṇu, S'ipivishṭa and Vishṇu: of which the former has a bad sense."

[80] I quote the commentator's remarks on the verse (vii. 100, 6, of the R.V.) at length: *He "Vishṇo" tvaṁ "yad" yasmāt kāraṇat "S'ipivishṭo asmi" iti prakarsheṇa "vavakshe" punaḥ punar vakshi tasmāt "te" tava manasi "kim it parichakshyam bhūt" kim idaṁ garhaṇīyam abhū | na etad garhaṇīyaṁ vṛithā eva tava lajjā ity abhiprāyaḥ | yadyapy etan nāma loke atyantarogiṇy | udghāṭita-guhyatva-vimūḍhaiḥ prayujyate "S'ipivishṭo 'yam" iti tathāpy avayavārthasya brāhmaṇeha vyākhyātatvād nāsty atra tava lajjā-kāraṇam | tasmād "etad varpo" varishṭhaṁ nāma "asmad mā apagūhaḥ" asmākam agre gūḍham mā kuru | "yad" yasmāt tvaṁ gūhanāya eva samithe yuddhe kavacha-śīrshaṇyābhyāṁ gūḍho "anyarūpo ḥabhūtha" babhūvitha | tad anyathā yathātathā vā bhavatu tathāpy asmad-vṛiddhau* (quere *buddhau ?*) *praśastam idam mā gopāya ity arthaḥ* | "O Vishṇu, since thou repeatedly sayest I am S'ipivishṭa, how, then, is this, in thy mind, matter of reproach? It is not matter of reproach; thou art needlessly ashamed: such is the purport. Although this word is in common language applied to diseased persons, to those whose nakedness is uncovered, and to fools, by those who say 'so and so is S'ipivishṭa,' yet as the sense of its component parts is expounded in this Brāhmaṇa (ii. 5, 5, 2, see above), thou hast no occasion for shame. Do not therefore conceal from us thy most excellent name (so the commentator understands *varpas*). Inasmuch as in the battle thou hast for the sake of concealment been covered by a coat of mail and a helmet,—whether the fact be so or otherwise, do not conceal that which in our estimation deserves praise."

The word "S'ipivishṭa" also occurs in the S'atarudriya (Vājas. Sanhitā 16, 29); and is thus commented on by Mahīdhara on the verse: *S'ipivishṭāya Vishṇurūpāya | "Vishṇuḥ S'ipivishṭaḥ" iti śruteḥ | yadvā śipishu paśushu vishṭaḥ pravishṭaḥ | "paśavo vai śipir" iti śruteḥ | sarva-prāṇishv antaryāmitayā sthitāḥ ity arthaḥ | yadvā "yajno vai śipiḥ" | yajne 'dhidevatātvena pravishṭaḥ | śipir ādityo vā maṇḍalādhishṭhātā ity arthaḥ | tasmai namaḥ | "śipayo 'tra raśmayaḥ uchyante tair āvishṭo bhavati" iti Yāskokteḥ* (Nirukta, 5, 8). "To S'ipivishṭa, *i.e.* to him who is in the form of Vishṇu: for the Veda says S'ipivishṭa is Vishṇu. Or, according to the Vedic text, that 'śipi' means cattle, S'ipivishṭa will mean, he who enters into cattle, *i.e.* who is present in all creatures, pervading them. Or 'S'ipi' means sacrifice; and so S'ipivishṭa may signify him who has entered into sacrifice as its presiding deity. Or, 'śipi' is the sun who presides over the circle of the sky—to him be reverence; according to what Yāska says (Nirukta 5, 8) 'S'ipi' means rays; by them he is pervaded."

Professor Weber has the following notice of 'S'ipivishṭa' in his Indische Studien ii. 37 f., note. This is one of those words which already gave trouble to Yāska (Nirukta 5, 9). Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra has the following: *Nirveshṭita-śeshāya (śepāya ?) | sarvadā devadāru-vana-pradeśādau vā yathā ādityātmane | yathā Skanda-purāṇe S'aityāchhamatayogād (?) vā śipi vāri prachakshate | tatpānād rakshaṇād vā 'pi śipayo raśmayo matāḥ | teshu pravishṭaḥ savitā S'ipivishṭa ihochyate | yadvā paśavaḥ śipayaḥ "yajno vai Vishṇuḥ paśavaḥ śipir" iti śruteḥ sarva-prāṇādy-antaryāmitvena pravishṭaḥ ity arthaḥ* | [Prof. W. then quotes the passage of the Mahābhārata, 13229]. "'S'ipi' is akin to 'śepa,' 'śipra,' Kiefer, hip, Hüfte, cippus."

This piece of information is taken from the Amarakosha, where it is said, *S'ipivishṭas tu khalatau duścharmaṇi maheśvare.* Halāyudha and Hemachandra have the same. Amara must have taken the two first meanings ('bald-headed' and 'leprous?') from actual use; and there is no reason to doubt that even in the Vedic passages 'S'ipivishṭa' means either bald-headed, or one who has a skin disease. So long as the sense of 'śipi' is undetermined, it will be difficult to choose between the two. The word 'śipi' is not found used separately. For what the Taittirīya Sanhitā ii. 5, 5, 2 (quoted above) says, *yajño vaï Vishṇuḥ | paśavaḥ śipiḥ* (Tāṇḍya Br. xviii. 6, 26[81]), and all that the modern Hindu commentators say, about 'śipi,' is worthless. A glimmer of light is cast upon 'śipi' by 'śipitam,' 'defective,' in the Śatap. Br. xi. 1, 4, 4."[82]

xx. *Page* 91, *note* [67].

See also R.V. viii. 22, 1.

xxi. *Page* 95, *line* 1.

For "ix. 166," read "ix. 100."

xxii. *Page* 95, *line* 10.

Another verse in which Vishṇu is mentioned is one in the funeral hymn, R.V. x. 15, 3: *Ā ahan pitṛīm suvidatrān avitsi napātaṁ cha vikrámaṇaṁ cha Vishṇoḥ |* "I have found the beneficent Fathers, and the path and the stride of Vishṇu." *Napāt* is explained by Mahīdhara in Vāj. S. 19, 56, thus: *Nāsti pāto yatra sa napāto deva-yāna-patho yatra gatānām pāto nāsti.* "Napāta means that on which there is no

[81] This passage is as follows: *Eshā vai Prajāpateḥ paśushṭhā tanūr yat S'ipivishṭaḥ | prāṇo bṛihat | prāṇaḥ eva paśushu pratitishṭhati |* "This S'ipivishṭa is that body of Prajāpati which abides in victims (or beasts), The Bṛihat is breath: and it is breath which abides in victims." On which the commentator remarks: "*Yajño Vishṇuḥ | pasavaḥ śipir" iti śruty-antarāt | Vishṇoḥ Prajāpatitvāt S'ipivishṭaḥ iti |* "For another Vedic text says that Vishṇu is sacrifice, and śipi denotes victims. Since Vishṇu has the character of Prajāpati, he is S'ipivishṭa," etc.

[82] The Commentator's note on this passage is as follows: *Akāle nirlptaṁ haviḥ śipitam | tad-āśrito dosha-viśeshaḥ | tad-yuktam iva yajñasya śarīram bhavati |* Prof. Aufrecht proposes to correct this as follows: *Akāle——śipitam | śipitaṁ tanv-āśrito dosha-viśeshaḥ,* etc. According to this corrected reading the sense will be: "An oblation offered at a wrong time is 'śipita.' Now 'śipita' means a particular defect residing in the body. With it the body of the sacrifice becomes affected, as it were."

fall, the path leading to the gods, on which those who go along it do not fall." Sāyaṇa on R.V. x. 15, 3 makes the word=*vināśābhāva*, "the absence of destruction."

xxiii. *Page* 114, *line* 14.

For "verse" read "sense."

xxiv. *Page* 119, *note* [118].

As regards the question whether or not ether (*ākāśa*) is eternal, see the first volume of this work, pp. 130 and 506, and the third vol., pp. 70, 106, and 164.

xxv. *Page* 127, *line* 4 *from the foot.*

For "*praviṇakti*" read "*pravṛiṇakti.*"

xxvi. *Page* 128, *line* 5.

The Commentator on the Taitt. Ār. (Bibl. Ind.), p. 372, explains *utkara* thus: *Veder uttara-bhāge pāṁśu-tṛiṇādayo yatra prakshipyante so 'yam utkaraḥ* | "'The utkara' is the place on the north side of the Vedi (altar) where dust, grass, etc., is thrown."

xxvii. *Page* 129, *line* 13.

This passage is identical with Tāṇḍya Br. vii. 5, 6, vol. i., p. 433.

xxviii. *Page* 262, *line* 6 *from the foot.*

The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa xii. 6, 8, also relates that Indra, after thus treacherously slaying Namuchi, was followed by the head or something else which cried, "Slayer of a hero, thou hast injured me, thou hast injured me." This he could not destroy, either by ṛich, or sāman, but by a Hārivarṇa" (*tad enam pāpīyaṁ vāchaṁ vadad anvavartata "vīra-hann adruho 'druhaḥ" iti* | *tad na ṛichā na sāmnā apahantum aśaknot* | *tad hārivarṇasya eva nidhanena apāhata*)

xxix. *Page* 297, *line* 18.

To the word "Jarāsandha" at the beginning of the line, prefix "582."

xxx. *Page* 300, *line* 6.

For "x. 70," read "v. 70."

xxxi. *Page* 302, *line* 15.

Prof. Whitney has since given up this interpretation. See p. 399.

xxxii. *Page* 303, *line* 7.

For "ii. 2, 29," read "xi. 2, 29."

xxxiii. *Page* 303, *line* 22.

For "commentorial," read "commentatorial."

xxxiv. *Page* 306, *line* 26.

See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's ed., vol. ii., pp. 77 f.

xxxv. *Page* 319, *line* 2.

For "x. 26," read "xii. 26."

xxxvi. *Page* 400, *line* 11.

For "ii. 23," read "ii. 33."

xxxvii. *Page* 421, *line* 24.

For "x. 99," read "x. 90."

xxxviii. *Page* 471, *line* 12.

For "Devavatī," read "Vedavatī."

xxxix. *Page* 491, *line* 27.

For "xiii. 8, 17," read "xiii 4, 17."

INDEX.

A.

Abhyagni, 320
Achhāvaka priest, 84
Aditi, 11 ff., 80, 84, 114 f., 133 f., 136, 229, 306, 365 etc.
Adhvaryu priest, 66, 160
Adhvaryu Brāhmaṇa, 14
Āditeya, 117
Āditya, 14, 26 f., 46, 65, etc.
——— is lord of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra, 475
Āditya-hṛidaya, a hymn, 474
Ādityas, 14 f., 54, 114 ff.
Æschylus, Prometheus Vinctus, 66
Agastya, 473, 480, 485
Agnāyī, 161
Agni, 9, 22 f., 26, 28 f., 45, 58, 61, 66, 70, 76, etc.
—— texts in praise of, 111
—— one of triad of gods, 66, 70, 160 ff.
—— breaks down castles, 312
—— his eight forms and names, 340 ff.
—— enamoured of Rishis' wives, 352 ff.
—— his tongues, 429, 497
Agnihotra, 57
Agni Purāṇa iv., 5—151
Ahalyā, 48, 496
Ahankāra, 42 f.
Āhavanīya fire, 359
Ahi, 82, 101
Āhvriti, 253
Aindra-vaishṇava oblation, 79
Aṁ, 46
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—
i. 1—129
— 30—129
ii. 8—289
iv. 22— 9
vi. 15— 84, 123
— 33—319
Aitaśa, 319
Aitāśa-pralāpa, 320
Aitihāsikas, 92
Aja, 378, 383 (see Brahmā)
Ākāśa (ether), 33, 119
Ākhaṇḍala (appellation of Indra), 190
Amaravatī, 246
Ambikā, 321, 422
——— is sister of Rudra, according to the Yajurvedas, 321. See Umā.
Ambitamā, 424
Aṁśa, or Aṁśu, 14, 115
Ānakadundubhi (name of Vasudeva), 273
Anaraṇya, 457 f.
Andhaka, 336, 472
Angas, 246
Angiras, 91
Angirases, 107, 116
Aniruddha, grandson of Kṛishṇa, 435
Anṛita-deva, 410
Antaka, 336, 472
Anukramaṇikā, 77
Anushṭubh, 162
Āpaḥ. See Waters
Aparṇā, 431. See Umā
Apsarases, obtained by Kshatriyas slain in battle, 277
Apsarases, 461
Araṇati, sense of the word, 317
Arbuda, 107
Ardhaka, 336
Arjuna, 161 and passim
Arjuna (Kārtavīrya), 177, 253
Arthavādas, 131
Arundhatī, 354
Arunmukha Yatis, 493
Arurmaghas, 493
Āryas, 76
Ārya Bhaṭṭa, 110
Aryaman, 14, 68, 78
Aśani, 342, 347
Asita Devala, 432
Asura (the Spirit), 109
Asuras, 26 f., 40, 54, 58 ff., etc.
Asuras, their castles, 203, 223 ff.
Āsuri, 123
Aśvatthāman, 186
Aśvamedha, or horse-sacrifice, 167 ff.
Aśvins, 46, 48, 68, 76, 128, etc.
Atharva-śiras, 166, 172
———quoted, 356
Atharva-veda, quoted or referred to—
2, 1, 3— 6
— 27, 6—332, 403
3, 16, 1—313
— 20, 4, 7— 96
4, 2, 1-8— 15 f., 18
— 21, 7—312
— 28, 1ff.—332
— 30, 5—318
5, 3, 3— 96
— 21, 11—333
— 25, 5— 96
— 26, 7— 65
6, 93, 1, 2—333, 403
— 141, 1—333
7, 26, 1-3— 68
— 26, 4-7— 63
— 42, 1, 2—313
— 44, 1— 83
— 50, 6—106
— 79, 4— 16
— 80, 3— 16
— 87, 1—333, 358, 403
8, 2, 7—333, 403
— 5, 10—333
— 8, 11—337
9, 2— 4
— 6, 29— 63
— 7, 7—334
— 10, 17— 76
10, 1, 23—334, 403
— 2, 7— 23
— 3, 9— 11
— 7, 25— 11
— 7, 7ff.— 18 f.
—8, 2, 11, 44— 19
— 8, 29—258
11, 2, 1-31—334 ff., 403
— 6, 2—115
— 6, 9—338, 403

Atharva-veda, *continued*—
12, 1, 8— 24
— 4, 17—338, 403
13 2, 26— 5
— 4, 4, 26 ff.—338, 403 f.
15, 5, 1-7—338
18, 1, 40—308
19, 10, 9— 84
— 53, 10— 27
20, 17, 5—106
— 87, 3—103
— 89, 9—106
— 99, 2—104
— 106, 26— 89
— 111, 1— 89
— 114, 1—104
— 126, 1—106
Atigrāhyas, 62
Atikāya, son of Rāvaṇa, 412
Aufrecht (Prof. Th.), his aid acknowledged, 7, 59, 78, 81, 84, 90 f., 102, 106, 117, 152, 232, 261, 302, 306, 310, 314, 409, 411, 494, 502, 504
——— his Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., 151, 188, 228, etc.
Aupamanyava, 88, 505
Aurṇavābha, 64 ff., 97, 156, 439
Avindhya, Minister of Rāvaṇa, 413

B.

Babhru, 212
Badari, 188, 232, etc.
Bāhīkas, 328, 339
Bahvṛich S'ruti, 144
Balarāma or Baladeva, 245, 249, 258, 260
Balarāma incarnation, 156
Bali, 133 ff., 155, 465
Banerjea's (Rev. K. M.) dialogues on Hindu philosophy, 49
Bangas, 246
Benfey's (Prof. Th.) Glossary to Sāma-veda, 11, 81 f., 102
—— translation of Sāma-veda, 63 f., 87, 89
——— of Rigveda, in Orient und Occident, 63 f., 68, 102, 229, 302, 315 f.
Bhadrā, 212
Bhadrakālī, 416
Bhaga, 14, 80, 115
——— his eyes knocked out by Rudra, 200, 268, 383
Bhagavadgītā, 169, 381
——— 3, 20 ff., and 4, 7 f., quoted, 53, 153
Bhāgavata Purāṇa quoted 1, 3, 7— 36
— 3, 1 ff., & 26 f.—156
— 3, 16— 27
2, 5, 34— 44
— 6, 21 ff.— 10
— 10, 10— 44
3, 12, 28 ff.— 47
— 20, 12 ff.— 43
— 26, 50 ff.— 43
— 30, 10—381
4, 1, 47 ff.—378
— Sects. 2-7—377 ff.
— 5, 20—202
— 25, 6—381
5, 19, 5—456
6, 6, 24, 36—121
— 6, 41—202
8, Sects. 15-23—137 ff.
— 23, 29— 72
— 24, 4 ff.— 39
10, 1, 21 ff.—254
— 33, 27 ff.—49 f., 182, 253
— 34, 8—249
— Sects. 43 ff.—215
— 64th and previous sections—178
— 74, 34—206
Bhagīratha, 365
Bharadvāja, 96, 486
Bharata, epithet of Agni, 28
Bharata, bróther of Rāma, 175, 445 f.
Bhava, 43, 328, 332
Bhavas, 331
Bhavānī, 405
Bhavitra, 81
Bhīmasena, 211
Bhīshma, 206
Bhīshmaka, 215
Bhogavatī, 253
Bhoja, 253
Bhṛigu, 177
——— reviles Rudra, 382
——— his beard plucked out by Rudra, 383
Bhṛigus, 140
Bhū, 14
Bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svar, 25
Bhūtādi, 42 f.
Bhuvana, 9, 369
Boar, or Varāha, 39, 67
Boar incarnation, 27, 33 f., 36 ff., 156, 390
Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, 13, and passim
Bollensen's (Dr.) articles in Jour. Germ. Or. Soc., and Benfey's Orient und Occident, 306 f.
Bombay edition of Rāmāyaṇa, 33, 131, & passim
Brahma, 7, 19 f., 29 f., and passim
Brahma (the Veda), 22
Brahmā, 10, 18, 31 f., and passim
—— born in an egg, 31 f.
—— sprung from the waters and ether, 33
——becomes a boar, 33, 39
—— takes the form of a fish, 38
—— called Nārāyaṇa, 31, 37, 39, 164
—— springs from a lotus issuing from Vishṇu's navel, 43, 230, 267, 477
—— his passion from his own daughter, 47 f.
—— the first god in the Trimūrti, 163, 280
—— grants boons to Rāvaṇa and Atikāya, etc., 167, 412, 458, 470
—— informs Rāma of his divinity, 181
—— created by Rudra, 188, 194
—— created by Krishṇa, or Vishṇu, 230, 267, 273
—— worships Linga and Rudra, 192 f.
—— acts as charioteer to Rudra, 222, 226
—— grants boon to Tāraka's sons, 223
—— praises Krishṇa in a hymn, 236
—— is son of Vāsudeva, 237
—— mediates between Vishṇu, or Krishṇa, and Rudra, 240, 279
—— promises to Rudra a share in sacrifices, 374
—— is present at sacrifices, 167, 374, 378
—— is father of Daksha, 378

Brahmā, his dispute with Vishṇu allayed by the Linga, 388
—— is a form of Rudra, 392
—— Rudra springs from his forehead, 392
—— identified with the soul of the Universe, 367 f.
—— curses Kumbhakarṇa, 462
—— his promise to the gods, 471
—— Āditya called his lord, 475
—— asks Vishṇu to become Preserver, 477
—— welcomes Rāma to heaven, 479
—— is mental father of Pulastya, 485
—— offers boons to Rāma, 485
—— creates the first woman, 496. (See Hiraṇyagarbha, Prajāpati, Viśvakarman).
Brahma-kalpa, 35
Brahman (priest), 66
Brahmaṇaspati, 12, 77, 162
Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, 182
Bṛihadāraṇyaka, 3, 22, 24, 29
Bṛihaddevatā, i., 13—163
Bṛihadgiri, 492
Bṛihaspati, 68, 96, 152, 154, 162
Bṛihat, 96, 162
Burnouf's Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 39, 147
Buddha, 212
—— incarnation, 156

C.

Chaitraratha forest, 230, 252
Chaṇḍakauśika rishi, 292
Charaka Brāhmaṇa, 92
Chāraṇa, 177
Chāryāka, Rākshasa, friend of Duryodhana, 294 ff.
Chāturmasya, 57
Chākshusha Manvantara, 120
Chedis, 205, 215, 246
Chhandas, 163
Chhāndogya Upanishad quoted, 12, 26, 183
Churning the ocean for Amṛita, 50, 365
Colebrooke's (Mr. H. T.), Essays, 66, 110, 245, etc.
Cowell's (Prof. E. B.), Maitrī Upanishad, 267
—— translation of the Kaushītaki Upanishad, 493

D.

Dadhīchi, 240, 374
Dadhikrā, 85
Daityas, 110
Daityasenā, 350
Daksha, 12 ff., 28, 115, 117 f.
—— his sacrifice disturbed, 200, 240, 372 ff.
—— reviles and curses Rudra, 379 f.
—— his daughters, 385
Dambhodbhava, 235
Dānavas, or Danujas, 39, 110, 167
Darśa, 57
Daśaratha, 167, 171 ff.
Dasyus, 248
Dattātreya incarnation, 156
Dawn, daughter of Prajāpati, 45
Death, personified, 55, 57 f.
Devakī, mother of Kṛishṇa, 181, 183, 257 ff.
Devarāta, 177, 372
Devasenā, 350
Devavatī, 487
Devayānī, 104
Devī. See Umā
Devībhāgavata quoted, 267
Devīmāhātmya quoted, 435 f.
Dhammapada, referred to, 201
Dhanvantari incarnation, 156
Dharma, 156, 239, 241, 378
Dhātṛi, 14, 96 f., 115, 204
Dhūrjati, 205
Diti, mother of Daityas, 257, 305, 365
Dravinodas, 95
Dundubhī, a Gandharvī, 484
Durgā, 426. See Umā
Durgāchārya, commentator on the Nirukta, 65, 74, 117, 161, 355, 409
Durgā-stava, 427, 498
Durgati, 428
Durvāsas, 199, 204, 245, 275, 477
Duryodhana, disbelieves Kṛishna's supernatural character, 216 ff, 220 ff.
—— desires to celebrate Rājasūya sacrifice, 283, 293
—— celebrates Vaishṇava sacrifice, 293 f.
Dūshaṇa, 472
Dushkanta, 457
Dvārakā, 214, etc.
Dwarf incarnation, 66, 107 f., 130 ff., 156
Dyaus, 46, etc.

E.

Earth, the goddess, 38, 46, 80, 161
—— her burthen lightened, 215, 255. Compare p. 161
Egg, mundane, 23 ff., 30, 41 ff.
Ekalavya, 249
Ekaparnā, 431
Ekapāṭalā, 431
Ekaviṁśa-stoma, 162
Emūsha, 28
Entity and Non-entity, 4
Euripides, his Helena and Orestes quoted, 255
Evayāmarut, 81

G.

Gada, 246
Gandhamādana, 240, 252
Gāndhāras, 245, 249
Gandharva, 6, 112, 165
Ganeśa, 278
Gangā, 270, 430
—— her descent, 365
Gangādvāra, 374
Garuḍa, 189, etc.
Garuḍī, 353
Gaurī, 359, 422. See Umā
Gautama, 49, 496
Gāyatrī, 123, 161
Genesis, Book of, 48
Gharma, 96, 126
Ghora Āngirasa, 183
Girivraja, 288
Gods, how they became immortal, 54

Gods, how they became superior to the Asuras, 58
—— how they became unequal, 61
—— by birth are alone objects of sacrifice, 131; "work-gods" may themselves offer sacrifice, 132, 496
Gokarna, 284
Goldstücker's (Prof. Th.) Pāṇini, or Mānavakalpa Sūtra, 5, 169
—— Sanskrit Dictionary, 62
Gopati, 253
Gopīs, 50 f.
Gorresio's Rāmāyaṇa, 34, and passim
—— opinion regarding Rāma's incarnation, 447, 481
—— opinion regarding Śiva's worship in Southern India, 411
—— remark by him, 415
Govinda, 38, 219
Graha (Rāhu), 190
Grahas, 62
Guha, 350. See Kārttikeya
Guṇas, 43

H.

Habakkuk, iii. 6—72
Hall (Dr. Fitzedward), his aid acknowledged, 374, 377, 407
—— his edition of Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, 3, and passim
Hansa, name of Kṛishṇa, 264
Hansa, name of Brahmā, 490
Hanumat, 456
—— his merits as a grammarian, 490
Hari, 39. See Visbṇu
Harivaṁśa quoted, or referred to—
line 35,—32
43,—393
171,—120
549,— 13
589,—120
940,—431
2725,—151
3236,—433
4159,—151
Harivaṁśa, *continued*—
4166,—151
6579,—215
6833,—250
7418,—383
9423,—435
10235,—435
10660,—278
11548,—120
12195,—151
12425,— 32
12456,—120
12900,—151
Sections 183 f.,—178
Haug's (Prof. M.) translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 9, 84, 290, 320, 493
—— dissertation by him referred to, 289
Hayagrīva, 39
Heaven (svar), 80
Heti, 486
Himālaya, 230, 269
Himavat, 385, 430
Hiraṇyagarbha, 15 ff, 31 ff, 188, 355, 388
Hiraṇyakaśipu, 190, 215.
Hiraṇyapura, 234.
Hotṛi priest, 66
Human sacrifices, whether practised in the Vedic age, 289
Hrī, 168
Hṛishīkeśa, 181, 208, etc.

I.

Ikshvāku, 445
Ilā, 161
Immortality, how acquired by the gods, 54 ff.
Incarnation of a portion of Vishṇu, 253
—— of white and black hairs of Vishṇu, 257 ff.
Indha, 22
Indische Studien (Prof. A. Weber's), referred to or quoted, 23, 28, 123, 200, 277, etc.
Indra, 15, 20, 22, 25 f., 40, 48, 61, 64, 66, 160, etc.
—— texts in which his greatness is celebrated, 99 ff.
—— celebrated conjointly with Vishṇu, 74, 78, 83, 86
—— with other gods, 108
Indra conquered by Indrajit, 495
—— corrupts Ahalyā, 49, 496
Indradyumna, 253
Indrajit, son of Rāvaṇa, and conqueror of Indra, 411, 417 ff, 450, 494
Indrāṇī, 405
Interpolated passages in Rāmāyaṇa, 479
Indu (soma), 77
Irāvatī, 253
Isaiah, xi. 6—190
—— xl. 22; xlv. 12, 18-86

J.

Jagatī, 123, 162
Jaigīshavya, 432
Jaimini, criticized by Commentator on Rāmayaṇa, 496
Jamadagni, 177, 322
Jāmbavat, 146
Jāmbavatī, wife of Kṛishṇa, 189
Jambha, 234, 245, 249
Jambudvīpa, 440
Janaka, father of Sītā, 175, 372, 464 f.
Janaloka, 38, 146, 388
Jarā, rākshasī, a household goddess, 291
Jarāsandha, 212, 245
—— destines human victims for Rudra, 288 ff.
—— slain by Bhīmasena, 291
—— his birth related, 291
Jārūthī, 253
Jāvāli, 171
Jayadratha, 184, 186, 286
—— worships Rudra, 286
Jayanta, an Āditya, 118
Jayanta, son of Indra, 495
Jayantī, daughter of Indra, 153 f.
Jayatīrtha, 300
Jīva, 44
Job xxvi. 7—101
Journal of American Oriental Society, referred to or quoted, 48, 398
Jvara (fever), 374
Jyeshtha sāman, 193
Jyotishṭoma, 62

K.

Ka (Prajāpati or Kaśyapa), 15, 138

Kaikasī, mother of Rāvaṇa, 487 f.
Kaikeyī, 173, 175, 445 f.
Kailāsa, 230, etc.
Kaiṭabha, a Dānava, 230, 433, 435
Kaivalya Upanishad, 362
Kālakanjās, 234
Kālanemi, an asura, 254
Kālī, 416, 425, 427, 429. See Umā.
Kalinga, 202, 249
Kalki incarnation, 156
Kamalāsana (Brahmā), 43
Kāmbojas, 243
Kaṇadhūma penance, 152f.
Kandarpa, 364
Kanyākumārī, 427
Kansa, 245, 255, 480
Kapardin, epithet of Rudra, 301, 394
—— epithet of Pūshan, 301
—— of the Ṛitsus, 301
Kapila incarnation, 156
Karālī, 425, 429. See Umā
Karṇa, 221 ff, 227 f.
Kārtavīrya, 253
Kārttikeya, his birth according to the Mahābhārata, 349
—— according to the Rāmāyaṇa, 364
Kārūsha, 214
Kaserumat, 253
Kaśyapa, 13, 27, 33 f, 118, 133, 136, 177, 322, 369
Kataka, commentator on the Rāmāyaṇa, on interpolations in that work, 480 f.
Kāṭhaka, 319, 396
Kātyāyana's śrauta sūtras, 126
Kātyāyanī, 360, 426
Kauśalyā, 171, 173, 175, 445
Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa, 343, 423
Kauśika 193
Kauśikī, 434
Kaustubha gem, 263
Kena Upanishad, quoted, 420
Keśin (the long-haired), 318
Keśin (his car), 336
Keśin (a Dānava), 350
Ketumatī, 487
Khaṇḍaparaśu, 240
Khāṇḍava, 128
Khāṇḍava forest, 161, 246
Khara, a rākshasa, brother of Rāvaṇa, 471, 482
Kimpurusha, 289
Kirāta, form of, taken by Rudra, 230
Kīrti, 163
Kośala Vidèhas, 328
Krātha, 253
Kṛiśānu, 75, 316
Krishna, his adulteries, 148ff.
—— his self-consciousness, 178
—— identified with Rāma, 181
—— son of Devakī, and pupil of Ghora, 183
—— renders homage to Mahādeva, 186 ff.
—— receives boons from Mahādeva and Umā, 195
—— is a great devotee, 251
—— performs a ceremony for a son, 259
—— recommends worship of Durgā, 205
—— his supernatural character disputed by Śiśupāla and Duryodhana, 205 ff, 281
—— explanation of his names, 218
—— identified with the ṛishi Nārāyaṇa, 185, 228
—— his supernatural power and various exploits, 245
——, produced from the black hair of Vishṇu, 257 ff.
—— identified with the Supreme Spirit, 50, 208, 240, 264 ff.
—— Brahmā and Rudra produced from him, 230, 267, 273
—— one with Rudra, 268, 280
—— his fight with Rudra, 279
—— goes to Dvāravatī from fear of Jarāsandha, 288
—— summary of views regarding him, 281 f.
Kṛita age, 196
Kṛittikās, 350
Kshayadvīra, sense of the word, 301 f, 399, 507
Kuenen's (Prof. A.) Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek referred to, 320
Kuhn's (Prof.) opinion referred to, 424
Kuhn and Schleicher's Breiträge, etc., 81
Kullūka on Manū, 3, 31.
Kumāra, 151
Kumāra (a boy), applied to Agni, 341
Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, 48
Kumbhakarṇa, brother of Rāvaṇa, 462, 482
Kūrma (tortoise) incarnation, 27, 156
Kūrma Purāṇa, 376, 472
Kurukshetra, 125, 128
Kuśa, son of Rāma, 478
Kutsa, 162
Kuvera, 180, 366, 482 f, 486

L.

Langlois's Harivaṁśa, 250
Lassen's (Prof. Christian) Indische Alterthumskunde, or, Indian Antiquities, referred to, 136, 169, 211, 243, 245, 283, etc.
Lakshmaṇa, brother of Rāma, 175, 445, etc.
—— wounded by Indrajit, 449 ff.
—— ascends to heaven, 478
Lakshmī, 182, 450 f, 460, 465
Lava, son of Rāma, 478
Linga Purāṇa quoted—
1, 3, 28 ff—42
1, 4, 59 ff—39
1, 17, 5–52—386
1, 19, 8 ff —391
2, 28 —426
Linga worship, 192, 405 ff.
Lingin (receptacle of the linga), 388
Lokampṛiṇa, 57
Lokāyatikas, 138
Madhu, a Dānava, 230, 435
Mādhuki, a muni, 123
Madhurā, a city, 478
Madhusūdana, 133
Maghavat (Indra), 105 f.
Mahābhārata, quoted or referred to—
i. Ādiparvan.
1215—219
2519—118
2592—11
2598—118
2785—50

Mahābhārata, *continued.*
7049—286
7306—259
8196—246
ii. Sabhā-parvan.
582—297
626—287
653—288
729—291
861—289
869—278
1211—205
1333—206
1410—212
iii. Vana-parvan.
166 ff.—117 f., 474
192—371
461—229
471—251
484—136
615—216
1513—184, 230
6054—284
8166—285
8349—285
10209—369
10316— 48
10368—388
10932— 38
11001—284
12797— 38
14287—351
14427—350
15274—293
15777—286
15872—481
15999—285
16148—413
16492—413
16529—415
iv. Virāṭa-parvan.
178—425, 433
v. Udyoga-parvan.
130—243
147—243
320—261
414—496
1875—247
1917—232
2527—216
2560—218
3459—235
3501—119
4407—250
4409—210
4418—220
vi. Bhīshma-parvan.
793 ff.—205, 432
2932—236
Mahābhārata, *continued.*
vii. Droṇa-parvan.
382—244
401—191
419—235
2224—470
2355—243
2832—184
9575—203
9632—199
viii. Karṇa-parvan.
1625—221
ix. S'alya-parvan.
2434—261
3619—294
x. Sauptika-parvan.
289—191
312—186
780—406
786—373
xii. S'ānti-parvan.
241—369
1414—295
1500—263
1748—287
3655—277
6775— 35
6805— 35
7092—118
10226—373
10272—374
12943—135
13133—266
13152—185, 266
13171— 63
13228—219
13229— 88
13265—238
13337—241
13723—393
xii. Anusāsana-parvan.
590—187
1160—406
6295—268
6397—189
6889—189
7092—118
7232—369
7356—274
7402—196
7510—405
xiv. Aśvamedhika-parvan.
1536—275
Mahādeva. See Rudra
Maharloka, 146, 388
Mahat, 42
Mahāvīra, 126
Mahendra, 150. See Indra
Mahīdhara's commentary on Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 7, 15 f., 17, 104
Maitrī Upanishad, quoted, 267
Makha, 125 ff.
Mākhavat, 126
Makha Vaishṇava, 128
Mālatī-Mādhava, 430
Māli, 487
Mālinī, 482
Mālyavat, 487
Mānasa (a name of the Creator), 35
Mandara (a mountain), 279
Māndhātṛi incarnation, 156
Mandodarī, Rāvaṇa's queen, 455, 466
Mau-lion (nara-siṁha) incarnation, 135, 156
Manojavā (one of the tongues of Fire), 429, 498
Mantharā, 481 f.
Manu, quoted—
i. 5 ff.—30
— 32 ff.—35, 48
iii. 2 —413
vii. 38 —413
viii. 82 —48
ix. 305 —117
— 308 —148
xii. 91 —30
— 121 —164
Manu, the bard, 27
Manu Svāyambhuva, 13
—— Vaivasvata, 33, 113
Manvantaras, (Chākshusha and Vaivasvata), 120
Manyu, 349
Marīchi, 33 f., 47, 118, 120
Marka, 155
Mārkaṇḍeya, 279
—— Purāṇa, 343, 435, 497
Marus, 128
Maruts, 45, 68, 76, etc.
Mārtāṇḍa, 13, 15, 115
Mataparīkshā, 49
Matsya (or Fish) incarnation, 156
Matsya Purāṇa, 45
—— quoted, 48
——47th section of, abstracted & quoted, 151 ff.
Maya, an Asura, 223
Meghanāda (or Indrajit), son of Rāvaṇa, 450, 495
Mena, wife of Himavat, 385, 430 f.

Meru, 42
Mithilā, 175
Mitra, 14, 68, 74
Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary, 53
Mṛida, 379. See Rudra
Mṛidānī, 405
Mūjavat, 322
Müller's (Prof. Max) edition of Rigveda, 314
——— his translation of ditto, 66, 68, 105, 111, 301, 314
——— Ancient Sanskrit Literature, 5, 17, 48, 103, 108, 113, 129, 289 f.
——— translation by him in Zeitschr. der D. M. G., 105
——— article on funeral rites of the Brāhmans in ditto, 415
——— his, aid acknowledged, 498
Muṇḍaka Upanishad, 29
——— i 2, 4 ——— 429
Muni, the, 318 f.
Munjakeśavat, 240
Mura, 245, 250
Mūradeva, 410

N.

Nagnajit, 245, 249
Nahum, i. 3—64
Nairuktas (or etymologists), 66, 92, 159
Nalakūvara, 461, 485
Namuchi, slain by Indra with foam, 261, 472
Nandiśvara, 380, 460 f.
Nara, 31 f., 119, 156, 185, 228 ff.
Nārāḥ, 31 f.
Nārada, 269
———incarnation, 156
———denounces Brahmā, Preface, vi.
Nārada-pancharātra, edited by Rev. K. M. Banerjea, Preface, vi.
Naraka, an Asura, 245, 250
Narāsaṁśa, 83
Nārāsaṁśa hymns, 159
Nārāyaṇa, 31 f, 37, 119, 156, 185, 228 ff.
Nara-siṁha, or man-lion incarnation, 135, 156, 215
Nārāyaṇa, commentator on the Mahābhārata, 119
Nārāyaṇas, cowherds so called, 243
Nārāyaṇīya Upanishad, 426
Narmadā river, 140
Nekkuṇḍa, 427
Nidra Kālarūpinī, 433
Nighaṇṭu—
2, 7, 10, 17—310, 316
2, 10—103
2, 17—74
5, 3—159
Nikumbhilā, place of sacrifice, 416
Nīlakaṇṭha, name of Rudra, 427
Nīlakaṇṭha, commentator on the Mahābhārata, 260, 265
Nīlarudra Upanishad quoted, 363
Nimi, 372
Nirmochana, 250
Nirṛiti, 78, 313
Nirukta, quoted or referred to—
1, 15—355, 403
1, 17—320
1, 20—69
2, 6, 7—69, 73
2, 11—441
2, 13—117
2, 17—74
3, 7—165
3, 10—190
3, 21—19
4, 19—71
4, 24—310
5, 7, 8, 9—88, 505
5, 11—81
6, 11—332
6, 15—8, 11
6, 17—82
6, 22—75
7, 4ff—65, 157ff.
7, 25—74
8, 29—114
8, 11—309
9, 1—28, and 35 ff—159
9, 9—159
9, 10—310
10, 6ff—299, 314
10, 20—100
10, 26—9
10, 27—8
10, 32—113
10, 44—71
11, 9—310
11, 23—13, 159
11, 49—420
Nirukta, *continued*—
12, 19—64, 156
12, 23—71
12, 26—318 f.
12, 36—115
Nirukta, Pariśishta—
1 —114
1, 1—104
2, 1—71
2, 10—8
2, 12—94
2, 21—76
Nishad, a sort of treatise, 265
Nishādas, 328
Nisunda, 252
Nivātakavachas, 234

O.

Ogha, a rākshasa, 250

P.

Padma Purāna, quoted, 278
Pādma-kalpa, 37
Panchadaśastoma, 162
Panchajana, an asura, 246
Panchaviṁśa Brahmaṇa quoted, 129
Pānchi, a muni, 123
Pāṇini, 405, 490, 502
Pankti metre, 162
Pannagas, 199
Parameshṭhin, 19, 23
Paraśurāma, 156, 170, 175 ff, 227, 287
Parīṇah, 128
Pārijāta tree, 246
Pariśrit, 57
Parjanya, 82, 111, 120, 160
Pārvatī. See Umā, and Himavat
Paśubandha, 57
Paśupati, 289, 336 f. See Rudra.
Pāśupata weapon, 184, 232
Pāśupata rite, 361
Pātāla, 38, 110
Paulomas, 234
Periplus, 427
Pictet's (M. Adolphe) Origines Indo-Européennes, 81
Pināki, 191. See Rudra
Piśachas, 188
Piṭha, 245
Pliny, 427
Prabhāsa, 252
Prāchyas, 328
Pradhāna, 3, 42, 194, 388 See Prakṛiti.

Pradyumna, son of Kṛishṇa, 221, 246, 435
Prāgjyotisha, 214, 253
Praheti, 486
Prahrāda, 149, 152, 154 f.
Prajāpati, 8, 15, 17 ff, 28 f, 33, 37, 54 ff, 97
——— created by the gods out of seven men, 22
——— creates the Veda, 22
——— creates the waters, 22, 439
——— born in an Egg, 25
——— takes the form of a tortoise, 27
——— Agni, Indra, etc., spring from him, 26
——— produced Agni from his mouth, 28
——— is Daksha, 28
——— is supporter of the universe, 28
——— seeks to conquer worlds, 29
——— his passion for his own daughter, 45
——— half of him mortal, 55
——— father both of Gods and Asuras, 59
——— gives names to the Kumāra, 341, 345
——— produces Agni, Vāyu, Chandramas, and Ushas, 345
——— gods depart from Him, 348. See Brahmā.
Prajāpati in a secondary sense applied to Kaśyapa, Manu, 138, 273
Prakriti, 263, 389. See Pradhāna
Pralambha, 245
Pramathas, 379
Praśitra, 200
Prasūti, daughter of Manu, and wife of Daksha, 378
Prathas, 96
Pravargya, 126, 128
Prayati, 4
Pṛiśni, 309, 311, 335
Pṛiśnigarbha, 264
Prishṭhas, 162
Pṛithā, mother of Arjuna, 53 f., 63, 185
Pṛithivī, 161
Pṛithuraśmi, 492
Pṛithu incarnation, 156
Pulastya, 482, 485
Puloman, 495
Punjikasthalā, daughter of Varuṇa, 458, 462
Punjishṭhas, 328
Purandara (Indra), 120
Purandhi, 82
Purīkayas, 337
Pūrṇamāsa, 57
Pūru, 103
Purūravas, 457
Purusha, 10, 19, 33, 42, 43, 73, 194
Purusha incarnation, 156
Purusha Nārāyaṇa, 29
Puruṣha-sūkta, 10, 29
Purushottama, 252
Purushottama of the Chedis, 297
Pūshan, 68, 76, 95, 115, etc.
——— his teeth knocked out by Rudra, 200, 383
Pushpotkaṭa, mother of Rāvaṇa, 482, 487
Pūtanā, female demon killed by Kṛishṇa, 210
Putrīyā ishṭi, 170

R.

Rādheya, 286
Rāhu, 190
Raivata-sāman, 163
Raghuvaṁśa quoted, 53, 117, 138, 153
Rajas, 11, 71, 267, 276
Rājendralāl Mitra (Babu), his translation of the Chhāndogya Upanishad quoted, 26
Rajasas, 337
Rājasūya sacrifice, 205, 287
Rākā, 482, 487
Rākshasas, their origin and early history, 486
——— did they specially worship Rudra? 411
Rāma, represented as an incarnation of Vishṇu, 168 ff.
——— his miraculous birth discussed, 170 ff., 441 ff., 481
——— ignorant of his own nature, 180
——— told by Brahmā who he is, 181
——— the gods anxious about him, 447
——— congratulated by gods, 472
——— says he can easily destroy Rākshasas, 476
Rāma wounded by Indrajit, 450
——— recovers his senses, 452
——— told by Vāyu who he is, 453
——— does not know Garuḍa, 453
——— defeats Rāvaṇa, 457
——— defied by Rāvaṇa, 463
——— advised to utter a hymn to the Sun, 473
——— his divinity owned by Mandodarī, 467
——— ascends to heaven, 479
Rāmāyaṇa quoted or referred to—

i. Bāla-kāṇḍa.

1, 4, 81 ff., 84, 86—443
1, 13 & 18—442
2, 32—443
3, 3 ff.—441
4, 14—442
8, 1—170
11, 1—170
11, 20—171
12, —171
13, 36, 54—171
14, 1—165
16, 1—173
17, 1—173
18, 1 ff.—173, 444
19, 1 ff.—174
19, 10 ff.—444
23, 10—164
29, 9—250
31, 2 ff.—130
32, 2 ff.—132
35, 20—364
36, 13—430
37, 3, 5—364 f.
42 & 43 —365
45, 21—366
45, 26— 50
48, 16 ff.— 48
49, 1 ff.— 49
66, 7—372
66, 13—464
75, 14—176

ii. Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa.

108, 3—138
110, 2— 33
119, 2— 34

iii. Āraṇya-kāṇḍa.

24, 19—448
30, 20—447
30, 27—371, 471

Rāmāyaṇa, *continued.*
30, 36—373
31, 10—373
32, 5—351
58, 1—443
70, 2—373
iv. Kiṣhkindhā-kāṇḍa.
5, 30—371
40, 11—443
40, 54—439
43, 20—366
43, 46—480
43, 54—367
44, 27—366
44, 46—368
44, 117—367
v. Sundara-kāṇḍa.
12, 39—373
24, 44—416
89, 1 ff.—370, 419, 483
91, 3—477
vi. Yuddha-kāṇḍa.
7, 18—412
17, 1—483
18, 22—476
19, 38—416
26, 8 ff.—453
33, 25—455
34, 7—464
39, 21—441
40, 44—463
41, 2—463
44, 32—416
45, 50—449
51, 17—371
54, 23—373
55, 88—371
59, 105—455
60, 5—457
60, 67—462
60, 11—462
63, 2—462
63, 13—418
64, 11—418
65, 12—419
66, 2—418
71, 28, 31—412 f.
72, 62—413
73, 37—371
76, 93—371
84, 14—418
85, 12—418
86, 14—419
87, 2—418
93, 30—413
93, 58—413
95, 5—468
95, 25—469
Rāmāyaṇa, *continued.*
96, 10—414
106, 1—473
111, 23—413
113, 5—466
113, 49—494
113, 112—414
119, 1—178
vii. Uttara-kāṇḍa.
Sections 1–11—485 ff.
4, 9—439
16, 1—460
17, 1—458
17, 35—451
19, —457
23, —480
25, 2, 7—416
27, 30—495 ff.
30, 12—418
30, 19—497
31, 42—406, 420
36, 44—490
37, —480
59, —480
103 ff. —477
Rāmopakhyāna, story of Rāma as told in the Vana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, 481 ff.
Rāma's story as related in the Droṇa-parvan of the Mahābhārata, 479
Rathantara, 96, 161, 193 f.
Ratnagarbha, commentator on Vishṇu Purāṇa, quoted, 257
Rambhā, an Apsaras, 458, 461
Rātrī-sūkta, 498
Rāvaṇa's birth, 482, 488
——— his austerities, 482, 488
——— obtains boon from Brahmā, 482, 488
——— drives Kuvera from Laṅkā, 483
——— acts oppressively, 483
——— Brahmā promises his destruction, 483
——— wounds Lakshmaṇa, 453
——— defeated by Rāma, 457
——— his reflections, 457
——— sues, and then insults, Vedavatī, 459
——— his arms crushed by Rudra, 461
Rāvaṇa violates Rambhā, 461
——— defies Vishṇu, 463, 465
——— acknowledges Rāma to be Vishṇu, 466
——— his body burned with Brahmanical rites, 414
——— observes the Vedic ritual, 413
Rāyovājīya, 492
Ribhukshan, 76, 95, 311
Ribhus, 80, 88, 311
Ṛich, 10
Richīka, 177
Ṛiddhi, wife of Kuvera, 370
Ṛigveda Sanhita quoted or referred to—
Maṇḍala i.
2, 2—76
6, 4—314
7, 3—99
9, 7—310
10, 9—160
10, 11—193, 434
18, 2—317
22, 16–21—63 ff., 97, 402
22, 17 ff.—75 ff.
24, 8—108
27, 10—299, 395
27, 13—113
32, 1—69
32, 6—102
32, 15—302
33, 11—314
33, 1—502
34, 11—54
39, 6—494
43, 1–6—91, 300, 399 f.
45, 2—54
50, 7—71, 109
51, 2—68
51, 3—316, 408
51, 5—61
52, 8, 12–14—99
55, 1—99
56, 4—317
59, 5—103, 111
61, 7—67, 92, 503
61, 9—99
63, 7—103
64, 2—300, 400
67, 3—111
81, 4—314
81, 5—99 f.
85, 1—301, 400
85, 7—68
90, 5, 9—68

Rigveda, *continued.*

90, 7—71
94, 5—71
96, 3—28, 82
99, —499
102, 8—99 f.
103, 2—100
104, 6—315
105, 8—410
106, 4—302
108, 9—70
112, 3—302
114, 1-11—301 ff., 309 f., 396, 400 f.
115, 1—111
121, 2 f.—100, 107
122, 1—306
125, 3—302
126, 1—159
127, 3—494
128, 2—314 f.
129, 3—306, 400
131, 1—306
154, 1-6—68 ff., 73, 75, 82, 97, 101
155, 1-6—74 f., 84, 86, 97 f.
156, 1-5—75 f., 97
164, 6—71
164, 36—76
165, 13—314 f.
167, 4 f.—410, 420
180, 7—410
181, 3—82
186, 10—76
190, 2—109

Mandala ii.

1, 3—76, 97
1, 6—306, 400
1, 8 f.—114
3, 11—314
12, 1 f., 9, 13—15, 99, 100
15, 1-3—69, 99, 101 108
18, 4—160
22, 1—77
27, 1—115
27, 10—108, 114
28, 10—63, 76
33, 1-15—302, 307 ff. 396, 399 ff.
34, 2—309, 400
34, 11—85
38, 4—317
38, 8—13
38, 9—309

Mandala iii.

2, 5—310
5, 6—316

Rigveda, *continued.*

6, 4—69, 77
17, 1—83
18, 5—83
26, 7—71
30, 5—100
30, 9—101
32, 7-9—77, 101 f., 109
33, 4—109
44, 3—102
47, 1—314
53, 6—160
53, 7—306
54, 14—77, 97
55, 10—77

Mandala iv.

1, 6—6
2, 4—78
3, 1, 6—302, 310, 400
3, 7—78, 97
5, 7, 13—316 f.
6, 6—6
7, 7—316
16, 5—102
18, 11—78, 97 f.
30, 1—99, 102
36, 9—310
38, 5—310
50, 2—82
55, 4—79
58, 5—19

Mandala v.

2, 1—341
3, 1-3—79, 97
17, 2—316
21, 4—316
29, 7—81
41, 2—311
41, 20—317
42, 11, 15—311, 400
43, 6—317
46, 2-4—80
49, 3—504
51, 9—80
51, 13—311
52, 16—311, 400
54, 6—317
59, 8—311
60, 5—311, 400
63, 5—71
70, 2 f.—300
73, 5—91
74, 6—316
81, 3—72, 95
83, 8—5
87, 1, 4, 8—81, 97

Mandala vi.

1, 11—310
11, 2—7

Rigveda, *continued.*

16, 39—312
17, 4—310
17, 7—99, 102
17, 11—81, 92
20, 2—82, 98
21, 9—82
28, 7—312, 400
30, 4—99, 103
31, 2—103
32, 5—109
35, 4—310
38, 3—103
46, 13—109
47, 8—160
48, 13 f.—82
49, 10—312, 400
49, 13—82, 97
50, 2—13
50, 4—312, 400
50, 7—17
50, 12—82
55, 2—301
66, 3—312, 400
69, 1-8—83 f., 97
70, 1, 5—108, 310
72, 2—101, 107 f.
74, 1-4—313, 400 f.

Mandala vii.

1, 6—317
3, 5—80
3, 10—314 f.
10, 4—313
20, 1—314
20, 4—99, 103
21, 3-8—407, 409
31, 7—102
32, 16, 22 f.—99, 103, 258
33, 1—301
34, 21—317
35, 6—313, 400
35, 9—84
36, 5—313
36, 8—317
36, 9—85
37, 2—314
39, 5—78, 85
40, 5—85
41, 1—313
42, 3—317
44, 5—85
46, 1-4—314, 400
56, 1, 2—315, 400
56, 8—319
58, 5—315
59, 12—321
60, 6—314 f.
65, 3—148
78, 4—314

Rigveda, *continued.*
82, 5—108
83, 8—301
86, 1—108
86, 4—314
87, 1, 2—102, 109
87, 6—69
93, 8—85
98, 3—99, 103, 111
99, 1–7—72. 75, 86 f., 97 f., 504
100, 1–6—82, 86 f., 97, 307, 504
101, 4—111
103, 7—81
104, 12, 24—410

Maṇḍala viii.
1, 21—68
3, 6, 8—104
7, 10—81
9, 12—88, 97
10, 2—89
12, 8—504
12, 16, 25 ff.—89, 98
13, 20—316
14, 13—261
15, 8 ff.—89, 98
17, 12—190
17, 14—319
19, 10—302
20, 3—85
20, 7—314
20, 17—316, 400
20, 23—300
21, 13—15, 100, 104
22, 1—506
22, 13 f.—300, 316
25, 5—82
25, 11–14—89, 402
26, 5—300
27, 8—90
28, 5—305
29, 1–10—90 f., 97, 400
30, 1—113
31, 10—91
31, 12—317
32, 10—82
35, 1, 14—91
36, 4—104
37, 3—104
42, 1, 2, 10—209, 111, 317
48, 3—357
51, 2—76, 104
57, 1—86
59, 5—104
61, 3—316
64, 12—106
66, 4—81
66, 10—27, 91, 97, 502

Rigveda, *continued.*
67, 5—105
72, 7—93
77, 3—101
77, 4—105
78, 5—105
82, 11—105
85, 5—68
86, 9—105
87, 2—106
89, 3 f.—337
89, 12—78, 97 f.
90, 11 f.—109

Maṇḍala ix.
1, 4—310
4, 1—113
6, 3—310
33, 3—93
34, 2—93
43, 5—310
44, 6—310
45, 5—90
56, 4—93
59, 1—114
61, 16—112
63, 3, 12—93, 310
65, 20—94
66, 18—63
67, 5, 10 f.—301, 310
83, 5—113
86, 28-30—112
87, 5—310
89, 6—112
90, 5—94
96, 5—94, 98, 112, 114
96, 10, 14—114
97, 16—103
97, 24—112
100, 6—95
100, 8—113
101, 13—126
107, 7—113
109, 4—113
112, 4—410
114, 3—115

Maṇḍala x.
1, 3—95, 97
7, 6—7, 9
9, 5—302
10, —48
15, 3—506
17, 3—162
25, 1—314 f.
39, 11—310
40, 12—316
42, 9—106
43, 5—106
48, 3—106

Rigveda, *continued.*
61, 4–7—46
61, 19—341
64, 8—316
64, 15—317
65, 1—95
66, 3—317
66, 4 f.—95
69, 3—310
72, 1–9—11 f., 28, 115
75, 9—161
79, 3—316
81, 1–7—5 ff., 30
82, 1–7—5 ff.
85, 37—410
86, 1—106, 114
86, 16 f.—410
88, 10—65
88, 11—114
90, —282
90, 2—105
90, 16—23
92, 5, 9—317, 400
92, 11—95
93, 4, 7—317
94, 2—161
95, 4 f.—19
99, 1–8—408 f.
102, 8—301
109, 1—24
110, 6—309
111, 1–5—99, 101, 107 f.
113, 1 f.—93
116, 2—160
121, 1–10—15, 71
125, 6—318, 400
126, 5—318
127, 1–8—304, 498
128, 2—96
129, 1–7—3 f.
133, 2—15, 100, 107
134, 1—25, 99, 107
136, 1–7—318
138, 3—99
139, 5—71, 112
140, 1—310
141, 3, 5—96
142, 2—301
149, 1—101, 108, 110
154, 3—278
168, 3 f.—16
169, 1—320
171, 2—126
180, 2—69
181, 1–3—96
184, 1—96
Rishabha incarnation, 156
Rishikā, 253
Rishis, 22
Rishyaśringa, 167, 172

Ritadhāman, 180
Rodasī, 420
Roer's (Dr. E.) translation of the Upanishads, 421
Rohinī, 260, 262
Rosen's (Dr. F.) Latin translation of the Rigveda, 63
Rost (Dr. R.), suggestion made by him, 210
Roth (Professor Rudolph), article by him in Jour. of the American Oriental Society, 48
—— article by him in Journal of German Oriental Society, 114, 148
—— his Illustrations of the Nirukta, 6, 8, 9, 13, 64, 69, 73, 81 f., 105, 314, etc.
—— his remarks on *śravas* and *śru*, 494.
See Böhtlingk and Roth
Rudra, 42, 45, 50
Rudra, as represented in the Rigveda, 299 ff.
—— in the Yajurveda, 321 ff.
—— in the Atharvaveda, 332 ff.
—— in the Brāhmaṇas, 339 ff.
—— in the Upanishads, 355 ff.
—— in the Rāmāyaṇa, 176, 364 ff., 405
—— in the Mahābhārata, 184–205, 223 ff., 230 ff., 240 f., 266 ff., 278 ff., 282 ff., 373 ff.
—— in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 378 ff.
—— in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, 392
—— in the Linga Purāṇa, 386 ff.
—— in the Harivaṁśa, 393
Rudra identified with Agni, 339 ff.
—— fights with Vishṇu, 176, 279
—— fights with Arjuna, 231
—— identified with Krishṇa, or Vishṇu, 280
Rudra, his linga, 192, 405 ff.
—— his unchastity, 191
—— worshipped by Krishṇa and Arjuna, 184 ff., 195
—— worshipped by Brāhmā and Vishṇu, 193
—— his fight with Krishṇa, 279
—— the creator of Brahmā & Vishṇu, 188, 193, 391
—— sprung from Brahmā, 392 f.
—— sprung from Krishṇa or Vishṇu, 267, 273
—— identified with Vishṇu, 241, 280, 384
—— identified with the Supreme Spirit, 185, 232
—— disturbs Daksha's sacrifice, 240, 268, 372 ff.
—— destroys castles of the Asuras, 203, 225 f.
—— his vigour increased by hymns, 226
—— his third eye formed, 270
—— his names applied to Vishṇu, 272
—— prevalence of his worship as described in the Mahābhārata, 284 ff.
—— seizes victims at sacrifice, 284
—— human victims devoted to him, 288 ff.
—— father of Maruts, 305
—— curses Kandarpa, 364
—— the lord of thieves, 327
—— attributes applied to, or abuse of, him explained away by commentators, 327, 379
—— cursed by Daksha, 380
—— cursed by Bhṛigu, 382
—— plucks out Bhṛigu's beard and Bhaga's eyes, knocks out Pūshan's teeth, and cuts off Daksha's head, 383 f. (see also 200, 268)
—— formerly general of the gods, 365
—— receives the Gangā on his head, 365
—— swallows poison, 366
—— his abode, 367
—— identified with Viśvakarman, 369, 376 f.
Rudra, his linga appears & allays a dispute between Brahmā and Vishṇu, 390
—— plays dice with Kuvera, 483
—— his linga worship, 192, 405 ff.
—— remarks of Professors Wilson, Weber, and Whitney on him, 394 ff.
—— summary of views regarding him, 399 ff.
Rudra Prajāpati, 46
—— Vāstoshpati, 46
Rudras, 64, 180, 331
Rudrānī, 405
Rudravartani, sense of the word, 316
Rukmin, 215, 286
Rukmiṇī, wife of Krishṇa, 189

S.

S'achi, 135
Sādhyas, 180
Sagara, 365
Saint John's Gospel, iii. 8–16
S'aivas, 385
S'aivya, 253
S'ākapūṇi, 64 ff., 97, 156
S'akra, 105
S'akti, 383
S'ākvara sāma, 162
Sālankaṭankaṭā, 486
S'alya, King of the Madras, 221 ff.
Sāmaveda, parallel passages from, 5, 10, 63, &c.
—— i. 90, and i. 361—27
S'ambara, 86
S'ambhu, 43, 367
S'ambhu, King of the Daityas, 459
Sanaka, 38
Sanandana, 38
S'aṅda, 155
Sandhyāvidyā, 428
S'ankara on Brahma-sūtras i. 3, 28, referred to, 131
S'ānkhāyana Brāhmaṇa vi. 1 ff., 343
Sānkhya, 3, 41, 224
S'āntā, 174
Saprathas, 96
Saptadas'a stoma, 162
Sarasvatī, 35, 80, 85, 424, 428
Sarayū, 368, 478 f.

S'ārnga, 181
S'aru, 78
S'arva, 186, 328, 332
Sarvamedha, 369
S'arvānī, 405
S'atadhanvan, 253
S'ataghnī, a magical weapon, 249
S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa quoted—

i.
2, 3, 6 —290
2, 5, 1 ff.—122
7, 2, 22 — 59
7, 2, 24 —106
7, 3, 1 —202
7, 3, 8 —339, 403
7, 3, 18 — 59
7, 4, 1 ff.— 45, 201
9, 2, 34 —106

ii.
1, 1, 3 — 21
1, 4, 11 — 24
1, 4, 27 —123
2, 2, 8 — 58
2, 4, 1 — 28
4, 4, 1 — 28
6, 2, 9 —321

iii.
1, 3, 3 — 14, 115
9, 4, 20 — 27

iv.
1, 5, 1 — 48, 129
5, 4, 1 ff.— 61
5, 7, 2 — 54
6, 3, 1 — 56

v.
1, 1, 1 — 60

vi.
1, 1, 1 ff.—20 ff., 404
1, 2, 1 — 46
1, 2, 8 —116
1, 2, 13, 21 — 21
1, 3, 1 ff.— 21
1, 3, 7 ff.—339, 404
2, 1, 1 — 21
3, 1, 18 — 72
6, 2, 11 — 61
6, 3, 2 — 61
7, 1, 17 — 24
8, 1, 14 — 28

vii.
4, 1, 19 — 15
4, 3, 5 — 27
5, 2, 11 — 19
5, 2, 21 — 22

S'atap Brāhmaṇa, *contd.*

ix.
1, 1, 1 ff.—330, 347
1, 1, 6 ff.—348
2, 2, 2 — 21
3, 3, 2 — 56
5, 2, 1 — 56
5, 1, 12 ff.— 58

x.
1, 3, 1 ff.— 54
1, 4, 1 — 55
2, 1, 1 — 29
2, 2, 1, 5 — 23
2, 3, 18 — 23
2, 4, 8 — 23
3, 5, 13 — 56
4, 2, 2 — 55
4, 3, 1 ff.— 56
4, 4, 1 — 54
6, 5, 1 — 3

xi.
1, 2, 12 — 58
1, 4, 4 —506
1, 6, 1 ff.— 17, 24
1, 6, 14 — 21
1, 8, 1 f. — 30, 60
2, 3, 1 — 29
2, 3, 6 — 58
2, 7, 26 — 61
3, 2, 1 — 61
4, 3, 1 — 56
5, 1, 1 — 19
6, 3, 8 —116

xii.
3, 4, 1 — 29
7, 3, 1 —261

xiii.
2, 4, 1 — 29
6, 1, 1 — 29
7, 1, 1 — 29
7, 1, 14 f. —369

xiv.
1, 1, 1 —124
1, 2, 11 — 27
2, 2, 2 — 24
4, 2, 21, 23 —129
7, 1, 34 —131
8, 1, 1 —258
8, 6, 1 — 24

S'atarudriya, 186, 193, 199, 322 ff.
—— its object and name explained, 349
S'atarūpā, 13, 48
Satī (Mahādeva's wife), 378, 385. See Umā
S'atrughna, 275, 445
Sattva guṇa, 267, 276
Satyaloka, 388
Saubha, a magical city, 246, 249, etc.
Saumanasa peak, 440
Saumya adhvara, 57
S'aurva, 328
Sauvīras, 214
Savana, 60
Sāvarṇi Manvantara, 149, 155
Savitṛi, 20, 72, 80, 109. See Sūrya
Sāvitrī, 48, 379
Sāyana, 11, 12, 14, 46, 261, 303, etc.
Sāyangṛiha muni, 252
Schlegel's Rāmāyaṇa, 33, and passim
—— his opinion referred to, 170
Scholia minora on the Iliad quoted, 255
S'esha, 110
Siddhas, 165
Siddhāntas, 110
Siddhānta-śiromaṇi, 110
Siddhāśrama, 135
S'ipivishṭa, 87 f., 504 ff.
S'iśnadeva, sense of the word, 407 ff.
S'iśupāla disputes Kṛishṇa's right to honour, 205 ff.
—— his previous history, 211
—— slain by Kṛishṇa, 215
Sītā, daughter of Janaka, and wife of Rāma, 175, and passim
—— her birth from the ground, 464 f.
—— threatened by Rākshasīs, 416
—— sees Rāma wounded, 451
—— was formerly Vedavatī, 460
—— born for Rāvaṇa's destruction, 460, 471
—— enters the fire, 178
S'itikaṇṭha, 176, 240
S'iva, 176 (see Rudra)
S'ivā, wife of Angiras
Skambha, 11 f., 18 ff.
Skanda (see Kārttikeya)
Skanda Purāṇa, 152
Sky (Dyu), 46
Sky, daughter of Prajāpati, 45
Soma, 77, 80, 94 f., 108, 113 f., 280, 422

Somagiri, 367
Speech, 22
Sphulinginī, 429, 498
S'raddhā, 27
S'rī, 76, 168, 273, 453
S'rīdhara Svāmin, 51
S'rīkaṇṭha, 241
S'rīvatsa, 241, 263
Stasinus, Cypria, 256
Stevenson (Dr.), on the ante-brahmanical religion of the Hindus, 406
Sthānu, 165, 167
Stomas, 162
Sudarśana (name of Vishṇu's chakra), 191, 249
Sudarśana, 249
S'uddhāś'uddhīya, 491
Suddhūmravarṇā, 429
Sugrīva, 452, 465
Sukes'a, 486
S'ukra, 150, 152 ff.
Sulohitā, 429, 498
Sumāli, 487, 495
Sumitrā, 173, 175
Sunāman, 245, 249
S'unaśśepa, 289, 300
Sundarī, 487
Supārśva (minister of Rāvaṇa), 413
S'ūrasenas, 245
S'ūrpaṇakhā, 482, 488
Sūrya, 29, 61, 66
—— texts in praise of, 109, 473
—— one of the triad of gods, 66, 160 ff., 298
Sūryā (goddess), 91
S'ushṇa, 107
Sutala, 149
Svadhā, 4
—— sense of the word, 314
Svadhāvat, sense of, 314
Svāhā, 353
Svapivāta, sense of the word, 314
Svarāṭ, 43
Svayambhū, 47, 173
Svāyambhuva, 13
S'vetadvīpa, 241
S'vetāśvatara, Upanishad, 355
Svishṭakṛit, 200, 372

T.

Taittirīya, 70
Taittirīya Āraṇyaka—
i. 14, 1 —116
— 23, 1 — 24
Taittirīya Āran., *contd.*—
v. 1, 1 ff.—127
x. 1, 8 —28, 502
— 1, 150 —422
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa—
i.
1, 3, 5 ff.— 24
4, 1, 1 — 59
6, 1, 2 —347
6, 4, 10 —321
7, 1, 2 —347
7, 1, 6 —261
ii.
2, 9, 9 — 25
6, 9, 1 ff.— 21
iii.
1, 5, 7 —129
2, 7, 9 —15
2, 9, 6 —61
4, 1, 1 —289
9, 21, 1 —116
10, 9, 1 —58
12, 3, 1 —29
Taittirīya Sanhitā—
i.
1, 5, 1 —341
1, 8, 1 —126
ii.
2, 12, 5 —505
3, 2, 1 —55
4, 9, 2 —492
4, 12, 2 —78
5, 5, 2 —504, 506
6, 8, 3 —200
iii.
2, 4, 1 —126
4, 5, 1 —129
iv.
1, 8, 3 ff.—17
6, 2, 1 ff.—5 f.
v.
4, 3, 1 —348
5, 7, 4 —348
7, 5, 3 —24
vi.
2, 4, 2 —39
2, 7, 5 —492
6, 8, 3 —160
vii.
1, 5, 1 ff.—24
4, 9, 1 —201
Tālaketu, 253
Talavakāra Upanishad, 420, 422
Tamas, 267, 276
Tandi, 195
Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa—
iv. 1, 4—503
vi. 9, 7—349
vii. 4, 2—503
— 5, 6—507
— 5, 11; 6, 5—503
— 5, 20—152
— 8, 1 f.—503
viii. 1, 4—491 f.
— 2, 1—502
— 2, 10—503
ix. 7, 9—504
xii. 5, 23; 9, 21; 13, 27—503
— 6, 8—507
xiii. 4, 17—491
xiv. 11, 28—491 f.
xviii. 1, 9—492
— 6, 26—506
xx. 14, 2—503
— 15, 6—504
Tanūnapāt, 9
Tapoloka, 146
Tāraka, Tārakāksha, an Asura, 223 f.
Tārkshya, 148
Tides, cause of the, 219
Time, in the form of an ascetic, 477
Tīrtha, a commentator on the Rāmāyaṇa, 480
Tishya, 316
Trayastriṁśa stoma, 163
Triad of Agni, Vāyu (or Indra), and Sūrya, 61, 163, 298, 421
—— of Brahmā, Vishṇu and S'iva (or Rudra), 280
Trijaṭā, a Rākshasī, 451
Trikadruka, 77, 87
Trikūṭa, 285
Triṃūrti, 163
Triṇava stoma, 162
Triṇavindu, 486
Tripishṭapa, 284
Triple science, 60
Trishṭubh, 123, 162
Triśringa, 355
Trita Āptya, 89, 409
Trivikrama, 67, 273
Trivṛit stoma, 161
Tryambaka, 204, 321
Tūrghna, 128
Tushitas, 120
Tvashṭṛi, 80, 91, 95, 97, 115, 317.

U.

Uchhaiśśravas, 245
Udayagiri, or Udaya-parvata, 65, 440
Udgātṛi, 66
Ugra and Ugradeva, 336, 339, 342 f., 346
Ugrasena, 249
Ukthya ritual, 84
Umā, daughter of Daksha and Prasūti, 378, 385
—— reborn as daughter of Himavat and Menā, 385
Umā Haimavatī, 421 ff.
Umā, how she got her name, 431
—— her names and attributes, 432
—— born as a child of Yaśodā, 434
—— connected with Vishnu as Mahāmāyā, 435
—— identified with the Supreme Spirit, 436, (Called also Aparṇā, Devī, Durgā, Kālī, Karālī, Pārvatī, Satī, Yoga-nidrā)
Upahavya, the, 491
Upamanyu, 189
Upendra, 150. See Vishnu
Urmilā, 465
Urukrama, 121
Uśanas, 142 f., 150, 152
Ushas, 91, 340
Uśijes, 112
Uttānapad, 12 f.
Uttānapāda, 13
Uttanga muni, 275
Uttara Kurus, 367
Uttara Mīmānsā, 131

V.

Vāch, 23, 46 f.
Vaijayanta, 393
Vaimānika creation, 388
Vairāja sāman, 162
Vairūpa sāman, 162
Vaishnava rite, 294, 416, 496
Vaishnavas, 377
Vaiśravana, 370, 482, 486
Vaitaranī river, 284
Vaivasvata Manvantara, 120, 136
Vājasaneyi Sanhitā quoted or referred to—
3, 57-63—321, 420
5, 11—430
Vāj. Sanhitā, *continued*—
5, 15—66
5, 16—86
6, 3—74
8, 4—5
10, 20—16
11, 57—126
12, 102—16
13, 4—15
16, 1-66—302, 322ff., 505
17, 17-23—5
17, 25-31—5 f.
18, 66-71
23, 3—16
23, 20—171
23, 49—67
25, 12, 13—15 f.
27, 5—17
27, 25 f.—16
30, 5—289
32, 4—358
32, 6 f.—16
33, 74—4
33, 48 f.—80
37, 3-5—27, 126
39, 8—403
Vājaśravas, sense of the word, 310, 494
Vajramushṭi, 487
Vaktra, 286
Vālmiki, "sees" the Rāmāyana, 441
Vāmadeva, 171
Vāmana Purāna, 228
Vamra, 409
Varadā, 428
Varāha, an Asura, 93. See "Boar"
Varāha Purāna, 278
Varchin, 86
Varuna, 14, 20, 48, 68, 74, 76, 98
—— his majesty celebrated, 108 f.
—— his daughter, 458, 462. See Punjikasthalā
Varunānī, 405
—— his bonds or nooses, 148, 250
Vasishtha, 33, 73, 96, 171, etc.
Vāstavya, 262
Vāstoshpati, 47
Vāsudeva, 38, 218, 270, etc.
—— of the Pundras, 297
Vasu Sāvitra, 495
Vasus, 54, 91
Vāta, 16, 76, 96
Vāyu, 29, 46, 66, 70, 76, 89, etc.
Vāyu, one of the triad of gods, 66, 70, 160 ff.
Vāyu Purāna quoted, 188, 267, 278, 375, 377
Vedas, depreciated by the Śaivas, 381
Vedavatī, 458, 471
Vedavyāsa incarnation, 156
Vendidad, 328
Vibhāndaka, 166
Vibhīshana, 370, 450, 452, 476
—— his righteous character, 483, 489
—— obtains boon from Brahmā, 483, 489
Vibhvan, 80
Vidarbhas, 215
Videhas, 177
Vidhātṛi, 81, 121, 204
Vidūratha, 246
Vidyutkeśa, 486
Vināyaka, 359
Vindhyāvali, 145, 149
Vīrabhadra, 373, 377
Virāj, 44, 48, 148, 390
Virinchi, Virinchya, 378, 389. See Brahmā.
Virochana, 133
Viśāla, 214
Viśesha, 44
Vishnu, 20, 27 f., 31, 34, 36 ff., 47, 219, & passim
—— as represented in Rigveda, 63-97
—— his three steps, 63 ff., 229, 439
—— his rank in the Rigveda, as compared with other deities, 97-114
—— as an Āditya, 114-121, 164
—— as described in the Brāhmanas, 121 ff.
—— a dwarf, 123
—— the sacrifice, 125
—— his incarnation as a fish, tortoise, boar, 27, 37 ff.
—— as a dwarf, 130 ff.
—— kills Śukra's mother, 152
—— doomed by Śukra's curse to be born seven times on earth, 152, 155 f.
—— his ten incarnations according to the Matsya Purāna, 156

Vishṇu, his twenty-two incarnations according to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 156
——— his incarnations innumerable according to ditto, 156
——— incarnation as Rāma, 156, 168 ff., 175, 441 ff.
——— his incarnation as Kṛishṇa, 156, 169, 216 ff., 252 ff.
——— one with Rudra, 241
——— one with the Supreme Spirit, 38, 50, 181, 264 ff.
——— fights with Rudra, 177 f.
——— Brahmā and Mahādeva produced from him, 230, 267, 273
——— his dispute with Brahmā, 389
——— sprung from Rudra (or Mahādeva), 391
Vishṇupada, 65
Vishṇu Purāṇa quoted or referred to—

i.	2,	21 f.	—3
—	2,	25	—41
—	3,	1 ff.	—36
—	4,	1 ff.	—36
—	7		—385
—	7,	1	—35
—	7,	6	—392
—	7, 12, &c.		— 35, 48
—	7,	26	—35
—	8,	9	—385
—	15,	90 ff.	—119
—	22,	36 ff.	—262
ii.	5,	19	—110
iii.	1,		—136
iv.	14,	4	—215
v.	1,	1 ff.	—254 ff.
—	26,	1	—215

Vishvaksena, 181
Viśravas, 482, 486
Viśvajit sacrifice, 137
Viśvakarman, 22, 149, 176, 204, 367 f., 377, 484
Viśvāmitra, 177, 189
Viśvarūpī, 429
Viśvedevas, 89, 128
Vivasvat, 14 f., 33 f.
Vraja, 50
Vrātya, 338
Vṛihadratha, 291
Vṛihaspatisava, 382
Vṛishaśipra, 86
Vṛitra, 78, 89
Vyāḍi, 490

W.

Waters, 17 f., 22 ff., 31 ff., 119
Warriors slain in battle, their future rewards, 277
Weber, Prof. Albrecht, see "Indische Studien"
——— translation and remarks supplied by him, 201
——— his dissertation on Rudra, 395 ff.
——— on Umā, 421 ff.
——— his article in Journal of Germ. Or. Soc., 131
——— Indische Streifen, 289
——— article in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge, 81
——— his notice of the first edition of this work, 298
——— remarks on Muṇḍaka Upanishad, i. 2, 4—429
——— on S'ipivishṭa, 505
Westergaard's dissertation on Indian history, 405
——— Radices, 299
Whitney's (Prof. W. D.) remarks on Rudra, 398 f.
Wilkinson's (Mr. L.) translation of Siddhānta-śiromaṇi, 110
Williams's (Prof. Monier) Indian Epic Poetry, 161, 166
——— Sanskrit English Dictionary, 249
Wilson's (Prof. H. H.) Sānkhyakārikā, 41
——— Sanskrit Dictionary, 82
——— translation of Rig-veda, 66, 171
——— of Vishṇu Purāṇa, 3, 41, 48, 119, etc.
——— his remarks on Rudra, 394 f.
"Work-gods" are not objects of sacrifice, but can offer it, 131, 496

Y.

Yadus, 50
Yajna incarnation, 156
Yājnikas, 159
Yajush, 10, 96
Yajushmatī, 57
Yakshas, 153, 167
Yama, 48, 180, 203, 333
Yamī, 48
Yāska. See Nirukta
Yatis, 491 f.
Yātudhāna, 332
Yatudhānīs, 326
Yavana, 253
Yoga, 224
Yoganidrā, 435
Yudhishṭhira, 205 & passim
——— purposes rājasūya sacrifice, 287, 292

Z.

Zeus, 256

THE END.

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ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED

BY

J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.

VOLUME FIFTH.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO A KNOWLEDGE OF THE COSMOGONY, MYTHOLOGY, RELIGIOUS IDEAS, LIFE AND MANNERS, OF THE INDIANS IN THE VEDIC AGE.

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Οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ ἄψυχον ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεὸς ὑποχείριον· ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρουμένους ἡμῖν καὶ παρέχοντας ἀένναα καὶ διαρκῆ θεοὺς ἐνομίσαμεν, οὐχ ἑτέρους παρ' ἑτέροις οὐδὲ βαρβάρους καὶ Ἕλληνας οὐδὲ νοτίους καὶ βορείους· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα κοινὰ πᾶσιν, ὀνομάζεται δὲ ἄλλως ὑπ' ἄλλων, οὕτως ἑνὸς λόγου τοῦ τᾶυτα κοσμεῦντος καὶ μιᾶς προνοίας ἐπιτροπευούσης, καὶ δυνάμεων ὑπουργῶν ἐπὶ πάντας τεταγμένων, ἕτεραι παρ' ἑτέροις κατὰ νόμους γεγόνασι τιμαὶ καὶ προσηγορίαι· καὶ συμβόλοις χρῶνται, καθιεράμενοι μὲν ἀμυδροῖς, ὅι δε τρανωτέροις, ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν νόησιν ὁδηγοῦντες οὐκ ἀκινδύνως. Ἔνιοι γὰρ ἀποσφαλέντες παντάπασιν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ὤλισθον· οἱ δε φεύγοντες ὥσπερ ἕλος τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἔλαθον αὖθις ὥσπερ εἰς κρημνὸν ἐμπεσόντες τὴν ἀθεότητα.—Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride, section 67.

[In opposition to those who represented Dionysos, the wine-god, as meaning merely wine, Hephaistos fire, Demeter corn, etc., Plutarch urges]:—

"For the god is not a lifeless thing, subject to human handling and control. But from the fact that they dispose of, and bestow upon us, these objects, and preserve them to us perpetual and constant, we have considered them to be gods. And the gods are not different among different peoples, they are not Barbarian, or Hellenic, nc southern or northern; but just as the sun, and the moon, and the heaven, and the earth, and the sea are common to all—though they receive different names from different races—so too, while there is but one reason that orders, and one providence that superintends, this universe, and administrative powers are set over all, different honours and appellations have been assigned to these divine beings by the laws of different nations. And symbols too are employed, some of an obscure character, by initiated persons, and others of a plainer description by others, with the view of guiding men's conceptions of divine things. But this practice is not free from danger; for some persons, deviating from the truth, have slipped into superstition, while others, seeking to avoid the marsh of superstition, have fallen into atheism as over a precipice."

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PREFACE.

In the present volume I have reprinted, with the addition of some new materials, subsequently collected, and of the texts on which they are founded, a series of papers on the theogony, mythology, and religious ideas of the Vedic poets, and other subjects, which originally appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for 1864, and the two following years: and I have appended a new section, on life and manners during the Vedic age.

I have not thought it necessary to translate all the texts to which I have referred in proof of the representations I have made. To have done so would have extended the work to an unnecessary length, as numerous verses are cited for the sake of a single epithet. Some of the texts are rendered in full; but in many, perhaps most, cases I have contented myself with giving the substance of several passages of similar or identical purport.

Nor have I considered it necessary to supply here any summary of the contents of the volume, such as was given in the prefaces to the third and fourth volumes, and in that to the second edition of the first volume. The summary given in the Table of Contents seems sufficiently ample to afford the reader the means of readily

ascertaining what he may expect to find in the body of the work.

I have tried to exhibit, in a metrical form, the substance of the ideas regarding Indra and some other deities, which are more fully illustrated in the prose sections.

I should also further remark that in this volume I have attempted nothing more than to exhibit the most prominent features of the gods,—such as display themselves on the surface. It must remain for some more profound and critical scholar, after maturer investigation, to penetrate more deeply into the nature and essence of the Vedic mythology, to estimate and represent it in a more philosophical spirit, to investigate the age of the different hymns, and to determine how far it may be possible to trace in them a development of the mythology, from a simpler to a more complex state, or any other modification of its character or elements, even before it began to show any tendency towards monotheism.

Meanwhile, and until the subject shall have been treated in a manner more befitting its importance, the materials which I have brought together, arranged, and interpreted, will enable those students of mythology who are themselves unable to consult the originals, to form, I trust, a not inaccurate, and a tolerably complete, conception of the character and attributes of the Indian deities in the earliest form in which they are represented to us by written records.

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CONTENTS.

PAGES.

v., vi. PREFACE.

1 — 7. INTRODUCTION.

2. (1) Affinities of the Indian and Grecian mythologies.

3. (2) Antiquity and peculiarity of the Vedic mythology.

4. (3) Origin of cosmogonic and mythological speculation.

6. (4) Variety in the conceptions of the Vedic poets.

8 — 20. SECTION I. THE INDIAN GODS GENERALLY, AS REPRESENTED IN THE RIG-VEDA.

8. (1) Yāska's classification of the gods.

9. (2) Their number.

12. (3) Their origin and immortality.

16. (4) Different generations of gods and their mutual relations.

18. (5) Their powers and prerogatives.

21 — 34. SECTION II. DYAUS AND PṚITHIVĪ (HEAVEN AND EARTH).

22. (1) Heaven and Earth described as the universal parents.

24. (2) Passages to the same effect from the classical authors.

30. (3) Heaven and Earth elsewhere spoken of as created.

32. (4) Speculations about their origin.

35 — 53. SECTION III. ADITI.

35. (1) The epithets by which she is characterized.

37. (2) Origin of the conception of Aditi according to Professors Roth and Müller.

37. (3) Aditi as the mother of the Ādityas.
38. (4) Is Aditi ever identified with the sky?
40. (5) Aditi seems to be distinguished from the Earth.
42. (6) Aditi and Diti.
43. (7) Aditi may be a personification of universal nature.
46. (8) Aditi as a forgiver of sin.
47. (9) Aditi's position is sometimes a subordinate one.
48. (10) Creation as described in Rig-veda, x. 72; birth of Aditi, Daksha, the gods, and the Ādityas.

54— 57. SECTION IV. The Ādityas.

58— 76*d*. SECTION V. Mitra and Varuṇa.
58. (1) General idea of these two gods.
59. (2) Their chief characteristics.
61. (3) Functions and attributes of Varuṇa.
68. (4) Conjoint functions and attributes of Mitra and Varuṇa.
69. (5) Hymn addressed to Mitra alone.
69. (6) Professor Roth's remarks on Mitra and Varuṇa.
71. (7) The Indian Mitra and the Zoroastrian Mithra.
72. (8) Is there any historical connection between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda?
72. (9) Varuṇa connected with the element of water, even in the Rig-veda.
75. (10) Explanations by Professors Roth and Westergaard of the process by which Varuṇa came to be regarded as the regent of the sea.
76. (11) Correspondence of Varuṇa with the Greek Uranos.
76*a*. (1) Varuṇa, as represented in the hymns,—a metrical sketch.

77—139. SECTION VI. Indra.
77. (1) His origin and parents; his wife.
83. (2) His attributes, physical and mental.
84. (3) His chariot and horses.
86. (4) His thunderbolt and other weapons and instruments.
88. (5) His love of soma-juice; his combats with the cloud-demons: explanation of the myth.

98. (5*a*) Indra's greatness.
103. (6) His relations with his worshippers.
115. (7) Apparent mutual incongruity of some of the preceding representations of Indra.
116. (8) Professor Roth's theory of the supersession of the worship of Varuṇa by that of Indra.
118. (9) Supersession of Dyaus by Indra according to Professors Benfey and Bréal.
120. (10) Opinions of Professors Roth, Whitney, Spiegel, and Dr. F. Windischmann on the question whether Varuṇa and Ahura Muzda are historically connected.
121. (11) Whether there are any passages in the hymns which decisively show that Indra was superseding Varuṇa.
126. (12) Indra as represented in the hymns,—a metrical sketch. (1) Invitation of Indra to the sacrifice. (2) His birth. (3) His arrival. (4) Indra invited to drink the soma-draught. (5) Praise of Soma. (6) Indra's drinking song. (7) He drinks the libation. (8) Indra, attended by the Maruts, sets out to encounter Vṛitra. (9) His conflict with Vṛitra. (10) His greatness. (11) His relation to his worshippers.

140—142. SECTION VII. Parjanya.

143—146. SECTION VIII. Vāyu.

147—154. SECTION IX. The Maruts.
147. (1) Their parentage, epithets, characteristics, and action.
153. (2) Their relations to Indra, and the rival claims of the two parties.

155—161. SECTION X. Sūrya.
155. (1) The two sun-gods separately celebrated in the hymns.
157. (2) Sūrya's parentage, relations to the other gods, epithets, and functions.
158. (3) Subordinate position sometimes assigned to him.
159. (4) Translations in prose and verse of a hymn to Sūrya.

162—170. SECTION XI. Savitṛi.
162. (1) His epithets, characteristics, and functions.
165. (2) Passages in which the derivation of his name seems to be alluded to.
168. (3) Savitṛi sometimes distinguished from, sometimes identified with, Sūrya.

171—180. SECTION XII. Pūshan.
171. (1) Functions and epithets of Pūshan.
174. (2) Hymns addressed to him (i. 42; vi. 53-vi. 58, and portions of others) quoted and translated.

181—198. SECTION XIII. Ushas.
181. (1) Three hymns to Ushas (i. 48; i. 92; i. 113), and portions of others quoted and translated.
190. (2) Relations of Ushas to other deities.
193. (3) Her epithets, functions, and characteristics.
196. (4) Ushas, as represented in the hymns,—a metrical sketch.

199—223. SECTION XIIIa. Agni.
199. (1) His functions.
204. (2) His births, and triple existence.
211. (3) His epithets and characteristics.
214. (4) High divine functions ascribed to him.
216. (5) His relations to his worshippers.
221. (6) Agni,—a metrical sketch.

224—233. SECTION XIV. Tvashṭṛi.
224. (1) His epithets, functions, and relations.
227. (2) His daughter and her wedding.
229. (3) Hostility of Indra and Tvashṭṛi.

234—257. SECTION XV. The Aśvins.
234. (1) Their character and parentage, their relations to Sūryā, their attributes and accompaniments.
235. (2) Legends regarding different persons delivered or favoured by them.

248. (3) Their connection with other deities.
249. (4) Their relations to their worshippers.
250. (5) Legend of Chyavana and the Aśvins, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata.
255. (6) Remarks on the Aśvins by Professor Goldstücker.

258—271. SECTION XVI. Soma.
259. (1) Quotation from Euripides relating to the Greek god Dionysus.
261. (2) Prevalence and enthusiastic character of the ancient Soma-worship.
262. (3) How the soma-plant was brought to the earth.
264. (4) Soma's wives.
265. (5) Properties ascribed to the soma-plant or its presiding deity.
266. (6) Divine powers attributed to Soma.
269. (7) Soma associated with other gods.
270. (8) Soma in the post-vedic age a name of the moon.

272—283. SECTION XVII. Bṛihaspati and Brahmaṇaspati.
272. Professor Roth's account of this deity.
274. (1) Passages in which he is celebrated (R.V. ii. 23; ii. 24, 1 ff.; iv. 50, 1, 4 ff.; x. 68, 6 ff.; i. 40, 5 f.; i. 190, 1 f.; v. 43, 12; x. 98, 7) quoted and translated.
280. (2) Parentage and attributes of the god.
281. (3) Whether Bṛihaspati and Brahmaṇaspati are identifiable with Agni;—opinions of M. Langlois, and Professors H. H. Wilson and Max Müller.

284—335. SECTION XVIII. Yama and the doctrine of a future life.
284. (1) References to immortality in the earlier books of the Rig-veda.
286. (2) References to the Fathers (the souls of departed ancestors) in the earlier books of the Rig-veda.
287. (3) Hymns and portions of hymns relating to Yama and the Fathers, viz., x. 17, 1 f.; x. 10; x. 14; x. 15; x. 16, etc., quoted and translated.

300. (4) Summary of the conceptions conveyed in the preceding quotations.
305. (5) Further quotations from the hymns on the subject of paradise, its pleasures, the continuance there of the family relations, and on future punishment.
314. (6) Quotations from later Indian works, the Brāhmaṇas, etc., with some remarks of Professor Weber on their doctrines regarding the destiny of the soul.
327. (7) Yama and a future life,—a metrical sketch.
329. (8) Nachikétas, an ancient theosophic story, metrically rendered from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and the Kaṭha Upanishad.

336. SECTION XIX. Minor Divinities: Trita Āptya, Ahirbudhnya, and Aja Ekapād.

337—349. SECTION XX. The Goddesses mentioned in the Vedic hymns.
337. (1) Sarasvatī, Iḷā, Bhāratī, Mahī, Hotrā, Varūtrī, and Dhishaṇā.
343. (2) Āpas, the Waters; hymn to the Sindhu, Gangā, Yamunā, and other rivers.
345. (3) The Apsarases.
345. (4) Agnāyī, Varuṇānī, Aśvinī, Rodasī.
346. (5) Araṇyānī; (6) Rākā, Sinivālī, and Gungū; (7) Śraddhā.
348. (8) Lakshmī and Śrī.

350—420. SECTION XXI. Progress of the Vedic Religion towards abstract conceptions of the Deity.
350. Introductory remarks, embracing references to some texts indicating a tendency in this direction.
353. (1) Texts of a more decidedly monotheistic or pantheistic character.
354. (2) Viśvakarman.
355. (3) Hiraṇyagarbha; (4) Brahmaṇaspati, Daksha, and Aditi.
356. (5) Nonentity, entity, and the One, R.V. x. 129, with illustrations from the commentary on the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, etc.
367. (6) The Purusha-sūkta, R.V. x. 90; the hymn on Purusha, A.V. x. 2, etc.

378. (7) Skambha and Brahma, A.V. x. 7; x. 8, etc; with remarks by Professor Goldstücker on Skambha, etc.
390. (8) Prajāpati.
393. (9) Prāṇa, as celebrated in A.V. xi. 4.
395. (10) Rohita, as celebrated in A.V. xiii. 1, and xiii. 2.
396. (11) The Uchhishṭa, as celebrated in A.V. xi. 7.
398. (12) Sacrificial implements, etc.; (13) Anumati.
399. (14) The Ox or Kettle; (15) the Brahmachārin.
402. (16) Kāma, as celebrated in A.V. ix. 2.
407. (17) Kāla, or Time, as celebrated in A.V. xix. 53 and 54.
410. (18) General remarks on the preceding passages.
412. (19) Whether polytheism or monotheism was the earliest form of the Aryan religion: opinions of Messrs. Pictet, Pfleiderer, Scherer, Réville, and Roth on this subject.

421—449. SECTION XXII. Miscellaneous hymns from the Rig- and Atharva-vedas.
421. Introductory remarks.
422. (1) Hymn to Araṇyānī, R.V. x. 146.
424. (2) R.V. ix. 112, on the variety of human aims.
425. (3) R.V. x. 34, the gambler's lament, with quotations from the A.V. regarding the prevalence of gaming.
431. (4) R.V. x. 117, in praise of liberality.
433. (5) R.V. x. 107, in praise of liberality to priests.
435. (6) R.V. vii. 103, Frogs reviving in the autumn, compared to Brāhmans celebrating their rites.
438. (7) A.V. vii. 12, relating to social meetings.
439. (8) A.V. iii. 30, incantation for concord in a family.
440. (9) A.V. v. 30, incantation to preserve the life of a sick man, or recall the spirit of a dead man.
442. (10) A.V. vii. 53, on the same subject.
443. (11) A.V. viii. 1, ,, ,, ,,
446. (12) A.V. viii. 2, ,, ,, ,, ,

450—473. SECTION XXIII. Brief Notes on Society and Life in the Vedic age, as represented in the hymns.
450. (1) The country occupied by the Vedic people, their villages and cities.

451. (2) Their religious worship.
453. (3) Did the Vedic Indians make images of their gods?
454. (4) Kings and principalities.
457. (5) Different ranks in society,—rich and poor; (6) Domestic relations, polygamy, remarriage of widows, freedom of women, levirical marriages, sexual immorality.
461. (7) Dress, ornaments, etc.
463. (8) Food and drink; use of wine.
464. (9) Professions and trades,—carpentry, agriculture, etc.
466. (10) Amusements, gambling, dancers or actors; (11) Crime.
467. (12) Animals, wild and tame.
469. (13) Wars, armies, armour, and weapons.
472. (14) Poetry and speculation.
473. (15) Conclusion.
474. APPENDIX.
479. INDEX.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 22 In the page-headings from here to p. 96, *for* "The Indian gods generally" *substitute* the headings of the several subsections.

Page 34, line 1, *for* "Gau" *read* "Go."
„ 36, „ 4, for "*stānāḥ*" read "*sthānāḥ*."
„ 46, „ 19, for "*Varuṉauta*" read "*Varuṉa uta*."
„ 57, „ 7, *for* "51" *read* "5."
„ 62, „ 10, for "*sindhave*" read "*sindhavo*."
„ — „ 11, for "*praa rṉām̃si*" read "*pra arṉām̃si*."
„ 63, „ 10, *after* "foolish" *insert* "vii. 61, 5."
„ 67, „ 28, *for* "let us seek" *read* "we seek."
„ 77, „ 1, *for* "v." *read* "vi."
„ 85, „ 3 from bottom, *after* "Indra" *insert* "vi. 21, 4."
„ 93, „ 9 from bottom, for "*jaghrusho*" read "*jaghnusho*."
„ 98, „ 8 from bottom, *for* "(5)" *read* "(5*a*)".
„ 107, „ last line, for "*tivram*" read "*tīvram*."
„ 134, „ 6 from bottom, *for* "dare" *read* "brave."
„ 170, „ 2, *for* "Savita" *read* "Savitā."
„ 199, „ 1, *for* "xiii." *read* "xiii*a*."
„ 200, „ 10, *for* "92" *read* "91."
„ 214, „ 9, for "*rodasysḥ*" read "*rodasyoḥ*."
„ 218, „ 4 from bottom, *for* "viii." *read* "vii."
„ 224, „ 10, for "*vriśchād*" read "*vṛiśchād*."
„ 225, „ 22, *for* "Tvashṭa" *read* "Tvashṭā."
„ 228, „ 5 from bottom, *for* "Vivasvāt" *read* "Vivasvat."
„ 234, „ 3, *for* "Sūrya" *read* "Sūryā."
„ 237, „ 16, *for* "Pushan" *read* "Pūshan."
„ 280, „ 8, *for* "z" *read* "x."
„ 284, „ 24, *for* "191," *read* "91."
„ 336, „ 1, *for* "xxi." *read* "xix."
„ 350, „ 21, *after* "quoted" *insert* "above, p. 53, and."
„ 354, „ 4 from bottom, *for* "χῶτι τ ῶνδ'" *read* "χῶ τι τῶνδ'."
„ 387, „ 27, *for* "19," *read* "1, 9."
„ 407, „ 21, *for* "54" *read* "53."

ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

VOLUME FIFTH.

INTRODUCTION.

In the Fourth Volume of this work I have collected the principal passages of the Vedic Hymns which refer to the origin of the universe, and to the characters of the gods Hiraṇyagarbha, Viśvakarman, Vishṇu, Rudra, and the goddess Ambikā; and have compared the representations there given of these deities with the later stories and speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Brāhmaṇas, and in the mythological poems of a more modern date. In the course of these researches, I have also introduced occasional notices of some of the other Vedic deities, such as Aditi, Indra, Varuṇa, etc.

In the present volume I propose to give a further account of the cosmogony, mythology, and religious ideas exhibited in the hymns of the Rig-veda,[1] and to compare these occasionally with the corresponding conceptions of the early Greeks.

[1] This subject has been already treated by Professor Roth in his dissertations on "The Legend of Jemshid" and on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races," in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 417 ff. and vi. 67 ff.; by the same writer, and by Professor Whitney, in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 291 ff., and 331 ff.; by Professor Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vii. 607 ff.; by Professor Max Müller in the Oxford Essays for 1856 (reprinted in Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. pp. 1 ff.), and in his History of Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 531 ff.; by Professor Wilson in the Prefaces to the three vols. of his translation of the Rig-veda; by M. Langlois in the notes to his French translation of the Rig-

(1) *Affinities of the Indian and Grecian mythologies.*

In the Second Volume of this work I have stated the reasons, drawn from history and from comparative philology, which exist for concluding that the Brahmanical Indians belong to the same race as the Greek, the Latin, the Teutonic, and other nations of Europe. If this conclusion be well-founded, it is evident that at the time when the several branches of the great Indo-European family separated to commence their migrations in the direction of their future homes, they must have possessed in common a large stock of religious and mythological conceptions. This common mythology would, in the natural course of events, and from the action of various causes, undergo a gradual modification analogous to that undergone by the common language which had originally been spoken by all these tribes during the period of their union; and, in the one case as in the other, this modification would assume in the different races a varying character, corresponding to the diversity of the influences to which they were severally subjected. We shall not, therefore, be surprised to find that even the oldest existing mythology of the Indians differs widely from the oldest known mythology of the Greeks, any more than we are to find that the Sanskrit in its earliest surviving forms is a very different language from the earliest extant Greek, since the Vedic hymns, the most primitive remains of Sanskrit poetry, date from a period when the two kindred races had been separated for perhaps above a thousand years, and the most ancient monuments of Greek literature are still more recent. Yet, notwithstanding this long separation, we might reasonably anticipate that some fragments of the primitive Indo-European mythology should have remained common to both the eastern and the western branches of the family; while, at the same time, we should, of course, expect that such traces of common religious conceptions would be more distinctly perceptible in the older than in the more recent literary productions of the several peoples. And such, in point of fact, turns out to be the case. The mythology of the Veda

veda; by Professor Weber, and by Drs. Kuhn and Bühler, etc. etc. The substance of some of the following sections is repeated or condensed in a paper which I read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1864. See the Transactions of that Society, vol. xxiii. part iii. pp. 547 ff.

does exhibit in some points a certain similarity to that of Homer and Hesiod, and the mutual resemblance between the religious ideas of those ancient works is, upon the whole, greater than that existing between the later Indian and the Greek pantheons. I say that, upon the whole, the older Indian mythology coincides more nearly with the Greek than the later Indian mythology does. But, on the other hand, the later Indian system presents some points of resemblance with the Greek which the Vedic system does not exhibit. I allude to the fact that we find in the Indian epic poems and Purāṇas a god of the sea, a god of war, and a goddess of love, who (the last two, at least,) are unknown to the oldest parts of the Veda, and yet correspond in a general way to the Poseidon, the Ares, and the Aphrodite of the Greeks. Personifications of this sort may, however, be either the product of an early instinct which leads men to create divine representatives and superintendents of every department of nature, as well as of human life and action; or they may arise in part from a later process of imagination or reflection which conducts to the same result, and from a love of systematic completeness which impels a people to fill up any blanks in their earlier mythology, and to be always adding to and modifying it. Resemblances of this last description, though they are by no means accidental, are not necessarily anything more than the results of similar processes going on in nations possessing the same general tendencies and characteristics. But the older points of coincidence between the religious ideas of the Greeks and the Indians, to which reference was first made, are of a different character, and are the undoubted remains of an original mythology which was common to the ancestors of both races. This is shown by the fact that, in the cases to which I allude, it is not only the functions, but the names, of the gods which correspond in both literatures.

(2) *Antiquity and peculiarity of the Vedic mythology.*

But the value of the Vedic mythology to the general scholar does not consist merely in the circumstance that a few religious conceptions, and the names of two or three deities, are common to it with the Greek. It is even more important to observe that the earliest monuments of Indian poetry, consisting, as they do, almost exclusively of

hymns in praise of the national deities, and being the productions of an age far anterior to that of Homer and Hesiod, represent a more ancient period of religious development than we discover in the Greek poets, and disclose to us, in the earliest stages of formation, a variety of myths which a few centuries later had assumed a fixed and recognised form.[2] It is also to be noticed that, from the copiousness of the materials they supply, the hymns of the Rig-veda furnish us with far more minute illustrations of the natural workings of the human mind, in the period of its infancy, upon matters of religion than we can find in any other literature whatever. From their higher antiquity, these Indian hymns are also fitted to throw light on the meaning of a few points of the Greek system which were before obscure. Thus, as we shall see, the Indian Dyaus (sky, or heaven) explains the original meaning of the Greek Zeus, and the Sanskrit Varuṇa gives a clue to the proper signification of Ouranos.

As in the first volume of this work, 2nd edition, pp. 2–4,[3] I have stated the grounds on which the Vedic hymns are assumed to have been composed at a period considerably more than a thousand years before our era, I shall here take their great antiquity for granted, and proceed to give some account of their cosmogony and mythology.

(3) *Origin of cosmogonic and mythological speculation.*

To a simple mind reflecting, in the early ages of the world, on the origin of all things, various solutions of the mystery might naturally present themselves. Sometimes the production of the existing universe would be ascribed to physical, and at other times to spiritual, powers. On the one hand, the various processes of growth and change which are constantly visible in all the departments of nature might have suggested the notion of the world having gradually arisen out of nothing, or out of a pre-existing undeveloped substance. Such an idea of the spontaneous evolution of all things out of a primeval principle, or out of indiscrete matter, called Prakṛiti, became at a later period the foundation of the Sānkhya philosophy. Or, again, perceiving light and form and colour

[2] See Professor Max Müller's essay on "Comparative Mythology," in the Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 47, and the reprint in Chips from a German Workshop, p. 75 f.

[3] See also Vol. II. pp. 206 ff. and Vol. III. 2nd ed. 217 f. and 224.

and beauty emerge slowly every morning out of a gloom in which all objects had before appeared to be confounded, the early speculator might conceive that in like manner the brightness and order of the world around him had sprung necessarily out an antecedent night in which the elements of all things had existed together in indistinguishable chaos. And, in fact, this idea of the universe having arisen out of darkness and chaos is the doctrine of one of the later hymns of the R.V. (x. 129). Or, on the other hand, contemplating the results effected by human design and energy, and arguing from the less to the greater, or rather impelled by an irresistible instinct to create other beings after his own likeness,[4] but endowed with higher powers, the ancient thinker might feel that the well-ordered frame of nature could not possibly have sprung into being from any blind necessity, but must have been the work of a conscious and intelligent will. In this stage of thought, however, before the mind had risen to the conception of one supreme creator and governor of all things, the various departments of nature were apportioned between different gods, each of whom was imgined to preside over his own especial domain. But these domains were imperfectly defined. One blended with another, and might thus be subject, in part, to the rule of more than one deity. Or, according to the various relations under which they were regarded, these several provinces of the creation might be subdivided among a plurality of divinities, or varying forms of the same divinity. These remarks might be illustrated by numerous instances drawn from the Vedic mythology. In considering the literary productions of this same period, we further find that as yet the difference between mind and matter was but imperfectly conceived, and that, although, in some cases, the distinction between some particular province of nature and the deity who was supposed to preside over it was clearly discerned, yet in other instances the two things were confounded, and the same visible object was at different times regarded diversely, as being either a portion of the inanimate universe, or an animated being, and a cos-

[4] Arist. Pol. i. 2, 7. Καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες φασὶ βασιλεύεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐβασιλεύοντο· ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἴδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν. "And all men represent the gods as being ruled by a king, because they themselves, either now, or formerly, were so governed. And just as men regard the forms, so also they consider the lives, of the gods, to be similar to their own."

mical power. Thus, in the Vedic hymns, the sun, the sky, and the earth, are severally considered, sometimes as natural objects governed by particular gods, and sometimes as themselves gods who generate and control other beings.

(4) *Variety in the conceptions of the Vedic poets.*

The varieties and discrepancies which are in this way incident to all nature-worship, are, in the case of the Vedic mythology, augmented by the number of the poets by whom it was moulded, and the length of time during which it continued in process of formation.

The Rig-veda consists of more than a thousand hymns, composed by successive generations of poets during a period of many centuries. In these songs the authors gave expression not only to the notions of the supernatural world which they had inherited from their ancestors, but also to their own new conceptions. In that early age the imaginations of men were peculiarly open to impressions from without; and in a country like India, where the phenomena of nature are often of the most striking description, such spectators could not fail to be overpowered by their influence. The creative faculties of the poets were thus stimulated to the highest pitch. In the starry sky, in the dawn, in the morning sun scaling the heavens, in the bright clouds floating across the air and assuming all manner of magnificent or fantastic shapes, in the waters, in the rain, in the storm, in the thunder and lightning, they beheld the presence and agency of different divine powers, propitious or angry, whose characters corresponded with those of the physical operations or appearances in which they were manifested. In the hymns composed under the influence of any grand phenomena, the authors would naturally ascribe a peculiar or exclusive importance to the deities by whose action these appeared to have been produced, and would celebrate their greatness with proportionate fervour. Other poets might attribute the same natural appearances to the agency of other deities, whose greatness they would in like manner extol; while others again would devote themselves in preference to the service of some other god whose working they seemed to witness in some other department of creation. In this way, while the same traditional divinities were acknowledged by all, the power, dignity, and functions

of each particular god might be differently estimated by different poets, or perhaps by the same poet, according to the external influences by which he was awed or inspired on each occasion. And it might even happen that some deity who had formerly remained obscure, would, by the genius of a new poet devoted to his worship, be brought out into greater prominence. In such circumstances it need not surprise us if we find one particular power or deity in one place put above, and in another place subordinated to, some other god; sometimes regarded as the creator, and sometimes as the created. This is very prominently illustrated in the case of the Vedic divinities, Dyaus and Pṛithivī, Heaven and Earth, to which the second Section shall be devoted, and by other instances which will be brought to light in the following pages.

SECTION I.

THE INDIAN GODS GENERALLY, AS REPRESENTED IN THE RIG-VEDA.

Before proceeding to offer some description of the powers, functions, characters, and mutual relations of the several deities celebrated in the Rig-veda, I shall give some account of the general conceptions entertained by the Vedic poets and some later Indian writers, regarding their classes, numbers, origin, and duration.

(1) *Yāska's classification of the gods.*

The following classification of the Vedic gods is adduced by Yāska[5] in his Nirukta (vii. 5), as being that given by the ancient expositors who preceded him: *Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ iti Nairuktāḥ Agniḥ pṛithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā antariksha-sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām māhābhāgyād ekaikasyāḥ api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti api vā karma-pṛithaktvād yathā hotā adhvaryur brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā pṛithag eva syuḥ | pṛithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā abhidhānāni* | "There are three deities according to the expounders of the Veda (*Nairuktāḥ*), viz. Agni, whose place is on the earth; Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the air; and Sūrya (the sun), whose place is in the sky.[6] These deities receive severally many appellations, in consequence of their greatness, or of the diversity of their functions, as the names of *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, and *ud-*

[5] For some account of Yāska's work see the second vol. of this work, pp. 162 and 173, and my article "On the Interpretation of the Veda" in the Journ. R. A. S. for 1866, pp. 319 ff.

[6] Compare R.V. x. 158, 1. *Sūryo no divas pātu Vāto antarikshāt | Agnir naḥ pārthivebhyaḥ* | "May the Sun preserve us from the sky, Vāyu from the air, and Agni from things on earth."

gātri, are applied to one and the same person, [according to the particular sacrificial office which he happens to be fulfilling]. Or these gods may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their appellations, are distinct."[7] Pursuing the triple classification here indicated, Yāska proceeds in the latter part of his work to divide the different deities, or forms of the same deities, specified in the fifth chapter of the Naighaṇṭuka or Vocabulary, which is prefixed to his work, into the three orders of terrestrial (Nirukta vii. 14–ix. 43), intermediate or aerial (x. 1–xi. 50), and celestial (xii. 1–46). I shall not reproduce these lists, which could not in some places be thoroughly understood without explanation, as they include several deities whose precise character and identification with other divinities are disputed, and embrace a number of objects which are not gods at all, but are constructively regarded as such from their being addressed in the hymns.[8]

(2) *Their number.*

The gods are spoken of in various texts of the Rig-veda as being thirty-three in number. Thus it is said in R.V. i. 34, 11: "Come

[7] This passage is quoted more at length in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 133 ff.

[8] The following is the manner in which Yāska classifies the hymns. I quote the classification as interesting, though unconnected with my present subject:—He divides (Nir. vii. 1) the hymns, or portions of hymns, devoted to the praise of the gods into three classes, viz. (1) those in which the gods are addressed in the third person as absent, as "Indra rules over heaven and earth" (x. 89, 10), etc.; (2) those which address them in the second person as present, such as "O Indra, slay thou our enemies" (x. 152, 4), etc.; and (3) those in which the author speaks in the first person, and about himself. Of these the first two classes are the most numerous. Again some of the hymns are merely laudatory, as, "I declare the valorous deeds of Indra," R.V. i. 32, 1; others contain prayers, not praises, as, "may I see clearly with my eyes, be radiant in my face, and hear distinctly with my ears." Again, there are imprecations, as, "may I die to-day, if I am a Yātudhāna" (vii. 104, 15), etc. Again, a particular state of things is described, as, "there was then neither death nor immortality" (x. 129, 2). Again, a lamentation is uttered, as, "the bright god will fly away and never return" (x. 95, 15). Or, praise and blame are expressed, as, "he who eats alone, is alone in his guilt" (x. 117, 6), and "the house of the liberal man is like a pond where lotuses grow" (x. 107, 10); and in the same way, in the hymn to Dice, gambling is reprehended, and agriculture praised (x. 34, 13). "Thus the views with which the rishis beheld the hymns were very various." The original text of most of this passage will be found in the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 211.

hither, Nāsatyas, Aśvins, together with the thrice eleven gods,[9] to drink our nectar" (*ā nāsatyā tribhir ekādaśair iha devebhir yātam madhupeyam Aśvinā*).

Again, in i. 45, 2: "Agni, the wise gods lend an ear to their worshipper. God with the ruddy steeds, who lovest praise, bring hither those three and thirty" (*śrushṭivāno hi dāśushe devāḥ Agne vichetasaḥ | tān rohidaśva girvaṇas trayastriṁśatam ā vaha*).

i. 139, 11 (=Taitt. S. i. 4, 10, 1). "Ye gods, who are eleven in the sky, who are eleven on earth, and who in your glory[10] are eleven dwellers in the (atmospheric) waters, do ye welcome this our offering" (*ye devāso divi ekādaśa stha pṛithivyām adhi ekādaśa stha | apsukshito mahinā ekādaśa stha te devāso yajnam imaṁ jushadhvam*).

iii. 6. 9. "Agni bring hither according to thy wont and gladden the three and thirty gods with their wives" (*patnīvatas triṁśataṁ trīṁś cha devān anushvadham āvaha mādayasva*).

viii. 28, 1. "May the three over thirty gods who have visited our sacrificial grass, recognize us, and give us double"[11] (*ye triṁśati trayas paro devāso barhir āsadan | vidann aha dvitā 'sanan*).

viii. 30, 2. "Ye who are the three and thirty gods worshipped by Manu (or man), when thus praised, may ye become the destroyers of our foes" (*iti stutāso asatha riśādaso ye stha trayaś cha triṁśach cha | manor devāḥ yajniyāsaḥ*).

viii. 35, 3. "Aśvins, associated with all the thrice eleven gods, with the Waters, the Maruts, the Bhṛigus, and united with the Dawn and the Sun, drink the soma" (*viśvair devais tribhir ekādaśair iha adbhir marudbhir Bhṛigubhiḥ sachābhuvā | sajoshasā Ushasā Sūryeṇa cha somam pibata Aśvinā*).

[9] That is, as Sāyaṇa explains, those included in the three classes, consisting each of eleven gods, specified in the verse (i. 139, 11), "Ye eleven gods who exist in the sky," etc.

[10] On this Sāyaṇa remarks, "Although, according to the text, 'There are only three gods,' (Nirukta, vii. 5), the deities who represent the earth, etc., are but three, still through their greatness, *i.e.* their respective varied manifestations, they amount to thirty-three, according to the saying, 'other manifestations of Him exist in different places.'" Compare Śp. Br. xi. 6, 3, 4 ff. The Atharva-veda (x. 9, 12) divides the gods into dwellers in the sky, air, and earth (*ye devāḥ divishado antarikshasadaś cha ye ye cha ime bhūmyām adhi*). And the same Veda i. 30, 3, speaks of the gods who dwell in the sky, on earth, in the air, in plants, animals, and waters (*ye devāḥ divi stha ye pṛithivyāṁ ye antarikshe oshadhīshu paśushu apsu antaḥ*).

[11] Roth says that *dvitā* does not mean *double*, but *assuredly, especially*.

ix. 92, 4. "O pure Soma, all these gods, thrice eleven in number, are in thy secret," etc.[12] (*tava te, Soma pavamāna ninye viśve devās trayaḥ ekādaśa*).

This number of thirty-three gods is in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (iv. 5, 7, 2) explained as made up of 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, and 12 Ādityas, together with Dyaus and Pṛithivī (Heaven and Earth), while Prajāpati makes a thirty-fourth (*aṣhṭau Vasavaḥ ekādaśa Rudrāḥ dvādaśa Ādityāḥ ime eva dyāvā-pṛithivī trayastriṁśyau | trayastriṁśad vai devāḥ | Prajāpatiś chatustriṁśaḥ*). Or, according to another passage (xi. 6, 3, 5), the thirty-three are made up in the same manner with the exception of Indra and Prajāpati, who are substituted for Heaven and Earth (*te ekatriṁśad Indraś chaiva Prajāpatiś cha trayastriṁśau*).[13]

This enumeration could scarcely have been the one contemplated in the hymns, as we have seen that one of the texts above quoted (R.V. i. 139, 11) assigns eleven deities, who must probably have been all of the same class, to each of the three spheres, sky, air, and earth.[14] It is

[12] This number of thirty-three gods is referred to in a hymn to the sun in the Mahābhārata iii. 171, as joining in the worship of that deity: *Trayas triṁśach cha vai devāḥ*. See also v. 14019 and 15465 of the same third book; book iv. 1769, and book xiii. 7102. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇyakāṇḍa 14, 14 f. (Bombay ed.) Aditi was the mother of thirty-three gods, Adityas, Vasus, and Rudras, and of the two Aśvins (*Adityāṁ jajnire devās trayastriṁśad arindama | Adityāḥ Vasavo Rudrāḥ Aśvinau cha parantapa*). In Gorresio's edit. the verse occurs in 20, 15. See also the Śp. Br. xii. 8, 3, 29. The Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 3, 5, 1, says that Prajāpati had thirty-three daughters, whom he gave in marriage to Soma. The A.V. xi. 3, 52, says that Prajāpati made thirty-three worlds out of the odana oblation. See also R.V. viii. 39, 9, Vālakhilya, 9, 2. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 18, says: *trayastriṁśad vai devāḥ somapās trayastriṁśad asomapāḥ | aṣhṭau Vasavaḥ ekādaśa Rudrāḥ dvādaśa Ādityāḥ Prajāpatiś cha Vashaṭkāraś cha ete devāḥ somapāḥ | ekādaśa prayājāḥ ekādaśa anuyājāḥ ekādaśa upayājāḥ ete asomapāḥ paśu-bhājanāḥ | somena somapān prīṇāti paśunā asomapān* | "Thirty-three gods are drinkers of Soma, and thirty-three are not. The eight Vasus, the eleven Rudras, the twelve Ādityas, Prajāpati and Vashaṭkāra are the soma-drinkers. The eleven Prayājas, the eleven Anuyājas, and the eleven Upayājas are those who do not drink it, but receive animal sacrifices. He (the sacrificer) satiates the soma-drinkers with soma, and those who do not drink it with animal-sacrifices." For an explanation of the terms *prayāja, anuyāja, and upa-yāja* see Professor Haug's translation of the Ait. Br. ii. 110, notes.

[13] Compare Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 2, 4. In the sequel of the above passage (Śatap. Br. xi. 6, 3, 6) Dyaus, Pṛithivī, and Āditya are said to be included among the Vasus. So that it is clear there is no consistency in these accounts.

[14] On this division of the universe into three domains, see the remarks of Professor Roth in his dissertation on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races." Jour. Germ. Or. Society, 1852, p. 68.

also clear that this number of thirty-three gods could not have embraced the whole of the Vedic deities, as in some of the preceding texts Agni, the Aśvins, and the Maruts are separately specified, as if distinct from the thirty-three. Further, Indra could not have been, in the opinion of the author of the Brāhmaṇa, at least as expressed in this passage, xi. 6, 3, 5, one of the twelve Ādityas (as he was regarded at a later period), since he is separately specified as making up the number of thirty-three gods.

In the R.V. iii. 9, 9 (= R.V. x. 52, 6 and Vāj. S. 33, 7) the gods are mentioned as being much more numerous: "Three hundred, three thousand, thirty and nine gods have worshipped Agni,"[15] etc. (*trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇi Agniṁ triṁśach cha devāḥ nava cha asaparyan*).

In another passage (i. 27, 13) the gods are spoken of as divided into great and small, young and old: "Reverence to the great, reverence to the small: reverence to the young, reverence to the old. Let us worship the gods if we are able; may I not, o gods, neglect the praise of the greatest" (*namo mahadbhyo namo arbhakebhyo namo yuvabhyo namaḥ āśinebhyaḥ | yajāma devān yadi śaknavāma na jyāyasaḥ śamsam ā sṛikshi devāḥ |*).

I am not aware, however, that this latter classification of the gods is alluded to in any other of the hymns. In fact this distinction among the deities is denied in another passage, viii. 30, 1: *na hi vo asti arbhako devāso na kumārakaḥ | viśve satomahāntaḥ it |* ("None of you, o gods, is small or young: you are all great").

(3) *Their origin and immortality.*

In the Rig-veda the gods are spoken of as immortal[16] (as in i. 24, 1; i. 72, 2, 10; i. 189, 3; iii. 4, 11; iii. 21, 1; iv. 42, 1; vii. 11, 1; vii. 17, 4; x. 13, 1; x. 65, 15; x. 69, 9; x. 72, 5; but they are not regarded in

[15] The commentator remarks here that the number of the gods is declared in the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad. See pp. 642 ff. of the text of this Upanishad, printed in the Bibl. Ind.; and pp. 205 ff. of the English translation in the same series. The same passage occurs in nearly the same words in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 4 ff. On the numbers of the gods, see a note of Professor Haug in his Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 212, note, and the remarks by Dr. Kuhn in his notice of this paper in his Zeitschrift, p. 223.

[16] In the Atharva-veda i. 31, 1, four immortals are spoken of as the guardians of the four quarters of the sky (*āśānām āśāpālebhyaś chaturbhyo amṛitebhyaḥ*).

general as unbeginning or self-existent beings.[17] There are, as we shall see in the next section, many passages in which they are described as being the offspring of Heaven and Earth. In i. 113, 19, Ushas, the Dawn, is characterized as the mother of the gods (*devānām mātā*); in ii. 26, 3, Brahmaṇaspati is called their father (*devānām pitaram*); in ix. 87, 2, Soma is said to be the father and skilful generator of the gods (*pitā devānāṁ janitā sudakshaḥ;* see also ix. 42, 4; ix. 86, 10; and ix. 109, 4); in ix. 96, 5, the same deity is described as the generator of Heaven, Earth, Agni, Sūrya, Indra, and Vishṇu (*janitā divo janitā pṛithivyāḥ | janitā Agner janitā Sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitota Vishṇoḥ*); in x. 72, 5, the gods are declared to have been born after Aditi (*tāṁ devāḥ anv ajāyanta*); in x. 97, 1, certain plants appear to be described as produced three ages (yugas) before the gods (*yāḥ oshadhīḥ pūrvāḥ jāiāḥ devebhyas triyugam purā*); whilst in x. 129, 6, the gods are said to have been born subsequently to the creation of the universe, so that in consequence no one can declare its origin (*arvāg devās tasya visarjanena atha ko veda yataḥ ā babhūva*).[18] Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Daksha, and Aṁśa are designated, in R.V. ii. 27, 1, and some of them elsewhere, as Ādityas, or sons of Aditi. The birth of Indra is mentioned in various texts, and his father and mother alluded to, though not generally named[19] (iv. 17, 4, 12; iv. 18, 5, 12; viii. 45, 4; viii. 66, 1; x. 134, 1 ff.). In vi. 59, 1, Indra and Agni are ad-

[17] This is not, however, admitted by Professor Max Müller, who says (Chips from a German Workshop, i. 38) "passages in which the birth of certain gods is mentioned have a physical meaning: they refer to the birth of the day, the rising of the sun, the return of the year."

[18] In the Atharva-veda xi. 7, 23, all the gods are said to have been born from *Uchchhishṭa* or the remains of the oblation (*Ucchhishṭāj jajnire sarve divi devāḥ diviśritāḥ*); and in verse 27 the same assertion is repeated regarding them in conjunction with the fathers, men, Gandharvas, and Apsarases (*devāḥ pitaro manushyāḥ Gandharvāpsarasaś cha ye | uchchishṭāj jajnire sarve divi devāḥ diviśritāḥ*). Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 2, 3. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa xiv. 2, 2, 2, it is said: *Ayaṁ vai samudro yo 'yam pavate | etasmād vai samudrāt sarve devāḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni samuddravanti* | "This which is purified is the ocean (*samudra*). From this ocean all the gods, all creatures issue forth" (*samuddravanti*). The gods are said to have been born in pairs according to a passage of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā (vi. 5, 6), referred to by Sāyaṇa on R.V. viii. 72, 8.

[19] In R.V. x. 101, 12, a goddess called *Nishṭigrī* is mentioned, apparently as the mother of Indra: *Nishṭigryāḥ putram ā chāvaya ūtaye Indram* | "draw hither Indra the son of Nishṭigrī to aid us," etc. Sāyaṇa on this passage identifies her with Aditi, viz.: "She who swallows up her rival wife *Nishṭi, i.e.* Diti." Indra is in fact

dressed in these words: *Hatāso vām pitaro devaśatravaḥ Indrāgnī jīvatho yuvām* | "Your fathers, who had the gods for foes, have been slain, o Indra and Agni; but you survive." But in the next verse both gods are said to have had one generator and to be twin-brothers (*samāno vām janitā bhrātarā yuvām yamāv ihehamatarā*). The A.V. i. 30, 2, speaks of some of the gods as being fathers and others as being sons (*ye vo devāḥ pitaro ye cha putrāḥ sachetaso me śṛiṇuta idam uktam*). See also R.V. x. 63, 2, which will be quoted in the Section on Aditi.

In iv. 54, 2 (=Vāj. S. 33, 54) it is said that Savitṛi bestows immortality, an excellent lot, on the gods (*devebhyo hi prathamaṁ yajniyebhyo amṛitatvaṁ suvasi bhāgam uttamam*).[20] Agni is also said, vi. 7, 4, by his power or skill, to confer immortality on the gods, who worship him when he is born like an infant and shines forth from out of his parents (*tvāṁ viśve amṛita jāyamānam śiśuṁ na devāḥ abhi saṁ navante* | *tava kratubhir amṛitatvam āyan vaiśvānara yat pitror adīdeḥ*). In ix. 106, 8 the gods are said to drink Soma to obtain immortality (*tvāṁ devāso amṛitāya kam papuḥ*; compare ix. 109, 2, 3).[21] In x. 53, 10 some means are alluded to (it is not clear what) by which the gods attained immortality (*yena devāso amṛitatvam ānaśuḥ*). In x. 167, 1 Indra is said to have conquered heaven by austere fervour (*tvaṁ tapaḥ paritapya ajayaḥ svaḥ*); and in x. 159, 4 he is said to have become glorious and exalted by the offering of some oblation (*yenendro havishā kṛitvī abhavad dyumnī uttamaḥ*).

In the A.V. iv. 23, 6 Agni is said to have been the author of the immortality of the gods (*yena devāḥ amṛitam anvavindan*); in the same

addressed as an Āditya along with Varuṇa in vii. 85, 4. He is not, however, as we have seen above, considered as such in the S'p. Br. xi. 6, 3, 5, where he is mentioned as distinct from the twelve Ādityas.

[20] Sāyaṇa interprets this by saying that he gives them soma and other means of attaining immortality (*amṛitatvaṁ tat-sādhanam uttamam utkrishṭatamam bhāgam somādi-lakshaṇam suvasi anujānāsi*). The same deity is said i. 110, 3, to have conferred immortality on the Ṛibhus (*tat Savitā vo amṛitatvam āsuvat*).

[21] See S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa ix. 5, 1, 1–8, where it is said that immortality departed from the gods (*devebhyo ha vai amṛitatvam apachakrāma*), when they set themselves to recover it by religious observances. They poured out soma into Agni and thus infused immortality into him, and by so doing acquired it themselves, as he is the soul of all the gods. Soma is the principle of immortality (*abhishutya agnāv ajuhuvuḥ* | *tad agnāv amṛitam adadhuḥ* | *sarveshām u ha esha devānām ātmā yad agniḥ* | *tad yad agnāv amṛitam adadhus tad ātmann amṛitam adadhata* | *tato devāḥ amṛitāḥ abhavan* | *tad yat tad amṛitaṁ Somaḥ saḥ*).

Veda, xi. 5, 19, the gods are said to have overcome death by continence and austere fervour (*brahmacharyeṇa tapasā devāḥ mṛityum apāghnata*); and, ibid. xiii. 1, 7, to have acquired immortality through Rohita (*yena devāḥ amṛitam anvavindan*). Compare the same Veda iii. 22, 3; iv. 11, 6; iv. 14, 1; Śatap. Br. i. 7, 3, 1; Ait. Br. vi. 20; Taitt. Sanh. i. 7, 1, 3, and vi. 5, 3, 1; and the Mahābhārata xiv. 1444: *Tathaiva tapasā devāḥ mahāmāyāḥ divaṁ gatāḥ* |.

I have elsewhere quoted a number of passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in which it is related how the gods became immortal; and how, though of the same parentage, and originally on a footing of equality, with the Asuras, they became superior to them.[22] (See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 47–53; and the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx. pp.41–45.)

According to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa the gods obtained their divine rank by austerity (*tapasā devāḥ devatām agre āyan* | iii. 12, 3, 1).

In other places some of the gods, as Indra (iii. 46, 1; v. 42, 6), are spoken of as undecaying; and in vi. 24, 7 it is said of that god that neither autumns nor months wear him out, nor do days cause him to decay (*na yaṁ jaranti śarado na māsāḥ na dyāvaḥ Indram avakarśayanti*). Whether or not the Vedic poets had any conception of an

[22] In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 4, 2, 1, it is said that all creatures came to Prajāpati, and asked that they might live. To the gods he said, "Sacrifice is your food, your immortality is your support, the sun is your light," etc. (*yajno vo 'nnam amṛitatvaṁ vaḥ ūrg vaḥ sūryo vo jyotiḥ* | To the passages of the Ś. P. Br. regarding the manner in which the gods acquired immortality, above referred to, I may add one as yet unpublished from the India Office MS. of the Taittirīya Sanhitā vii. 4, 2, 1: *Yathā vai manushyāḥ evaṁ devāḥ agre āsan* | *te 'kāmayantāvarttim pāpmānam mṛityum apahatya daivīṁ saṁsadaṁ gachhema iti* | *te etaṁ chaturviṁśatirātram apaśyaṁs tam āharaṁs tena ayajanta tato vai te 'varttim pāpmānam mṛityum apahatya daivīṁ saṁsadaṁ agachchan* | "The gods were formerly just like men. They desired to overcome want, misery, death, and to go to the divine assembly. They saw, took, and sacrificed with, this Chaturviṁśatirātra, and in consequence overcame want, misery, and death, and reached the divine assembly." In the Taitt. Sanh. v. p. 43*a* (of India Office MS.) we are told that "the gods and Asuras contended together; and that the former were less numerous than the latter, when they took some bricks which they saw, and placing them in the proper position to receive the sacrificial fire, with the formula 'Thou art a multiplier,' they became numerous" (*Devāsurāḥ saṁyattāḥ āsan* | *kanīyāṁso devāḥ āsan bhūyāṁso 'surāḥ* | *te devāḥ etāḥ ishṭakāḥ apaśyan* | *tāḥ upādadhanta "bhūyaskṛid asi" ity eva bhūyāmso 'bhavan*). In the Mahābhārata, Śāntip. 1184, it is said that in the battle which they had with each other "the Asuras were the elder brothers and the gods the younger" (*idaṁ tu śrūyate pārtha yuddhe devāsure purā* | *asurāḥ bhrātaro jyeshṭhāḥ devāś chāpi yavīyasaḥ*).

absolute future eternity of the gods, does not appear. But, as we have seen, the authors of the Brāhmaṇas did not regard them as naturally and essentially immortal; and it is at all events evident that in later times their immortality was regarded as only relative, as according to the Puranic representation the gods are only a portion of the existing system of the universe, and are therefore subject, as regards their corporeal part, to the same law of dissolution as other beings. See the 1st vol. of this work, 2nd ed. p. 49, and Professor Wilson's Sānkhya Kārikā, p. 14. Thus, in a verse quoted in the commentary of that work (p. 3 of the Sanskrit), it is said: "Many thousands of Indras and of other gods have, through time, passed away in every mundane age; for time is hard to overcome" (*bahūnīndra-sahasrāṇi devānāṁ cha yuge yuge | kālena samatītani kālo hi duratikramaḥ*). And in the Sānkhya Aphorisms, iii. 53, it is said that "the suffering arising from decay and death is common to all" (*samānaṁ jarā-maraṇādi-jaṁ duḥkham*); which the commentator interprets to mean that such suffering is "the common lot of all beings, both those who go upwards and those who go downwards, from Brahmā to things without motion" (*ūrddhvādho-gatānām Brahmādi-sthāvarāntānāṁ sarveshām eva jarā-maraṇādi-jaṁ duḥkhaṁ sādhāraṇam*).[23] The souls which have animated the gods, however, like those which animate all other corporeal beings, being eternal and imperishable, must of course survive all such dissolutions, to be either born again in other forms, or become absorbed in the supreme Brahma. See Wilson's Vishṇu Pur. p. 632, note 7; and the 3rd vol. of this work, 2nd ed. p. 99, where it is shewn, on the authority of the Brahma Sūtras or of Sankara their commentator, that the gods both desire and are capable of final emancipation.

(4) *Different generations of gods and their mutual relations.*

Two of the passages above quoted (in p. 14), R.V. vi. 59, 1, and A.V. i. 30, 2, imply that the existing gods were successors of others who had previously existed. The former verse is perhaps illustrated (as Prof. Aufrecht has suggested to me) by R.V. iv. 18, 12: *Kas te mātaraṁ vidhavām achakrat śayuṁ kas tvām ajighāṁsat charantam | kas te devo adhi māṛḍīke āsīd yat prākshiṇāḥ pitaram pādagṛihya* | "Who (o

[23] Compare Ritter's History of Philosophy, Engl. transl. vol. 3, p. 538.

Indra) made thy mother a widow? Who sought to kill thee lying or moving? What god was present in the fray, when thou didst slay thy father, seizing him by the foot?"[24] In vii. 21, 7, mention is made of earlier gods: "Even the former gods[25] admitted their powers to be inferior to thy divine prowess" (*devāś chit te asuryāya pūrve anu kshattrāya mamire sahāṁsi*). Earlier gods are also mentioned in x. 109, 4, though in conjunction with (unless we are to understand them as identified with) the seven rishis: "In regard to her the former gods said, the seven rishis who sat down to practise austerity," etc. (*devāḥ etasyām avadanta pūrve saptaṛishayas tapase ye nisheduḥ*). An earlier age of the gods is mentioned in x. 72, 2 f.: "In the former age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent. In the first age of the gods the existent sprang from the non-existent" (*devānām pūrvye yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata | 3. Devānāṁ yuge prathame asataḥ sad ajāyata*). And in R.V. i. 164, 50 we have the following verse, which is repeated in x. 90, 16 (the Purusha Sūkta): *yajnena yajnam ayajanta devās tāni dharmāṇi prathamāni āsan | te ha nākam mahimānaḥ sachanta yatra pūrve sādhyāḥ santi devāḥ* | "With sacrifice the gods worshipped the sacrifice: these were the earliest rites. These great powers sought after the sky, where are the early Sādhyas, gods."[26]

[24] In explanation of this legend Sāyaṇa refers to the Taittirīya Sanhitā vi. 1, 3, 6. The following is the passage referred to, which I quote to show how little light it throws on the text of the R.V.: *Yajno dakshiṇām abhyadhāyat | tām samabhavat | tad Indro 'chāyat | so 'manyata "yo vai ito janishyate sa idaṁ bhavishyati" iti | tāṁ prāviśat | tasyā Indra evājāyata | so 'manyata "yo vai mad ito 'paro janishyate sa idaṁ bhavishyati" iti | tasyā anumṛiśya yonim āchhinat | sā sūtavaśā 'bhavat | tat sūtavaśāyai janma | tāṁ haste nyaveshṭayata | tāṁ mṛigeshu nyadadhāt | sā kṛishṇavishāṇā 'bhavat | "Indrasya yonir asi mā mā hiṁsīr" iti* | "Yajna (sacrifice) desired Dakshiṇā (largess). He consorted with her. Indra was apprehensive of this. He reflected: 'whoever is born of her will be this.' He entered into her. Indra himself was born of her. He reflected: 'whoever is born of her besides me will be this.' Having considered, he cut open her womb. She produced a cow," etc. No mention is here made of his killing his father.

[25] Sāyaṇa in loco says this means Asuras.

[26] I quote here part of a note from my article On the Interpretation of the Veda, Jour. R.A.S. for 1866, p. 395: Yāska tells us (Nirukta xii. 41) that the Nairuktas understood the Sādhyas to be "the gods whose locality is the sky," *dyusthāno devagaṇaḥ*, whilst, according to a legend (*ākhyāna*) the term denoted a former age of the gods." Professor Wilson translates the word Sādhyāḥ in R.V. i. 164, 50 by "who are to be propitiated," a sense not assigned by Sāyaṇa, who proposes, first, that of *sādhanā yajnādīsādhana-vantaḥ karmadevāḥ*, "performers, performers of sacrifices, etc., work-gods." These words are rendered by Prof. Wilson in his note on i. 164, 50, "divinities presiding

The gods do not seem to have lived always on a friendly footing with each other. It appears to me that the two following verses, R.V. iv. 30, 3, 5, though otherwise rendered by Professor Wilson (after Sāyaṇa) are to be understood of Indra fighting against the gods, and not with the gods against the Asuras: 3. *Viśve chana id anā tvā devāsaḥ Indra yuyudhuḥ | yad ahā naktam ātiraḥ | 5. Yatra devān ṛighāyato viśvān ayudhyaḥ ekaḥ it | tvam Indra vanūn ahan |* 3. "Even all the gods assailed thee Indra, when thou didst prolong(?) day and night. 5. When thou didst fight alone against all the furious gods, thou didst slay the destructive." This interpretation is favoured by the tenor of verses 4, 6, 8–11 of the same hymn.[27]

(5) *Their powers and prerogatives.*

The gods can do whatever they will; no mortal, however hostile his disposition, can thwart their designs (R.V. viii. 28, 4. *Yathā vaśanti devās tad id asat tad eshāṁ nakir ā minat | arāvā chana marttyaḥ*). The same is said of the Maruts viii. 20, 17; and of Indra viii. 50, 4; viii. 55, 4. It is similarly declared in iii. 56, 1, that no one, however skilful

over or giving effect to religious acts." This does not, however, appear to be the real sense, as Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 31, 17, tells us that "there are two kinds of gods," *karmadevāḥ*, "work-gods," and *ājānadevāḥ*, "gods by birth," the first being those who had attained to the condition of deities by their eminent works, and the second those who were produced at the beginning of the creation. The second class is superior to the first, and, according to the Bṛihadāraṇyaka, a hundred enjoyments of the latter (the work-gods), "are only equal to one single enjoyment of the former." See all this and more declared in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, pp. 817 ff. (p. 230 f. of translation), and S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 1087. A second sense proposed for *sādhyāḥ* by Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 164, 50, is that of the "deities presiding over metres," *chhando 'bhimāninaḥ*, who were Ādityas and Angirases, and, according to a Brāhmaṇa, by worshipping Agni were exalted to heaven. Prof. Wilson remarks in his note: "It would seem that in Sāyaṇa's day the purport of the designation *Sādhya* had become uncertain." Mahīdhara on Vāj. S. 31, 16, renders the term *virāḍ-upādhi-sādhakāḥ*, "producers of the condition of Virāj."

[27] I should observe that the Brāhmaṇas constantly speak of the gods and Asuras as being both the offspring of Prajāpati: as contending together (S'atap. Br. v. 1, 1, 1; vi. 6, 2, 11; vi. 6, 3, 2); and even as being originally equal or alike (4th vol. of this work, p. 52). And to prove that even malignant spirits may be called "gods," Prof. Roth, *s.v. deva*, quotes from the Taitt. Sanh. iii. 5, 4, 1, a verse to the effect: "May Agni preserve me from the gods (*devāḥ*), destroyers of sacrificers, stealers of sacrifices, who inhabit the earth;" and a second text from the A.V. iii. 15, 5: "Agni, do thou through the oblation repel the gods who are destroyers of happiness" (? *sātaghnaḥ*).

and wise, can impede the first and firm decrees of the gods (*na tā minanti māyino na dhīrāḥ vratā devānām prathamā dhruvāṇi*). They have dominion over all creatures (x. 65, 15. *Devān Vasishṭho amṛitān vavande ye viśvā bhuvanā abhi pratasthuḥ*). They are supplicated in viii. 30, 3, not to lead the worshippers far away from the paths of their ancestor Manu (*mā naḥ pathaḥ pitryād mānavād adhi dūraṁ naishṭa parāvataḥ*). In one passage (R.V. x. 33, 8 f.) a grateful priest exclaims that if he were lord of the immortals and of mortals, his royal patron's life should be prolonged; but, he adds, no one, even though he attain the age of a hundred years, can live beyond the time the gods appoint; such has been the perpetual course of things (8. *Yad īśīya amṛitānām uta vā martyānām | jīved id maghavā mama | 9. Na devānām ati vrataṁ śatātmā chana jīvati | tathā yujā vi vavṛite*). In another place, x. 117, 1, an encomiast of liberality expresses his assurance that the gods had not ordained him (or others) to die of hunger, as even the full-fed are overtaken by various forms of death (*Na vai u devāḥ kshudham id vadhaṁ dadur uta āśitam upa gachhanti mṛityavaḥ*). Another poet cries (x. 64, 2) that there is no other helper than the gods, on whom the fulfilment of all his wishes depends (*na mardhitā vidyate anyaḥ ebhyo deveshu me adhi kāmāḥ ayaṁsata*). They live in enjoyment in the region where Vishṇu took his three strides (viii. 29, 7. *Trīṇi ekaḥ urugāyo vi chakrame yatra devāso madanti* | comp. i. 154, 4). In iii. 54, 5, the rishi asks "who knows, who now can declare, what road leads to the gods? Their lower abodes are indeed perceived, but there are higher and mysterious manifestations, or regions, beyond (*ko addhā veda kaḥ iha pra vochad devāṁ achha pathyā kā sameti | dadṛiśre eshām avamā sadāṁsi pareshu yā guhyeshu vrateshu*[28]).

On the other hand the drinker of Soma attains to the privilege of immortality and of knowing the gods (viii. 48, 3. *Apāma somam amṛitāḥ abhūma aganma jyotir avidāma devān* | Comp. x. 31, 3. *navedaso amṛitānām abhūma* |).

[28] The construction and sense of the last four words is obscure. They occur again in a different connection in x. 114, 2 (where however *yāḥ* is feminine: *tāsām ni chikyuḥ kavayo nidānam pareshu yāḥ guhyeshu vrateshu* | "The wise perceive the nature of these, who [exist] in high and mysterious forms, [or realms]." The sense of enclosure or realm is assigned to the word *vrata* by Müller, Trans. of R.V. i. 225, who renders this last line thus: The poets discovered their (the Nirṛitis') origin, who are in the far hidden chambers."

The gods reward their pious worshippers and punish those who neglect their service: viii. 2, 18. *Ichhanti devāḥ sunvantam na svapnāya spṛihayanti* | "The gods desire a man who pours out libations. they do not love sleep."

viii. 31, 15. *Makshu devavato rathaḥ śūro vā pṛitsu kāsu chit* | *devānāṁ yaḥ id mano yajamānaḥ iyakshati abhīd ayajvano bhuvat* | 16. *Na yajamāna rishyasi na sunvāna na devayo* | "15. Impetuous is the chariot of the godly man, and he is a hero in every battle. The sacrificer who seeks to please the gods overcomes the man who does not sacrifice. 16. Thou dost not perish, o sacrificer, nor thou who offerest libations, nor thou, o godly man."

vii. 39, 2. *Na devāsaḥ kavatnave* | "The gods are not for (*i.e.* they are not the portion of) the illiberal (or sluggish)." Have the words *na ṛite śrāntasya sakhyāya devāḥ*, in iv. 33, 11, a similar meaning: "The gods are not friendly to him who is tired of the sacred rite"? See a collection of texts to the same effect as regards the individual deities in my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of society in the Vedic age," Journ. R. A. S. for 1866, pp. 286 ff.; and a selection from them in the 1st vol. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 259 ff.

According to the Satapatha Brāhmana, i. 1, 1, 7, "the gods know the intentions of a man. They are aware that he contemplates the performance of this rite, and will make his offering in the morning; and consequently they all come to his house and abide there" (*Mano ha vai devāḥ manushyasya ājānanti* | *te enam etad vratam upayantaṁ viduḥ prātar no yakshyate iti* | *te asya viśve devāḥ gṛihān āgachhanti te asya gṛiheshu upavasanti*).

I have here endeavoured to collect such characteristics and attributes as are in the Veda ascribed to the gods collectively. In the sections treating of the several deities, the qualities and functions attributed to each will be brought forward in detail.

SECTION II.

DYAUS[29] AND PṚITHIVĪ.

I begin with Dyaus and Pṛithivī (Heaven and Earth), who seem to have been very ancient Aryan divinities, and are in many passages of the Rig-veda described as the parents of the other gods.

In addition to numerous detached verses in which these deities are introduced among other objects of adoration, are invited to attend religious rites, and supplicated for different blessings, there are several hymns[30] (i. 159; i. 160; i. 185; iv. 56; vi. 70; and vii. 53), which are specially devoted to their honour. As a specimen of the way in which they are addressed, I subjoin a translation (very imperfect, I fear,) of some parts of the 159th and 160th hymns of the first book:

i. 159, 1. *Pra dyāvā yajñaiḥ pṛithivī ṛitāvṛidhā mahī stushe vidatheshu prachetasā | devebhir ye devaputre sudaṁsasā itthā dhiyā vāryāṇi prabhūshataḥ | 2. Uta manye pitur adruho mano mātur mahi svatavas tad havīmabhiḥ | suretasā pitarā bhūma chakratur uru prajāyāḥ amṛitam varīmabhiḥ |* "1. At the festivals [I worship] with offerings, and celebrate the praises of, Heaven and Earth, the promoters of righteousness, the great, the wise, the energetic, who, having gods for their offspring, thus lavish, with the gods, the choicest blessings, in consequence of our hymn. 2. With my invocations I adore the thought of the beneficent Father, and that mighty inherent power of the Mother. The prolific Parents have made all creatures, and through their favours (have conferred) wide immortality on their offspring."

[29] The crude form of this word is Dyu. I employ the nominative *Dyaus*, from its closer resemblance to the Greek Ζεύς. The genitive is *Divas*.

[30] See also A.V. iv. 26. Pṛithivī alone is celebrated in R.V. 5, 84, 1 ff. Hymn i. 185, is translated and commented on by M. Ad. Regnier in his E'tude sur l'idiome des Vedas.

i. 160, 2. *Uruvyachasā mahinī asaśchatā pitā mātā cha bhuvanāni rakshataḥ | . . . . 3. Ayam devānām apasām apastamo yo jajāna rodasī viśva-śambhuvā | vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā ajarebhiḥ skambhanebhiḥ samānṛiche | 4. Te no gṛiṇāne mahinī mahi śravaḥ kshattraṁ dyāvā-pṛithivī dhāsatho mahat | yenābhi kṛishṭīs tatanāma viśvahā panāyyam ojo asme sam invatam* | "2. Widely expanded, vast, unwearied, the Father and the Mother preserve all creatures. . . . . 4. He was the most skilful of the skilful gods who produced these two worlds, which are beneficent to all, who, desiring to create an excellent work, stretched out these regions and sustained them by undecaying supports. 5. When lauded, may the mighty Heaven and earth bestow on us great renown and power. May they impart to us laudable energy whereby we may always control other creatures."

In the hymns Heaven and Earth are characterized by a profusion of epithets, not only such as are suggested by their various physical characteristics, as vastness, breadth, profundity, productiveness, unchangeableness (*uruvyachasā, mahinī, urvī, bahule, dūreante, gabhīre, ghṛitavatī, madhudughe, bhūriretasā, payasvatī, ajare*) (i. 160, 2; i. 185, 7; iv. 56, 3; vi. 70, 1, 2); but also by such as are of a moral or spiritual nature, as innocuous or beneficent, wise, promoters of righteousness, (*ṛitāvṛidhā, ṛitāvarī, prachetasā, adruhā*) (i. 159, 1 f.; i. 160, 1; iv. 56, 2; vi. 70, 6; x. 36, 2).

(1) *Heaven and Earth described as the universal parents.*

The two (Heaven and Earth) together are styled parents, *pitarā* (in i. 159, 2; iii. 3, 11; vii. 53, 2; x. 65, 8), or *mātarā* (in i. 155, 3; ix. 85, 12; x. 1, 7; x. 35, 3;[31] x. 64, 14), or *janitrī* (*dyāvā-Ṗṛithivī janitrī* R.V. x. 110, 9). In other passages the Heaven is separately styled father, and the Earth mother (in R.V. i. 89, 4; i. 90, 7; i. 159, 2; i. 160, 2; i. 185, 11; iv. 1, 10; v. 42, 16; v. 43, 2, 15; vi. 51, 5;[32] vi. 70, 6; vi. 72, 2; viii. 92, 2; x. 54, 3; x. 88, 15 (= Vāj. Sanh. 19, 47). See also A.V. ii. 28, 4; iii.

[31] Here they are supplicated to preserve the worshipper sinless. In R.V. vi. 17, 7, they are called *mātarā yahvī ṛitasya*, "the great parents of sacrifice."

[32] The words of the original here are *Dyaush pitaḥ Ṗṛithivī mātar adhrug Agne bhrātar Vasavo mṛiḷatā naḥ* | "Father Heaven, innoxious mother Earth, brother Agni, Vasus, be gracious to us." A.V. vi. 4, 3 has *Dyaushpitar yāvaya duchhunā yā.*

23, 6; vi. 4, 3; vi. 120, 2; viii. 7, 2; and xii. 1, 10. In the same Veda, xii. 1, 12, the poet says: "The Earth is the mother, and I am the son of the earth: Parjanya is the father; may he nourish us (*Mātā bhūmiḥ putro aham pṛithivyāḥ | Parjanyaḥ pitā sa u naḥ pipartu*). Again in verse 42 of the same hymn he says, "Reverence be paid to the Earth, the wife of Parjanya, to her who draws her richness from showers (*Bhūmyai Parjanya-patnyai namo 'stu varsha-medase*). Here, as it will be noticed, Parjanya takes the place of Dyaus, as the husband of Pṛithivī.[33]

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iv. 27, we have the following reference to the marriage of Heaven and Earth: *Imau vai lokau saha āstām | tau vyaitām | na avarshat na samatapat | te panchajanāḥ na samajānata | tau devāḥ samanayan | tau saṁyantāv etaṁ deva-vivāhaṁ vyavahetām | ..... asau vai lokaḥ imaṁ lokam abhi paryāvarttata | tato vai dyāvāpṛithivī abhavatām | na dyāvā antarikshād na antarikshād bhūmiḥ |* which is translated as follows by Professor Haug (vol. ii. 308): "These two worlds (heaven and earth) were once joined. (Subsequently) they separated. (After their separation) there fell neither rain, nor was there sunshine. The five classes of beings (gods, men, etc.) then did not keep peace with one another. (Thereupon) the gods brought about a reconciliation of both these worlds. Both contracted with one another a marriage according to the rites observed by the gods." The end of the section I render: "That world approached this world: thence were produced heaven and earth: neither the heaven nor the earth was produced from the air."

Heaven and Earth are regarded as the parents not only of men, but of the gods also, as appears from the various texts where they are designated by the epithet *devaputre*, "having gods for their children" (viz. in i. 106, 3; i. 159, 1; i. 185, 4;[34] iv. 56, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 53, 1; x. 11, 9). In like manner it is said (in vii. 97, 8) that "the divine worlds (*i.e.* Heaven and Earth), the parents of the god, have augmented Bṛihaspati by their power"[35] (*devī devasya rodasī janitrī Bṛihaspatiṁ*

[33] The Taittirīya Āranyaka says, p. 73: *Jāyā bhūmir patir vyoma | mithunaṁ tā ityādi |* "The Earth is the wife, the Sky is the husband; they are a pair." Manu says, ii. 225: *Mātā pṛithivyāḥ mūrttiḥ |* "A mother is an image of the Earth."

[34] In verse 6 of this hymn they are called *janitrī*, "the parents."

[35] In iii. 53, 7, and iv. 2, 15, the Angirases are said to be *divasputrāḥ*, sons of Dyaus. See also x. 62, 6, and 3.

vāvṛidhatur mahitvā); and (in x. 2, 7) they are described as having, in conjunction with the waters, and with Tvashṭṛi, begotten Agni (*yaṁ tvā dyāvā-pṛithivī yaṁ tv āpas Tvashṭā yaṁ tvā sujanimā jajāna*). And in various passages they are said to have made (*pitarā bhūma chakratuḥ*), and to sustain (*pitā mātā cha bhuvanāni rakshataḥ | viśvaṁ tmanā bibhṛitho yad ha nāma*) all creatures (in i. 159, 2; i. 160, 2; i. 185, 1).[36]

In the next Section we shall find that according to R.V. x. 63, 2, a threefold origin is ascribed to the gods, some of them having been produced from Aditi, others from the aerial waters, and others again from the earth.

(2) *Passages to the same effect from the classical authors.*

But it is not in ancient Indian mythology alone that Heaven and Earth are regarded as being the universal parents. It is observed by a recent French author that "the marriage of Heaven and Earth forms the foundation of a hundred mythologies."[37] According to the Theogony of Hesiod (116 ff.) the first thing that arose out of Chaos was "the broad-bosomed Earth, the firm abode of all things"

Ἤτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί.

She in her turn "produced the starry Heaven, co-extensive with herself, to envelope her on every part."[38] From the union of these two powers sprang Oceanos, Kronos, the Cyclopes, Rheia, etc. (132 ff.); and from Kronos and Rheia again were produced Zeus, Here, and other deities (453 ff.). In his "Works and Days" (561) Hesiod speaks of the Earth as Γῆ πάντων μήτηρ, the earth the mother of all things."[39]

Among the Homeric hymns there is one of 19 lines addressed to "the mother of all things" which begins thus:

Γαῖαν παμμήτειραν ἀείσομαι, ἠῢθεμεθλον,
Πρεσβίστην, ἣ φέρβει ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάνθ' ὁπόσ' ἐστὶν, κ.τ.λ.

[36] In one place (vi. 50, 7), the waters are spoken of as mothers (*janitrīḥ*) of all things moveable and immoveable. Compare the passages from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 15 f.; 21 f.; and the texts given in the 1st vol. 2nd ed. p. 31 f. 52 f.; and R.V. x. 121, 7; x. 29, 3. In the A.V. xix. 54, 1, the waters themselves are said to have sprung from time (*kālād āpaḥ samabhavan*).

[37] M. Albert Réville, Essais de Critique Religieuse, p. 383. "Cent mythologies sont fondées sur le mariage du ciel et de la terre." See also pp. 292 and 298.

[38] The original verses will be found at the close of the section on Varuṇa.

[39] The line in which these words occur is however supposed to be spurious.

"I will sing of the Earth, the universal mother, the firmly based, the most venerable, who feeds all creatures that are on the ground," etc. In v. 6, it is said that it depends on her to give life to mortals, and to take it away:

πότνια, σεῦ δ' ἔχεται δοῦναι βίον ἠδ' ἀφελέσθαι
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν.

In verse 16 she is addressed as a venerable goddess, σεμνὴ θεὰ, and in v. 17 as "the mother of the gods, and the spouse of the starry Ouranos:

χαῖρε θεῶν μήτηρ, ἄλοχ' Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.

Æschylus, in his Prometheus Vinctus, 88 ff., makes Prometheus exclaim "O divine æther, and ye many-winged blasts, ye fountains of the rivers, thou multitudinous laugh of Ocean, and thou Earth, the Universal Mother;—and the all-beholding circle of the Sun I invoke:"

ὦ δῖος αἰθὴρ καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαὶ
ποταμῶν τε πηγαὶ ποντίων τε κυμάτων
ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα, παμμῆτορ τε γῆ,
καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ.

In the Seven against Thebes, 16, Eteocles speaks of "Mother Earth, the most beloved nurse":

Γῇ τε μητρὶ, φιλτάτῃ τροφῷ.

At the beginning of the Eumenides of the same poet the Earth is worshipped as the first prophetess:

Πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν
Τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν.

And in the 41st fragment of Æschylus (from the Danaides) Aphrodite is introduced as saying:

ἐρᾷ μὲν ἀγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα,
ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν·
ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνάεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν
ἔκυσε γαῖαν· ἡ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς
μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον·
δενδρῶτις ὥρα δ' ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου
τέλειός ἐστι. τῶν δ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος.

"The pure Heaven loves to inflict on the Earth an amorous blow; and desire seizes the earth to obtain the nuptial union. Rain falling from the moist Heaven impregnates the Earth, who brings forth for mortals the food of sheep, and the sustenance of Demeter. The verdure of the woods also is perfected by the showers proceeding from this marriage. Of all these things I (Aphrodite) am in part the cause."

Sophocles also, in his Œdipus Coloneus, 1480, makes the chorus speak of "Mother Earth:"

Ἴλαος, ὦ δαίμων, Ἴλαος, ἔι τι γᾷ
ματέρι τυγχάνεις ἀφεγγὲς φέρων.

And in his Antigone, 338, she is characterized as "the highest of the deities, imperishable and unwearied:"

θεῶν τε τὰν ὑπερτάταν, γᾶν
ἄφθιτον, ἀκαμάταν ἀποτρύεται, κ.τ.λ.

In his Philoctetes, 391, she is addressed as "the all-nurturing earth, the mother of Zeus himself:"

Ὀρεστέρα παμβῶτι Γᾶ, μᾶτερ αὐτοῦ Διὸς,
ἃ τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὔχρυσον νέμεις.

Euripides also, in his Hippolytus, 601, makes his hero invoke "Mother Earth:"

ὦ γαῖα μῆτερ ἡλίου τ' ἀναπτυχαὶ, κ.τ.λ.

So too in the Helena, 39:

Ὡς ὄχλου βροτῶν
πλήθους τε κουφίσειε μητέρα χθόνα, κ.τ.λ.

And again in the same drama, 613, the heroine speaks of Heaven as the Father:

πατέρ' ἐς οὐρανὸν
ἄπειμι·

In his Bacchæ, 274, the same poet makes Teiresias thus identify Earth with the goddess Demeter:

δύο γὰρ, ὦ νεανία,
τὰ πρῶτ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν Δημήτηρ θεά.
Γῆ δ' ἐστίν· ὄνομα δ' ὁπότερον βούλει κάλει,
αὕτη μὲν ἐν ξηροῖσιν ἐκτρέφει βροτούς.

"Two things, o youth, are the first among men, the goddess Demeter, and she is the Earth. Call her by either name as you please. She nourishes mortals with dry sustenance."[40] The second deity is Dionysus who gives them the juice of the grape.

[40] In describing the Egyptian cosmogony Diodorus Siculus i. 12 also thus connects the Earth with Demeter: Τὴν δὲ γῆν ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖόν τι τῶν φυομένων ὑπολαμβάνοντας μητέρα προσαγορεῦσαι· καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας δὲ ταύτην παραπλησίως Δήμητραν καλεῖν, βραχὺ μετατεθείσης τῆς λέξεως· τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι γῆν μητέρα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Ορφέα προμαρτυρεῖν λέγοντα "γῆ μῆτερ πάντων, Δημήτηρ πλουτοδότειρα." "And they say that, conceiving the Earth as a sort of receptacle of the things which were produced, they called her mother; and that the Greeks in like manner call her Demeter, with a slight alteration of the letters (*i.e.* Dēmētēr for Gēmētēr): for of old she was called 'Earth Mother' (Gēn mētĕra), as Orpheus too testifies when he speaks of 'the Earth the mother of all things, Demeter, the giver of wealth.'"

And in the 6th fragment from the Chrysippus of the same dramatist we find the following passage:

Γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς αἰθὴρ,
ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ,
ἡ δ' ὑγροβόλους σταγόνας νοτίους
παραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνατοὺς,
τίκτει δὲ βορὰν, φῦλα τε θηρῶν,
ὅθεν οὐκ ἀδίκως
μήτηρ πάντων νενόμισται.

"The mighty Earth, and Jove's Æther,—of these the one is the generator of men and gods, and the other, receiving the drops of moisture, produces mortals, produces food, and the tribes of animals;—whence she is not unjustly regarded as the mother of all." [41]

The earth also appears to be regarded by Pindar (Nem. 6, 1 ff.) as the common parent, or sustainer, of both gods and men:

Ἓν ἀνδρῶν, ἓν θεῶν γένος· ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν
ματρὸς ἀμφότεροι·

"There is one race of men, and one of gods; but we both draw our breath from the same mother."

In the following passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, vol. v. p. 355 (Diod. Sic. i. 7;[42] Euseb. P. E. i. p. 20[d])[43], and in the fragment of Euri-

[41] See also Plato, Repub. iii. 20: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παντελῶς ἐξειργασμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτοὺς μήτηρ οὖσα ἀνῆκε, κ.τ.λ. "But when they were perfectly fashioned, and the earth, their mother, sent them forth," etc. See also the Menexenus, Sect. 7: from which I extract the following: ὅ δὴ καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ ἱκανὸν τεκμήριον παρέχεται ὡς ἀνθρώπους γεννησαμένη· . . . οὐ γὰρ γῆ γυναῖκα μεμίμηται κυήσει καὶ γεννήσει ἀλλα γυνὴ γῆν. "Whereby our own land and mother (Attica) gives sufficient proof that she has produced men," etc. And: "For the earth does not imitate woman in becoming pregnant, and bearing offspring, but woman the earth."

[42] Diodorus begins the passage i. 7, in which he introduces these lines from Euripides, as follows: He tells us that in the opinion of some speculators "heaven and earth had, according to the original constitution of things, but one form, the natural properties of the two being blended; but that afterwards, when the body of the one had become separated from that of the other, the world assumed that regular arrangement which we now witness," etc. (κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὅλων σύστασιν μίαν ἔχειν ἰδέαν οὐρανόν τε καὶ γῆν, μεμιγμένης αὐτῶν τῆς φύσεως· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαστάντων τῶν σωμάτων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὸν μὲν κόσμον περιλαβεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν ὁρωμένην, ἐν αὐτῷ σύνταξιν, κ.τ.λ.). After giving the details of this development, he concludes: "And in regard to the nature of the universe, Euripides, who was a disciple of Anaxagoras, the physical philosopher, does not appear to have differed from the views which have been stated" (ἔοικε δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως οὐδ' Εὐριπίδης διαφωνεῖν τοῖς προειρημένοις, μαθητὴς ὢν Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ φυσικοῦ). He then quotes the lines given in the text.

[43] See W. Dindorf's Euripides, vol. ii. p. 915, ed. Oxford, 1833.

pides, which is there preserved, we find that a doctrine, partly similar to that of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa adduced above, regarding heaven and earth, is ascribed to the philosopher Anaxagoras, and was expressed by his disciple the poet:

Ἀναξαγόρᾳ προσεφοίτησεν Εὐριπίδης. Ἀναξαγόρου δὲ λόγος ἐστὶν ὅτι πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν, εἶτα ὕστερον διεκρίθη. μετὰ ταῦτα ὡμίλησε καὶ Σωκράτει, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπορώτερον ἤγαγε τὸν λόγον. ὁμολογεῖ οὖν την διδασκαλίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν διὰ τῆς Μελανίππης·

Κοὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα,
ὡς οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μορφὴ μία·
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα,
τίκτουσι πάντα κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος
δένδρη, πετεινὰ, θῆρας, οὕς θ' ἅλμη τρέφει,
γένος τε θνητῶν.

"Euripides frequented the lectures of Anaxagoras. Now it was the theory of that philosopher that all things were confounded (*lit.* all things were in all things), but afterwards became separated. Euripides afterwards associated with Socrates, and became doubtful regarding the theory. He accordingly admits the ancient doctrine by the mouth of Melanippe: 'The saying is not mine but came from my mother, that formerly the Heaven and Earth formed one substance: but when they were separated from each other, they gave birth to all things, and brought them forth into the light, trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and the race of mortals.'"

The appellation of mother is naturally applied to the earth, as the source from which all vegetable products spring, as well as the home of all living creatures. This is remarked by Lucretius, "De Rerum Natura," in these lines, v. 793 ff.:

"Nam neque de cælo cecidisse animalia possunt,
Nec terrestria de salsis exisse lacunis:
Linquitur ut merito maternum nomen adepta
Terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata," etc.

And again, v. 821:

"Quare etiam atque etiam maternum nomen adepta
Terra tenet merito, quoniam genus ipsa creavit
Humanum atque animal prope certo tempore fudit," etc.

And in illustration of the idea that Heaven is the father of all things, I may quote his words, ii. 991:

"Denique cælesti sumus omnes semine oriundi:
Omnibus ille idem pater est, unde alma liquentis

> Umoris guttas mater cum terra recepit,[44]
> Feta parit nitidas fruges arbustaque laeta
> Et genus humanum," etc.

And ii. 998 :

> "Qua propter merito maternum nomen adepta est.
> Cedit idem retro de terra quod fuit ante,
> In terras, et quod missumst ex ætheris oris
> Id rursum cæli rellatum templa receptant."

See also v. 799 :

> "Quo minus est mirum, si tum sunt plura coorta
> Et majora, novâ tellure atque æthere adulta," etc.

My attention was drawn to these passages by finding them referred to in Professor Sellar's "Roman Poets of the Republic," pp. 236, 247, and 276. See also Lucretius i. 250 :

> Postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater aether
> In gremium matris terrai praecipitavit ;

And v. 318 :

> Denique jam tuere hoc, circum supraque quod omnem,
> Continet amplexu terram :

See also Pacuvius 86, quoted by Mr. Munro in his Notes on Lucretius v. 318, and Virgil, Georgics ii. 325, cited in his note on Lucr. i. 250 :

> Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus aether
> Conjugis in gremium laetae descendit et omnis
> Magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus.

Mr. Munro there remarks: "From the Vedas to the Pervigilium Veneris poets and philosophers love to celebrate this union of ether and earth, ether as father descending in showers into the lap of mother earth." See the same author's notes on Lucr. ii. 991.[45] Tacitus, too, informs us in his Germania, 40 : Nec quidquam notabile in singulis nisi quod in commune Ertham, it ed Terram matrem, colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur.[46] "Nor is there anything in regard to particular points which deserves remark except that they all together worship Ertha, *i.e.* Mother Earth, and think that she intervenes in the affairs of men, and moves round among the nations."

[44] Compare A.V. xii. 1, 12, 42, quoted above, p. 23.

[45] See also Professor Max Müller's Lectures on Language, ii. 459, and Mr. C. Bruce's paper "On the Vedic Conception of the Earth," Journ. R. A. S. xix. 330 ff.

[46] Ed. F. Ritter (Cambridge and London, 1848) who substitutes Ertham for the common reading Nertham. See his Notes in loco, and on Section 9.

(3) *Heaven and earth elsewhere spoken of as created.*

On the other hand, Heaven and Earth are spoken of in other places as themselves created. Thus it is said (i. 160, 4; iv. 56, 3), that he who produced heaven and earth must have been the most skilful artizan of all the gods[47] (*ayaṁ devānām apasām apastamò yo jajāna rodasī viśvaśambhuvā: sa it svapā bhuvaneshu āsa yaḥ ime dyāvā-pṛithivī jajāna*). Again, Indra is described as their creator (*janitā divo janitā pṛithivyāḥ*) (vi. 30, 5; viii. 36, 4);[48] as having beautifully fashioned them by his power and skill (x. 29, 6, *mātre nu te sumite Indra pūrvī dyaur majmanā pṛithivī kāvyena*); as having generated from his own body the father and the mother (by which heaven and earth are clearly intended (x. 54, 3. *Kaḥ u nu te mahimanaḥ samasya asmat pūrve ṛishayo antam āpuḥ | yan mātaraṁ cha pitaraṁ cha sākam ajanayathās tanvaḥ svāyāḥ*); as having bestowed them on his worshippers (iii. 34, 8. *Sasāna yaḥ pṛithivīṁ dyām utemām*); as sustaining and upholding them (*dadhāra yaḥ pṛithivīm dyām utemām*) (iii. 32, 8; iii. 44, 3; vi. 17, 7; x. 55, 1);[49] as grasping them in his hand (iii. 30, 5. *Ime chid Indra rodasī apāre yat saṁgṛibhṇāḥ maghavan kāśir it te*); as stretching them out like a hide (viii. 6. 5. *Ojas tad asya titvishe ubhe yat samavarttayat | Indraś charmeva rodasī*). The same deity is elsewhere (vi. 30, 1) said to transcend heaven and earth, which are equal to only a half of the god[50] (*Pra*

[47] This phrase is, perhaps, primarily meant as an eulogy of the heaven and earth, by expressing that he must have been a most glorious being who was the author of so grand a production as heaven and earth (see Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 160, 4, who says, "that having in the previous verse magnified the heaven and earth by lauding their son the sun, the poet now magnifies them by exalting their maker"). But it also appears to intimate that, in the idea of the writer, the heaven and earth were, after all, produced by some greater being. In iv. 17, 4, it is similarly said that "the maker of Indra was a most skilful artist."

[48] The A.V. xii. 1. 10, says: "May our mother the earth whom Indra, the lord of power, made, friendly to himself, give milk to me her son (*Indro yāṁ chakre ātmane anamitraṁ śachīpatiḥ | sā no bhūmir visṛijatām mātā putrāya me payaḥ*.

[49] Who are the sons or children of Indra's brother (*bhrātuḥ putrān*) mentioned in this verse, and who is the brother?

[50] In viii. 59, 5, it is said: "If, Indra, a hundred heavens and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor anything born, nor both worlds" (*yad dyāvaḥ Indra te śataṁ śatam bhūmīr uta syuḥ | na tvā vajrin sahasraṁ sūryāḥ anu na jātam aṣhṭa rodasī*).

ririche divaḥ Indraḥ pṛithivyāḥ arddham id asya prati rodasī ubhe); and they are further represented as following him as a chariot wheel a horse (viii. 6, 38. *Anu tvā rodasī ubhe chakraṁ na vartti etaśam*); as bowing down before him (i. 131, 1. *Indrāya hi Dyaur asuro anamnata Indrāya mahī pṛithivī varīmabhiḥ*);[51] as trembling from fear of him (iv. 17, 2. *Tava tvisho janiman rejata Dyauḥ rejad bhūmir bhiyasā svasya manyoḥ*[52] | See also iv. 22, 3 f.; vi. 17, 9; viii. 86, 14); as being disturbed by his greatness (vii. 23, 3. *Vi bādhishṭa rodasī mahitvā Indraḥ*); as subject to his dominion (x. 89, 10. *Indro divaḥ Indraḥ īśe pṛithivyāḥ*); and as doing homage to his power (viii. 82, 12. *Adha te apratishkutāṁ devī śushmaṁ saparyataḥ | ubhe suśipra rodasī*). The creation of heaven and earth is also ascribed to other deities, as to Soma and Pūshan (ii. 40, 1. *Somāpūshaṇā jananā rayīnāṁ jananā divo janānā pṛithivyāḥ*); to Soma (ix. 98, 9. *Sa vāṁ yajneshu Mānavī Indur janishṭa rodasī | devo devī ityādi* |[53] See also ix. 90, 1; ix. 96, 5); to Dhātṛi (x. 190, 3. *Sūryā-chandramasau Dhātā yathāpūrvam*[54] *akalpayat | divaṁ cha pṛithivīṁ cha antarikshaṁ atho svaḥ*); to Hiraṇyagarbha (x. 121, 9. *Mā no hiṁsīj janitā yaḥ pṛithivyāḥ yo vā divaṁ satyadharmā jajāna* | Comp. v. 5); they are declared to have received their shape and variety of forms, from Tvashṭṛi, though themselves parents (x. 110, 9. *Yaḥ ime dyāvāpṛithivī janitrī rūpair apiṁśad bhuvanāni viśvā*); to have sprung respectively from the head and the feet of Purusha (x. 90, 14. *Nābhyāḥ asya antarikshaṁ śīrshṇo dyauḥ samavarttata | padbhyāṁ bhūmiḥ*); and to be sustained or supported by Mitra (iii. 59, 1), by Savitṛi (iv. 53, 2; x. 149, 1. *Savitā yantraiḥ pṛi-*

[51] Heaven (Dyaus) is here styled *asuraḥ*, "the divine," as also in iii. 53, 7.

[52] It might at first sight appear as if, according to the fourth verse of this hymn (iv. 17, 4), the Heaven, *Dyaus*, was the father of Indra (see Professor Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 151). But the meaning seems to be: "The Heaven esteemed that thy father was a stalwart hero: he was a most skilful artist who made Indra, who produced the celestial thunderer, unshaken, as the world (cannot be shaken) from its place." This is confirmed by verse 1, which says that the Heaven acknowledged Indra's power; and by verse 2, which represents it as trembling at his birth. See also vi. 72, 3.

[53] The two worlds, *rodasī*, are here styled *devī*, "divine," and *mānavī*, "human," or "connected with men," or "friendly to men."

[54] It is remarkable that here Dhātṛi is said to have formed the sun, moon, sky, earth, air, and heaven, as before; as if, agreeably to the Puranic conception, they had previously existed, and been destroyed. See the 1st vol. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 51, 66, 76.

thivīm aramṇād askambhane Savitā dyām adṛiṁhat), by Varuṇa (vi. 70, 1; vii. 86, 1; viii. 42, 1), by Indra and Soma (vi. 72, 2), by Soma (ix. 87, 2), and by Hiraṇyagarbha (x. 121, 5).

(4) *Speculations about their origin.*

In other passages we encounter various speculations about their origin. In i. 185, 1, the perplexed poet enquires, "Which of these two was the first,[55] and which the last? How have they been produced? Sages, who knows?" (*Katarā pūrvā katarā aparā ayoḥ kathā jāte kavayoḥ ko vi veda*).[56] In vii. 34, 2, the waters are said to know the birth-place of heaven and earth (*viduḥ pṛithivyāḥ divo janitraṁ śriṇvanti āpo adha ksharantīḥ*). In x. 31, 7, the Rishi asks: "What was the forest, what was the tree, from which they fashioned the heaven and the earth, which abide undecaying and perpetual, (whilst) the days and many dawns have disappeared?" (*kiṁ svid vanaṁ kaḥ u sa vṛikshaḥ āsa yato dyāvā-pṛithivī nishṭatakshuḥ | saṁtasthāne ajare itaūtī ahāni pūrvīr ushaso jaranta*). This question is repeated in x. 81, 4;[57] and in the same hymn (verses 2 and 3) the creation of heaven and earth is ascribed to the sole agency of the god Viśvakarman:[58] 2. "What was the support, what and how was the basis from which by his might the all-seeing Viśvakarman produced the earth, and spread out the sky? 3. The one god who has on every side eyes, faces, arms, and feet, blows with his arms and his wings, when producing the heaven and earth" (2. *Kiṁ svid āsīd adhishṭhānam ārambhanaṁ katamat svit kathā āsīt | yato bhūmiṁ janayan Viśvakarmā vi dyām aurṇod mahinā viśvachakshāḥ | 3. Viśvataśchakshur uta viśvatomukho viśvatobāhur uta viśvatspāt | sam bāhubhyaṁ dhamati sam pata-*

[55] S'atap. Br. xiv. 1, 2, 10, *Iyam pṛithivī bhūtasya prathama-jā*, "This earth is the firstborn of created things."

[56] Compare Professor Müller's Lectures on Language, ii. 428, and Nirukta iii. 22.

[57] See also the Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6, where the answer is given, "Brahma was the forest, Brahma was that tree from which they fashioned heaven and earth" (*Brahma vanam Brahma sa vṛikshaḥ āsīd yato dyāvāpṛithivī nishṭatakshuḥ*). In A.V. xii. 1, 60, Viśvakarman is said to have sought the earth with an oblation when she had entered into the fluid atmosphere (*yām anvaichhad Viśvakarmā antar arṇave rajasi pravishṭām*). Compare the accounts in the Brāhmaṇas and Purāṇas of the earth being sunk beneath the waters at the creation, 1st vol. of this work, 2nd ed. pp. 50–55, 76.

[58] See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 4 ff., and Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 299.

trair dyāvā-bhūmī janayam devaḥ ekaḥ). In x. 72, which will be quoted in the next section, a different account is given of the origin of heaven and earth. In R.V. x. 129, 1, it is said that originally there was "nothing either non-existent or existent, no atmosphere or sky beyond" (*na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīṁ na āsīd rajo no vyoma paro yat*); and in Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff., it is declared, that "formerly nothing existed, neither heaven, nor earth, nor atmosphere," and their formation is described: "That, being non-existent, resolved, 'Let me become,'" etc. (*idaṁ vai agre naiva kinchana āsīt | na dyaur āsīt | na pṛithivī | na antarikṣham | tad asad eva san mano 'kuruta "syām" iti |* The passage is quoted at length in the 3rd vol. of this work, pp. 27 ff.)

It is, as we have already seen (p. 24), a conception of the Greek, as well as of the oldest Indian, mythology, that the gods sprang from Heaven and earth (in the former case Ouranos and Gaia). The Indian god who is represented in the Veda as the consort of the Earth and the progenitor of the gods, does not, however, as we have seen, bear the same name as the corresponding divinity among the Greeks, but is called *Dyaus*, or *Dyaush pitar*. But this latter name is in its origin identical with Zeus, or Zeus pater, and Jupiter, or Diespiter, the appellations given to the supreme god of the Greeks and Romans,[59] whom Hesiod represents as the grandson of Ouranos. On the other hand, the name of Ouranos corresponds to that of the Indian deity Varuṇa, who, though he is not regarded as the progenitor of the gods, yet, as we shall see more fully in a future section, is considered to coincide with Ouranos in representing the sky.

The word Pṛithivī, on the other hand, which in most parts of the Rig-veda is used for Earth, has no connection with any Greek word of the same meaning. It seems, however, originally to have been merely an epithet, meaning "broad;"[60] and may have supplanted the older

[59] For the proof of the identity of Dyaus and Zeus, see Prof. Müller's Lectures on Language, i. 11; ii. 425–434; Prof. M. Bréal, "Hercule et Cacus," 102; Hartung, "Religion und Mythologie der Griechen," ii. 5 f.; iii. 1 ff. See also iii. pp. 45 f., and and 76 f. of the last-named work, where Hera, the consort of Zeus, is described as a representative of the earth, and where Uranos and Gaea, Kronos and Rhea, Zeus and Hera, though described in the Greek mythology as successive pairs of deities, are yet asserted to be essentially the same couples, with altered names.

[60] Compare in the first volume of this work, pp. 52, 53, two passages from the Taittirīya Saṅhitā and Brāhmaṇa, in which the formation of the earth is described,

word *Gau*, which (with *Gmā* and *Jmā*) stands at the head of the earliest Indian vocabulary, the Nighaṇṭu, as one of the synonyms of Pṛithivī (earth), and which closely resembles the Greek Γαῖα or Γῆ. In this way *Gaur mātar* may possibly have once corresponded to the Γῆ μήτηρ or Δημήτηρ of the Greeks.

Professor Benfey (Orient und Occident, i. 48, note 275, which the German reader may consult), and M. Michel Bréal (Hercule et Cacus, p. 101) are of opinion that the functions which in the older Indian mythology were assigned to Dyaus, were at a later period transferred to Indra, whose characteristics will form the subject of a later section.

and in which it is said to have derived the name of Pṛithivī from its being extended (*aprathata*). See also R.V. ii. 15, 2, *sa dhārayat pṛithivīm paprathat cha* | "He upheld the earth (*pṛithivī*), and spread it out" (*paprathat*).

SECTION III.

ADITI.[61]

I proceed to Aditi, who is, in idea at least, if not chronologically, one of the older Indian deities, and who is the only goddess, except Nishṭigrī[62] and Ushas, whom I have noticed as specified by name in the R.V. as the mother of any of the gods.

(1) *The epithets by which she is characterized.*

Though not the subject of any separate hymn, Aditi is an object of frequent celebration in the Rig-veda, where she is supplicated for blessings on children and cattle (as in i. 43, 2. *yathā no Aditiḥ karat pāsve nṛibhyo yathā gave | yathā tokāya rudriyam*), for protection and for forgiveness. She is represented, as we have already seen (p. 13), as the mother of Varuṇa and some of the other deities. In the Nighaṇṭu, or ancient vocabulary prefixed to the Nirukta, the word Aditi is given a synonym (1) of *pṛithivī*, the earth; (2) of *vāch*, voice; (3) of *go*, cow;[63] and (4) in the dual, of *dyāvā-pṛithivyau*, heaven and earth (Nigh. i. 1, 11; 2, 11; 3, 30). In the Nirukta (iv. 22) she is defined as the mighty mother of the gods (*adīnā deva-mātā*).[64] In another part

[61] Before commencing the revision of this section, I had received the first vol. of Prof. Müller's translation of the Rig-veda, which contains, pp. 230–251, an able dissertation on Aditi. See the same author's Lectures on Language, ii. 500.

[62] See note in p. 13.

[63] Compare R.V. viii. 90, 15, *gām anāgām aditim;* and Vāj. Sanh. xiii. 43, where Agni is supplicated not to injure her (*gām mā himsīr Aditiṁ virājam*), and 49 (*ghṛitaṁ duhānām aditiṁ janāya*).

[64] In R.V. i. 113, 19, Ushas (the dawn) is styled "the mother of the gods, and the manifestation of Aditi" (*mātā devānām Aditer anīkam*); or, as Sāyaṇa explains, the rival of Aditi, from her appearing to call all the gods into existence when they are worshipped in the morning, as Aditi really gave them birth. Compare i. 115, 1. Müller, Transl. of R.V. i. 231, renders *Aditer anīkam*, "the face of Aditi."

(xi. 22) of the same work (where the different gods are taken up in the order in which they are found in the list in the Nighaṇṭu, chap. 5) she is placed at the head of the female divinities of the intermediate region (*atha ato madhya-stānāḥ stṛiyaḥ | tāsām Aditiḥ prathamāgāminī bhavati*). In numerous texts of the R.V. Aditi is styled the "goddess," or the "divine" (*devī*) (as in iv. 55, 3, 7; v. 51, 11; vi. 50, 1; vii. 38, 4; vii. 40, 2; viii. 25, 10; viii. 27, 5; viii. 56, 10), the "irresistible goddess" (*devī Aditir aṛarvā*, ii. 40, 6; vii. 40, 4; x. 92, 14), "the luminous,[65] the supporter of creatures, the celestial" (*jyotishmatīm Aditiṁ dhārayat-kshitiṁ*[66] *svarvatīm*, i. 136, 3), the "widely expanded" (*uru-vyachāḥ*,[67] v. 46, 6), the friend of all men" (*viśvajanyām*, vii. 10, 4). In v. 69, 3, the rishi exclaims: "In the morning I continually invoke the divine Aditi, at mid-day, at the setting[68] of the sun" (*prātar devim Aditiṁ johavīmi madhyandine uditā sūryasya.*) In i. 185, 3, her gifts—pure, unassailable, celestial, imperishable, and inspiring veneration,—are supplicated (*aneho dātram Aditer anarvam huve svarvad avadhaṁ namasvat*); and in another place (i. 166, 12) the large blessings conferred by the Maruts are compared to the beneficent deeds of Aditi (*dīrghaṁ vo dātraṁ Aditer iva vratam*).[69] In iv. 55, 3, she is styled Pastyā, which Professor Roth understands to mean a household goddess (comp. Müller, p. 248). In the Vāj. S. she is thus celebrated, 21, 5 (=A.V. vii. 6, 2): "Let us invoke to aid us the great mother of the devout, the mistress of the ceremonial, the strong in might, the undecaying, the widely-extended, the protecting, the skilfully guiding Aditi" (*mahīm ū shu mātaraṁ suvratānām ṛitasya patnīm avase huvema | tuvikshatrām ajaṛantīm urūchiṁ suśarmāṇam Aditiṁ supraṇītim.*

[65] See Roth in Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 69; and compare R.V. vii. 82, 10: "We celebrate the beneficent light of Aditi," etc. (*avadhraṁ jyotiḥ*).

[66] The same epithet, *dhārayat-kshiti*, is, in R.V. x. 132, 2, applied to Mitra and Varuṇa, the sons of Aditi.

[67] Compare Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7: *Senā ha nāma pṛithivī dhananjayā viśvavyachāḥ Aditiḥ sūryatvak.*

[68] The word *uditi* here is understood both by Roth (*s.v.*), by Kuhn (in his review of this essay), and Müller (Transl. R.V. i. 231, 232), to signify the setting of the sun.

[69] Müller, p. 199, translates this: "your bounty extends as far as the sway of Aditi." See his note on the different senses of *vrata*, pp. 225 ff.

(2) *Origin of the conception of Aditi according to Professors Roth and Müller.*

In the Lexicon of Böhtlingk and Roth the word *aditi* is taken (in addition to other senses which are also assigned) to signify "infinity, especially the boundlessness of heaven in opposition to the finiteness of the earth, and its spaces;" and this signification is considered to be personified in the goddess Aditi. In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 150 f. Professor Roth had understood the word to mean "inviolability," "imperishableness;" and when personified as a goddess, to denote eternity, her sons the Ādityas being the sons of eternity, and the solar and luminous gods Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, etc., being pre-eminently the eternal deities, as light was regarded as the immaterial and eternal principle. In his essay on the highest gods of the Arian nations (Journ. of the German Or. Society, vi. 68 f.) the same writer says: "Aditi, eternity, or the eternal, is the element which sustains, and is sustained by, the Ādityas. This conception, owing to the character of what it embraces, had not in the Vedas been carried out into a definite personification, though the beginings of such are not wanting. . . . . This eternal and inviolable principle, in which the Ādityas live, and which constitutes their essence, is the celestial light."

In a note on R.V. i. 166, 12 (Trans. of the Rig-veda, i. 230), Professor Müller says that "Aditi, an ancient god or goddess, is in reality the earliest name invented to express the Infinite; not the Infinite as the result of a long process of abstract reasoning, but the visible Infinite, visible by the naked eye, the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky." And in the next page he goes on to remark that "if we keep this original conception (the conception which he has explained in these two pages) of Aditi clearly before us, the various forms which Aditi assumes, even in the hymns of the Veda, will not seem incoherent.

(3) *Aditi as the mother of the Ādityas.*

I proceed to adduce some of the other texts in which Aditi is described and characterized, and begin with those in which she is represented as the mother of Varuṇa and the other kindred gods:

viii. 25, 3. *Tā mātā viśvavedasā asuryāya pramahasā | mahī jajāna Aditir ṛitāvarī* | "The mother, the great, the holy Aditi, brought forth these twain (Mitra and Varuṇa), the mighty lords of all wealth, that they might exercise divine power."

viii. 47, 9. *Aditir naḥ urushyatu Aditir śarma yachhatu | mātā Mitrasya revato Aryamṇo Varuṇasya cha anehasaḥ* | "May Aditi defend us, may Aditi grant us protection, she who is the mother of the opulent Mitra, of Aryaman, and of the sinless Varuṇa. See also x. 36, 3, and x. 132, 6; and A.V. v. 1, 9.

In R.V. ii. 27, 7, she is styled *rāja-putrā*,[70] "the mother of kings;" in iii. 4, 11, *su-putrā*, "the mother of excellent sons;" in viii. 56, 11, as *ugra-putrā*, "the mother of powerful sons;" and in Atharva-veda, iii. 8, 2; xi. 1, 11, "the divine Aditi, mother of heroes" (*śūra-putrā*). All these epithets have obviously reference to Varuṇa and the other Ādityas as her offspring. In A.V. viii. 9, 21, she is called Aditi, who had an eight-fold parturition, who had eight sons" (*ashṭa-yonir Aditir ashṭaputrā*). In viii. 90, 15, (referred to by Professor Müller in his Lectures ii. 501, and in his Trans. of the R.V. i. p. 237), Aditi appears to be described as the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Ādityas, and the mother of Rudras (*mātā rudrāṇāṁ duhitā vasūnāṁ svaṣā "dityānām amṛitasya nābhiḥ | pra nu vochaṁ chikitushe janāya mā gām anāgām Aditiṁ vadhishṭa*).

In the Sāma-veda (=A.V. vi. 4, 1) the brothers as well as the sons of Aditi appear to be mentioned, i. 299: "May Tvashṭṛi, Parjanya, and Brahmaṇaspati [preserve] our divine utterance. May Aditi with (her) sons and brothers preserve our invincible and protecting utterance"[71] (*Tvashṭā no daivyaṁ vachaḥ Parjanyo Brahmaṇaspatiḥ | putrair bhrātṛibhir Aditir nu pātu no dushṭaraṁ trāmaṇaṁ vachaḥ*). Who her brothers may be, does not appear.

(4) *Is Aditi ever identified with the sky?*

In another passage of the R.V. x. 63, 2, Aditi is thus mentioned, along with the waters, and the earth, as one of the sources from which

[70] In ii. 27, 1, the epithet *rājabhyaḥ*, "kings," is applied to all the six Ādityas there named.

[71] Benfey, however, understands the sons and brothers to be those of the worshipper. For *trāmaṇaṁ vachaḥ* the A.V. reads *trāyamāṇaṁ sahaḥ*, "delivering force."

the gods had been generated: "All your names, ye gods, are to be revered, adored, and worshipped; ye who were born from Aditi,[72] from the waters, ye who are born from the earth, listen here to my invocation" (*Viśvā hi vo namasyāni vandyā nāmāni devāḥ uta yajniyāni vaḥ | ye stha jātāḥ Aditer adbhyas pari ye pṛithivyās te me iha śruta havam |*). In this passage we appear to find the same triple classification of gods as celestial, intermediate, and terrestrial (comp. A.V. x. 9, 12), which we have already met with in R.V. i. 139, 11,[73] and in the Nirukta. The gods mentioned in the verse before us as sprung from Aditi, might thus correspond to the celestial gods, among whom the Ādityas are specified by Yāska as the first class, or to the Ādityas alone.[74]

The hymn before us proceeds in the next verse (x. 63, 3): "Gladden, in order to promote our well-being, those Ādityas, who are invigorated by hymns, the bringers of vigour, the energetic, to whom their mother the sky, Aditi, (or the infinite sky),[75] towering to the empyrean,

[72] Roth, in his Lexicon, understands the word Aditi in this passage to mean "infinity," the boundlessness of heaven as opposed to the limitation of earth.

[73] The same threefold origin of the gods, together with the use of the word "waters," to denote the intermediate region, is found also in x. 49, 2, where it is said: *māṃ dhur Indraṃ nāma devatāḥ divaś cha gmaś cha apāṃ cha jantavaḥ |* "The gods, both those who are the offspring of the sky, of the earth, and of the [aerial] waters, have assigned to me the name of Indra;" and in x. 65, 9, the poet says: *Parjanya-Vātā vṛishabhā purīshiṇā Indra-Vāyū Varuṇo Mitro Aryamā | devān Ādityān Aditiṃ havāmahe ye pārthivāso divyāso apsu ye |* "Parjanya, Vāta, vigorous and shedders of moisture, Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman: We invoke the divine Ādityas, Aditi, those (gods) who are terrestrial, celestial, who (exist) in the aerial waters." The word "waters" seems to be used in the sense of air, in ii. 38, 11, and x. 45, 1. Compare also vii. 35, 11, where the gods are classed as *divya*, *pārthiva*, and *apya* (celestial, earthly, and aerial, *apsu antarikshe bhavāḥ*: Sāyaṇa), v. 14 of the same hymn where they are divided into *divya*, *pārthiva*, (celestial, earthly), and *gojāta*; and vi. 50, 11, where they are distinguished as *divya*, *pārthiva*, *gojāta*, and *apya* (celestial, earthly, *gojāta*, and aerial. Sāyaṇa on R.V. vii. 35, 14, explains *gojāta* as *Pṛiśner jātāḥ* "born of Pṛiśni." On vi. 50, 11, he characterizes Pṛiśni as *mādhyamikā vāk*, "the Vāch of the middle region." In the former of these two passages, if the threefold division of gods is maintained *gojāta* ought to be = *apya*: but in the latter passage we have a fourfold division, and as the *apya* gods are one of the four classes, *gojāta* ought to designate a different class. Roth so explains the last word as meaning the gods of the starry heaven.

[74] Nirukta xii. 35: *Athāto dyusthānāḥ devagaṇāḥ | teshām Ādityāḥ prathamāgāmino bhavanti |*

[75] The word for "sky" here is *Dyaus*, which, if my rendering is correct, must in this passage be regarded as feminine, though, as we have seen, it is generally masculine, and designated as *father*. In v. 59, 8, the words *dyaus* and *aditi* are similarly

supplies the sweet ambrosial fluid" (*Yebhyo mātā madhumat pinvate payaḥ pīyūshaṁ dyaur aditir adri-barhāḥ | uktha-śushmān vṛishabharān svapnasas tān Ādityān anu mada svastaye*). This verse, in which it may seem that Aditi is either identified with, or regarded as an epithet of, the sky, appears rather to confirm the view I have taken of the one which precedes. The tenor of R.V. x. 65, 9, quoted in a preceding foot-note ([73]), seems, however, opposed to this identification of Aditi with the sky, as she and her sons the Ādityas are there mentioned separately from the other gods who are the inhabitants of the three different spheres; though possibly the last named classification may be meant to sum up all the gods before enumerated, and so to comprehend the Ādityas also.

(5) *Aditi seems to be distinguished from the Earth.*

But even if we suppose that in the preceding passages it is intended to identify Aditi with the sky, this identification is very far from being consistently maintained in the hymns. And it is equally difficult to take the word as a constant synonym of the Earth. For although, as we have seen, Aditi is given in the Nighaṇṭu as one of the names of the Earth, and in the dual as equivalent to Heaven and Earth, and though in the obscure verse R.V. i. 72, 9, and in Atharva-veda, xiii. 1, 38, she may appear to be identified with the Earth,[76] we find her in many passages of the Rig-veda mentioned separately, and as if she were distinct from both the one and the other. Thus, in iii. 54, 19, 20, it is said: "*Śṛiṇotu naḥ pṛithivī dyaur utāpaḥ sūryo nakshattrair uru antarikshaṁ | 20 . . . Adityair no Aditiḥ śṛiṇotu* | "May the Earth and the Heaven hear us, the Water, the Sun with the stars, the wide Atmosphere . . . . 20 May Aditi with the Ādityas hear us;"

united: *mimātu dyaur aditiḥ*, etc. Professor Müller takes *aditi* in x. 63, 3, as well as in v. 59, 8, for an adjective, and renders the first half of the former verse thus: "The gods to whom their mother yields the sweet milk, and the unbounded sky, as firm as a rock, their food" (pp. 243 and 249). But we should thus have to take Aditi in different senses in two adjoining verses. In v. 2 of this hymn Prof. Müller himself takes Aditi as signifying the goddess (p. 240). For *adribarhas* see Roth, *s.v.*, and under *barhas*.

[76] R.V. i. 72, 9. *Mahnā mahadbhiḥ Pṛithivī vi tasthe mātā putrair Aditir dhāyase veḥ* | "The earth, the mother, Aditi stood in power with her mighty sons for the support of the bird." The word *pṛithivī* may, however, as Professor Müller supposes, p. 243, be here an epithet. A.V. xiii. 1. 38: *Yaśāḥ pṛithivyā Adityā upasthe*, etc.

in v. 46, 6: *Indrāgnī Mitrāvaruṇa Aditiṁ svaḥ pṛithivīm dyām Marutaḥ parvatān apaḥ | huve* | "I invoke Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Heaven, Earth, Sky, etc.; in vi. 51, 5: *Dyaush pitaḥ Pṛithivī mātar adhrug Agne bhrātar Vasavo mṛilata naḥ | viśve Adityāḥ Adite sajoshā asmabhyaṁ śarma bahulaṁ viyanta* | "Father Heaven, benificent mother Earth, brother Agni, Vasus, be gracious to us; all ye Ādityas, Aditi, united, grant us mighty protection;" in ix. 97, 58: *Tan no Mitro Varuṇo māmahantām Aditiḥ Sindhuḥ Pṛithivī uta Dyauḥ* | "May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Ocean, Earth, and Heaven gladden us;" in x. 36, 2: *Dyauś cha naḥ Pṛithivī cha prachetasā ṛitāvarī rakshatām aṁhaso riṣhaḥ* | . . . . 3. *Viśvasmān no Aditiḥ pātu aṁhaso mātā mitrasya Varuṇasya revataḥ* | 2. "Heaven and Earth, the wise and holy, protect us," etc.; . . . . 3: "May Aditi, the mother of Mitra and the opulent Varuṇa, preserve us from every calamity." See also x. 92, 11. Perhaps the most distinct text of all, however, is x. 63, 10: *Sutrāmāṇam Pṛithivīṁ Dyām anehasaṁ suśarmāṇam Aditiṁ supraṇītim | daivīṁ nāvāṁ svaritām anāgasam asravantīm ā ruhema svastaye* | 10: "(We invoke) the excellent protectress the Earth, the faultless Heaven, the sheltering and guiding Aditi: let us ascend for our well-being the divine bark, well rowed, free from imperfection, which never leaks."[77] Vāj. S. xviii. 22: "May Earth, and Aditi, and Diti, and Heaven, etc., etc., satisfy me through my sacrifice," etc. (. . . . *pṛithivī cha me Aditiś cha me Ditiś cha me Dyauś cha me . . . yajnena kalpantām*).

In A.V. vi. 120, 2: the Earth seems to be distinguished from Aditi: *Bhūmir mātā Aditir no janitram bhrātā 'ntariksham ityādi* | "The Earth our Mother, Aditi the place of our production, the air our brother, etc.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, indeed, it is said (ii. 2, 1, 19): "Aditi is this earth; she is this supporter," (*iyaṁ vai Pṛithivī Aditiḥ sā iyam pratishṭhā*), etc.; and in another passage (v. 3, 1, 4): "Aditi is this earth; she is the wife of the gods," (*iyaṁ vai Pṛithivī Aditiḥ sā iyaṁ devānām patnī*). (See also viii. 2, 1, 10; xi. 1, 3, 3). But these identifications of the Brāhmaṇas are very arbitrary and frequently fanciful.

I have already mentioned that Aditi is placed by Yāska at the head

[77] This verse occurs also in the Vāj. S. xxi. 6; and Ath. V. vii. 6, 3. See Müller, p. 238.

of the goddesses of the intermediate region. If, however, the same ancient writer has done rightly in placing the Ādityas among the deities of the celestial sphere (Nir. xii. 35), Aditi their mother ought surely to have found her place in the same class, as it is scarcely conceivable that the composers of the hymns should have thought of thus separating the parent from her offspring. But Yāska is here merely following the order of the list of words (for it can hardly be called a classification) which he found in the fifth chapter of the Nighaṇṭu; and in following this list (to which he no doubt attached a certain authority) he has had to specify Varuṇa, who is twice named in it, not only among the celestial gods (xii. 21), among whom as an Āditya he was properly ranked, but also among the gods of the intermediate region[78] (x. 3).

(6) *Aditi and Diti.*

In the following verse Aditi is named along with another goddess or personification, Diti, who, from the formation of her name, appears to be intended as an antithesis, or as a complement, to Aditi (v. 62, 8. *Hiraṇyarūpam ushaso vyuṣhṭāv ayaḥ-sthūṇam uditā sūryasya | ārohatho Varuṇa Mitra gartam ataś chakshāthe Aditiṁ Ditiṁ cha* | "Ye, Mitra and Varuṇa, ascend your car, of golden form at the break of dawn, (your car) with iron supports at the setting[79] of the sun, and thence ye behold Aditi and Diti."[80] Sāyaṇa here understands Aditi of the earth as an invisible whole, and Diti as representing the separate creatures on its surface (*Aditim akhaṇḍanīyām bhūmim Ditiṁ khaṇḍitām pra-*

[78] Roth, in his remarks on Nir. x. 4, offers the following explanation of this circumstance: "Varuṇa who, of all the gods, ought to have been assigned to the highest sphere, appears here in the middle rank, because among his creative and regulative functions, the direction of the waters in the heavens is one.

[79] I here follow Roth, who, in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71, and in his Lexicon, renders the word *uditā sūryasya* here by "setting of the sun." Sāyaṇa goes the length of explaining this phrase by *aparāhṇa* "afternoon," in his note on v. 76, 3, though not in the passage before us.

[80] These two words, *aditi* and *diti*, occur also in a passage of the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (x. 16), which is partly the same as the present. The concluding clause (*tataś chakshātām aditim ditiṁ cha*) is thus explained by the commentator there as signifying in the *adhidaiva* sense: "Thence behold [o Varuṇa and Mitra] the man who is not poor (*aditi=adīna*), *i.e.* who observes the prescribed ordinances (*vihitānushṭhātāram*), and him who is poor (*diti=dīna*), who follows the practices of the atheists (*nāstika-vṛittam*)."

jādikām). In his essay on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races" (Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71), Professor Roth translates these two words by "the eternal," and "the perishable." In his Lexicon, however, the same author (*s.v.*) describes Diti "as a goddess associated with Aditi, without any distinct conception, and merely, as it appears, as a contrast to her." Aditi may, however, here represent the sky, and Diti the earth; or, if we are right in understanding the verse before us to describe two distinct appearances of Mitra and Varuṇa, one at the rising and the other at the setting of the sun, Aditi might possibly stand for the whole of nature as seen by day, and Diti for the creation as seen by night. At all events the two together appear to be put by the poet for the entire aggregate of visible nature.[81] Diti occurs again as a goddess, but without Aditi, in another place (vii. 15, 12, *Tvam Agne vīravad yaśo devaś cha Savitā Bhagaḥ | Ditiś cha dāti vāryam* | "You, Agni, and the divine Saṿitṛi and Bhaga, (bestow) renown with descendants; and Diti confers what is desirable." Sāyaṇa here explains Diti as meaning a particular goddess (*Ditir api devī*). Roth (*s.v.*) considers her to be a personification of liberality or opulence. Professor Müller, Trans. i. 244, considers that the original reading in this passage was Aditi, and that Diti has been substituted by later reciters. Diti is also named along with Aditi as a goddess, A.V. xv. 6, 7, and xv. 18, 4; Vāj. S. xviii. 22; and in A.V. vii. 7. 1, her sons are mentioned. These sons, the Daityas, as is well known, were regarded in later Indian mythology as the enemies of the gods.

(7) *Aditi may be a personification of Universal Nature.*

Perhaps Aditi may best be regarded as a personification of universal, all-embracing Nature, or Being, with which she is in fact identified in the following remarkable verse. She is the source and substance of all things celestial and intermediate, divine and human, present and future (i.89, 10): "Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the air (or intermediate firmament); Aditi is the mother, and father, and son; Aditi is all the gods, and the five tribes;[82] Aditi is whatever has been

[81] The words *aditi* and *diti* occur together in another passage, iv. 2, 11 (*ditiṁ cha rāsva aditim urushya*), where Sāyaṇa takes *diti* for "the liberal man," and *aditi* for the "illiberal," and translates "grant us a liberal giver, and preserve us from the illiberal," while Roth renders them by "wealth" and "penury" respectively.

[82] In another place, vi. 51, 11, Aditi is invoked, along with Indra, the earth, the

born; Aditi is whatever shall be born"[83] (*Aditir dyaur Aditir antarikṣham Aditir mātā sa pitā sa putraḥ | viśve devāḥ Aditiḥ panchajanāḥ Aditir jātam Aditir janitvam |*).

Sāyaṇa states that here Aditi is either the earth, or the mother of the gods, and that she is lauded under the character of universal nature[84] (*Aditir ādīnā akhaṇḍanīyā vā pṛithivī devamātā vā | . . . evaṁ sakala-jagad-ātmanā Aditiḥ stūyate*). Yāska says (Nir. iv. 22 f.), that Aditi means "not poor, the mother of the gods" (*Aditir adīnā devamātā*), and that the variety of her manifestations is set forth in this verse, or that the objects which are there characterized as *aditi* are *adīna*, the reverse of *dīna*, "poor" (*ity Aditer vibhūtim āchashṭe | enāny adīnāni vā*). This text occurs at the end of a hymn addressed to all the gods, and does not appear to have any connexion with the verses which precede, from which it derives no elucidation."[85]

Compare with it Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, where it is similarly said "that the self-existent Brahma, who is the highest austere-fervour, is son, father, and mother (*Svayambhu Brahma paramaṁ tapo yat | sa eva putraḥ sa pitā sa mātā*).

With this may be compared Æschylus, Fragment 443:

Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθὴρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός·
Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα χὠ τι τῶν δ' ὑπέρτερον.

ground (*kshāma*), Pūshan, Bhaga, and the five tribes (*pañchajanāḥ*), to bestow blessings. Are the "five tribes" to be understood here, with some old commentators (see Nir. iii. 8) of the Gandharvas, Pitṛis, Devas, Asuras, and Rākshasas; or with the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa quoted by Sāyaṇa on i. 89, 10, of gods, men, Gandharvas, Apsarases, serpents, and Pitṛis (the Gandharvas and Apsarases being taken as one class)? Perhaps we should rather understand the term, as in x. 53, 4, 5 (*pañchajanāḥ mama hotraṁ jushaḍhvaṁ*, "ye five tribes, welcome my offering"), as denoting the whole pantheon, or a particular portion of it. In R.V. x. 55, 3, *pancha devāḥ*, the five gods, or classes of gods, are mentioned, and in x. 60, 4, "the five tribes in the sky" (*divīva pancha kṛishṭayaḥ*). See the 1st vol. of this work, p. 177.

[83] In a note on this verse (Orient und Occident, ii. p. 253) Professor Benfey remarks "The conception of this goddess is still dark."

[84] M. Ad. Regnier, E'tude sur l'idiome des Vedas, p. 28, remarks: Aditi is the name of a divinity, a personification of *the All*, the mother of the gods."

[85] There is a hymn (x. 100)—addressed to different gods, and where they are invoked in succession—in which the words *ā sarvatātim aditiṁ vṛiṇīmahe* form the conclusion of all the verses except the last. The precise meaning of these words was not very clear to me, especially as they have no necessary connection with the preceding portions of the different stanzas in which they occur. But Professor Aufrecht suggests that the verb *vṛiṇīmahe* governs a double accusative, and that the words

"Zeus is the Æther, Zeus is the Earth, Zeus is the Heaven. Zeus is all things, and whatever is above them." See Müller, Lectures on Language, ii. 441.

The signification, "earth" or "nature," may be that in which the word Aditi is employed in R.V. i. 24, 1: *Kasya nūnaṁ katamasya amṛitānām manāmahe chāru devasya nāma | ko no mahyai Aditaye punar dāt pitaraṁ cha dṛiśeyam mātaraṁ cha | 2. Agner vayam prathamasya amṛitānām manāmahe chāru devasya nāma | sa no mahyai Aditaye punar dāt pitaraṁ cha dṛiśeyam mātaraṁ cha* | "of which god, now, of which all the immortals, shall we invoke the amiable name? who shall give us back to the great Aditi, that I may behold my father and my mother? 2. Let us invoke the amiable name of the divine Agni, the first of the immortals; he shall give us back to the great Aditi, that I may behold my father and my mother." These words are declared in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa to have been uttered by Śunaśśepa when he was about to be immolated (see Professor Wilson's Essay in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, xiii. 100; Professor Roth's paper in Weber's Indische Studien, i. 46; Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 408 ff.; Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 460 ff., and the First Vol. of this work, pp. 355 ff. In regard to the passage immediately before us, Müller's Lectures on Language, ii. 500, and his Translation of the Rig-veda, i. 243, may also be consulted). Whether this account be correct or not, the words may be understood as spoken by some one in danger of death from sickness or otherwise, who prayed to be permitted again to behold the face of nature. This interpretation is confirmed by the epithet *mahī*, "great," applied in this verse to Aditi, which would not be so suitable if, with Roth (*s.v.*), we should take the word here in the sense of "freedom" or "security." If we should understand the father and mother whom the suppliant is anxious to behold, as meaning heaven

mean "We ask Aditi for *sarvatāti*," (whatever that may mean). In an ingenious excursus on R.V. i. 94, 15 (Orient und Occident, ii. 519 ff.), Professor Benfey regards the word as coming originally from the same root as the Latin *sălūt*, of which he supposes the primitive form to have been *salvotāt*, and to have the same signification. This sense certainly suits the context of the four passages on which principally he founds it, viz., i. 106, 2; iii. 54, 11; ix. 96, 4; x. 36, 14. In a note to his translation of this paper (Orient und Occident, iii. 470) he explains the words under consideration, "we supplicate Aditi for welfare." In his transl. of R.V. i. 247, Müller similarly renders them: We implore Aditi for health and wealth."

and earth (see above), it would become still more probable that Aditi is to be understood as meaning "nature." Sāyaṇa (in loco) understands the word of the Earth (*pṛithivyai*).

(8) *Aditi as a forgiver of sin.*

Benfey in his translation of the hymn just referred to i. 24 (Orient und Occident, i. 33), treats Aditi as a proper name, and explains it as denoting "sinlessness." Whatever may be thought of this interpretation, the goddess Aditi is undoubtedly in many other texts connected with the idea of deliverance from sin. Thus at the end of this same hymn (i. 24, 15), it is said: *Ud uttamaṁ Varuṇa pāśam asmad ava adhamaṁ vi madhyamaṁ śrathaya | atha vayam Āditya vrate*[86] *tava anāgasaḥ Aditaye syāma* | "Varuṇa, loose from us the uppermost, the middle, and the lowest bond. Then may we, o Āditya, by thy ordination, be without sin against Aditi."[87]

The same reference is also found in the following texts:

i. 162, 22. "May Aditi make us sinless" (*anāgastvaṁ no Aditiḥ kṛiṇotu*).

ii. 27, 14. "Aditi, Mitra, and Varuṇa, be gracious if we have committed any sin against you" (*Adite Mitra Varuṇauta mṛiḷa yad vo vayaṁ chakṛima kach chid āgaḥ*).

iv. 12, 4. "Whatever offence we have, through our folly, committed against thee, after the manner of men, o most youthful god, make us free from sin against Aditi; loosen our sins altogether away, o Agni"

[86] On the different senses of the word *vrata* see Müller, Trans. of R.V. i. 225 ff. Here he renders "under thy auspices," p. 228.

[87] The abstract noun *adititva* occurs along with *anāgāstva*, "sinlessness," in the following line (vii. 51, 1): *anāgāstve adititve turāsaḥ imam yajnam dadhatu śroshamāṇāḥ*, "May the mighty gods, listening to us, preserve this ceremony in sinlessness, and prosperity." Though *adititva* is joined with *anāgāstva*, it does not follow that it must have the same sense.—In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa x. 6, 5, 5 (= Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, p. 53 ff.,) the name of Aditi is explained from the root *ad*, to eat: "Whatever he created, he began to eat: for Aditi derives her (or his) name from this, that she (or he) eats every thing" (*yad yad eva asṛijata tad attum adhriyata | sarvaṁ vai atti iti tad Aditer adititvam*). Aditi is an epithet of Agni in R.V. iv. 1, 20; vii. 9, 3; and of Aryaman in ix. 81, 5. Yāska tells us that Agni also is called Aditi (*Agnir apy aditir uchyate*, Nir. xi. 23), and quotes in proof of this the 15th verse of a hymn to Agni, R.V. i. 94. In vii. 52, 1, the worshippers ask that they may be *aditayaḥ*, which Sāyaṇa renders by *akhaṇḍanīyāḥ*, "invincible."

(*Yach chid hi te purushatra yavishṭha achittibhiḥ chakṛima kach chid āgaḥ | kṛidhi su asmān Aditer anāgān vi enāṁsi śiśratho vishvag Agne*).

v. 82, 6. "May we be free from sin against Aditi through the help of the divine Savitṛi" (*anāgasaḥ Aditaye devaya Savituḥ save*).

vii. 87, 7. "May we, fulfilling the ordinances of Aditi, be without sin towards Varuṇa, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin" (*yo mṛiḷayāti chakrushe chid āgo vayaṁ syāma Varuṇe anāgāḥ | anu vratāni Aditer ṛidhantaḥ*).

vii. 93, 7. "Whatever sin we have committed, be thou (Agni) compassionate: may Aryaman and Aditi sever it from us" (*yat sīm āgaś chakṛima tat su mṛiḷa tad Aryamā Aditiḥ śiśrathantu*).

x. 12, 8. "May Mitra here, may Aditi, may the divine Savitṛi declare us sinless to Varuṇa" (*Mitro no atra Aditir anāgān Savitā devo Varuṇāya vochat*).

A consideration of these passages, where Aditi is supplicated for forgiveness of sin, might lead us to suppose that she was regarded as the great power which wields the forces of the universe, and controls the destinies of men by moral laws; and the idea derives some support from her connection with Varuṇa, whose bonds are so often referred to as afflicting sinners.[88] But this supposition is weakened by the fact that many others of the gods are in the same way petitioned for pardon, as Savitṛi (iv. 54, 3) and other deities, as the Sun, Dawn, Heaven and Earth (x. 35, 2, 3), Agni (iii. 54, 19).

(9) *Aditi's position sometimes subordinate.*

Though, as we have seen, Aditi is regarded as the mother of some of the principal Vedic deities, she is yet, in other texts, represented as playing a subordinate part.

Thus, in vii. 38, 4, she is mentioned as celebrating the praises of Savitṛi, along with her sons Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, and welcoming his aid (*abhi yaṁ devī Aditir gṛiṇāti savaṁ devasya Savitur jushāṇā | abhi saṁrājo Varuṇo gṛiṇanti abhi Mitrāso Aryamā sajoshāḥ*); and in viii. 12, 14, she is declared to have produced a hymn to Indra *uta svarāje Aditiḥ stomam Indrāya jījanat | puruprasastam ūtaye ṛitasya yat*).

[88] See on this subject Müller's transl. of the R.V. i. 244 ff.

(10) *Creation as described in Rig-veda* x. 72; *birth of Aditi, Daksha, the gods, and the Ādityas.*

In a hymn of the tenth book (the 72nd), supposed from its contents to be of a comparatively late date, the process of creation is described at greater length than in any earlier passage, and the share which Aditi took in it is not very intelligibly set forth:[89]

x. 72, 1. *Devānāṁ nu vayaṁ jānā pra vochāma vipanyayā | uktheshu śasyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge | 2. Brahmaṇaspatir etā saṁ karmāraḥ ivādhamat | devānāṁ pūrvye yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata | 3. Devānām yuge prathame asataḥ sad ajāyata | tad āśāḥ anv ajāyanta tad Uttānapadas pari | 4. Bhūr jajne Uttānapado bhuvaḥ āśāḥ ajāyanta | Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari | 5. Aditir hi ajanishṭa Daksha yā duhitā tava | tāṁ devāḥ anv ajāyanta bhadrāḥ amṛitabandhavaḥ | 6. Yad devāḥ adaḥ salile susaṁrabdhāḥ atishṭhata | attra vo nṛityatām iva tīvro reṇur apāyata | 7. Yad devāḥ yatayo yathā bhuvanāni apinvata | attra samudre ā gūḷham ā sūryam ajabharttana | 8. Ashṭau putrāso Aditer ye jātās tanvas pari | devān upa pra ait saptabhiḥ parā mārttāṇḍam āsyat | 9. Saptabhiḥ putrair Aditiḥ upa prait pūrvyaṁ yugam | prajāyai mṛityave tvat punar mārttāṇḍam ābharat |*

"1. Let us, in chaunted hymns, with praise, declare the births of the gods,—any of us who in (this) latter age may behold them. 2. Brahmaṇaspati blew forth these births like a blacksmith.[90] In the earliest age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent. 3. In the first age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent: thereafter the regions sprang, thereafter, from Uttānapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānapad, from the earth sprang the regions: Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha. 5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter, o Daksha. After her

[89] I have already given this translation in vol. iv. of this work, pp. 10, 11, but repeat it here, with some variations, for the sake of completeness. Prof. Müller in his transl. of the R.V. pp. 234 f. gives a version of the first four verses. In the first verse, second line, he proposes to read *yat* for *yaḥ* and to translate "that a man may see them," etc. In the third verse he takes Uttānapadas, where it first occurs, for a nominative, and in the fourth verse for a genitive. Whichever way we take the words, there is a double production of the regions; first, either (a) from Uttānapad, or (b) after the non-existent, but before Uttānapad, to which they gave birth, and, second, from the earth, which itself sprang from Uttānapad.

[90] Compare R.V. iv. 2, 17; and x. 81, 3.

the gods were born, happy, partakers of immortality. 6. When, gods, ye moved, agitated, upon those waters, then a violent dust[91] issued from you, as from dancers. 7. When, gods, ye, like strenuous men,[92] replenished the worlds, then ye drew forth the sun which was hidden in the (aerial?) ocean. 8. Of the eight sons[93] of Aditi who were born from her body, she approached the gods with seven, and cast out Mārttāṇḍa (the eighth). 9. With seven sons Aditi approached the former generation (of gods): she again produced Mārttāṇḍa for birth as well as for death.[94]

[91] Compare R.V. iv. 42, 5. . . . *Indraḥ iyarmi reṇum abhibhūtyojāḥ.*

[92] *Yatayaḥ.*—This word is taken by Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.* as the name of an ancient family connected with the Bhṛigus, R.V. viii. 3, 9; viii. 6, 18, to whom some connection with the formation of the world is ascribed in x. 72, 7 (the verse before us). The word also occurs in R.V. vii. 13, 1, where it is applied to Agni (*Vaiśvanarāya yataye matīnām*). The second of the verses quoted by B. and R. (viii. 6, 18) is as follows: *ye Indra yatayas tvā Bhṛigavo ye cha tushṭuvuḥ | mama id ugra śrudhi havam* | "Indra, the Yatis, and the Bhṛigus, who praised thee:—hear, o fiery god, my invocation." Here a family of men may be meant, as also in viii. 3, 9 (*yena yatibhyo Bhṛigave dhane hite*). In one of the few verses of the Sāma-veda which are not found in the R.V., viz. ii. 304, (but which is not referred to in B. and R.'s Lexicon, although the parallel passage in the A.V. ii. 5, 3, which has some different readings, is cited) the words Yati and Bhṛigu both occur: *Indras turāshāṇ Mitro na jaghāna Vṛittraṁ Yatir na | bibheda Balam Bhṛigur na sasāhe śatrūn made somasya* | "The impetuous Indra slew Vṛittra as (did) Mitra, as (did) the Yati; he pierced Bala as (did) Bhṛigu; he overcame his enemies in the exhilaration of the soma-juice." The parallel passage of the A.V. (in Roth and Whitney's ed.) reads *yatīr na*, the accusative feminine, instead of *yatir na*, the nom. masc. The Lexicon also refers to the Ait. Br. vii. 28 (quoted in the 1st vol. of this work (2nd ed.) pp. 437 f.), where Indra is said to have abandoned the Yatis to wolves; and to other passages in which the same legend in noticed.

[93] Compare A.V. viii. 9, 21: *ashṭa-yonir Aditir ashṭa-putrā* | In the Taitt. Araṇyaka i. 13, 1, the Earth is said to have had eight births, eight sons, and eight husbands (*ashṭayonīm ashṭaputrām ashṭapatnīm imām mahīm*).

[94] The 8th and 9th verses are quoted in the Taittirīya Araṇyaka i. 13, 2, 3; where the reading of the last line of verse 9, is as follows: *prajāyai mṛityave tat parā mārttāṇḍam ābharat* | The commentator explains the last verse thus: "Aditi approached her husband preparatory to the procreation of her sons, and with a view to their birth; and she abandoned Mārttāṇḍa that he might die" (*tad-utpādanārtham "pūrvyaṁ yugam" tad utpatti-pūrva-kālīnam pati-saṁyogam "prajāyai" prajotpatty-artham "upaprait" prīti-pūrvakam prāptavatī | . . . Mārttāṇḍākhyam ashṭamam putram "parābharat" parityaktavatī iti yat tat "mṛityave" mṛityu-nimittam | Mārttāṇḍo hi mṛityor eva hetur na prajābhivṛiddheḥ*]), and he adds that "Mārttāṇḍa means one in consequence of whose birth the egg has become dead" (*mṛitam aṇḍaṁ yadīya-janmanā sa Mārttāṇḍaḥ*); according to the Smṛiti: *mṛite 'ṇḍe jāyate yasmād Mārttāṇḍaḥ sa udāhṛitaḥ* | "He is called Mārttāṇḍa because he was

Yāska has the following remarks on verse 4 of this hymn in the Nirukta, xi. 23:

Ādityo Dakshaḥ ity āhur Āditya-madhye cha stutaḥ | Aditir Dākshāyaṇī "Aditer Daksho ajāyata Dakshād u Aditiḥ pari" iti cha | tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau syātām iti | api vā deva-dharmeṇa itaretara-janmānau syātām itaretara-prakṛitī |

"Daksha is, they say, an Āditya (or son of Aditi), and is praised among the Ādityas. And Aditi is, on the other hand, the daughter of Daksha (according to this text), 'Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha.' How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or, according to the nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other, and have derived their substance from each other."[95]

Another instance of the same reciprocal generation is found in R.V. x. 90, 5: *Tasmād Virāḍ ajāyata Virājo adhi Pūrushaḥ* | "From him (Purusha) sprang Virāj; and from Virāj (sprang) Purusha."

born when the egg was dead." See also the 549th line of the Harivaṁsa quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 11, note. The S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 1, 3, 3 (already quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 12), has the following explanation of the 8th verse: *Ashṭau ha vai putrāḥ Aditeḥ | yāṁs tv etad devāḥ Ādityāḥ ity ēchakshate sapta ha eva te | avikṛitaṁ ha ashṭamaṁ janayāṅchakāra Mārttāṇḍam | sandegho ha eva āsa yāvān eva ūrdhvas tāvāṁs tiryañ purusha-sammitaḥ ity u ha eke āhuḥ | 4. Te u ha ete ūchur devāḥ Ādityāḥ "yad asmān anu ajanimā tad amuyā iva bhūd hanta imaṁ vikaravāma" iti taṁ vichakrur yathā ayam purusho vikṛitaḥ | tasya yāni māṁsāni saṅkṛitya sannyāsus tato hastī samabhavat | . . . Yam u ha tad vichakrus sa Vivasvān Ādityas tasya imāḥ prajāḥ |* "Aditi had eight sons. But there were only seven (of them) whom men call the Āditya deities. For she bore the eighth, Mārttāṇḍa, undeveloped into any distinctions of shape (without hands, feet, etc.—Comm.), and quite smooth and uniform, as broad as he was long, or of the size of a man, according to some. The Āditya gods said 'If in his nature he does not resemble us, it will be fatal; come let us shape him.' They did so as this man is shaped. The flesh which they cut off him, and threw away, became an elephant. . . . He whom they so shaped was the Āditya Vivasvat, of whom come these creatures." The passage of the Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 6, 1, quoted in the 1st vol. of this work p. 26, also alludes to Aditi's second parturition having resulted in an abortive egg (*vyṛiddham āṇḍam*).

[95] In his Illustrations of the Nirukta (p. 151) Professor Roth thus translates the 4th and 5th verses of this hymn: "Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb sprang the Regions; from Aditi (Eternity) was born Daksha (spiritual power), and from Daksha again Aditi. 5. Yes, Aditi was born, o Daksha, she who is thy daughter; after her sprang forth the gods, the blessed possessors of immortality." He then proceeds: "Daksha, (spiritual power) is the male energy, which generates the gods in eternity. As Bhū (the world, or being) and space are the principles of the finite, so both of these are the originators of divine life."

Daksha and Aditi are connected in two other texts:

x. 5, 7. *Asach cha sach cha parame vyoman Dakshasya janmann Aditer upasthe | Agnir naḥ prathamajāḥ ṛitasya pūrve āyuni vṛishabhaś cha dhenuḥ |* "(A principle) not existing (actually), but existing (potentially) in the highest heaven, in the creative potency of Daksha and in the womb of Aditi,—Agni (became) in a former age the first born of our ritual, and is both a vigorous bull and a cow." [96]

x. 64, 5. *Dakshasya vā Adite janmani vrate rājānā Mitrā-varuṇā ā vivāsasi |* "Thou, o Aditi, dost tend the two kings Mitra and Varuṇa after the production and by the will of Daksha." [97]

Though the above passage, x. 72, 4, 5, represents Daksha as at once the father and the son of Aditi, the older Vedic mythology, as we shall see from R.V. ii. 27, 1, in the next section, describes him as one of the Ādityas, and consequently as her son. There are, however, two other passages, vi. 50, 2, and vii. 66, 2, in which the epithet *Daksha-pitṛi* is applied to the gods, and a third, viii. 25, 5, in which two of the Ādityas are styled *sūnū dakshasya sukratū*. What is the signification of these epithets? The first of the passages, vi. 50, 2, is as follows:

Sujyotishaḥ sūrya Daksha-pitṛīn anāgastve śumaho vīhi devān | dvijanmāno ye ṛitasāpaḥ satyāḥ svarvanto yajatāḥ Agni-jihvāḥ | "O mighty Sūrya, visit in sinlessness the resplendent gods, the sons of Daksha, [or possessors of powers], who have two births, are holy, true, celestial, adorable, and have Agni on their tongues."

vii. 66, 2. *Yā dhārayanta devāḥ śūdakshā Daksha-pitarā | asuryāya pramahasā |* "Which two wise gods (*i.e.* Mitra and Varuṇa), the mighty sons of Daksha,—[or possessors of powers],—the deities have established to exercise divine rule."

In the Taittirīya Sanhitā, i. 2, 3, 1 (p. 309 in Bibl. Ind.), the same epithet is applied to the gods: *Ye devaḥ manojātāḥ manoyujaḥ sudakshāḥ Dakshapitaras te naḥ pāntu |* "May those deities who are mind-born, mind-exerting, intelligent, who have Daksha for their father,[98] protect and deliver us," etc.

[96] See Langlois' version. Müller (Trans. of the R.V. i. 234) renders the first line only, and does not advert to the second.

[97] See Müller's version in his Trans. of the R.V. i. p. 234. In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 151, Roth translates the line "And thou, o Aditi, who after their production by Daksha, and by his command, servest the two kings Mitra and Varuṇa," etc.

[98] The commentator explains the word *Daksha-pitaraḥ* as = *Dakshaḥ prajāpatir utpādako yeshām te*, "those of whom the Prajāpati Daksha is the generator."

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Doubt may be thrown on the propriety of taking Daksha in the preceding passages to represent a person, from the fact that in R.V. viii. 25, 5, Mitra and Varuṇa are not only called the "strong sons of Daksha" (*sūnū Dakshasyâ sukratū*), but also the "grandsons of mighty strength" (*napātā śavaso mahaḥ*). In his interpretation of vi. 50, 2, Sāyaṇa explains *Daksha-pitṛīn* as *Dakshaḥ pitāmaho yeshāṁ te* | "they of whom Daksha is the progenitor." In the second passage vii. 66, 2, however, he takes the same compound to signify the preservers, or lords of strength" (*balasya pālakau svāminau vā*). The epithet "son of strength" (*sahasasputra, sahasaḥ sūnu*) is applied to Agni viii. 49, 2; viii. 60, 11; viii. 64, 3; and *śavasaḥ putra* "son of might" to Indra in viii. 79, 3, and viii. 81, 14. In viii. 58, 4, Indra is called the "son of truth" (*sūnuṁ satyasya*); and the gods are called "sons of immortality" in vi. 52, 9 (*sūnavaḥ amṛitasya*), and in x. 13, 1 (*amṛitasya putrāḥ*). Professor Roth in his Lexicon assigns to *dakshapitaraḥ* the sense of "preserving, possessing, bestowing powers;" and supports his view by quoting various other texts of the R.V. This signification is approved by Dr. Kuhn in his review of this article. Professor Müller translates the word by "fathers of strength," Trans. of R.V. i. 235 f.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 2, Daksha is identified with Prajāpati, or the creator."[99]

The part which he plays in the later mythology, founded, no doubt, on the Vedic texts which I have quoted, may be seen by consulting Professor Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, Dr. Hall's edition, vol. i. pp. 100, 108 ff.: vol. ii. pp. 9–26, and vol. iii. p. 230. According to the first account he is one of Brahmā's mind-born sons (p. 100), and marries Prasūti (p. 108), who bears him twenty-four daughters, among whom Aditi is not specified. In the second account, however (vol. ii. p. 26), Aditi is mentioned as one of his sixty daughters who, along with Diti, Danu, and ten others, is said to have been given in marriage to Kaśyapa, to whom she (Aditi) bore the twelve Ādityas (p. 27. See also the M. Bh. Ādi-parva, 3135.) According to the third account (vol. iii. p. 230), Aditi is said to be the daughter of Daksha, and the mother of Vivasvat, the Sun. In a passage in one of the recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel, i. 31, Calc. ed. i. 29), in the Mahābhārata,

[99] See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 24. In the sequel of the passage in the S'. P. Br., ii. 4, 4, 6, a person named Daksha, the son of Parvata, is mentioned.

and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 16, 1 ff., Aditi is described as the wife of Kaśyapa, and the mother of Vishṇu in his dwarf incarnation. (See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 116 ff.)

An older authority, however, the Vāj. Saṃhitā, gives quite a different account of the relation of Aditi to Vishṇu, as it (xxix. 60 = Taitt. S. vii. 5, 14, 1) represents her to be his wife (*Adityai Vishṇu-patnyai charuḥ*.[100] In the following passage of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā iv. (p. 34*a* of the India Office MS.) also she is similarly described: *Vishṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ pṛithivyā asyeśānā jagato Vishṇu-patnī | viśva-vyachāḥ ishayantī subhūtiḥ śivā no astu Aditir upasthe* | "Supporter of the sky, sustainer of the earth, sovereign of this world, wife of Vishṇu, may the all-embracing and powerful Aditi, filling us with vigour, be auspicious to us (abiding) in her lap."

[100] In A.V. vii. 46, 3, Sinīvālī seems to be called the wife of Vishṇu (*Vishṇoḥ patnī*). Another goddess is said in Taitt. Br. iii. 1, 2, 6, to be the wife of the same god (*Mahīm devīm Vishṇupatnīm*).

SECTION IV.

THE ĀDITYAS.

The sons of Aditi specified in R.V. ii. 27, 1, are these six: Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Daksha, and Aṁśa (*Imāḥ giraḥ Ādityebhyo ghṛitasnūḥ sanād rājabhyo juhvā juhomi | śṛiṇotu Mitro Aryamā Bhago nas tuvijāto Varuṇo Daksho Aṁśaḥ* |). In ix. 114, 3, the Ādityas are spoken of as seven in number, but their names are not mentioned (*devāḥ ādityāḥ ye sapta tebhiḥ somābhiraksha naḥ*).[101] In x. 72, 8, 9, as we have already seen, it is declared that Aditi had eight sons, of whom she only presented seven to the gods, casting out Mārttāṇḍa, the eighth, though she is said to have afterwards brought him forward. Here, again, the names of the rest are omitted. In A.V. viii. 9, 21, also, as quoted above, p. 38, Aditi is said to have had eight sons. Sūrya is, in a few places, spoken of as an Āditya, viz. in R.V. i. 50, 12 (*ud agād ayam Ādityaḥ*); i. 191, 9 (*ud apaptad asau sūryaḥ . . . Ādityaḥ*); viii. 90, 11;[102] and as an Āditeya (this word equally means 'son of Aditi'), identified with Agni, he is said (x. 88, 11),[103] to have been placed by the gods in the sky. In viii. 18, 3, Savitṛi is named along with Bhaga, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, four of the Ādityas, after that class of deities had been celebrated generally in the preceding verse. Sūrya or Savitṛi therefore appears to have a certain claim to be considered the seventh Āditya (compare A.V. xiii. 2, 9, and 37, where the sun is called the son of Aditi, *Aditeḥ putraḥ* and *Adityāḥ putram*). We have seen above (pp. 13 f., note 19) that Indra also is in one passage (R.V. vii. 85, 4),

[101] See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 101 ff., where these and many other passages relating to the Ādityas are quoted.

[102] The last-mentioned text is as follows: *Baṇ mahān asi Sūrya baḷ Āditya mahān asi | . . . . Baṭ Sūrya śravasā mahān asi* | "O great art thou, Sūrya! O son of Aditi, thou art great! . . . . O Sūrya, in renown thou art great," etc.

[103] *Yaded enam adadhur yajniyāso divi devāḥ Sūryam Āditeyam.* See Nirukta ii. 13; vii. 29. In x. 37, 1, however, the Sun is called the Son of the Heaven (*divas putrāya suryāya*); and there as well as elsewhere he is called the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa.

addressed as an Āditya along with Varuṇa.[104] In A.V. viii. 2, 15, the Sun and Moon are called Ādityas (*tattra tvā "dityau rakshatāṁ sūrya-chandramasāv ubhau* |). In A.V. ix. 1, 4, the golden-hued Madhukaśā is said to be the mother of the Ādityas, and the daughter of the Vasus (*Mātā" dityānāṁ duhitā Vasūnām . . . . hiraṇya-varṇā Madhukaśā*).

In the Ṭaittirīya Veda (quoted by Sāyaṇa on R.V. ii. 27, 1) the Ādityas are said to be eight in number: Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Aṁśu, (*sic*) Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat. Here five names correspond with those given in R.V. ii. 27, 1, while Daksha is omitted, and three names are added, Dhātṛi, Vivasvat (who may be identified with Sūrya), and Indra.

The same names are given in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 9, 1 (a passage already cited in the 1st. vol. of this work, p. 27, but repeated here for facility of reference):

Aditiḥ putrakāmā Sādhyebhyo devebhyo brahmaudanam apachat | tasyai uchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Dhātā cha Aryamā cha ajāyetām | sā dvitīyam apachat | 2. Tasyai uchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta tasyai Mitraś cha Varuṇaś cha ajāyetām | sā tṛitīyam apachat | tasyai uchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Aṁśaś cha Bhagaś cha ajāyetām | sā chaturtham apachat | tasyai uchheshaṇam adaduḥ | tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Indraś cha Vivasvāṁś cha ajāyetām |

"Aditi, being desirous of sons, cooked a brahmaudana oblation for the gods the Sādhyas. They gave her the remains of it, which she ate. She conceived, and Dhātṛi and Aryaman were born to her." The same thing is done a second time, when she brings forth Mitra and Varuṇa, —a third time, when she bears Aṁśa and Bhaga,—and a fourth time, when she gives birth to Indra and Vivasvat. (Comp. the passage from the Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 6, 1, quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 26 f.) In one place (iii. 1, 3, 3), already quoted in p. 50, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa speaks of the Ādityas as becoming eight by the addition of Mārttāṇḍa; but in two other passages (vi. 1, 2, 8; xi. 6, 3, 8), quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 102, as being twelve in number. In the first of these two latter texts they are said to have sprung from twelve drops generated by Prajāpati (in which case they could not have been

[104] Although in their Sanhitā text both Müller and Aufrecht read Ādityā, they both give Ādityā the dual as the reading of the Pada text.

sons of Aditi), and in the second they are identified with the twelve months.[105] In the later Indian literature they are always said to be twelve (see the passages quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 101–106).

Professor Roth (in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 68 f.) has the following observations on the Ādityas: "There (in the highest heaven) dwell and reign those gods who bear in common the name of Ādityas. We must, however, if we would discover their earliest character, abandon the conceptions which in a later age, and even in that of the heroic poems, were entertained regarding these deities. According to this conception they were twelve sun-gods, bearing evident reference to the twelve months. But for the most ancient period we must hold fast the primary signification of their name. They are the inviolable, imperishable, eternal beings. Aditi, eternity, or the eternal, is the element which sustains them and is sustained by them." See above, (p. 37). Further on he adds: "The eternal and inviolable element in which the Ādityas dwell, and which forms their essence, is the celestial light. The Ādityas, the gods of this light, do not therefore by any means coincide with any of the forms in which light is manifested in the universe. They are neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, nor dawn, but the eternal sustainers of this luminous life, which exists, as it were, behind all these phenomena."

In some of the hymns were the Ādityas (under which name Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman seem chiefly, if not exclusively, to be intended), are celebrated (see especially ii. 27), they are characterized by the epithets "bright" (*śuchayaḥ*), "golden" (*hiraṇyayāḥ*), "pure" (*dhārapūtāḥ*), "sinless" (*avṛijīnāḥ*), "blameless" (*anavadyāḥ*), "holy," (*ritāvānaḥ*) "strong" (*kshattriyāḥ*, viii. 56, 1), "kings," "resistless" (*arishṭāḥ*), "vast" (*uravaḥ*), "deep" (*gabhīrāḥ*), sleepless" (*asvapnajaḥ*), "unwinking" (*animishāḥ*),[106] "many-eyed" (*bhūryakshāḥ*, ii. 27, 3), "far-observing" (*dīrghadhiyaḥ*), "fixed in their purpose" (*dhṛitavratāḥ*). Distant things are near to them, ii. 27, 3 (*sarvaṁ rājabhyaḥ paramā*

[105] In the S'. P. Br. iii. 5, 1, 13, a dispute between the Ādityas and Angirases regarding a sacrifice is mentioned. (Comp. Taitt. Br. iii. 9, 21, 1). In the same work, (the S'p. Br.) xii. 2, 2, 9, it is said that these two classes of beings (the Ādityas and Angirases) were both descendants of Prajāpati, and that they strove together for the priority in ascending to heaven. In A.V. xii. 3, 43 f., and xix. 39, 5 also they are connected with one another.

[106] This is a characteristic of the gods in general.

chid anti), they uphold and preserve things both moving and stationary (*dhārantayaḥ ādityāso jagat sthāḥ devāḥ viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ* | ibid.), they see the good and evil in men's hearts, and distinguish the honest man from the deceitful, ii. 27, 3 (*antaḥ paśyanti vṛijanā uta sādhu* | viii. 18, 15, *pākatrā sthana devāḥ hṛitsu jānītha martyam* | *upa dvayuṁ cha advayuṁ cha*), they are holy and awful, and haters of falsehood and punish sin, ii. 27, 4 (*ṛitāvānaś chayamānāḥ ṛiṇāni*), vii. 60, 51 (*ime chetāro anṛitasya bhūreḥ*), vii. 52, 2; vii. 66, 13, which they are entreated to forgive, ii. 27, 14; ii. 29, 5; averting from the worshipper the consequences of the transgressions of others as well as of his own, vii. 52, 2; viii. 47, 8; or transferring those penalties of sin, whether open or secret, to the head of Trita Āptya, viii. 47, 13 (*yad āvir yad apīchyaṁ devāso asti dushkṛitam* | *Trite tad viśvam Āptye āre asmad dadhātana*);[107] and they spread nooses for their enemies, ii. 27, 16 (*yāḥ vo māyāḥ abhidruhe yajatrāḥ pāśāḥ ādityāḥ ripave vichṛittāḥ*). They are supplicated for various boons, for protection, offspring, guidance, light, long life, etc. (see R.V. ii. 27, 5–7, 10, 11, 14; viii. 18, 22. In viii. 47, 2, they are said to know how to remove transgressions, and are besought to extend their protection to their worshipper, as birds spread their wings over their young (*vida devāḥ aghānām Ādityāso apākṛitim* | *pakshā vayo yathā upari vi asme śarma yachhata* | 3. *Vi asme adhi śarma tat pakshā vayo na yantana*).[108] Their servants are protected by them as a warrior is when encased in his armour, viii. 47, 8 (*yushme devāḥ api smasi yudhyantaḥ iva varmasu*), and then no shaft, however sharp or heavy, can strike them (ibid. 7: *na taṁ tigmaṁ chana tyajo na drāsad abhi taṁ guru* | *yasmai u śarma arādhvam* | See Müller, Trans. p. 255).

The Ādityas regarded as a class of gods are not, however, characterized so specifically in the hymns, as two of the individual deities who bear that general designation, I mean Varuṇa and Mitra; and I shall, therefore, proceed to give a fuller account of the two latter, (with whose names that of Aryaman is sometimes associated), omitting any further reference to Bhaga and Aṁśa, who are rarely mentioned, and to Daksha, of whom something has been already said. Sūrya and Savitṛi will be treated separately.

[107] Roth, *s.v.* Trita Āptya, says this god is conceived as dwelling in the remote distance, removed from view, and that it is in consequence of this that evil is sought to be transferred to him.

[108] Compare Psalms, xvii. 8; xxxvi. 7; lxi. 4; lxiii. 7; xci. 4.

SECTION V.

MITRA AND VARUṆA.

(1) *General idea of these two gods.*

These two deities are very frequently found in conjunction. Varuṇa is also often separately celebrated; Mitra but seldom. Their frequent association is easily explained if the commentators are right in understanding Mitra to represent the day, and Varuṇa the night. Thus Sāyaṇa says on R.V. i. 89, 3: "Mitra is the god who presides over the day, according to the Vedic text, 'the day is Mitra's'" (*aharabhimāninaṁ devam | "Maitraṁ vai ahar" iti śruteḥ*); and again, "Varuṇa is derived from the root *vṛi*, to cover; he envelops the wicked in his snares; and is the god who rules over the night, according to the text, 'the night is Varuṇa's[109]'" (*vṛiṇoti | pāpakṛitaḥ svakīyaiḥ pāśair āvṛiṇoti iti rātry-abhimāni-devo Varuṇaḥ | śrūyate cha "Vāruṇī rātrir"* [Taitt. Br. i. 7, 10, 1] *iti* |). In the same way the commentator on the Taittirīya Sanhitā, i. 8, 16, 1 (Bibl. Ind. vol. ii. p. 164), affirms that the "word Mitra denotes the sun" (*Mitra-śabdasya sūryavāchitvāt*), and that the "word Varuṇa signifies one who envelops like

[109] See also his note on i. 141, 9, where he gives the same explanation regarding Mitra and Varuṇa, and adds that Aryaman is the god who goes between the other two (*Aryamā ubhayor madhya-varttī devaḥ*). According to his note on i. 90, 1, Aryaman is the sun who makes the division of day and night (*Aryamā aho-rātra-vibhāgasya karttā sūryaḥ*). Compare also his note on ii. 38, 8, where he says that Varuṇa is represented as giving resting-places to creatures after sunset, because he carries on the affairs of the night (*Yoniṁ sthānaṁ nimishi nimeshe Savitur astasamaye sati viśramārtham prāṇibhyaḥ prayachhati | Varuṇasya rātrer nirvāhākatvāt*). In i. 35, 1, Mitra and Varuṇa are invoked along with Agni, Night and Savitṛi: "I invoke first Agni for our welfare; I invoke hither Mitra and Varuṇa to our aid; I invoke Night who gives rest to the world; I invoke the divine Savitṛi to our assistance" (*hvayāmi Agnim prathamaṁ svastaye hvayāmi Mitrā-varuṇāv ihāvase | hvayāmi rātrīṁ jagato niveśanīm hvayāmi devaṁ Savitāram ūtaye*).

darkness" (*Varuṇa-śabdasya andhakāra-vad āvaraka-vāchitvāt*), according to the text (above given, in p. 58, of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 10, 1), "the day is Mitra's and the night is Varuṇa's." In another part of the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vi. 4, 8, we read: *Na vai idaṁ divā na naktam āsīd avyākṛitam | te devāḥ Mitrā-varuṇāv abruvan "idaṁ no vivāsayatām" iti | .... Mitro 'har ajanayad Varuṇo rātrim |* "This world had neither day nor night, but was (in that respect) undistinguished. The gods said to Mitra and Varuṇa, 'Make a separation.' .... Mitra produced the day, and Varuṇa the night." (See the same Sanhitā ii. 1, 7, 4.) In R.V. viii. 41, 3, it is said of Varuṇa, "The conspicuous god has embraced the nights, by his wisdom he has established the days, and everything perfectly" (*sa kshapaḥ parishasvaje ni usro māyayā dadhe sa viśvam pari darśataḥ |*). In his note on another passage (R.V. vii. 87, 1) Sāyaṇa says that it is the setting sun which is called Varuṇa, who by his departure creates the nights (*Astaṁ gachhan sūryaḥ eva Varuṇaḥ ity uchyate | sa hi sva-gamanena rātrīr janayati |*). The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. 9, 2, 12, says: "This (terrestrial) world is Mitra; the other (the celestial) world is Varuṇa" (*ayaṁ vai loko Mitraḥ | asau Varuṇaḥ |*)

(2) *Their chief characteristics.*

The following are some of the principal characteristics of these gods, as represented in the Rig-veda. Varuṇa is, sometimes at least, visible to the mental eye of his worshippers. Thus, in i. 25, 18, the rishi says: *Darśaṁ nu viśva-darśataṁ darśaṁ ratham adhi kshami |* "I beheld him who is visible to all; I beheld his chariot upon the ground." In vii. 88, 2, also, the poet exclaims: *Adha nu asya sandṛiśaṁ jaganvān Agner anīkaṁ Varuṇasya maṁsi |* "When I have obtained a vision of Varuṇa, I have regarded his lustre as resembling that of Agni."[110] Mighty and fixed in purpose, he sits in his abode exercising sovereignty (i. 25, 10: *Ni shasāda dhritavrato Varuṇaḥ pastyāsu ā | samrājyāya sukratuḥ |*). He is arrayed in golden mail,[111] and surrounded by his messengers or angels (i. 25, 13: *Bibhrad drāpiṁ hiraṇyayaṁ Varuṇo vasta nirṇijam |*

[110] See Roth's article on "The highest gods of the Arian races," Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71.

[111] Golden mail is also assigned to Savitṛi (iv. 53, 2).

pari spaśo ni shedire). His house, at which the worshippers are said to have arrived, has a thousand doors (vii. 88, 5: *Bṛihantam mānam Varuṇa svadhāvaḥ sahasradvāraṁ jagama gṛihaṁ te*). Again he is described as occupying, along with Mitra, a stable palace supported by a thousand columns[112] (ii. 41, 5: *Rājānā anabhidruhā dhruve sadasi uttame | sahasrasthūṇe āsate* | v. 62, 6: *Rājanā kshattram chṛiṇīyamānā sahasrasthūṇam bibhṛithaḥ saha dvaú* |). The two deities ascend their chariot, which is drawn by horses, and is golden-coloured at the break of day, and takes the hue of iron at the setting of the sun (v. 62, 8, already quoted in p. 42).[113] Mounted on their car, and soaring in the highest empyrean, they behold all things in heaven and earth (v. 62, 4, 8; v. 63, 1: *Ṛitasya gopāv adhi tishṭhato ratham satyadharmāṇā parame vyomani*). Varuṇa is said to be farsighted (*uruchakshas*, i. 25, 5, 16; viii. 90, 2); and thousand-eyed (*sahasrachakshas*, vii. 34, 10). In one place mention is made of his golden-winged messenger (*hiraṇyapaksham Varuṇasya dūtam*, x. 123, 6), and elsewhere the sun is called the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa (*chakshur Mitrasya Varuṇasya*, vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1; x. 37, 1). Along with Aryaman, another of the Ādityas, these two gods are called sun-eyed (*sūrachakshasaḥ*, vii. 66, 10). They are also denominated *supāṇī*, the beautiful or skilful-handed. Varuṇa is frequently spoken of as a king (*rājā Varuṇaḥ*, i. 24, 7, 8; iv. 1, 2; v. 40, 7; vii. 64, 1; x. 103, 9; x. 173, 5); as king of all (x. 132, 4); as king of all, both gods and men (ii. 27, 10: *tvaṁ viśveshāṁ Varuṇa asi rāja ye cha ḍevāḥ asura ye cha marttāḥ* |); as king of the universe (*viśvasya bhuvanasya*, v. 85, 3), and of all that exists (*sato asya*, vii. 87, 6); as an universal monarch (*samrāṭ*, i. 25, 10; ii. 28, 6; v. 85, 1; vi. 68, 9; viii. 42, 1); as a self-dependent ruler *svarāṭ*, ii. 28, 1). The same epithets of king and universal monarch are also applied in other places to Mitra and Varuṇa conjointly (as in i. 71, 9; i. 136, 1, 4; i. 137, 1; v. 62, 6; v. 63, 2, 3, 5; v. 65, 2; v. 68, 2; vii. 64, 2; viii. 23, 30; viii. 25, 4, 7, 8; viii. 90, 2; x. 65, 5).[114]

[112] Compare Ovid. Met. ii. 1 ff. Regia Solis erat sublimibus alta columnis, etc. His golden house is, according to A.V. vii. 83, 1, built in the waters (*apsu te rājan Varuṇa gṛiho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ*).

[113] I follow Roth here in understanding *uditā sūryasya* not of the *rising* (as the phrase generally means), but of the *setting* of the sun. It is thus only that the iron colour of the chariot becomes intelligible.

[114] The same deities with Aryaman are called kings in i. 41, 3; and kings of men

Power, martial strength, or sovereign authority, *kshattra*, is also constantly predicated of one or both of these deities; and they as well as the Ādityas generally are denominated the strong, or martial, gods, *kshattriyāḥ* (as in i. 24, 6; i. 25, 5; i. 136, 2; v. 66, 2; v. 67, 1; v. 68, 1, 3; vi. 49, 1; vi. 51, 10;[115] vi. 67, 5, 6; vii. 34, 11; vii. 64, 2; viii. 25, 8; viii. 56, 1; viii. 90, 2). They are also designated as *rudrā*, the terrible (v. 70, 2, 3); as *asurā*, the divine (vii. 36, 2; viii. 25, 4; viii. 27, 20); as the divine and lordly deities (*asurā tāv aryā*) among the gods (vii. 65, 2). The epithet *asura*, divine, is frequently applied to Varuṇa in particular (as in i. 24, 14; ii. 27, 10; v. 85, 5, 6; viii. 42, 1), though it is also given to other deities of the Vedic pantheon.

Another word employed to express their divine power, or wisdom, is *māyā*;[116] and Varuṇa is sometimes called the *māyin*, the possessor of this attribute (vi. 48, 14; vii. 28, 4; x. 99, 10; x. 147, 5). While in some places (iii. 61, 7; v. 63, 4) this quality (*māyā*) is ascribed to the two deities themselves, in other verses of the last quoted hymn (v. 63, 3, 7) they are said to cause the heaven to rain, and to uphold their ordinances, through the power (*māyayā*) of the divine being (*asurasya*). It might appear as if the word *asura* denoted here some great deity distinct from, and superior to, Mitra and Varuṇa, through whose strength they acted; but in other places, as we have already seen, the term *asura* is distinctly used as an epithet of Varuṇa and the other Ādityas.

(3) *Functions and attributes of Varuṇa.*

The grandest cosmical functions are ascribed to Varuṇa. Possessed of illimitable resources (or knowledge), this divine being has meted out, (or fashioned), and upholds, heaven and earth; he dwells in all worlds as sovereign ruler (viii. 42, 1: *Astabhnād dyām asuro viśvavedāḥ amimīta varimāṇam pṛithivyāḥ | āsīdad viśvā bhuvanāni samrāḍ viśvā it tāni Varuṇasya vratāni*), indeed, the three worlds are em-

(*rājānaś charshaṇīnām*) in x. 26, 6. In vii. 66, 11, it is said: "The kings Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, who established the year, the month, and the day, etc., enjoy unrivalled dominion (*ye vi dadhuḥ śaradam māsam ād ahar yajnam aktum cha ād ṛicham | anāpyaṁ Varuṇo Mitro Aryamā kshatraṁ rājānaḥ āśata*).

[115] In these two last passages Agni shares with Mitra and Varuṇa the epithet of *sukshatra*.

[116] It is also ascribed to other deities: see Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*

braced within him (vii. 87, 5: *tisro dyāvo nihitāḥ antar asmin tisro bhūmīḥ*); he made the golden and revolving sun to shine in the firmament (ibid. *gritso rājā Varuṇaś chakre etaṁ divi prṇkhaṁ hiraṇyayaṁ śubhe kam* | comp. v. 85, 2). See also vi. 70, 1; vii. 86, 1; vii. 87, 6; viii. 41, 4, 5, 10. The wind which resounds through the atmosphere is his breath (vii. 87, 2: *āśmā tē vāto rajaḥ ā navīnot*). He has opened boundless paths for the sun,[117] and has hollowed out channels for the rivers, which flow by his command (i. 24, 8: *Uruṁ hi rājā Varuṇaś chakāra sūryāya panthām anu etave u* | ii. 28, 4: *Pra sīm Ādityo asṛijad vidharttā ṛitaṁ sindhave Varuṇasya yanti* | vii. 87, 1: *Radat patho Varuṇaḥ sūryāya praa rṇāṁsi samudriyā nadīnām*). By his wonderful contrivance the rivers pour their waters into the one ocean, but never fill it[118] (v. 85, 6: *imāṁ u nu kavitamasya māyām mahīṁ devasya nakir ādadhārsha* | *ekaṁ yad udnā na prinanti enīr āsinchantīr avanayaḥ samudram*). His ordinances are fixed and unassailable[119] (iii. 54, 18: *Adabdhāni Varuṇasya vratāni*). They rest on him, unshaken, as upon a mountain (ii. 28, 8: *Tve hi kam parvate na śritāni aprachyutāni dūḷabha vratāni* | See also i. 25, 6, 10; i. 44, 14; i. 141, 9; ii. 1, 4; viii. 25, 2, where the word *dhṛita-vrata*, "he whose laws are fixed," is found); through their operation, the moon walks in brightness, and the stars which appear in the nightly sky mysteriously vanish in daylight (i. 24, 10: *Amī ye ṛikshāḥ nihitāsaḥ uchchā naktaṁ dadṛiśre kuha chid divā īyuḥ* | *adabdhāni Varuṇasya vratāni vichākaśach chandramā naktam eti*). Neither the birds flying in the air, nor the rivers in their sleepless flow, can attain a knowledge of his power or his wrath (i. 24, 6: *Na hi te kshatraṁ na saho na manyuṁ vayaś chana amī patayantaḥ āpuḥ* | *na imāḥ āpo animishaṁ charantīḥ*). His messengers behold both worlds (vii. 87, 3: *Pari spaśo Varuṇasya smadishṭāḥ ubhe paśyanti rodasī sumeke* | See also i. 24, 13; vi. 67, 5). He knows the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships on the ocean, the course of the far-travelling wind, and beholds all the

[117] In vii. 60, 4, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman are said to open out paths for the sun (*yasmai ādityāḥ adhvano radanti ityādi*).

[118] See Roth on "The highest gods of the Arian races," p. 71. Compare Ecclesiastes, i. 7: "All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full: unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again."

[119] See Roth in the Journ. Amer. Or. Society, iii. 341; and Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 534, note 2.

secret things that have been, or shall be done (i. 25, 7: *Veda yo vīnām padam antarikshena patatām | veda nāvaḥ samudriyaḥ* | 9. *Veda vātasya vartanim uror ṛishvasya bṛihataḥ* | 11. *Yo viśvāni adbhutā chikitvān abhi paśyati | kṛitāni yā cha kartvā*). No creature can even wink without him (ii. 28, 6: *Na hi tvad āre nimishaś chana īśe*). He witnesses men's truth and falsehood (vii. 49, 3: *Yāsāṁ rājā Varuṇo yāti madhye satyānṛite avapaśyan janānām*). He instructs the rishi Vasishṭha in mysteries (vii. 87, 4: *Uvācha me Varuṇo medhirāya triḥ sapta nāmā aghnyā bibhartti*). But his secrets and those of Mitra are not to be revealed to the foolish (*na vāṁ minyāni achite abhūvan*).

In the sixteenth hymn of the fourth book of the Atharva-veda, his power and omniscience are thus celebrated:

1. *Bṛihann esham adhishṭhātā antikād iva paśyati | yaḥ stāyan manyate charan sarvaṁ devāḥ idaṁ viduḥ* | 2. *Yas tishṭhati charati yaś cha vanchati yo nilāyaṁ charati yaḥ pratankam | dvau sannishadya yad mantrayete rājā tad veda Varuṇas tṛitīyaḥ* | 3. *Uteyam bhūmir Varuṇasya rājnaḥ utāsau dyaur bṛihatī dūre-antā | uto samudrau Varuṇasya kukshī utāsminn alpe udake nilīnaḥ* | 4. *Uta yo dyām atisarpāt parastād na sa muchyātai Varuṇasya rājnaḥ | divaḥ spaśaḥ pracharantīdam asya sahasrākshāḥ ati paśyanti bhūmim* | 5. *Sarvaṁ tad rājā Varuṇo vi chashṭe yad antarā rodasī yat parastāt | sankhyātāḥ asya nimisho janānām akshān iva śvaghnī ni minoti tāni* | 6. *Ye te pāśāḥ Varuṇa sapta sapta tredhā tishṭhanti vishitāḥ rushantaḥ | sinantu sarve anṛitaṁ vadantaṁ yaḥ satyavādī ati taṁ sṛijantu* |

"1. The great One who rules over these worlds beholds as if he were close at hand. When any man thinks he is doing aught by stealth, the gods know it all; 2. (and they perceive) every one who stands, or walks, or glides along secretly, or withdraws into his house, or into any lurking-place.[120] Whatever two persons, sitting together, devise, Varuṇa the king knows it, (being present there as) a third.[121] 3. This earth, two, belongs to the king Varuṇa, and that vast sky whose ends are so remote. The two oceans [the aerial and terrestrial][122] are Varuṇa's stomachs; he resides in this small pool of water. 4. He

[120] The general sense is clear; but the meaning of some of the words is uncertain.

[121] In R.V. x. 11, 1, Agni is compared to Varuṇa in omniscience; which seems to show that this is an attribute in which Varuṇa was regarded as pre-eminent. With verses 1 and 2, compare Psalm cxxxix. 1–4, and St. Matthew xviii. 20.

[122] Compare Genesis, i. 7, and Psalm cxlviii. 4.

who should flee far beyond the sky, would not there escape from Varuṇa the king.[123] His messengers, descending from heaven, traverse this world; thousand-eyed, they look across the whole earth. 5. King Varuṇa perceives all that exists within heaven and earth and all that is beyond. The winkings of men's eyes are all numbered by him.[124] He handles[125] (all) these (things) as a gamester throws his dice. 6. May thy destructive nooses, o Varuṇa, which are cast seven-fold, and three-fold, ensnare the man who speaks lies, and pass by him who speaks truth."[126]

Varuṇa is represented as having unlimited control over the destinies of mankind. He is said to have a hundred, a thousand remedies, and is supplicated to shew his wide and deep benevolence, and drive away

[123] With this verse compare verses 7–10 of the Psalm cxxxix.

[124] Compare St. Matthew x. 30.

[125] Roth, *s.v.* thinks *ni minoti* here may mean "observes." See also his remarks in Jour. Germ. Or. Society, vii. 607, where the sense of superintending is assigned.

[126] The hymn is concluded by two verses, containing imprecations. After giving a German translation of the whole in his Dissertation on the Atharva-veda, p. 19 f. (Tübingen, 1856) Professor Roth remarks as follows: "There is no hymn in the whole Vedic literature which expresses the divine omniscience in such forcible terms as this; and yet this beautiful description has been degraded into an introduction to an imprecation. But in this, as in many other passages of this Veda, it is natural to conjecture that existing fragments of older hymns have been used to deck out magical formulas. The first five or even six verses of this hymn might be regarded as a fragment of this sort." This hymn has also been translated by Professor Müller, see "Chips," i. 41 f. I have attempted the following paraphrase in English verse:

"The mighty Lord on high, our deeds, as if at hand, espies:
The gods know all men do, though men would fain their deeds disguise.
Whoever stands, whoever moves, or steals from place to place,
Or hides him in his secret cell,—the gods his movements trace.
Wherever two together plot, and deem they are alone,
King Varuṇa is there, a third, and all their schemes are known.
This earth is his, to him belong those vast and boundless skies;
Both seas within him rest, and yet in that small pool he lies.
Whoever far beyond the sky should think his way to wing,
He could not there elude the grasp of Varuṇa the king.
His spies descending from the skies glide all this world around,
Their thousand eyes all-scanning sweep to earth's remotest bound.
Whate'er exists in heaven and earth, whate'er beyond the skies,
Before the eyes of Varuṇa, the king, unfolded lies.
The ceaseless winkings all he counts of every mortal's eyes:
He wields this universal frame, as gamester throws his dice.
Those knotted nooses which thou fling'st, o god, the bad to snare,—
All liars let them overtake, but all the truthful spare."

evil and sin (i. 24, 9: *śataṁ te rājan bhishajaḥ sahasram urvī gabhīrā sumatis te astu | bādhasva dūre nirṛitim parāchaiḥ kṛitaṁ chid enaḥ pra mumugdhi asmat*); to untie, like a rope, and remove sin (ii. 28, 5: *vi mach śrathaya raśanām iva āgaḥ*; v. 85, 7, 8: *yat sīm āgaś chakṛima śiśrathas tat*); he is entreated not to steal away, but to prolong, life (i. 24, 11: *mā naḥ āyuḥ pra moshīḥ* | i. 25, 12: *pra naḥ āyūṁshi tārishat*); and to spare the suppliant who daily transgresses his laws (i. 25, 1: *yach chid hi te viśo yathā pra deva Varuṇa vratam minīmasi dyavi dyavi | mā no badhāya hatnave jihīḷānasya rīradhaḥ*). In many places mention is made of the bonds, or nooses, with which he seizes and punishes transgressors (i. 24, 15; i. 25, 21; vi. 74, 4; x. 85, 24, and A.V. iv. 16, 6, as quoted above).[127] Mitra and Varuṇa conjointly are spoken of in one passage (vii. 65, 3) as being barriers against falsehood, furnished with many nooses, which the hostile mortal cannot surmount (*bhūripāśā anṛitasya setū duratyetū ripave martyāya*); and in another place (vii. 84, 2) Indra and Varuṇa are described as binding with bonds not formed of rope (*setṛibhir arajjubhiḥ sinīthaḥ*). On the other hand Varuṇa is said to be gracious even to him who has committed sin (vii. 87, 7: *yo mṛiḷayāti chakrushe chid āgaḥ*). He is the wise guardian of immortality (viii. 42, 2: *dhīram amṛitasya gopām*), and a hope is held out that he and Yama reigning in blessedness shall be beheld in the next world by the righteous (x. 14, 7:[128] *ubhā rājānā svadhayā madantā Yamam paśyāsi Varuṇaṁ cha devam*).

[127] Agni, however, is also prayed to loose his worshipper's bonds R.V. v. 2, 7 (*evāsmād Agne, ni mumugdhi pāśān*); and in vii. 104, 13, Indra's fetters (*Indrasya praśitiḥ*) are mentioned. In A.V. xix. 66, 1, the Asuras, masters of magical arts, who go about with iron nets, iron bonds, and hooks, are referred to (*ayo-jālāḥ Asurāḥ māyino ayasmayaiḥ pāśair ankino ye charanti*).

[128] In the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1855, pp. 237 ff., Professor Weber communicates from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa (xi. 6, 1, 1 ff.) a legend regarding Varuṇa and his son Bhṛigu. The latter had esteemed himself superior to his father in wisdom, and was desired by him to visit the four points of the compass, where he witnesses certain visions of retribution in the other world. Prof. Weber accompanies this legend with some very interesting remarks. Among other things, he observes that the legend is shewn to be ancient from the high position which it assigns to Varuṇa, who appears to be conceived as the lord of the universe, seated in the midst of heaven, from which he surveys the places of punishment situated all round him. Varuṇa, he adds, is represented in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa xiii. 3, 6, 5, as having the form of a fair, bald, toothless, (with projecting teeth?), and yellow-eyed old man.

The attributes and functions ascribed to Varuṇa impart to his character a moral elevation and sanctity far surpassing that attributed to any other Vedic deity. This appears not only from the passages to which I have already referred, but also from the two hymns (vii. 86, and vii. 89) translated by Professor Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 540 f., and Chips, i. 39 ff.; in which the rishi, who is said to be Vasishṭha, while palliating his sins, implores the god's forgiveness, and entreats that his life may be spared.[129] I shall quote a part of the first and the whole of the second:

R.V. vii. 86, 3. *Pṛichhe tad eno Varuṇa didṛikshu upo emi chikitusho vipṛichham | samānam it me kavayaś chid āhur ayaṁ ha tubhyaṁ Varuṇo hṛiṇīte | 4. Kim āgaḥ āsa Varuṇa jyeṣṭhaṁ yat stotāraṁ jighāṁsasi sakhāyam | pra tad me vocho dūḷabha svadhāvo ava tvā anenāḥ namasā turaḥ iyām | 5. Ava drugdhāni pitryā sṛija no ava yā vayaṁ chakṛima tanūbhiḥ | ava rājan paśutṛipaṁ na tāyuṁ sṛija vatsaṁ na dāmno Vasishṭham | 6. Na sa svo daksho Varuṇa dhrutiḥ sā surā manyur vibhīdako achittiḥ | asti jyāyān kanīyasaḥ upāre svapnaś chana id anṛitasya prayotā |*

"Seeking to perceive that sin, o Varuṇa, I inquire; I resort to the wise to ask. The sages all tell me the same; it is Varuṇa who is angry with thee. 4. What great sin is it, Varuṇa, for which thou seekest to slay thy worshipper and friend? Tell me, o unassailable and self-dependent god; and, freed from sin, I shall speedily come to thee with adoration. 5. Release us from the sins of our fathers,[130] and from those which we have committed in our own persons. O king, release Vasishṭha like a robber who has fed upon cattle; release him like a calf from its tether. 6. It was not our will, Varuṇa, but some seduction, which led us astray,—wine,[131] anger, dice, or thoughtlessness. The stronger perverts the weaker. Even sleep occasions sin."

[129] On the character of Varuṇa as a moral governor, see Roth, Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71 ff.; a paper by the same author in the Journ. Amer. Or. Society, iii. 340 ff.; and his reply to Weber in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vii. 607.

[130] Compare A.V. v. 30, 4, and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa iii. 7, 12, 3, 4: *yad mayi mātā garbhe sati enaś chakāra yat pitā | Agnir mā tasmād enasaḥ | yadā pipesha mātāram pitaram putraḥ pramudito dhayan | ahiṁsitau pitarau mayā tat* | "May Agni (free) me from the sin which my mother or father committed, when I was in the womb. If I bruised my mother or father while sucking, delighted, when an infant, may my parents not have been injured thereby."

[131] We see from this that wine was drunk by the Vedic rishis. Compare viii. 2,

vii. 89, 1. *Mo shu Varuṇa mṛiṇmayaṁ gṛihaṁ rājann ahaṁ gamam | mṛiḷa sukshatra mṛiḷaya | 2. Yad emi prasphurann iva dṛitir na dhmāto adrivaḥ | mṛiḷa ityādi | 3. Kratvaḥ samahe dīnatā pratīpaṁ jagama śuche | 4. Apām madhye tasthivāṁsam tṛishṇā 'vidaj jaritāram | 5. Yat kincha idaṁ Varuṇa daivye jane abhidroham manushyāś charāmasi | achittī tat tava dharmā yuyopima mā nas tasmād enaso deva rīrishaḥ |*

"Let me not, o king Varuṇa, go to the house of earth.[132] Be gracious, o mighty god, be gracious. 2. I go along, o thunderer, quivering like an inflated skin; be gracious, etc. 3. O bright and mighty god, I have transgressed through want of power, be gracious, etc. 4. Thirst has overwhelmed thy worshipper when standing even in the midst of the waters; be gracious, etc. 5. Whatever offence this be, o Varuṇa, that we mortals commit against the people of the sky (the gods): in whatever way we have broken thy laws by thoughtlessness, be gracious, o mighty god, be gracious."

In another place (vii. 88, 4 ff.) the same rishi alludes to his previous friendship with Varuṇa, and to the favours the god had formerly conferred upon him, and enquires why they had now ceased:

4. Vasishṭhaṁ ha Varuṇo nāvi ādhād ṛishim chakāra svapāḥ mahobhiḥ | stotāraṁ vipraḥ sudinatve ahnām yād nu dyāvas tatanan yād ushasaḥ | 5. Kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuḥ sachāvahe yad avṛikam purā chit | bṛihantam mānaṁ Varuṇa svadhāvuḥ sahasradvāraṁ jagama gṛihaṁ te | 6. Yaḥ āpir nityo Varuṇa priyaḥ san tvām agāṁsi kṛiṇavat sakhā te | mā te enasvanto yakshin bhujema yandhi sma vipraḥ stuvate varūtham |

"Varuṇa placed Vasishṭha on his boat: by his power the wise and mighty deity made him a rishi to offer praise in an auspicious period of his life, that his days and dawns might be prolonged. 5. Where[133] are those friendships of us two? Let us seek the harmony which (we enjoyed) of old. I have gone, o self-sustaining Varuṇa, to thy vast and spacious house with a thousand gates. 6. He who was thy friend, intimate, thine own, and beloved, has committed offences against thee: Let not us who are guilty reap the fruits of our sin. Do thou, a wise god, grant protection to him who praises thee."

12, and x. 107, 9, where it is said that the liberal man gains for himself, among other desirable things, a draught of wine (*antaḥpeyam surāyāḥ*).

[132] Compare A.V. v. 30, 14: *mā nu bhūmi-gṛiho bhuvat.*

[133] Compare Psalms lxxxix. 49, and xxv. 6.

(4) *Conjoint functions and attributes of Mitra and Varuṇa.*

The same or nearly the same functions and attributes as are ascribed to Varuṇa are also attributed to him and Mitra conjointly. They uphold and rule over the earth and sky, the shining and the terrestrial regions, and place the sun in the heavens (v. 62, 3; v. 69, 1, 4: *trī rochanā Varuṇa trīn uta dyūn trīṇi dhārayatho rajāṁsi* | v. 63, 7; vi. 67, 5; vii. 61, 4; x. 132, 2). They are the guardians of the world (*viśvasya bhuvanasya gopā* | *viśvasya gopā* | *yūyaṁ viśvam pari pātha* | ii. 27, 4; v. 62, 9; vii. 51, 2; viii. 25, 1; x. 126, 4). By their ordinance the great sky shines (*yayor dhāma dharmaṇā rochate bṛihat* | x. 65, 5). They discharge the rain (v. 62, 3: *ava vṛishṭiṁ sṛijatam jīradānū* | v. 63, 1–3: *dyāṁ varshayatho asurasya māyayā*). Their godhead is beyond the ken of the skies, or of rivers (i. 151, 9: *na vāṁ dyāvo ahabhir nota sindhavo na devatvam paṇayo nānaśur magham*). They (together with Aryaman) are awful deities, haters and dispellers of falsehood (i. 152, 1; vii. 66, 13: *ṛitavānaḥ ṛitajātāḥ ṛitāvṛidho ghorāso anṛita-ḷvishaḥ*). They carry out their fixed purposes, which are unobstructed even by the immortal gods (v. 63, 7; v. 69, 4: *na vāṁ devāḥ amṛitāḥ ā minanti vratāni Mitrā-varuṇā dhruvāṇi*). They make the foolish wise (vii. 60, 6, 7: *achetasaṁ chich chitayanti dakshaiḥ*); they know heaven and earth (vii. 60, 7: *ime divo animishā pṛithivyāś chikitvāṁsaḥ*). They look down from heaven observing men as if herds of cattle (*adhi yā bṛihato divaḥ abhi yūtheva paśyataḥ* | See also verses 9 and 16, and R.V. vii. 60, 3). They are described as righteous, and as proſnoters of religious rites (or truth or righteousness) *ṛitāvṛidhā, ṛitāvānā, ṛitajātā, ṛitaspṛiśā, ṛitasya gopau* (i. 2, 8; i. 23, 5; i. 136, 4; ii. 27, 4; v. 63, 1; v. 65, 2; v. 67, 4; vii. 64, 2; vii. 66, 13; viii. 23, 30; viii. 25, 8), as the lords of truth and light (*ṛitasya jyotishas patī* | i. 23, 5). They, with the other Ādityas, avenge sin and falsehood (*chayamānāḥ ṛiṇāni* | *chetāro anṛitasya bhūreḥ* | ii. 27, 4; vii. 60, 5): the man who neglects their worship is seized with consumption (i. 122, 9: *jano yo Mitrā-varuṇāv abhidhrug apo na vāṁ sunoti akshṇayādhruk* | *svayaṁ sa yakshmaṁ hṛidaye ni dhatta*). They are besought along with Aditi to remove the trespasses of their worshippers (ii. 27, 14: *Adite Mitra Varuṇota mṛila yad vo vayaṁ*

chakṛima kach chid āgaḥ); and along with Aryaman to give deliverance from evil (x. 126, passim).[134]

(5) *Hymn addressed to Mitra only.*

Mitra alone is celebrated in iii. 59. The following are some of the verses:

1. *Mitro janān yātayati bruvāṇo Mitro dadhāra pṛithivīm uta dyām | Mitraḥ kṛishṭīr aṅimishā 'bhi chaṣṭe Mitrāya havyaṁ ghṛitavaj juhota | 2. Pra sa Mitra marto astu prayasvān yas te Āditya śikshati vratena | na hanyate na jīyate tvā-ūto nainam aṁho aśnoty antito na dūrāt | 4. Ayam Mitro namasyaḥ suśevo rājā sukshatro ajanishṭa vedhāḥ | tasya vayam Mitrasya sumatau syāma | 5. Mahān ādityo namasā upasadyo yātayajjano gṛiṇate suśevaḥ | 7. Abhi yo mahinā divam Mitro babhūva saprathāḥ | abhi śravobhiḥ pṛithivīm | 8. Mitrāya pancha yemire janāḥ abhishṭi-śavase sa devān viśvān bibhartti |*

"1. Mitra, uttering his voice, calls men to activity.[135] Mitra sustains the earth and the sky. Mitra with unwinking eye beholds (all) creatures. Offer to Mitra the oblation with butter. 2. Mitra, son of Aditi, may the mortal who worships thee with sacred rites, have food. He who is protected by thee is neither slain nor conquered. Calamity does not reach him from near or from far. 4. This Mitra has been born adorable, blessed, a king, strong, and wise. May we abide in his favour. 5. This great Āditya, who rouses men to exertion (see v. 1), who is favourable to his worshipper, is to be approached with reverence. 7. The vast Mitra who by his greatness transcends the sky, and the earth by his glory. 8. The five classes of men have done homage to Mitra the powerful helper, who sustains all the gods."

(6) *Professor Roth's remarks on Mitra and Varuṇa.*

In his paper on "The highest gods of the Arian races" (Journ. of the German Oriental Society, vi. p. 70 f.), Professor Roth has the fol-

[134] Like other gods, and in particular Indra, they are represented as drinking the soma-juice, i. 136, 4; i. 137, 1 ff.; iv. 41, 3; iv. 42, 6; v. 64, 7; v. 71, 3; v. 72, 1–3; vi. 68, 10.

[135] With this verse Roth (Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 22, p. 140) compares R.V. v. 82, 9, where it is said: "Savitṛi, who causes all creatures to hear his sound, and impels them." Comp. v. 5 of the present hymn; and vii. 36, 2, referred to by Roth in the passage about to be quoted.

lowing ingenious and interesting observations on Mitra and Varuṇa: "Within the circle of the Ādityas there subsists the closest connection between Mitra and Varuṇa, who are invoked more frequently together than Varuṇa is invoked singly. We find only one hymn in which Mitra is invoked by himself (iii. 59). The fact that this dual invocation is preserved in the Zend Avesta, in regard to Ahura and Mithra, though the position of both has become entirely altered, and Mithra is not even reckoned among the Amshaspands,—this fact proves how close the ancient connection of the two was, when it has been maintained even after the reason for it had ceased. . . . . The essential character of the two gods, as distinguished from one another, is nowhere distinctly expressed in the hymns, and was in fact originally one which could not be defined with intellectual precision. But the stage of religious culture which lies before us in the Rig-veda, enables us to distinguish this difference as one already existing, viz., that Mitra is the celestial light in its manifestation by day, while Varuṇa, though the lord of light and of all time, yet rules especially over the nightly heaven. A hymn of Vasishṭha (vii. 36, 2) says: 'One of you (Varuṇa) is the lord, and unassailable guide, and he who is called Mitra, (*i.e.* the friend) calls men to activity' (*ino vām anyaḥ padavīr adabdho janaṁ cha Mitro yatati bruvāṇaḥ*). Here so much at least is declared (and the same thing is expressed in nearly the same words in other places), that the light of day, which awakens life, and brings joy and activity into the world, is the narrower sphere of Mitra's power; though, however, Varuṇa is not thereby relegated to the night alone, for he continues to be the lord and the first.

"Though therefore such representations as are expressed in Indian exegesis, (as for instance, when Sāyaṇa says on R.V. vii. 87, 1, that Varuṇā is the setting sun), are far too narrow and one-sided, they still contain some truth; and we may guess by what process they are to be developed. If Varuṇa is, as his name shews, that one among the lucid Ādityas whose seat and sphere of authority is the bright heaven, in whose bosom is embraced all that lives, and therefore also the remotest boundary, beyond which human thought seeks nothing further, then is he also one who can scarcely be attained either by the eye or by the imagination. By day the power of vision cannot discover this remotest limit, the bright heaven presents to it no resting place. But at night

this veil of the world, in which Varuṇa is enthroned, appears to approach nearer, and becomes perceptible, for the eye finds a limit. Varuṇa is closer to men. Besides, the other divine forms which, in the clouds, the atmosphere, the rays of light, filled the space between the earth and yonder, immeasurable outermost sphere, have disappeared: no other god now stands between Varuṇa and the mortal who gazes at him."

(7) *The Indian Mitra and the Zoroastrian Mithra.*

Whatever may be the the success of the attempts made to identify any other of the Indian and Iranian gods with one another, there can at least be no doubt, from the correspondence of the two names, that the Vedic Mitra and the Mithra of the Zend Avesta were originally the same deity. Accordingly, the late Dr. F. Windischmann, in his Dissertation on the Persian Mithra,[136] regards it as established that this god was known, and common, to the old Arian race before the separation of its Iranian from its Indian branch, though the conception of his character was subsequently modified by Zoroastrian ideas. That Mithra was worshipped in Persia in and previous to the age of Herodotus, is proved, as Windischmann remarks, by the common use of such names as Mitradates and Mitrobates. Herodotus himself (i. 131) speaks of Mitra, not as a god, but as a goddess (Ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων· καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιττά, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν. See Rawlinson's note, in loco, in his translation of Herodotus). But Xenophon (Cyrop. viii. 5, 53; Œc. iv. 24), and Plutarch (Artax. 4, and Alexand. 30) describes the Persians as swearing by the god Mitra. And Plutarch, in his treatise on Isis and Osiris, chap. xlvi. tells us that Zoroaster conceived of Mithra as standing intermediate between the deities Oromazes, the representative of light, and Areimanius, the representative of darkness and ignorance.[137] It is unnecessary to say anything further here of the Persian Mithra, the eventual introduction of whose worship into the West is matter of history.

[136] Mithra, ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients, in the Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Leipzig, 1857. See pp. 54 ff.

[137] Ibid, p. 56. This passage is also quoted in the 2nd vol. of this work, p. 471.

(8) *Is there any historical connection between Varuṇa and Ahura-Mazda?*

Varuṇa also, in the opinion of certain writers, is connected, at least indirectly, with the Ahura Mazda of the old Persian mythology; and in support of this it may be alleged,—(1) that the name of Asura, the divine being, is frequently applied to Varuṇa, as an epithet; (2) that the class of Indian gods called Ādityas, of whom Varuṇa is the most distinguished, bears a certain analogy to the Amshaspands of the Zend mythology, of whom Ahura Mazda is the highest; and (3) that a close connection exists between Varuṇa and Mitra, just as, according to Professor Roth (see above), Ahura and Mithra are frequently associated in the Zendavesta, though the position of the two has otherwise become altered, and Mithra is not even reckoned among the Amshaspands. Other scholars, however, think that there is not sufficient proof of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda being connected with one another.

I shall state the opinion of Professor Roth in regard to the connection of Varuṇa with Ahura Mazda more fully in the next Section, where reference will be made to the same writer's views regarding the relation of Indra to Varuṇa.

(9) *Varuṇa connected with the element of water even in the Rig-veda.*

Though Varuṇa is not generally regarded in the Rig-veda as the god of the ocean, he is yet in the following passages connected with the element of water, both in the atmosphere and on the earth, in such a way as may have led to the conception of his character and functions which is fully established in the later mythology.

i. 161, 14. *Divā yānti Maruto bhūmyā Agnir ayaṁ Vāto antarikṣheṇa yāti | adbhir vāti Varuṇaḥ samudrair yushmāñ ichhantaḥ śavasaḥ napātaḥ |* "Desiring you, ye sons of strength, the Maruts proceed through the sky, Agni along the earth, this Vāta (wind) through the atmosphere, and Varuṇa along the waters, the ocean" (*adbhiḥ samudraiḥ*).[138]

vii. 49, 2. *Yāḥ āpo divyāḥ uta vā sravanti khanitrimāḥ uta vā yāḥ svayaṁjāḥ | samudrārthāḥ yāḥ śuchayaḥ pāvakās tāḥ āpo devīr iha mām avantu |* 3. *Yāsāṁ rājā Varuṇo yati madhye satyānṛite avapaśyan*

[138] See Bollensen in Or. and Occid. 2, 467.

janānām | madhuśchutaḥ śuchayaḥ—| 4. *Yāsu rājā Varuṇo yāsu Somo viśve devāḥ yāsu ūrjam madanti | Vaiśvānaro yāsu Agniḥ pravishṭas tāḥ āpaḥ*—|[139] "May the waters which are celestial, and those which flow, those for which channels are dug, and those which are self-produced, those which are proceeding to the ocean and are bright and purifying, preserve me! 3. May those (waters) in the midst of which king Varuṇa goes, beholding the truth and falsehood of men, which drop sweetness and are bright and purifying, preserve me! 4. May those waters in which Varuṇa, Soma, and all the gods are exhilarated by food, into which Agni Vaiśvānara has entered," etc. etc.

vii. 64, 2. *Ā rājānā mahaḥ ṛitasya gopā sindhupatī kshatriyā yātam arvāk | iḷāṁ no Mitrāvaruṇā uta vṛishṭim ava divaḥ invataṁ jīradānū* |[140] "Mitra and Varuṇa, ye two kings, protectors of the great ceremonial, strong lords of the sea (or of rivers) come hither; send us food and rain from the sky," etc.

In the second of these texts, vii. 49, 3, the waters, in the midst of which Varuṇa is said to move, "beholding the truth and falsehood of men," seem to be rather aerial than oceanic, as the former, from their position above the earth, would appear to afford to the god (when anthropomorphically regarded) a more convenient post of observation than the latter. And in vii. 64, 2, the epithet *sindhupatī*, "lords of the sea," (or "of rivers," *nadyāḥ pālayitārau*, Sāyaṇa), is applied not only to Varuṇa but to Mitra also, who is not, that I am aware of, ever connected with the sea, even in later mythology. If we add to this, that these two gods are here solicited to send food and rain from the sky, it may result that they are called *sindhupatī*, as supplying the aerial waters by which terrestrial streams are filled. On the other hand the 2nd verse of the hymn just quoted, vii. 49, 2, with which however Varuṇa is not directly connected, must be understood (as Professor Müller remarks, Transl. of R.V. i. p. 46) of terrestrial waters. Though, as we have seen above, Sāyaṇa does not generally style Varuṇa the god of the sea, but, in conformity with older conceptions, the deity who presides over the night, he does, in his explanation of

[139] See Prof. Müller's remarks on the word *samudra*, Trans. of R.V. i. 44 ff. where this verse is quoted and translated.

[140] Taitt. S. vi. 4, 3, 3, says: *Mitrāvaruṇau vai apām netārau* | "Mitra and Varuṇa are the leaders of the waters."

R.V. i. 161, 14, and viii. 58, 12, call him the *jalābhimānī devaḥ*, "the deity presiding over the waters."

In viii. 41, 8, Varuṇa appears to be called a hidden ocean (*samudro apīchyaḥ*).

viii. 58, 12. *Sudevo asi Varuṇa yasya te septa sindhavaḥ | anuksharanti kākudaṁ sūrmyaṁ sushirām iva |* "Thou art a glorious god, Varuṇa, into whose jaws the seven rivers flow, as into a surging abyss."[141]

Varuṇa is also connected with the sea or with the rivers, which he is said to inhabit, as soma (the plant) does the woods, in ix. 90, 2 (*vanā vasāno Varuṇo na sindhūn*); and in Vāj. Sanh. x. 7, it is said that "Varuṇa, the child of the waters, made his abode within the most motherly waters as in his home" (*Pastyāsu chakre Varuṇaḥ sadhastham apāṁ śiśur matṛitamāsu antaḥ*). See also the third verse of the sixteenth hymn of the A.V. quoted above.

In the following texts of the Atharva-veda, Varuṇa is connected with the waters:

A.V. iii. 3, 3. *Adbhyas tvā rājā Varuṇo hvayatu somas tvā hvayatu parvatebhyaḥ |* "May king Varuṇa call thee from the waters, and Soma from the mountains."

iv. 15, 12. *Apo nishinchann asuraḥ pitā naḥ śvasantu gargarāḥ apāṁ Varuṇa |* "Our divine father shedding the waters—may the streams of water breathe, o Varuṇa."

v. 24, 4. *Varuṇo 'pām adhipatiḥ |* 5. *Mitrāvaruṇau vṛishtyāḥ adhipatī |* "Varuṇa the lord of the waters." 5. "Mitra and Varuṇa the lords of rain."

vii. 83. 1. *Apsu te rājan Varuṇa gṛiho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ |* "Thy golden house, o Varuṇa, is in the waters."[142]

[141] See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 70 f.

[142] The Taitt. S. v. 5, 4, 1, says: *āpo Varuṇasya patnayaḥ asan | tā Agnir abhyadhyāyat | tāḥ samabhavat | tasya retaḥ parāpatat | tad iyam abhavat | yad dvitīyam parāpatat tad asāv abhavat | iyaṁ vai virāḍ asau svarāṭ |* "The waters are the wives of Varuṇa. Agni regarded them with desire. He consorted with them. His seed fell. It became this (earth). That which fell the second time became that (sky). This (earth) is *virāj*, that (sky) is *svarāj*." The Varāha Purāṇa, sect. 121 (Aufrecht, Catal. p. 59*b*) speaks of Varuṇa being universally known as the guardian of the ocean (*sarve lokāḥ hi jānanti Varuṇaḥ pāti sāgaram*). The Skanda Purāna, sect. 12 (Aufrecht, Cat. p. 69*a*), relates that Varuṇa was formerly the son of Kardama, and bore the name of Suchishmat; and that he is said to have obtained the sovereignty of the sea by worshipping Śiva.

(10) *Explanations by Professors Roth and Westergaard of the process by which Varuṇa came to be regarded as the regent of the sea.*

Professor Roth gives (in a paper read in October, 1851, and published in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 73) the following statement of the process by which he conceives that Varuṇa came in later times to be regarded as the god of the sea.

"The hymns of the Veda give already indications of this development, since Varuṇa is in one place brought into the same connection with the waves of the sea, as Storm and Wind are with the atmosphere and the heaven, and as Agni is with the earth (i. 161, 14, translated above), and it is elsewhere said of him that he sinks into the sea (vii. 87, 6), while in another passage the rivers are described as streaming towards him (viii. 58, 12). When, on the one hand, the conception of Varuṇa as the all-embracing heaven had been established, and, on the other hand, the observation of the rivers flowing towards the ends of the earth and to the sea had led to the conjecture that there existed an ocean enclosing the earth in its bosom, then the way was thoroughly prepared for connecting Varuṇa with the ocean. Another side of the affinity between the celestial and oceanic Varuṇa may be expressed in the words of Alexander von Humboldt, which perfectly coincide with the ancient Indian view: 'The two envelopments of the solid surface of our planet, viz., the aqueous and the atmospheric, offer many analogies to each other, in their mobility, in the phenomena of their temperature, and in the fact that their parts admit of being displaced: the depth both of the ocean and of the atmosphere is unknown to us.'"

On the same subject Professor Westergaard remarks (in a paper originally published in 1852, and translated by Professor Spiegel from the Danish, and published in Weber's Indische Studien, vol. iii.): "The Zend word Varena corresponds also etymologically, on the one hand, to the Greek οὐρανός, and, on the other, to the Indian Varuṇa, a name which in the Vedas is assigned to the god who reigns in the furthest regions of the heaven, where air and sea are, as it were, blended; on which account he has, in the later Indian mythology, become god of the sea, whilst in the Vedas he appears first as the mystic lord of the evening and the night." And he adds: "Possibly the Iranian Varena, in opposition to Yima's home on the remotest

mountains of the east, denotes, originally, the distant western region of the heaven and the air, where, every evening, the sun and light conceal themselves, and so much the rather as the epithet Varenya, derived from Varena, is in the Zenda-vesta applied only to the evil spirits of darkness" (p. 415 f.).

(11) *Correspondence of Varuṇa with the Greek Οὐρανός.*

We have already seen that Varuṇa corresponds in name to the *Οὐρανός* of the Greeks. "Uranos," as Professor Müller observes,[143] "in the language of Hesiod, is used as a name for the sky; he is made or born that he should 'be a firm place for the blessed gods.'[144] It is said twice that Uranos covers everything (v. 127), and that when he brings the night, he is stretched out everywhere, embracing the earth.[145] This sounds almost as if the Greek mythe had still preserved a recollection of the etymological power of Uranos. For Uranos is in the Sanskrit Varuṇa, and is derived from a root, Var, to cover; Varuṇa being in the Veda also a name of the firmament, but especially connected with the night, and opposed to Mitra, the day."

The parallel between the Greek Uranos and the Indian Varuṇa does not, as we have already seen, hold in all points. There is not in the Vedic mythology any special relation between Varuṇa and Pṛithivī, the Earth, as husband and wife, as there is between Uranos and Gaia in the theogony of Hesiod; nor is Varuṇa represented in the Veda, as Uranos is by the Greek poet, as the progenitor of Dyaus (Zeus), except in the general way in which he is said to have formed and to preserve heaven and earth.

[143] Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 41; Chips, ii. 65.

[144] Hesiod Theog. 126:—

Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἶσον ἑαυτῇ
Οὐρανὸν ἀστεροέντ', ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι,
Ὄφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς ἀεί.

Compare Ait. Br. iv. 27, quoted above.

[145] Ibid, v. 176:—

Ἦλθε δὲ Νύκτ' ἐπάγων μέγας Οὐρανός, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γαίῃ
Ἱμείρων φιλότητος ἐπέσχετο καί ῥ ἐτανύσθη
Πάντῃ.

(12) *Varuṇa, as represented in the hymns,—a metrical sketch.*

Lo, reared of old by hands divine,
High towers in heaven a palace fair;
Its roof a thousand columns bear;
A thousand portals round it shine.

Within, enthroned in godlike state,
Sits Varuṇa in golden sheen;
To work his will, with reverent mien,
His angel hosts around him wait.

When I beheld this vision bright,
I deemed the god was clad in flame,—
Such radiance from his presence came,
And overpowered my aching sight.

Each morn, when Ushas starts from sleep,
He mounts his car, which gleams with gold:
All worlds before him lie unrolled,
As o'er the sky his coursers sweep.

He, righteous lord, the sceptre wields,
Supreme, of universal sway,
His law both men and gods obey;
To his degree the haughtiest yields.

He spread the earth and watery waste;
He reared the sky; he bade the sun
His shining circuit daily run;
In him the worlds are all embraced.

By his decree the radiant moon
Moves through the nightly sky serene,
And planets sparkle round their queen;—*
But whither have they fled at noon?

* In Indian mythology the moon is a god, not a goddess; but I have in this line adhered to customary English poetical phraseology.

The rivers flow at his behest,
And yet—admire his wondrous skill—
The ocean-bed they cannot fill,
Although their currents never rest.

The path of ships across the sea,
The soaring eagle's flight, he knows,†
The course of every wind that blows,
And all that was or is to be.

Descending, ceaseless, from the skies,
His angels glide this world around;
As far as earth's remotest bound,
All-scanning, range their thousand eyes.

This mighty lord who rules on high,
Though closely veiled from mortal gaze,
All men's most secret acts surveys;
He, ever far, is ever nigh.

Two think they are not overheard
Who sit and plot, as if alone;
Their fancied secrets all are known,
Unseen, the god is there, a third.

Whoe'er should think his way to wing,
And lurk, unknown, beyond the sky,
Yet could not there elude the eye
And grasp of Varuṇa, the King.

For all within the vast expanse
Of air that heaven and earth divides,
Whate'er above the heaven abides,
Lies open to his piercing glance.

† Compare Proverbs, xxx. 18: "There be three things which are too wonderful for me; yea, four which I know not: 19. The way of an eagle in the air; the way of a serpent upon a rock; the way of a ship in the midst of the sea; and the way of a man with a maid."

The ceaseless winkings all he sees,
And counts, of every mortal's eyes:
In vain to wink a creature tries,
Unless the god the power decrees.

To thoughtful men who truth discern,
And deeply things divine explore,
The god reveals his hidden lore;
But fools his secrets may not learn.

He marks the good and ill within
The hearts of men—the false and true
Discerns with never-erring view:
He hates deceit, chastises sin.

His viewless bonds, than cords and gyves
More hard to burst, the wicked bind;
In vain, within their folds confined,
To cast them off the sinner strives.

And yet the god will not refuse
His grace to one who 'inly moans,
When fetter-bound, his errors owns,
And for forgiveness meekly sues.

But where is, lord, thy friendship now?
Thine ancient kindness, o, restore;
May we, so dear to thee of yore,
No longer dread thy frowning brow.

Thine ire we did not madly brave,
Nor break thy laws in wanton mood;
We fell, by wrath, dice, wine, subdued:
Forgive us, gracious lord, and save.

Absolve us from the guilt, we pray,
Of all the sins our fathers wrought, ‡
And sins which we commit by thought, §
And speech, and act, from day to day.

From dire disease preserve us free,
Nor doom us to the house of clay
Before our shrivelling frames decay:
A good old age yet let us see.

In vain shall hostile shafts assail
The man thy shielding arm defends;
Secure, no wrong he apprehends,
Safe, as if cased in iron mail.

As mother birds their pinions spread
To guard from harm their cowering brood,
Do thou, o lord, most great and good,
Preserve from all the ills we dread.

‡ See Exodus, xx. 5, Deuteronomy, v. 9, and Ezekiel, xviii. 1 ff.
§ Rig-veda, x. 37, 12.

SECTION V.

INDRA.[146]

According to the Greek geographer Strabo, the Indians, as known to him by the report of other writers, "worshipped Jupiter Pluvius, the river Ganges, and the gods of country.[147] This Jupiter Pluvius was, no doubt, Indra. Although at the period to which Strabo's information refers, this god, in all probabilty, no longer occupied the same prominent position as of old; he was, as Professor Roth remarks,[148] the favourite national deity of the Aryan Indians in the Vedic age. More hymns are dedicated to his honour than to the praise of any other divinity.

(1) *His origin and parents; his wife.*

Although, however, his greatness is celebrated in the most magnificent language, he is not regarded as an uncreated being. As I have already noticed, he is distinctly spoken of in various passages as being born, and as having a father and a mother.

Thus it is said of him:

iii. 48, 2. *Yaj jāyathās tad ahar asya kāme aṁśoḥ pīyūsham apibo girishṭhām | taṁ te mātā pari yoshā janitrī mūhaḥ pitur dame āsinchad agre | 3. Upasthāya mātaram annam aiṭṭa tigmam apaśyad abhi somam ūdhaḥ |*

"On the day that thou wast born, thou didst, from love of it, drink the mountain-grown juice of the soma-plant. Of old, the youthful

[146] Strabo, xv. 1, 69, p. 718, quoted by Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, ii. 698: Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν συγγραφέων, ὅτι σέβονται μὲν τὸν ὄμβριον Δία οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, καὶ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν, καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους δαίμονας.

[147] In my account of Varuṇa there is little of importance that had not been previously said by Professor Roth; but in this description of Indra there is a larger collection of particulars than I have noticed to have been brought together elsewhere.

[148] In his Lexicon, *s.v.* Indra.

mother who bore thee, satiated thee with it in the house of thy mighty father. 3. Approaching his mother, he desired sustenance; he beheld the sharp-flavoured soma on her breast."

Again in iv. 17, 4. *Suvīras te janitā manyata Dyaur Indrasya karttā svapastamo 'bhūt | yaḥ īm jajāna svaryaṁ suvajram anapachyutaṁ sadaso na bhūma | . . . .* 17. *Kiyat svid Indro adhi eti mātuḥ kiyat pitur janitur yo jajāna |* "Thy father was, as the Sky thought, a most stalwart being; the maker of Indra, he who produced the celestial thunderer, immovable as the earth,—he was a most skilful workman. 17. How much does Indra regard his mother, how much the father who begat him?"[149]

iv. 18, 1. *Ayam panthāḥ anuvittaḥ purāṇo yato devāḥ udajāyanta viśve | ataś chid ā janishīshṭa pravriddho mā mātaram amuyā pattave kaḥ |* 5. *Avadyam iva manyamānā guhā 'kar Indram mātā vīryeṇa nyṛishṭam | atha ud astṛāt svayam atkaṁ vasānaḥ ā rodasī apṛiṇaj jāyamānaḥ |* 10. *Gṛishṭiḥ sasūva sthaviraṁ tavāgām anādhṛishyaṁ vṛishabhaṁ tumram Indram | arīḷhaṁ vatsaṁ charathāya mātā svayaṁ gātum tanve ichhamānaṃ |* 11. *Uta mātā mahisham anvanenad amī tvā jahati putra devāḥ | athābravīd vṛittram Indro hanishyan sakhe Vishṇo vitarāṁ vi kramasva |* 12. *Kas te mātaram vidhavām achakrat śayuṁ kaś tvām ajighāṁsat charantam | kas te devo adhi mārḍīke āsīd yat pitaram prākshiṇāḥ pādagṛihya |*

"This has been traversed as the ancient path, through which all the gods were born; through this let the grown (embryo) be produced; let him not vainly cause his mother to perish.[150] 5. Regarding it (his birth) as a fault, the mother concealed Indra, who was full of vigour. Then he himself arose, clothed with a robe, and filled both worlds as soon as he was born. 10. His mother, (like) a cow, bore Indra, an unlicked calf, strong, robust, unassailable, vigorous, and lusty, in order

[149] Professor Müller, Lectures ii. 430, translates the first of these verses thus: Dyu, thy parent, was reputed strong; the maker of Indra was mighty in his works; he (who) begat the heavenly Indra, armed with the thunderbolt, who is immovable as the earth, from his seat:" 'and the 12th verse as follows: "Indra 'somewhat excels his mother and the father who begat him.'" Of the Maruts also it is said v. 60, 5, that Rudra, their father, was young and an excellent workman (*yuvā pitā svapāḥ Rudraḥ eshām*. The next hymn of the same Maṇḍala, iv. 18, makes repeated reference to Indra's birth and parents.

[150] For the Commentator's explanation of this obscure hymn see Professor Wilson's Translation, note 1.

that he might range abroad, and desiring full scope for himself. 11. And his mother affectionately regarded her mighty son, saying, 'those gods forsake thee, my son.' Then said Indra, preparing to slay Vṛittra, 'Friend Vishṇu, stride boldly forward.' 12. Who made thy mother a widow? Who sought to slay thee lying or moving? What god stood by thee in the fray when thou didst crush thy father, seizing him by the foot?"

vii. 20, 5. *Vṛishā jajāna vṛishaṇam raṇāya tam u chin nārī naryaṁ sasūva* | "A vigorous (god) begot him, a vigorous (son) for the battle: a heroic female (nārī) brought him forth, a heroic (son)," etc. Again, vii. 98, 3. *Jajnāna ḥ somaṁ sahase papātha pra te mātā mahimānam uvācha* | "When born, thou didst drink the soma-juice to (gain) strength: thy mother declared thy greatness." x. 73, 1. *Janishṭhāḥ ugraḥ sahase turāya mandraḥ ojishṭho bahulābhimānaḥ* | *avardhann Indram Marutaś chid attra mātā yad vīraṁ dadhanad dhanishṭhā* | "Thou wast born fierce to exercise impetuous strength; exulting, fiery, full of confidence. The Maruts here augmented Indra when his opulent mother brought forth the hero." x. 120, 1. *Tad id āsa bhuvaneshu jyeshṭhaṁ yato jajne ugras tveshanṛimṇaḥ* | "That was the highest (being) in the world from which this fierce and impetuous (god) was born," etc. x. 134, 1. *Ubhe yad Indra rodasī āpaprātha ushāḥ iva* | *mahāntaṁ tva mahīnāṁ saṁrājaṁ charshaṇīnāṁ devī janitrī ajījanad bhadrā janitrī ajījanat* | "When thou, Indra, didst fill the two worlds like the Dawn, a divine mother bore thee, a gracious mother bore thee, the great monarch of the great people" (the gods?). In x. 101, 12, as we have already seen, he is called the son of Nishṭigrī. This word, as I have already noticed, p. 13, note 9, is treated by the commentator as a synonym of Aditi; but though Indra is always regarded as an Āditya in the later mythology, and is even addressed in that character, along with Varuṇa, in vii. 85, 4 (*yaḥ ādityā śavasā vāṁ namasvān*), he is not commonly described as such in other parts of the Rig-veda.[151]

In the A.V. iii. 10, 12, we read: *Ekāshṭakā tapasā tapyamānā jajāna garbham mahimānam Indram* | *tena devāḥ ashahanta śatrūn hantā dasyūnām abhavat S'achipatiḥ* | "Ekāshṭakā, practising austere-fervour, bore

[151] In iv. 26, 1, he appears to be identified with Manu and Sūrya, and in viii. 82, 1, 4, and x. 89, 2, with Sūrya. In ii. 30, 1, he receives the epithet of *Savitṛi*.

as a child the glorious Indra. By him the gods conquered their enemies; the lord of Sachi (or of might) became the slayer of the Dasyus."

In the next verse Ekāshṭakā is called the mother of Soma, as well as of Indra, and the daughter of Prajāpati. In A.V. vi. 38, the mother of Indra is invoked, but her name is not given. According to the M.Bh. Ādip. 3136, Indra is one of the sons of Kaśyapa and Dākshāyaṇī, *i.e.* the daughter of Daksha, or Aditi. See also viii. 45, 4, 5; viii. 66, 1, 2, which will be quoted further on. In viii. 58, 4, he is called the son of truth (*sūnuṁ satyasya*).

In another place (iii. 49, 1) he is said to have been produced by the gods, as a destroyer of enemies (*ghanaṁ vṛitrāṇāṁ janayanta devāḥ* | See also ii. 13, 5, and iii. 51, 8).

In the Purusha Sūkta (R.V. x. 90, 13) Indra is said to have sprung, along with Agni, from the mouth of Purusha (*mukhād Indraś cha Agniś cha*); and he is one of several gods said, in ix. 96, 5 (*Somaḥ . . . janitā Indrasya*), to have been generated by Soma. In one of the latest hymns (x. 167, 1) he is declared to have conquered heaven by austerity (*tvaṁ tapaḥ paritapya ajayaḥ svaḥ*).[152]

[152] In one of the short stories about the gods, of which it and the other Brāhmaṇas are full, the S'atap. Br. xi. 1, 6, 14, says of Indra: *Tāḥ vai etāḥ Prajāpater adhi devatāḥ asṛijyanta Agnir Indraḥ Somaḥ Parameshṭhī prājāpatyaḥ* | 15. *Tāḥ sahatrāyusho jajnire* | *tāḥ yathā nadyai pāram parāpaśyed evaṁ svasya āyushaḥ pāram parāchakhyuḥ* | 14. "These gods were created from Prajāpati, viz. Agni, Indra, Soma, and Parameshṭhin Prājāpatya. 15. These were born with a life of a thousand (years). Just as a man can look across to the other bank of a river, they looked across to the end of their life." Again the Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 3, 3, says of Indra: *Prajāpatir devāsurān asṛijata* | *sa Indram api na asṛijata* | *taṁ devāḥ abruvann "Indraṁ no janaya" iti* | *so 'bravīd "yathā 'haṁ yūshmāṁs tapasā 'sṛikshi evam Indraṁ janayadhvam" iti* | *te tapo 'tapyanta* | *te ātmann Indram apaśyan* | *tam abruvan "jāyasva" iti* | *so 'bravīt "kim bhāgadheyam abhi janishye" iti* | *"ṛitūn saṁvatsarān prajāḥ paśūn imān lokān" ity abruvan* | *ityādi* | "Prajāpati created gods and Asuras, but he did not also create Indra. The gods said to him: 'Create Indra for us.' He replied: 'As I have created you through austere-fervour (*tapas*), so do you generate Indra.' They practised austere-fervour. They saw Indra within themselves. They said to him, 'Be born.' He said, 'To what lot shall I be born?' They said to him, 'To the seasons, the years, the creatures, the beasts, these worlds,' etc. The same Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 10, 1, tells us that Prajāpati created Indra last of the gods, and sent him to be the lord of the other deities. The gods said to him, 'Who art thou?' 'We are superior to thee.' He reported their reply to Prajāpati, and asked for the splendour which resided in Prajāpati, in order that he might become the chief of the gods, etc."

In vi. 59, 2, Indra and Agni, as we have already seen, p. 14, are said to be twin brothers, having the same father, and whose mothers are, the one here, the other there. (The sense of this is not very evident, unless it simply mean that the mothers are different.) In x. 55, 1, his brother's children are mentioned (*ud astabhnāḥ Pṛithivīm Dyām abhīke bhrātuḥ putrān maghavan tjtvishāṇaḥ*). Heaven and Earth seem to be intended. If so, who is their father? In vi. 55, 5, Pūshan is called Indra's brother (*bhrātā Indrasya*).

Even as an infant Indra is said to have manifested his warlike tendencies. "As soon as he was born, the slayer of Vṛittra (Indra) grasped his arrow, and asked his mother, 'Who are they that are renowned as fierce warriors?'" (viii. 45, 4, *ā bundāṁ vṛittrahā dade jātaḥ pṛichhad vi mātaram | ke ugrāḥ ke ha śṛiṇvire* | viii. 66, 1. *Jajnāno hi śatakratur vi pṛichhad iti mātaram | ke ugrāḥ ke ha śṛiṇvire* |). His worshipper says of him: 1, 102, 8. *Aśatrur Indra janushā sanād asi* | "Thou, Indra, art of old by nature without an enemy." Compare i. 176, 1. *S'atrum anti na vindasi* | x. 133, 2, *Aśatrur Indra jajnishe*).

In i. 82, 5, 6, Indra's wife is alluded to. 5. *Tena jāyām upa priyām mandāno yāhi* | 6. *Sam u patnyā amadaḥ* | "Go exhilarated to thy dear wife." "Be exhilarated with thy wife."

In another place iii. 53, 4 ff., the poet describes the perplexity he fancies Indra must feel in choosing between the attractions of home and those his worshippers have to offer in the way of soma-libations. 4. *Jāyā id astam maghavan sā id u nyonis tad it tvā yuktāḥ harayo vahantu | yadā kadā cha sunavāma somam Agnis tvā dūto dhanvāti achha* | 5. *Parā yāhi maghavann ā cha yāhi Indra bhrātar ubhayatra te artham | yatra rathasya bṛihato nidhānaṁ vimochanam vājino rāsabhasya* | 6. *Apāḥ somam astam Indra pra yāhi kalyāṇīr jāyā suraṇaṁ gṛihe te | yatra rathasya bṛihato nidhānaṁ vimochanaṁ vājino dakshiṇāvat* |

(*Prajāpatir Indram asṛijata anujāvaraṁ devānām | tam prāhiṇot "parehi | eteshaṁ devānām adhipatir edhi" iti | taṁ devāḥ abruvan "kas tvam asi vayaṁ vai tvat śreyāṁsaḥ smaḥ" iti | so 'bravīt "'kas tvam asi vayaṁ vai tvat śreyāṁsaḥ smaḥ' iti mā devāḥ abruvann" iti | atha vai idaṁ tarhi Prajāpatau haraḥ asīd* (2) *Yad asminn āditye | tad enam abravīd "etad me prayachha | atha śham eteshāṁ devānām adhipatir bhavishyāmi" iti* |). Compare the Taittirīya Sanhitā vi. 6, 11, 2, where Indra is said to have become chief of the gods in virtue of a ceremony which Prajāpati communicated to him. See also the same work vii. 2, 10, 2. In another place vii. 3, 6, 6, he is said to have obtained from Prajāpati the *panchadaśarātra vajra*, whereby he was enabled to overcome the Asuras, of whom he had previously been afraid, and to attain prosperity.

4. "A wife, Indra, is one's home; she is a man's dwelling; therefore let thy horses be yoked, and carry thee thither. But whenever we pour forth a libation of soma, then may Agni hasten to call thee. 5. Depart, Indra; come hither, brother Indra; in both quarters thou hast inducements. Whenever thy great chariot halts, thy steed is unharnessed. 6. Depart, Indra, to thy home; thou hast drunk the soma; thou hast a lovely wife, and pleasure in thy house. Wherever thy great chariot halts, it is proper that thy steed should be unharnessed."

In a few passages (i. 22, 12; ii. 32, 8; v. 46, 8; x. 86, 11, 12) mention is made of a goddess Indrāṇī, who, from her name, must be the spouse of Indra. In the first three places she is invoked together with other goddesses, among whom we find Agnāyī and Varuṇānī, the wives of Agni and Varuṇa. In x. 86, 11, 12, a little more is told of Indrāṇī. Thus in verse 11, the speaker says: *Indrāṇīm āsu nārishu subhagām aham aśravam | nahi asyāḥ aparaṁ chana jarasā marate patiḥ* | "I have heard that among all these females Indrāṇī is the most fortunate; for her husband shall never at any future time die of old age."[153] The Aitareya Brahmaṇa, iii. 22, alludes to a wife of Indra, called Prāsahā (*te devāḥ abruvann iyaṁ nai Indrasya priyā jāyā vāvātā Prāsahā nāma*). See Professor Haug's Translation, p. 194.

The Śatap. Br. xiv. 2, 1, 8, says: "Indrāṇī is Indra's beloved wife, and she has a head-dress of all forms" (*Indrāṇī ha vai Indrasya priyā patnī | tasyāḥ ushṇīsho viśvarūpaṭamaḥ*).

[153] I am unable to say to whom the obscene verses (6 and 7) of this hymn refer. In Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7, she is thus portentously described: *Indrāṇī devī subhagā supatnī ud aṁśena pati-vidyē jigāya | triṁśad asyāḥ jaghnaṁ yojanāni | upasthe Indraṁ sthaviram bibhartti* | Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. iii. 479, quotes from the Kāṭhaka, 13, 5, a short passage, stating that Indra was enamoured of a Dānavī, called Vilistengā, and that he lived among the Asuras, taking the form of a female when among females, of a male among males; and that finding himself, as it were, seized by Nirṛiti, he resorted to a certain oblation as a remedy," etc. (*Indro vai Vilistengāṁ Dānavīm akāmayata | so 'sureshv acharat strī eva strīshu bhavan pumān puṁsu | sa Nirṛiti-gṛihītaḥ iva amaṇyata | sa etam aindrā-nairṛitam apaśyat* |) In the Atharva-veda, vii. 38, 2, a female says to the man she wishes to love her: *Yena ā nichakre āsurī Indraṁ devebhyas pari | tena ā ni kurve tvām ahaṁ yathā te 'sāni supriyā* | "In order that I may be beloved by thee, I overcome thee with this plant, wherewith the Asura female drew Indra down from among the gods."

(2) *His attributes physical and mental.*

A variety of vague and general epithets are lavished upon Indra. He is distinguished as youthful, ancient, strong, agile (*nṛitu* i. 130, 7; ii. 22, 4; vi. 29, 3; viii. 24, 9, 12; viii. 57, 7; viii. 81, 3), martial, heroic, bright, undecaying, all-conquering, lord of unbounded wisdom, and irresistible power and prowess, wielder of the thunderbolt, etc., etc. (i. 4, 8; i. 16, 9; i. 30, 6, 15; i. 61, 1; i. 81, 2, 7; i. 84, 2; i. 100, 12; i. 102, 6; i. 165, 6; ii. 21, 1–3; iii. 30, 3; iii. 32, 7; iii. 45, 2; iii. 46, 1; vi. 18, 4; vii. 20, 4; vii. 22, 5; viii. 81, 8; viii. 84, 7 ff.; x. 103, 1 ff). "He has vigour in his body, strength in his arms, a thunderbolt in his hand, and wisdom in his head" (ii. 16, 2. *Jaṭhare somaṁ tanvi saho maho haste vajram bharati śīrshaṇi kratum* | viii. 85, 3. *Indrasya vajraḥ āyaso nimiślaḥ Indrasyo bāhvor bhūyishṭham ojāḥ* | *Indrasya śīrshan kratavo nireke*): He assumes the most beautiful forms, and is invested with the ruddy lustre of the sun" (x. 112, 3. *haritvatā varchasā sūryasya śreshṭhaiḥ rūpais tanvaṁ sparśayasva*). The Vedic poets have also described to us a few of the features, as they conceived them, of his personal appearance. One of the epithets which are most frequently applied to him is *suśipra*, or *śiprin*, in the interpretation of which Sāyaṇa wavers between "the god with handsome cheeks or nose" (*he suśipra śobhana-hano śobhana-nāsika vā*). (i. 9, 3; i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; i. 101, 10;[154] iii. 32, 3; iii. 36, 10; viii. 32, 4, 24; viii. 33, 7; viii. 55, 4; x. 105, 5),[155] and the "god with the beautiful helmet" (*śobhana-śirastrāṇopeto yadvā śobhana-hanumān* | iii. 30, 3; viii. 17, 4; viii. 81, 4; viii. 82, 12).[156]

In viii. 65, 10, he is said to have agitated his jaws when rising in strength after drinking the soma poured out from a ladle (*uttishṭhann ojasā saha pitvī śipre avepayaḥ* | *somam Indra chamū sutam*). He is

[154] Compare i. 30, 11.

[155] A note on this word will be given in the Section on the Maruts.

[156] In R.V. vi. 46, 3, Indra is styled *sahasra-mushka*, which Sāyaṇa interprets *mille membra genitalia habens*; and adds the following gross explanation from the Kāushītakī Brāhmaṇa: *yām kāṁ cha striyaṁ sambhavann Indro bhoga-lolupatayā svaśaśīre parvaṇi parvaṇi śephān sasarjja iti kaushītakibhir āmnātam* | On viii. 19, 32, however, where the same epithet occurs, applied, as Sāyaṇa considers, to Agni, he explains it as meaning "having great brilliancy" (*mushṇanti tamāṁsy apaharanti iti mushkāni tejāṁsi* | *bahutejaskam*).

also called *hari-śipra*, the ruddy-jawed (x. 96, 4, 9, 12); *hari-keśa*, the ruddy- or golden-haired (x. 96, 5, 8); *hari-śmaśāru*,[157] the ruddy- or golden-bearded, or moustached (x. 96, 8; x. 23, 4). His beard is violently agitated when he is exhilarated, or puts himself in motion (ii. 11, 17, *pradodhuvat śmaśrushu prīṇānaḥ;* x. 23, 1, *pra śmaśru dodhuvat*).[158] His whole appearance is ruddy or golden (*hari-varpas*, x. 96, 1 ff., where the changes are rung upon the word *haṛi*). He is sometimes also described as *hiraṇyaya*, golden (i. 7, 2; viii. 55, 3), and as having golden arms (*hiraṇya-bāhu*, vii. 34, 4); and sometimes as of an iron hue, or frame (*āyasa*) (i. 56, 3; x. 96, 4, 8). His arms are long and far-extended (vi. 19, 3, *pṛithū karasnā bahulā gabhastī;* viii. 32, 10, *sṛipra-karasna;* viii. 70, 1, *mahāhastin*).[159] But his forms are endless; he can assume any shape at will (iii. 38, 4, *viśvarūpo amṛitāni tasthau;* iii. 48, 4, *yathāvaśaṁ tanvaṁ chakre esha;* iii. 53, 8, *rūpaṁ rūpaṁ maghavā bobhavīti māyāḥ kṛiṇvānas tanvam pari svām*; vi. 47, 18, *rūpaṁ rūpam pratirūpo babhūva tad asyą rūpam pratichakshaṇāya | Indro māyābhiḥ pururūpaḥ īyate*).

(3) *His chariot and horses.*

Carrying in his hand a golden whip (*kaśā hiraṇyayī*, viii. 33, 11), he is borne on a shining golden car, with a thousand supports (vi. 29, 2, *ā rathe hiraṇyaye rathesthāḥ;* viii. 1, 24 f., *rathe hiraṇyaye;* viii. 58, 16, *ā rathaṁ tishṭha hiraṇyayaṁ sahasrapādam*), which moves more swiftly than thought (x. 112, 2, *yas te ratho manaso javīyān ā Indra tena somapeyāya yāhi*), and is drawn by two[160] tawny (*harī*, ruddy, or

[157] I suppose this is the same as *hiri-śmaśru* applied to Agni in R.V. x. 46, 5 (instead of which the Sāma-veda in the parallel passage reads *hariśmaśru*. In R.V. ii. 2, 5, Agni is called *hiriśipra*, which Sāyaṇa interprets to mean either *haraṇa-śīla-hanu*, "he whose jaws carry away," or *dīptoshṇīsha*, "with flaming head-dress."

[158] A beard is also assigned to Pūshan, who similarly shakes it (x. 26, 7).

[159] In a verse which does not occur in the Rig-veda, the Sāma-veda, ii. 1219, thus describes Indra's arms: *Indrasya bāhū sthavirau yuvānāv anādhṛishyau supratīkāv asahyau | tau yunjīta prathamau yoge āgate yābhyāṁ jitam asurāṇāṁ saho mahat* | "When the occasion arrives may Indra employ first those arms strong, youthful, unassailable, well-shaped, unconquerable, with which the great power of the Asuras was overcome."

[160] In ii. 18, 4-7 Indra is invited to come with two, four, six, eight, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety, or a hundred horses (compare viii. 1, 9) to drink the soma-juice. In iv. 46, 3, a thousand horses are said to convey

golden) steeds, snorting, neighing, and irresistible (i. 30, 16, *śaśvad Indraḥ popruthadbhir jigāya nānadadbhiḥ śāśvasadbhir dhanāni;* i. 81, 3, *madachyutā harī*),[161] with flowing golden manes, *keśinā* (i. 10, 3; i. 82, 6; viii. 17, 2; *hiraṇya-keśyā*, viii. 32, 29; viii. 82, 24), with hair like peacock's feathers (iii. 45, 1 (=A.V. vii. 117, 1), *ā haribhir yāhi mayūra-romabhiḥ*), and peacock's tails (*mayūraśepyā*, viii. 1, 25), which rapidly traverse vast distances (ii. 16, 3, *yad āśubhiḥ patasi yojanā puru*), and transport him as a hawk is borne by its wings (viii. 34, 9, *ā tvā madachyutā harī śyenam paksheva vakshataḥ*). His car and horses appear to have been formed by the Ṛibhus (i. 111, 1, *Takshan rathaṁ suvṛitaṁ vidmanā 'pasas takshan harī Indravāhā vṛishaṇvasū | takshan pitṛibhyām ṛibhavo yuvad vayaḥ;* v. 31, 4, *anavas te ratham aśvāya takshan*). The following are some of the other texts which refer to Indra's chariot and horses: i. 6, 2; i. 16, 1, 2 (where the horses are called sun-eyed, *sūrachakshasaḥ*); i. 55, 7; i. 84, 6; i. 101, 10; ii. 11, 6; viii. 13, 11, 27; x. 44, 2. He is also said to be borne by the horses of the Sun (x. 49, 7, *ahaṁ sūryasya pari yāmi āśubhiḥ pra etaśebhir vahamānaḥ ojasā*), or by those of Vāta, the wind (x. 22, 4–6, *yujāno aśvā Vātasya dhunī devo devasya vajrivaḥ*).[162] The same deity, Vāyu, the wind, is said to have Indra for his charioteer, or companion in his car (iv. 46, 2; iv. 48, 2, *Indra-sārathi;* vii. 91, 6, *Indra-vāyū sarathaṁ yātam arvāk*). The horses of Indra are declared to be yoked by the power of prayer (i. 82, 6, *yunajmi te brahmaṇā keśinā harī;* ii. 18, 3, *harī nu kam rathe Indrasya yojam āyai sūktena vachasā navena;* iii. 35, 4, *brahmaṇā te brahmayujā yunajmi harī sakhāyā sadhamādā āśū;* viii. 1, 24, *brahmayujo harayaḥ;* viii. 17, 2, *brahmayujā harī;* viii. 2, 27; viii. 45, 39, *ā te etā vachoyujā harī gṛibhṇe;* viii. 87, 9, *yunjanti harī ishirasya gāthayā urau rathe uruyuge | Indravāhā vachoyujā*), which is no doubt only another mode of saying that it is in con-

Indra and Vāyu (compare vi. 47, 18). In viii. 1, 24, Indra's horses are said to be a thousand and a hundred. From such a text as iii. 35, 7, where Indra is informed that food has been provided for his horses, as well as soma-juice to fill his own belly (verse 6), it would appear that the worshipper had a perfect assurance of the god's presence. In another place, however (x. 114, 9), the enquiry is made (among several others denoting difficulty and mystery), "Who has perceived the two horses of Indra?" (*harī Indrasya ni chikāya kaḥ svit | *).

[161] On the sense of the word *madachyut* see Müller's Trans. of the R.V. i. 118 f.

[162] Compare Psalms, 18, 10; 104, 3.

sequence of the importunity of his worshippers that he makes ready his chariot to come and receive their oblations and fulfil their desires.

(4) *His thunderbolt and other weapons and instruments.*

The thunderbolt of Indra is generally described as having been fashioned for him by the Indian Hephaistos, Tvashṭṛi, the artificer of the gods (i. 32, 2: *Tvashṭā asmai vajraṁ svaryaṁ tataksha;* i. 61, 6, *asmai id u Tvashṭā takshad vajraṁ svapastamaṁ svaryaṁ raṉāya;* i. 85, 9, *Tvashṭā yad vajraṁ sukṛitaṁ hiraṉyayaṁ sahasrabhṛistiṁ svapāḥ avarttayat* | v. 31, 4, *Tvashṭā vajraṁ dyumantam takshat;* vi. 17, 10, *adha Tvashṭā te mahe ugra vajraṁ sahasrabhṛishṭiṁ vavṛitat śatāśrim* | x. 48, 3, *mahyaṁ Tvashṭā vajram atakshad āyasam*); but according to other texts it appears to have been made and given to Indra by Kāvya Uśanas (i. 121, 12, *yaṁ te Kāvyaḥ Uśanā mandinaṁ dād vṛittrāhaṉam pāryaṁ tataksha vajram;* v. 34, 2, *sahasrabhṛishṭim Uśanā vadhaṁ yamat*).[163] Its natural mode of production is alluded to in viii. 89, 9, where it is said: "The thunderbolt lies in the (aerial) ocean, enveloped in water" (*samudre antaḥ śayate udnā vajro abhīvṛitaḥ*). This thunderbolt is sometimes styled golden, *hiraṉyaya* (i. 57, 2; i. 85, 9; viii. 57, 3; x. 23, 3), sometimes ruddy, *harita* (x. 96, 3); but it is also described as being of iron, *āyasa* (i. 52, 8; i. 80, 12; i. 81, 4; i. 121, 9; viii. 85, 3; x. 48, 3; x. 96, 3; x. 113, 5); sometimes it is represented as four-angled, *chaturaśri* (iv. 22, 2), sometimes as hundred-angled, *śatāśri* (vi. 17, 10), sometimes as hundred-jointed, *śataparvan* (i. 80, 6; viii. 6, 6; viii. 65, 2; viii. 78, 3),[164] and sometimes as having a thousand points, *sahasrabhṛishṭi* (i. 80, 12; i. 85, 9; v. 34, 2; vi. 17, 10). Indra is in one place (i. 55, 1) represented as sharpening his thunderbolt, as a bull his horns (*śiśīte vajraṁ tejase na vaṁsagaḥ*). In viii. 59, 2, the thunderbolt put into Indra's hand is compared to the sun placed in the sky (*dive na sūryaḥ*). In other passages this god is spoken of

[163] The Ait. Br. iv. 1, says: *devāḥ vai prathamena ahnā Indrāya vajraṁ samabharan* | *taṁ dvitīyena ahnā asinchan* | *tṛitīyena ahnā prāyachhan* | *taṁ chaturthe ahan prāharat* | "The gods provided the thunderbolt for Indra by the first day's (ceremony). By the second day's they moistened it. By the third day's they gave it to him. On the fourth day he hurled it." See Prof. Haug's Trans. p. 255.

[164] Compare A.V. iv. 37, 8: *bhīmāḥ Indrasya hetayaḥ śatabhṛishṭīr ayasmayīḥ*; and the next verse, which is the same, with the substitution of *hiraṉyayīḥ* for *ayasmayīḥ*; and A.V. viii. 5, 15.

as armed with a bow and arrows (viii. 45, 4; viii. 66, 6, 11; x. 103, 2, 3). His arrows are described as golden (viii. 66, 11), as having a hundred points, and as being winged with a thousand feathers (viii. 66, 7). Indra is also declared to carry a hook (*aṅkuśa*). Thus in viii. 17, 10, it is said: *dīrghas te astu aṅkuśo yena vasu prayachhasi | yajamānāya sunvate |* "May the hook be long wherewith thou reachest wealth to the worshipper who offers oblations." And similarly in Atharva-veda, vi. 82, 3, *yas te aṅkuśo vasudāno bṛihann Indra hiraṇyayaḥ | tenā janīyate jāyām mahyaṁ dhehi śachīpate |* "With that great golden hook of thine which confers wealth, o lord of power (Indra), reach a wife to me who am longing for one."[165] Another text in which this word occurs is R.V. x. 134, 6 (= Sāmā-veda ii. 441): *dīrgham hi aṅkuśaṁ yathā śaktim bibharshi mantumaḥ | pūrveṇa maghavan padā ajo vayāṁ yathā |* "Thou, o wise (Indra), carriest a long hook like a spear, and (holdest fast therewith), as a goat (catches) a branch with its fore foot." The word is also found in x. 44, 9: "I carry to thee this well-made goad, wherewith, o magnificent god, thou mayest rend the Śaphāruj demons"[166] (*imam bibharmi sukṛitaṁ te aṅkuśaṁ yena ārujāsi maghavan śaphārujaḥ*).

Another instrument of warfare, a net, is assigned to Indra in the A.V. viii. 8, 5 ff.: *antarikshaṁ jālam āsīj jāladaṇḍā diśo mahīḥ | tenābhidhāya dasyūnāṁ śakraḥ senām apātayat |* 6. *Bṛihad hi jālaṁ bṛihataḥ śakrasya vājinīvataḥ | tena śatrūn abhi sarvān nyubja yathā na muchyātai katamaśchana eshām |* 7. *Bṛihat te jālam bṛihataḥ Indra śūra sahasrārghasya śatavīryasya | tena sahasram ayutam ni arbudaṁ jaghāna śakro dasyūnām abhidhāya senayā |* 8. *ayaṁ loko jālam āsīt śakrasya mahato mahān | tenāham Indraṣjālena amūṁs tamasā 'bhi dadhāmi sarvān |*

[165] In these passages I follow Roth's explanation of *aṅkuśa*, as given in his Lexicon, *s.v.* In his translation of this passage from the A.V. in Indische Studien v. 241, Professor Weber understands the word (*aṅkuśa*) of a goad with which cattle are driven. In A.V. vii. 115, 1, Ill fortune, Pāpī Lakshmī, is said to be drawn or driven away with an iron hook (*ayasmayena aṅkena*).

[166] I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for pointing out the sense of this verse, as well as of the preceding. *Śaphāruj* seems to mean a demon, or an animal that destroys with its hoofs. The word occurs also in x. 87, 12, where it is an epithet of Yātudhāna, a demon, and appears to refer to some goblin which was conceived to tear with its hoofs.

"The air was a net, and the great quarters of the sky the poles of the net. With it Śakra (or the powerful god) enveloped the army of the Dasyus, and cast them down. 6. Great is the net of the great Śakra, bestower of food. With it so overwhelm all the foes that not one of them may escape. 7. Great is thy net, o heroic Indra, who art great, and a match for a thousand, and equalling the strength of a hundred foes. Śakra, with his host, slew a thousand, ten thousand, a hundred millions of the Dasyus, enveloping them in it. 8. This world was the great net of the great Śakra. With this net of Indra I envelope them all in darkness." [167]

(5) *His love of soma-juice.*

Invoked by his mortal worshippers, Indra obeys the summons, and speedily arrives in his chariot to receive their offerings. He finds food provided for his horses (iii. 35, 7, *stīrṇaṁ te barhíḥ sutaḥ Indra somaḥ kṛitā dhānā attave te haríbhyaṁ*), and large libations of soma-juice are poured out for himself to quaff. He becomes exhilarated by these libations, which are also frequently described as stimulating his warlike disposition and energies, and fitting him for his other functions, even for supporting the earth and sky (ii. 15, 2: *avaṁśe Dyām astabhāyad bṛihantam . . . . sa dhārayat Pṛithivīm paprathat cha somasya tā made Indraś chakāra*). The following are a few of the numerous passages which refer to this worship of Indra: i. 4, 8; i. 32, 3; i. 80, 1 f.; i. 84, 1 (where the poet hopes the draught may fill him with strength, as the sun fills the air with his rays: *ā tvā pṛiṇaktu indriyaṁ rajaḥ sūryo na raśmibhiḥ*), 4 (where it is said to be an "immortal stimulant"—*amartyam madam*); ii. 15, 1, 2; ii. 19, 1 f.; ii. 21, 1; iii. 36, 3; iii. 40, 1 ff.; iii. 42, 1 ff.; vi. 23, 1, 5, 6; vi. 27, 1 f.; vi. 29, 4; vii. 22, 1 f.; vii. 29, 1 f.; viii. 3, 1; viii. 81, 5, 6; x. 104, 1 ff.; etc., etc. The gods are described as all hastening eagerly to partake of this beverage, viii. 2, 18 (*yanti pramādam atandrāḥ*); viii. 58, 11: *apād Indro apād Agnir viśve devāḥ amatsata* | "Indra has drunk, Agni has drunk; all the gods have become exhilarated;" [168]

[167] Compare A.V. xix. 66, 1: *ayojālāḥ asurāḥ māyino 'yasmayaiḥ pāśair ankino ye charanti* | *tāṁs te randhayāmi harasā Jātavedaḥ sahasrabhṛishṭiḥ sapatnān praminan yāhi vajraḥ.*

[168] Ait. Br. vi. 11: *mādyanti iva vai madhyandine devatāḥ sam eva tṛitīya-savane*

but Indra is particularly addicted to the indulgence, i. 104, 9, *somakāmaṁ tvā āhuḥ;* i. 175, 5, *śushmintamo hi te madaḥ;* ii. 14, 1, *kāmī hi vīraḥ sadam asya pītiṁ juhota vṛishṇe tad hi esha vashṭi;* vii. 33, 2, *dūrād Indram anayann ā sutena;* viii. 2, 4, *Indraḥ it somapāḥ ekaḥ Indraḥ sutapāḥ viśvāyuḥ | antar devān martyāṁś cha |* "Indra is the only drinker of soma, a drinker of libations, of full vitality, among gods and men;" viii. 4, 12, *idaṁ te annaṁ yujyaṁ samukshitaṁ tasya ihi pradrava piba |* "This thy favourite nutriment has been poured out; run and drink of it;" viii. 6, 40, *vṛittrahā somapātamaḥ;* viii. 50, 2, *somakāmaṁ hi te manaḥ |* Indeed, it would appear to be to him an absolute necessary of life, as his mother gave it to him to drink on the very day of his birth (iii. 32, 9, *sadyo yaj jāto apibo ha somam |* 10. *tvaṁ sadyo apibo jātaḥ Indra madāya somam parame vyoman;* iii. 48, 2, 3, already quoted, p. 77; vi. 40, 2, *asya piba yasya jajñānaḥ Indro madāya kratve apibaḥ;* vii. 98, 3, *jajñānaḥ somaṁ sahase papātha pra te mātā mahimānam uvācha*). He is said to have drunk at one draught thirty bowls of soma (viii. 66, 4, *ekayā prātidhā 'pibat sākaṁ sarāṁsi triṁśatam | Indraḥ somasya kāṇukā.* See Nirukta, v. 11; compare R.V. vi. 17, 11; and viii. 7, 10). His worshippers invite him in the most naïf manner to drink boldly (vi. 47, 6, *dhṛishat piba kalaśe somam Indra*); to drink like a thirsty stag (viii. 4, 10, *ṛiśyo na tṛishyann avapānam āgahi piba somān vaśān anu*), or a bull roaming in a waterless waste (v. 36, 1, *dhanvacharo na vaṁsagas tṛishāṇas chakamānaḥ pibatu dugdham aṁśum |* compare viii. 33, 2, *kadā sutaṁ tṛishāṇaḥ okaḥ āgamaḥ Indra svabdīva vaṁsagaḥ,* and fill his belly, or his two bellies, which are compared to two lakes, by copious potations; and he speaks in similar language of having accepted the invitation[169] (i. 8, 7; i. 104, 9; ii. 11, 11 (*sutāsaḥ pṛiṇantas te kukshī vardhayantu*); ii. 14, 10; ii. 16, 2; iii. 35, 6 (*dadhishva imaṁ jaṭhare indum Indra*); iii. 36, 7, 8 (*hradāḥ iva kukshayaḥ somadhānāḥ*); iii. 40, 5; iii. 47, 1 (*ā sinchasva jaṭhare madhvaḥ ūrmim*); iii. 51, 12 (*pra te aśnotu kukshyoḥ*); viii. 12, 23 (*saro na prāsi udaram*); viii. 2, 1 (*supūrṇam udaram*); viii. 17, 5–8 (*ā te sinchāmi kukshyoḥ*); viii. 67, 7; viii. 81, 22–24;

mādayante, which Professor Haug translates: "The gods get drunk, as it were, at the mid-day libation, and are then consequently at the third libation in a state of complete drunkenness."

[169] The soma-juice was also drunk by the worshippers themselves, and its effects on

x. 28, 2 ; x. 43, 7 ; x. 104, 2 ; A.V. ii. 5, 1 ff. ; vi. 2, 1 ff. The soma-draughts are said to resort to him as birds to a leafy tree ; and to flow to him as waters to the ocean, or rivulets to a lake; and his worshippers are then said to magnify him as grain is developed by showers of rain, x. 43, 4 (*Vayo na vṛikshaṁ supalāśam āsadan somāsaḥ Indram mandinaś chamūshadaḥ | 7. Āpo na sindhum abhi yat samakṣharan somāsaḥ Indram kulyāḥ iva hradam | vardhanti viprāḥ maho asya sadane yavaṁ na vṛishṭir divyena dānunā*). He is also spoken of as eating the flesh of bulls, or buffaloes, at the same time that he drinks the draughts of soma (x. 28, 3, *adriṇā te mandinaḥ Indra tūyān sunvanti somān pibasi tvam eshām | pachanti te vṛishabhān atsi teshām*). Three hundred are mentioned in v. 29, 7 f., one hundred in viii. 66, 10, and one in x. 27, 2. Indra is besought to taste the offering presented, and to take delight in the hymns addressed to him, as an ardent lover desires his mistress (iii. 52, 3 = iv. 32, 16 : *puroḷāśaṁ cha no ghaso joshayāse giraś cha | vadhūyur iva yoshaṇām*).

The sensations of the god after drinking the soma-juice are thus described in Rig-veda x. 119 : 1. *iti vai iti me mano gām aśvaṁ sanuyām iti | kuvit soṇasya apām iti | 2. pra vātāḥ iva dodhataḥ un mā pītāḥ ayaṁsata | kuvid ity ādi | 3. un mā pītāḥ ayaṁsata ratham aśvāḥ ivāśavaḥ | kuvit*—| 4. *upa mā matir asthita vāśrā putram iva priyam | kuvit*—|

some of them are occasionally described. Thus in vi. 47, 3, it is said : "This (soma), when drunk, impels my voice; it awakes the ardent thought" *ayam me pītaḥ udiyartti vācham ayam manīshām uśatīm ajīgaḥ*). In viii. 48, 3, its elevating effect is still more distinctly told in these words, *apāma somam amṛitāḥ abhūma aganma jyotir avidāma devān | kiṁ nūnam asmān kṛiṇavad arātiḥ kim u dhūrttir amṛita marttyasya*, which may be rendered as follows :—

We've quaffed the soma bright,
And are immortal grown ;
We've entered into light,
And all the gods have known.
What mortal now can harm,
Or foeman vex us more ?
Through thee, beyond alarm,
Immortal god, we soar.

Compare the curious parallel to this (already noticed in the 3rd Vol. of this work, p. 265) in the satirical drama of Euripides, the Cyclops, 578, ff., where Polyphemus exclaims in his drunken exaltation :

Ὁ δ' οὐρανός μοι συμμεμιγμένος δοκεῖ
Τῇ γῇ φέρεσθαι, τοῦ Διός τε τὸν θρόνον
Λεύσσω τὸ πᾶν τε δαιμόνων ἁγνὸν σέβας.

5. ahaṁ tashṭeva vandhuram pary achāmi hṛidā matim | kuvit—| 6. na hi me akshipach chana achhāntsuḥ pancha kṛishṭayaḥ | kuvit—| 7. na hi me rodasī ubhe anyam pakshaṁ chana prati | kuvit—| 8. abhi dyām mahinā 'bhavam abhīmām pṛithivīm mahīm | kuvit — | 9. hantāham pṛithivīm imāṁ ni dadhānīha veha vā | kuvit — | 10. osham it pṛithivīm ahaṁ janghanānīha vēha vā | kuvit —| 11. divi me anyaḥ paksho adho anyam achīkṛisham | kuvit —| 12. aham asmi mahāmaho abhinabhyam udīshitaḥ | kuvit — | 13. gṛiho yāmi arankṛito devebhyo havyavāhanaḥ | kuvit somasya apām iti | [170]

"I have verily resolved to bestow cows and horses: I have quaffed the soma. 2. The draughts which I have drunk impel me like violent blasts: I have quaffed the soma. 3. The draughts which I have drunk impel me as fleet horses a chariot: I have quaffed the soma. 4. The hymn (of my worshipper) has hastened to me, as a cow to her beloved calf: I have quaffed the soma. 5. I turn the hymn round about in my heart, as a carpenter a beam: I have quaffed the soma. 6. The five tribes of men appear to me not even as a mote: I have quaffed the soma. 7. The two worlds do not equal even one half of me: I have quaffed the soma. 8. I surpass in greatness the heaven and this vast earth: I have quaffed the soma. 9. Come, let me plant this earth either here or there: I have quaffed the soma. 10. Let me smite the earth rapidly hither or thither: I have quaffed the soma. 11. One half of me is in the sky, and I have drawn the other down: I have quaffed the soma. 12. I am majestic, elevated to the heavens: I have quaffed the soma. 13. I go prepared as a minister, a bearer of oblations to the gods: I have quaffed the soma."

The hymns, prayers, and worship addressed to Indra are described as stimulating his energies and increasing his vigour (i. 52, 7: *brahmāṇi Indra tava yāni vardhanā*); i. 54, 8; i. 80, 1; ii. 11, 2 (*ukthair vavṛidhānaḥ*); ii. 12, 14 (*yasya brahma vardhanaṁ yasya somaḥ*); iii. 32, 12 f. (*yajno hi te Indra vardhano bhūt; yaḥ stomebhir vavṛidhe pūrvyebhir yo madhyebhir uta nūtanebhiḥ*); iii. 34, 1 (*brahmajūtas tanvā vavṛidhānaḥ*); v. 31, 10 (*Indra brahmāṇi tavishīm avardhan*); vi. 21, 2; vi. 44, 13; viii. 6, 1, 21, 31, 35; viii. 13, 16 (*Indraṁ var-*

[170] I learn from a note to Professor Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 101, that, according to Sāyaṇa, there was a legend that Indra, in the form of a quail, drank soma, was seen by the ṛishi, and sang his own praise in this hymn.

dhantu no giraḥ Indraṁ sutāsaḥ indavaḥ) ; viii. 14, 5, 11 (*yajnaḥ Indraṁ avardhayat*) ; viii. 82, 27 ; viii. 87, 8 (*vār na tvā yavyābhir vardhanti śūra brahmāṇi*) ; x. 50, 4 (*bhuvas tvam Indra brahmaṇā mahān*) ; x. 120, 5 (*chodayāmi te āyudhā vachobhiḥ saṁ te śiśāmi brahmāṇā vayāṁsi*), and the worshippers (as well as the gods) are said to place the thunderbolt in his hands and to assist its efficacy (i. 63, 2, *ā te vajraṁ jaritā bāhvor dhāt*) ; ii. 20, 8 (*tasmai tavasyam anu dāyi satrā Indrāya devebhir arṇasātau | prati yad asya vajram bāhvor dhur hatvī dasyūn puraḥ āyasīr ni tārīt*) ; iii. 32, 12 (*yajnas te vajram Ahihatye āvat*). The other deities, too, are described as infusing divine strength into Indra[171] (i. 80, 15, *tasmin nṛimṇam uta kratuṁ devāḥ ojāṁsi sam dadhuḥ*) ; vi. 20, 2 (*divo na tubhyam anu Indra satrā asuryaṁ devebhir dhāyi viśvam*) ;[172] x. 48, 3 (*mayi devāso avṛijann api kratum*) ; x. 113, 8 ; x. 120, 3, compare x. 56, 4 ; viii. 15, 8 (*tava Dyaur Indra pauṁsyam Pṛithivī vardhati śravaḥ*), and as placing him in the van (i. 55, 3, *viśvasmai ugraḥ karmaṇe purohitaḥ*) ; i. 131, 1 (*Indraṁ viśve sajoshaso devāso dadhire puraḥ*) ; vi. 17, 8 (*adha tvā viśve puraḥ Indra devāḥ ekaṁ tavasaṁ dadhire bharāya*) ; viii. 12, 22 (*Indraṁ Vṛittrāya hantave devāso dadhire puraḥ* | see also v. 25). Compare Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 3, 8 ; Taitt. S. ii. 2, 11, 6, and A.V. vii. 84, 2 : *apānudo janam amitrāyantam uruṁ devebhyo akṛiṇor u lokam*. He is impelled and fortified by the Maruts ; iii. 32, 4 (*yebhir Vṛittrasya ishito viveda amarmaṇo manyamānasya marma*) ; iii. 35, 9 (*yān ābhajo marutaḥ Indra some ye tvām avardhann abhavan gaṇas te*) ; iii. 47, 3 (*yān ābhajo maruto ye tvā 'nv ahan Vṛittram adadhus tubhyam ojaḥ* | see also v. 4) ; vi. 17, 11 ; viii. 7, 24 ; x. 73, 1, 2 ; x. 113, 3 (*viśve te atra marutaḥ saha tmanā avardhann ugra mahimānam indriyam*).[173]

[171] Indra on his side again is said to give divine power to the other gods (vi. 36, 1 : *yad deveshu dhārayathāḥ asuryam*).

[172] Sāyaṇa understands *devebhiḥ* of the worshippers : *stotraiḥ stūyamānā devatā balavatī bhavati*, "a deity when lauded by hymns becomes strong."

[173] Indra, however, in a dispute with the Maruts (to which I shall again advert in the section on those deities), claims to have slain Vṛittra by his own might, i. 165, 8 : *vadhīm vṛittram marutaḥ indriyeṇa svena bhāmena tavisho babhūvān ;* compare vii. 21, 6, where the same thing is said of him by his worshipper : *svena hi Vṛittraṁ śavasā jaghantha na śatrur antam vividad yudhā te ;* and x. 138, 6 : *etā tyā te śrutyāni kevalā yad ekaḥ ekam akṛiṇor ayajnam*. Compare viii. 79, 5 ; viii. 86, 9 ; viii. 87, 3. In v. 30, 5, all the gods are said to be afraid of him (*atas chid Indrād abhayanta devāḥ*). In another place, too (viii. 7, 31), the Maruts are asked "what

With Bṛihaspati as his ally he overthrew all the enemies of the gods who assailed him, viii. 85, 15 (*viśo adevīr abhi ācharantīr Bṛihaspatinā yujā Indraḥ sasāhe*).

Thus exhilarated and encouraged, ii. 15, 1 (*trikadrukeshu apibat

they were seeking when they deserted Indra, and who could then trust in their friendship" *kad ha nūnam kadhapriyo yad Indram ajahātana | ko vaḥ sakhitve ohate |* Prof. Müller, Trans. R.V. i. p. 68, takes *kadhapriyaḥ* as two words, and renders the verse thus: "What then now? where is there a friend, now that you have forsaken Indra? Who cares for your friendship?") Compare iv. 18, 11, quoted above (p. 78 f.), where Indra's mother complains that the gods were abandoning her son, and where he calls upon Vishṇu to display his valour. But we are elsewhere, viii. 85, 7, told, on the contrary, that all the other gods who had been Indra's allies, terrified by the blast of Vṛittra's breath, deserted Indra and fled, while the Maruts, it must be supposed, stood firm, as Indra is advised to make friends with them, and then he should conquer all hostile armies (*vṛittrasya tvā śvaśathād īshamāṇāḥ viśve devāḥ ajahur ye sakhāyaḥ | Marudbhir Indra sakhyaṁ te astu atha imāḥ viśvāḥ pṛitanāḥ jayāsi*). The commentator, however (perhaps because he found it necessary, for dogmatical reasons, to reconcile these conflicting statements) interprets viii. 7, 31 differently, and makes it mean, "When did you desert Indra? *i.e.* never," and quotes the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa iii. 20, which says that the Maruts did not abandon him. I shall cite this passage at greater length than Sāyaṇa gives it, as it forms a comment on the other text just adduced, viii. 85, 7: *Indro vai Vṛitraṁ hanishyan sarvāḥ devatāḥ abravīd anu mā upatishṭhadhvam upa mā āhvayadhvam" iti |* "*tathā*" *iti | taṁ hanishyantaḥ ādravan | so 'ved* "*māṁ vai hanishyantaḥ ādravanti | hanta imān bhīshayai*" *iti | tān abhi prāśvasīt | tasya śvasathād īshamāṇāḥ viśve devāḥ adravan | maruto ha enaṁ na ajahuḥ* "*prahara bhagavo jahi vīrayasva*" *ityeva enam etāṁ vāchaṁ vadantaḥ upātishṭhanta | tad etad ṛishiḥ paśyann abhyanūvācha | . . . . iti | so 'ved* "*ime vai kila me sachivāḥ | ime mā kāmayanta | hanta imān asminn ukthe ābhajai*" *iti |* "Indra, when about to slay Vṛittra, said to all the gods: 'Follow close after me and support me.' They said, 'We will.' They ran forward to slay Vṛittra. Vṛittra considered: 'They are running forward to kill me: come, let me frighten them.' He accordingly blew a blast upon them, when all the gods ran away precipitately from the blast of his breath. But the Maruts did not forsake Indra. They stood by him, crying, 'Smite, o god, slay, play the hero.' Seeing this, the ṛishi uttered the words of R.V. viii. 85, 7. Indra understood: 'These Maruts are my allies. They love me. Come, I shall give them a share in this uktha.'" In R.V. i. 32, 14, Indra himself is said to have become frightened as if at the approach of an avenger(?), after he had slain Ahi, and to have crossed ninety-nine rivers, and the aerial spaces, when flying like a terrified falcon (*aher yātāraṁ kam apaśyaḥ Indra hṛidi yat te jaghrusho bhīr agachhat | nava cha yad navatiṁ cha sravantīḥ śyeno na bhīto ataro rajāṁsi*). Compare Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 547. The Aśvins and Sarasvatī are also said to have assisted Indra (R.V. x. 131, 4, 5 = Vāj. Sanh. x. 33, 34). "You two, Aśvins, lords of splendour, drinking together the delightful draught (of soma), protected Indra in his achievments against the Asura Namuchi. 5. As parents a son, so ye two, Aśvins, by your wisdom and your energy, delivered thee, O Indra. When thou, O magnificent (Indra), didst drink the delightful draught (of soma), Sarasvatī waited upon thee with her powers." (3. *Yuvaṁ surāmam Aśvinā Namuchāv āsure sachā | vipipānā*

sutasya asya made Ahim Indro jaghāna); ii. 19, 2 (*asya mandāno madhvo vajrahastaḥ ahim Indro arṇovṛitaṁ vi vṛiśchat*); vi. 47, 1, 2; x. 112, 1 (*Indra piba pratikāmaṁ sutasya . . . . | harshasva hantave śūra śatrūn*),— Indra hurries off, escorted by troops of Maruts, and sometimes attended by his faithful comrade Vishṇu (i. 22, 19, *Indrasya yujyo sakhā*);

śubhaspatī Indraṁ karmasu āvatam | 5. putram iva pitarā Aśvinā ubhā Indra āvathuḥ kāvyair daṁsanābhiḥ | yat surāmaṁ vi apibaḥ śachībhiḥ sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhishṇak.) A story is told by the commentator on the Vāj. Sanh. x. 33, to explain these lines. Namuchi, it seems, was a friend of Indra; and taking advantage of his friend's confidence, he drank up Indra's strength along with a draught of wine and soma. Indra then told the Aśvins and Sarasvatī that Namuchi had drunk up his strength. The Aśvins and Sarasvatī, in consequence, gave Indra a thunderbolt in the form of foam, with which he smote off the head of Namuchi. The Aśvins then drank the soma, mixed with blood and wine, from the belly of Namuchi, and transferred it pure to Indra; and by transferring it they delivered Indra. The story is taken from the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa xii. 7, 3, 1 ff. (p. 934 Weber's ed.) and is the original version of those adduced by me elsewhere (Vol. IV. 222 and 420). As given in the Brāhmaṇa, it runs thus: "The Asura Namuchi carried off Indra's strength (*indriya*), the essence of food, and the draught of soma, together with wine. He (Indra) hastened to the Aśvins and Sarasvatī, and said, 'I have sworn to Namuchi, I will neither slay thee by day or by night; neither with club, nor with bow; neither with the palm of my hand (*pṛithena*), nor with fist; neither with dry, nor with moist; and he has carried off that (strength, etc.) of mine; will ye recover it for me?' They answered: Let us have a share in it, and we will recover it.' Indra replied: 'It shall be common to us all; recover it therefore.' Then the Aśvins and Sarasvatī anointed the thunderbolt with the foam of the waters, saying, 'It is neither dry nor moist." With that Indra struck off the head of Namuchi, when night was passing into dawn, and the sun had not yet risen, when (as he said) 'it was neither day nor night.' . . . . When his head had been cut off, the soma remained mixed with blood; and they loathed it. But having perceived this draught of the two somas, according to the text, 'King Soma, when poured out, is nectar,' they with this made the other mixed fluid palatable, and swallowed it" (*Indrasya indriyam annasya rasaṁ somasya bhakshaṁ surayā āsuro Namuchir aharat, so 'śvinau cha sarasvatīṁ cha upādhāvat "śepāno śmi Namuchaye na tvā divā na naktaṁ hanāni na daṇḍena na dhanvanā na pṛithena na mushṭinā na śushkeṇa na ārdreṇa atha me idam ahārshīt | idam me ājihīrshatha" iti | te 'bruvann "astu no 'trāpy atha āharāma" iti | "saha na etad atha āharata" ity abravīd iti | tāv aśvinau cha Sarasvatī cha apām phenaṁ vajram asinchan "na śushko na ārdraḥ" iti | tena Indro Namucher āsurasya vyushṭāyāṁ rātrau anudite āditye "na divā na naktam" iti śiraḥ udavāsayat | . . . tasya śīrshamś chhinne lohita-miśraḥ somo 'tishṭhat | tasmād abībhatsanta | te etad andhasor vipānam apaśyan "somo rājā 'mṛitaṁ sutaḥ" iti tena enam svadayitvā ātmann adadhata |* See also S'atap. Br. xii. 7, 1, 10, and xii. 8, 3, 1, quoted by the Commentator on Vaj. S. 19, 12, where it is said that "the gods instituted a remedial sacrifice; the Aśvins were the physicians, and so also was Sarasvatī with speech: they imparted strength to Indra" *devāḥ yajnam atanvata bheshajam bhishajā 'śvinā | vāchā sarasvatī bhishag Indrāya indriyāṇi dadhataḥ*). See also verses 15, 18, 34, 80–83, 88–90, 93, 95; and section 20, 56–69, 73–76, 90.

i. 85, 7[174] (*Vishṇur yad ha āvad vṛishaṇam madachyutam*; iv. 18, 11 (quoted above p. 78 f.); vi. 20, 2 (*ahiṁ yad vṛittram apo vavṛivāṁsaṁ hanṛ ṛijīshin Vishṇunā sachānaḥ*); viii. 89, 12 (*Sakhe Vishṇo vitarāṁ vikramasva Dyaur dehi lokaṁ vajrāya vishkabhe | hanāva vṛittram ityādi*).[175] vii. 99, 4, 5 (*Indrā-vishṇū dṛiṁhitāḥ S'ambarasya nava puro navatiṁ cha śnathishṭaṃ*), to encounter the hostile powers in the atmosphere who malevolently shut up the watery treasures in the clouds. These demons of drought, called by a variety of names, as Vṛittra,[176] Ahi,

[174] Benfey, however, refers this passage, i. 85, 7, not to Indra, but to the soma.

[175] Compare i. 156, 5; vi. 17, 11; viii. 12, 27; viii. 66, 10; x. 113, 2, in which passages (as well as in separate hymns, i. 155; vi. 69), Indra and Vishṇu are connected. The S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa has the following story about Indra and Vishṇu, v. 5, 5, 1 ff:—"Formerly Vṛittra had within him all the Ṛik, Yajush and Sāman verses. Indra was anxious to discharge a thunderbolt at him (2), and said to Vishṇu: 'I will shoot a thunderbolt at Vṛittra; follow after me.' 'So be it,' said Vishṇu, 'I will follow thee; smite him.' Indra then aimed a thunderbolt at Vṛittra, who was alarmed at it, and said (3), 'I have this (source of) strength; let me give it up to thee; but do not smite me.' So he gave him the Yajush verses. Indra then aimed a second thunderbolt at him (4), when he said, 'I have this (source of) strength; let me give it up to thee; but do not smite me.' So he gave the Ṛik verses. Indra then aimed a third thunderbolt at him (5), when he said, I have this (source of) strength; let me give it up to thee; but do not smite me.' So he gave him the Sāman verses. . . . . (7) Indra lifted up the thunderbolt; Vishṇu followed him." (*Vṛittre ha vai idam agre sarvam āsa yad ṛicho yad yajūṁshi yat sāmāni | tasmai Indro vajram prājihīrshat | 2. sa ha Vishṇum uvācha "Vṛittrāya vai vajram praharishyāmi | anu mā tishṭhasva" iti | "tathā" iti ha Vishṇur uvācha "anu tva sthāsye prahara" iti | tasmai Indro vajram udyayāma | sa udyatād vajrād Vṛittro bibhayāṅchakāra | 3. sa ha uvācha "asti vai idam vīryam | tad nu te prayachhāni | mā tu me prahārshīr" iti | tasmai yajūṁshi prāyachhat | tasmai dvitīyam udyayāma | 4. sa ha uvācha "asti vai idaṁ vīryaṁ tad nu te prayachhāni | mā tu me prahārshīr" iti | tasmai ṛichaḥ prāyachhat | tasmai tṛitīyam udyayāma | 5. [sa ha uvācha] "asti vai idaṁ vīryam | tad nu te prayachhāni | mā tu me prahārshīr" iti | tasmai sāmāni prāyachhat | 7. . . Indro hi vajram udayachhad Vishnur anvatishṭhata.*) There is a similar story in the Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 1, 1. Agni is in several places (i. 109, 5, 7, 8; iii. 12, 4, 6; x. 65, 2) associated with Indra as a thunderer, a destroyer of Vṛittra, and an overthrower of cities. Varuṇa, too, is in one place (iv. 41, 4) joined with Indra as a thunderer.

[176] Vṛittra's mother Dānu also was, along with her son, slain by Indra, and when slaughtered lay over him, like a cow over her calf (i. 32, 9, *nīchāvayāḥ abhavad Vṛittraputrā Indro asyāḥ ava vadhar jabhāra | uttarā sūr adharaḥ puttraḥ āsīd Dānuḥ śaye sahavatsā na dhenuḥ*). Seven Dānus are mentioned in R.V. x. 120, 6 (=Nirukta, xi. 21) *ā darshate śavasā sapta Dānūn* | "He cleaves by his force the seven Dānus." Roth, in his illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 150, remarks on this passage: "Seven is an indefinite number applied to the demons of the air and clouds, who appear under the manifold names of Namuchi, Kuyava, S'ushṇa, S'ambara, Varchin, etc., the Dānus or Dānavas, to whom in i. 32, 9, a mother called Dānu is assigned." The

S'ushṇa, Namuchi, Pipru, S'ambara, Uraṇa, etc., etc. (i. 121, 9, 10; ii. 14, 4 ff.; viii. 32, 2, 3), armed, on their side also, with every variety of celestial artillery (i. 32, 13, *na asmai vidyud na tanyatuḥ sishedha na yām miham akirad hrādunīṁ cha*),[177] attempt, but in vain, to resist the onset of the gods.[178] Heaven and earth quake with affright at the crash of Indra's thunder, i. 80, 11 (*ime chit tava manyave vepete bhiyasā mahī | yad Indra vajrinn ojasā Vṛittram marutvān avadhīḥ* | 14. *abhishṭane te adrivo yat sthāḥ jagāt cha rejate*); ii. 11, 9 (*arejetāṁ rodasī bhiyāne kanikradato vṛishṇo asya vajrāt* | 10. *aroravīd vṛishṇo asya vajraḥ*); vi. 17, 9 (*adha dyauś chit te apa sā nu vajrād dvitā 'namad bhiyasā svasya manyoḥ*), and even Tvashṭṛi himself, who forged the bolts, trembles at the manifestation of their wielder's anger, i. 80, 14 (*Tvashṭā chit tava manyave Indra vevijyate bhiyā*). The enemies of Indra are speedily pierced and shattered by the discharge of his iron shafts, i. 32, 5 (*ahan Vṛittraṁ vṛittrataraṁ vyaṁśam Indro vajreṇa mahatā vadhena | skandhāṁsīva kuliśena vivṛikṇā ahiḥ śayate upapṛik pṛithivyāḥ*), i. 57, 6; i. 61, 10; ii. 19, 3; x. 89, 7 (*jaghāna Vṛittraṁ svadhitir vaneva*), and even by their very sound, vi. 27, 4 (*etat tyat te indriyam acheti yenāvadhīr varaśīrshasya śeshaḥ | vajrasya yat te nihatasya śushmāt svanāt chid Indra paramo dadāra*); viii. 6, 13 (*yad asya manyur adhvanīd vi vṛittram parvaśo rujan | apaḥ samudram airayat*). The waters, released from their imprisonment, descend in torrents to the earth, fill all the rivers, and roll along to the ocean, i. 32, 2 (*vāśrāḥ iva dhenavaḥ syandamānāḥ anjaḥ samudram uva jagmur āpaḥ* | 12. *avāsṛijaḥ sarttave sapta sindhūn*); i. 57, 6; i. 61, 10; i. 103, 2 (*vajreṇa hatvā nir apaḥ sasarja*); ii. 11, 2; ii. 12, 12; ii. 14, 2; ii. 15, 3 (*vajreṇa khāni atṛiṇad nadīnām*); ii. 19, 3 (*Indro arṇo apām prairayad Ahihā 'chha samudram*); iii. 32, 6; iv. 17, 1; v. 32, 1 (*adardar utsam asṛijo vi khānī tvam arṇavān badbadhānān aramṇāḥ | mahāntam Indra parvataṁ vi yad vaḥ sṛijo vi dhārāḥ ava Dānavaṁ han*); vi. 30, 4; viii. 65, 3;

S'atap. Br. i. 6, 4, 18, says that Indra is the sun and Vṛittra the moon (*tad vai esha eva Indro yaḥ esha tapati | atha esha eva vṛittro yat chandramāḥ*).

[177] Sāyaṇa understands this line of the lightnings, etc., fashioned by Vṛittra's magical power to destroy Indra (*Indraṁ nisheddhuṁ Vṛittro yān vidyud-ādīn māyayā nirmitavān te sarve 'py enam nisheddhum aśaktāḥ*).

[178] Vṛittra is said, in ii. 30, 3 (according to Sāyaṇa's explanation of the line), to have rushed upon Indra, clothed in a cloud, but to have been overcome (*mihaṁ vasānaḥ upa hi īm adudrot*).

x. 133, 2. The gloom which had overspread the sky is dispersed, and the sun is restored to his position in the heavens (i. 32, 4; i. 51, 4, *Vṛittraṁ yad Indra śavasā avadhīr Ahiṁ ād it sūryaṁ divi ārohayo dṛiśe*);[179] i. 52, 8 (*āyachhathāḥ bāhvor vajram āyasam adhārayo divi ā sūryaṁ dṛiśe*); ii. 19, 3. Constant allusions to these elemental conflicts occur in nearly every part of the Rig-veda (i. 4, 8; i. 32, 1 ff.; i. 52, 2 ff.; i. 54, 4 ff.; i. 80, 1 ff.; i. 103, 2 ff.; ii. 11, 5 ff.; v. 32, 1 ff.; x. 89, 7; x. 113, 6), and the descriptions are sometimes embellished with a certain variety of imagery. The clouds are represented as mountains, or as cities or fortresses of the Asuras, ii. 14, 6 (*yaḥ śataṁ S'ambarasya puro bibheda aśmanā iva pūrvīḥ*); viii. 17, 14 (*bhettā purāṁ śaśvatīnām*); viii. 87, 6 (*tvaṁ hi śaśvatīnām Indra darttā purām asi*), which are variously characterized as the autumnal (*puraḥ śāradīḥ*, i. 131, 4; vi. 20, 10), the moving (*puraṁ charishṇvam*, viii. 1, 28), and the iron (*āyasīḥ*, ii. 20, 8) or stone-built (iv. 30, 20, *śatam aśmanmayīnām purām Indro vyāsyat | Divodāsāya dāśushe*)[180] cities of the Asuras (or atmospheric demons), which Indra overthrows (i. 51, 5; i. 63, 7; i. 103, 3; i. 130, 7; i. 174, 8; ii. 19, 6; ii. 20, 7; iii. 12, 6; iv. 26, 3; iv. 30, 13; viii. 82, 2; x. 89, 7). He casts down his enemies when he discovers them on the aerial mountains (i. 32, 2, *ahann Ahiṁ parvate śiśriyāṇam*); i. 130, 7 (*Atithigvāya S'ambaraṁ girer ugro avātirat*); ii. 12, 11 (*Yaḥ S'ambaram parvateshu kshiyantaṁ chatvāriṁśyāṁ śaradi anvavindat*); iv. 30, 14 (*uta dāsam kaulitaram bṛihataḥ parvatād adhi | avāhann Indraḥ S'ambaram*); vi. 26, 5; or hurls them back when they attempt to scale the heavens (ii. 12, 12 *yo Rauhiṇam asphurad vajra-bāhur dyām ārohantam*); viii. 14, 14 (*māyābhir utsisṛipsataḥ Indro dyām āruruksshataḥ | ava dasyūn adhūnuthāḥ*). One of them he crushes under his foot, 1, 51, 6 (*Arbudaṁ ni kramīḥ padā*), or pierces with ice, viii. 32, 26 (*himena avidhyad Arbudam*). He strikes off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters,[181]

[179] Sāyaṇa understands the last words to mean that Indra freed the sun which had been hidden by Vṛittra (*Vṛittreṇa āvṛitaṁ sūryaṁ tasmād vṛittrād amūmuchaḥ*). In i. 32, 4, and ii. 19, 3, Indra is said to have generated the sun; which may refer to an actual creation, and not to a mere bringing into view. In x. 89, 2, Indra seems to be identified with the sun (*sa sūryaḥ*), and to have destroyed the black darkness by his light (*kṛishṇā tamāṁ si tvishyā jaghāna*).

[180] Possibly these may be ordinary terrestrial cities; and the same may be the case in regard to the cities alluded to in some of the texts next to be cited.

[181] See above, in a preceding note.

viii. 14, 13 (*apām phenena namucheḥ śiraḥ Indra udavartayaḥ*). One of his opponents, Uraṇa, is described as a monster, with ninety-nine arms, ii. 14, 4 (*yaḥ Uraṇaṁ jaghāna nava chakhvāṁsaṁ navatiṁ cha bāhūn*); and another as having three heads and six eyes, x. 99, 6 (*sa id dāsam tuviravam patir dan shaḷakshaṁ triśīrshāṇam damanyat*).

The growth of much of the imagery thus described is perfectly natural, and easily intelligible, particularly to persons who have lived in India, and witnessed the phenomena of the seasons in that country. At the close of the long hot weather, when every one is longing for rain to moisten the earth and cool the atmosphere, it is often extremely tantalizing to see the clouds collecting and floating across the sky day after day without discharging their contents.[182] And in the early ages when the Vedic hymns were composed, it was an idea quite in consonance with the other general conceptions which their authors entertained, to imagine that some malignant influence was at work in the atmosphere to prevent the fall of the showers, of which their parched fields stood so much in need. It was but a step further to personify both this hostile power and the beneficent agency by which it was at length overcome. Indra is thus at once a terrible warrior and a gracious friend, a god whose shafts deal destruction to his enemies, while they bring deliverance and prosperity to his worshippers. The phenomena of thunder and lightning almost inevitably suggest the idea of a conflict between opposing forces; even we ourselves, in our more prosaic age, often speak of the war or strife of the elements. The other appearances of the sky, too, would afford abundant materials for poetical imagery. The worshipper would at one time transform the fantastic shapes of the clouds into the chariots[183] and horses of his god, and at another time would seem to perceive in their piled-up masses the cities and castles which he was advancing to overthrow.

(5) *Indra's greatness.*

In numerous places of the Rig-veda, the highest divine functions and attributes are ascribed to Indra. A collection of the most striking

[182] In viii. 6, 1, Indra is compared to, and therefore distinguished from, Parjanya, the rain-god (*mahān Indro yaḥ ojasā Parjanyo vṛishṭimān iva | stomair Vatsasya vavṛidhe*). In viii. 82, 1, 4, he is identified with Sūrya, the Sun.

[183] Compare Psalm 104, 3; Isaiah 19, 1; Daniel 7, 13; Matth. 24, 30; 26, 64; Habakkuk 3, 8; Bréal, Hercule et Cacus, 171 f.

of these passages will be found in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 85–94. I subjoin some additional texts:

i. 61, 14. *Asya id u bhiyā girayaś cha dṛilhāḥ dyāvā cha bhūmā janushas tujete* | "Through fear of him when he is born, the stable mountains, and heaven and earth, are agitated."

i. 100, 1. : . . . *maho divaḥ pṛithivyāś cha samrāṭ* | . . . . 15. *Na yasya devāḥ devatā na marttāḥ āpaś chana śavaso antam āpuḥ* | "The monarch of the great heaven and of the earth . . . . 15. of whose might neither gods by their divine insight, nor men, nor waters have attained the limit."[184]

i. 101, 5. *Yo viśvasya jagataḥ prāṇatas patiḥ* | "He (Indra) who is the lord of the whole moving and breathing (world)," etc.

i. 165, 9. *Anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu na tvāvān asti devatā vidānaḥ* | *na jāyamāno naśate na jāto yāni karishyā kṛiṇuhi pravṛiḍḍha* | "There is nothing unconquered by thee: no one like thee is known among the gods. No one to be born, or yet born, can rival thee. Do, great god, whatever thou willest do." (Compare iv. 18, 4.)

i. 173, 6. *Pra yad itthā mahinā nṛibhyo asti arāṁ rodasī kakshye na asmai* | "Since Indra is so superior to men, heaven and earth do not suffice for his girdle," etc.

ii. 17, 5. *Sa prāchīnān parvatan dṛiṁhad ojasā adharāchīnam akarod apām apaḥ* | *adhārayat pṛithivīṁ viśvadhāyasam astabhnād māyayā dyām avasrasaḥ* | "He has settled the ancient mountains by his might; he has directed downwards the action of the waters. He has supported the earth, the universal nurse. By his skill he has propped up the sky from falling."

iii. 30, 5 (quoted above, p. 30). "When thou, O Maghavan, didst grasp even these two boundless worlds, they were but a handful to thee."[185]

iii. 34, 2. *Indra kshitīnām asi mānushīṇāṁ viśām daivīnām asi pūrvayāvā* | "Indra, thou art the leader of the human races, and of the divine people. 7. *Yudhendro mahnā varivaś chakāra devebhyaḥ* | "In battle and by his power he has acquired wealth for the gods."

iii. 46, 2. *Eko viśvasya bhuvanasya rājā* | 3. *Pra mātrābhiḥ ririche rochamānaḥ pra devebhir viśvato apratītaḥ* | *pra majmanā divaḥ Indraḥ*

[184] See Benfey's Translation in Orient and Occident ii. 518.

[185] Compare Isaiah xl, 12.

pṛithivyāḥ pra uror maho antarikshād ṛijīshī | "Thou, who alone art the king of the whole world, etc. . . . . 3. Indra luminous, has surpassed all measures; in every respect unequalled, he has surpassed the gods; the impetuous deity has surpassed in greatness the heaven and the earth, and the broad and vast atmosphere."

iv. 17, 2. *Tava tvisho janiman rejata Dyauḥ rejad Bhūmir bhiyasā svasya manyoḥ* | "At the birth of thee, the glorious one, the heaven trembled, and the earth, through fear of thy wrath," etc. (Compare iv. 22, 3, 4).

iv. 18, 4. *Nahi nu asya pratimānam asti antar jāteshu uta ye janitvāḥ* | "He has no parallel among those born or who are to be born."

v. 30, 5. *Paro yat tvam paramaḥ ājanishṭhāḥ parāvati śrutyaṁ nāma bibhrat* | *ataś chid Indrād abhayanta devāḥ* | "When thou wert born, the highest and supreme, bearing a name renowned afar, the gods were then afraid of Indra," etc.

v. 42, 6. *Marutvato apratītasya jishṇor ajūryataḥ pra bravāma kṛitāni* | *na te pūrve maghavan na aparāso na vīryaṁ nūtanaḥ kaś chana āpa* | "Let us declare the deeds of the unrivalled, victorious, undecaying god, who is attended by the Maruts. Neither have former nor later (beings), nor has any recent (being) attained to thy valour." [186]

vi. 24, 8. *Na vīḷave namate na sthirāya na śardhate dasyujūtāya stavān* | *ajrāḥ Indrasya girayaś chid ṛishvāḥ gambhīre chid bhavati gādham asmai* | "When lauded, he does not bow before the strong, nor the firm, nor the presumptuous, impelled by the Dasyu. Mountains, though lofty, are plains to Indra, and in that which is deep he finds a bottom." Compare viii. 82, 10.

vi. 30, 1, quoted above, p. 30 f. "Indra has surpassed the heaven and the earth. The two worlds are but equal to the half of him." (Comp. x. 119, 7.)

vi. 30, 5. *Rājā 'bhavo jagataś charshaṇīnāṁ sākaṁ sūryaṁ janayan dyām ushāsam* | "Thou hast become the king of things moving, and of men, generating at once the Sun, the Heaven, the Dawn." (Compare iii. 49, 4.)

viii. 6, 15. *Na dyāvaḥ Indram ojasā na antarikshāṇi vajriṇam* | *na*

[186] In viii. 70 3, it is said that Indra, like a terrific bull, cannot be stopped either by gods or men when he wishes to be generous (*na tvā śūra devāḥ na marttāso ditsantam* | *bhīmaṁ na gāṁ vārayante*).

vi vyachanta bhūmayaḥ | "Neither heavens, nor atmospheres, nor earths, have equalled Indra the thunderer in might."

viii. 12, 30. *Yadā sūryam amuñ divi śukraṁ jyotir adhārayaḥ* | *ād it te viśvā bhuvanāni yemire* | "When thou (Indra) didst place yonder sun a brilliant light in the sky, then all worlds submitted to thee." (Compare vi. 30, 2.)

viii. 14, 9. *Indreṇa rochanā divo dṛiḷhāni dṛiṁhitāni cha* | *sthirāṇi na parāṇude* | "By Indra the lights of the sky have been fixed and established. Those which are established he has not removed."

viii. 15, 2. *Yasya dvibarhaso bṛihat saho dadhāra rodasī* | *girīn ajrān apaḥ svar vṛishatvanā* | "Of which mighty god the great vigour supported the two worlds, the mountains, plains, waters, and heavens."

viii. 51. 7. *Viśve te Indra vīryaṁ devāḥ anu kratuṁ daduḥ* | "All the gods, Indra, yield to thee in vigour and strength."

viii. 78, 2. *Devās te Indra sakhyāya yemire* | "The gods, o Indra, sought after thy friendship." (Compare viii. 87, 3.)

viii. 82, 5. *Yad vā pravṛiddha satpate "na marai" iti manyase* | *uto tat satyam it tava* | "That which thou, o powerful lord of the good, expectest, 'I shall not die,' proves true." (Compare x. 86, 11, quoted above, p. 82.)

viii. 85, 4. *Manye tvā yayniyaṁ yajniyānām manye tvā chyavanam achyutānām* | *manye tvā satvanām Indra ketum manye tvā vṛishabhaṁ charshaṇīnām* | . . . . 6. *Tam u shṭavāma yaḥ imā jājāna viśvā jātāni avarāṇi asmāt* | . . . . 9. *Anayudhāso asurāḥ adevāś chakreṇa tān apa vapa ṛijīshin* | "I regard thee, Indra, as the most adorable of the adorable, the caster down of the unshaken,[187] the most distinguished of living things, the chief of beings. . . . . 6. Let us praise this Indra who produced these (worlds): all beings are inferior (or subsequent) to him. . . . . 9. The Asuras are without weapons and are no gods: sweep them away with thy wheel." (Compare vi. 18, 10), where he is said to consume the Rakshases with his bolt as fire a dry forest: *Agnir na śushkaṁ vanam Indra hetī raksho ni dhakshi aśanir na bhīmā*).

viii. 86, 14. *Tvad viśvāni bhuvanāni vajrin dyāvā rejete pṛithivī cha bhīshā* | "All worlds, thunderer, both heaven and earth, tremble through fear of thee."

x. 44, 8. *Girīn ajrān rejamānān adhārayad Dyauḥ krandad anta-*

[187] The Maruts are said to have the same power (i. 64, 3).

rikshāṇi kopayat | "He sustained the quaking mountains and plains: the sky resounded; he shook the atmosphere," etc. (Compare ii. 12, 2.)

x. 54, 1. *Tāṁ su te kīrttim maghavan mahitvā yat tvā bhīte rodasī ahvayetām* | *prāvo devān* . . . . 2. *Yad acharas tanvā vavṛidhāno balāni Indra prabruvāṇo janeshu* | *māyā it sā te yāni yuddhāni āhur na adya śatruṁ na purā vivitse* | 3. *Kaḥ u nu te mahimanaḥ sámasya asmat pūrve ṛishayo antam āpuḥ* | *yad mātaraṁ cha pitaraṁ cha sākam ajanayathās tanvāḥ svāyāḥ* | 6. *Yo adadhāj jyotishi jyotir antar yo asṛijad madhunā sam madhūni* | "(I celebrate), Maghavan, thy glory in that through thy greatness the terrified worlds invoked thee. Thou didst deliver the gods, etc. . . . . 2. When thou didst march on increasing in thy magnitude, proclaiming thy strength amongst men, thy combats which they describe were (the proofs of) thy power; neither now nor before dost thou know of any enemy. 3. Which of all the seers before us have found out the end of all thy greatness? seeing that thou didst produce at once the father and the mother (heaven and earth)[188] from thine own body. 6. He placed light in light, and imparted to sweet things their sweetness."

x. 89, 4. *Yo akṣheṇeva chakriyā śachībhir vishvak tastambha pṛithivīm uta dyām* | 10. *Indro divaḥ Indraḥ īśe pṛithivyāḥ Indro apām Indraḥ it parvatānām* | "(Indra) who by his powers holds asunder Heaven and Earth, as the two wheels of a chariot are kept apart by the axle. Indra rules over the sky, Indra rules over the earth, Indra rules over the waters, and Indra rules over the mountains," etc.

x. 102, 12. *Tvaṁ víśvasya jagataś chakshur Indrāsi chakshushaḥ* | "Thou, Indra, art the eye of all moving things that see."

x. 138, 6. *Māsāṁ vidhānam adadhāḥ adhi dyavi tvayā vibhinnam bharati pradhim pitā* | "Thou (Indra) hast ordained the (course of the) months in the heaven: the father (the sky) has a circumference divided by thee."

In some places (iv. 19, 2; iv. 21, 10) Indra is called *samrāṭ*, or universal monarch, in other places (iii. 46, 1; iii. 49, 2; vii. 82, 2; viii. 12, 14) *svarāṭ*, a self-dependent sovereign. In viii. 6, 41, he is called "an ancient rishi, ruling alone by his might" (*ṛishir hi pūrvajāḥ asi ekaḥ īśānaḥ ojasā*). In i. 174, 1; viii. 79, 6, he is designated as *asura*, "the divine."

[188] See above p. 30.

The preceding passages afford a fair specimen of the language in which Indra is most commonly celebrated in the hymns. It will be observed that the attributes which are ascribed to him are chiefly those of physical superiority, and of dominion over the external world. In fact he is not generally represented as possessing the spiritual elevation and moral grandeur with which Varuṇa is so often invested.

(6) *Indra's relations with his worshippers.*

There are, however, many passages in which Indra's close relations with his worshippers are described, and a few in which an ethical character is attributed to him. Faith in him is confessed, or enjoined in the following texts:

i. 55, 5. *Adha chana śrad dadhati tvishīmate Indrāya vajraṁ nighanighnate vadham* | "Men have faith in the fiery Indra when he hurls again and again his destroying thunderbolt."

i. 102, 2. *Asme sūryā-chandramasā abhichakshe śraddhe kam Indra charato vitarturam* | "Sun and moon move alternately, o Indra, that we may behold, and have faith."

i. 103, 5. *Tad asya idam paśyata bhūri pushṭam śrad Indrasya dhattana vīryāya* | "Behold this his great abundance, and have faith in the prowess of Indra."

i. 104, 6. *Mā antarām bhujam ā ririsho naḥ śraddhitaṁ te mahate indriyāya* | 7. *Adha manye śrat te asmai adhāyi vṛishā chodasva mahate dhanāya* | "6. Do not injure our future production: we have put faith in thy great power. 7. I surely believe that faith has been reposed in thee: vigorous god, advance us to great wealth."

i. 108, 6. *Yad abravam prathamaṁ vāṁ vṛiṇāno ayaṁ somo asurair no vihavyaḥ* | *tāṁ satyām śraddhām abhi ā hi yātam atha somasya pībataṁ sutasya* | "Since I said at first, when supplicating you twain (Indra and Agni) 'this soma is to be offered by us for[189] the divine beings;' come now, in consideration of this true faith, and drink the poured-out soma."

In vi. 28, 5, the poet says: *Imāḥ yāḥ gāvaḥ sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ ichhāmi id hṛidā manasā chid Indram* | "These cows, o men, are Indra: I desire Indra with my heart and soul."

In ix. 113, 2, truth, faith, and austere-fervour are enjoined on the

[189] See Benfey's Translation and note, Orient und Occident, iii. 142.

worshipper: *ṛitavākena satyena śraddhayā tapasā sutaḥ Indrāya Indo parisrava* | "Poured out with holy words, with truth, with faith, with austere-fervour, o Soma, flow for Indra."

x. 160, 3. *Yaḥ uśata manasā somam asmai sarvahṛidā devakāmaḥ sunoti* | *na gāḥ Indras tasya parādadāti ityādi* | "Indra does not abandon the cattle of the man who loves the gods, and with a longing soul and with all his heart pours out libations of soma-juice."

And the reality of his existence and power is asserted in opposition to faithless or sceptical doubts in the following:

ii. 12, 5. *Yaṁ sma pṛichanti kuha seti ghoram uta īm āhur na esho asti iti enam* | *so aryaḥ pushṭīr vijaḥ iva*[190] *āmināti śrad asmai dhatta sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ* | "That dreadful being, of whom they ask 'where is he,' and of whom they say 'he is not' [or, 'this is not he'], he carries away the wealth of the foe, as a gamester the stakes; put faith in him, he, o men, is Indra."

vi. 18, 3. *Asti svid nu vīryaṁ tat te Indra na svid asti tad ṛituthā vi vochaḥ* | 4. *Sad id hi te tuvijātasya manye sahaḥ sahishṭha* | "3. Does that prowess belong to thee, Indra, or does it not? tell us truly. 4. Thy strength, o thou strongest of beings, who art great by nature, is really existing."

viii. 89, 3. *Pra su stomam bharata vājayantaḥ Indrāya satyaṁ yadi satyam asti* | *"na Indro asti" iti nemaḥ u tvaḥ āha kaḥ īṁ dadarśa kam abhi stavāma* | 4. *ayam asmi jaritaḥ paśya meha viśvā jātāni abhi asmi mahnā* | "3. Present to Indra a hymn soliciting food, a true hymn, if he truly exists. 'Indra does not exist,' says some one; 'who has seen him? whom shall we praise?' 4. 'I am here, o worshipper' (exclaims Indra); 'behold me here. I surpass all creatures in greatness.'"

Indra is the friend, and even the brother, of his present worshippers, as he was the friend of their forefathers, ii. 18, 3; ii. 20, 3; iii. 53, 5 (*ā cha yāhi Indra bhrātaḥ*, "come, brother Indra"); iv. 17, 18; iv. 23, 6; vi. 18, (*pratnaṁ sakhyam*, "ancient friendship"); vi. 21, 5 (*idā hi te vevishataḥ purājāḥ pratnāsaḥ āsuḥ purukṛit sakhāyaḥ*, "for now men resort to thee continually, and the ancients born of old were thy friends")[191]; 8 (*tvaṁ hi āpiḥ pradivi pitṛīṇāṁ śaśvad babhūtha* |

[190] The words *vijaḥ iva* are explained by Sāyaṇa as = *udvejakaḥ eva san*, "being a vexer."

[191] See the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 221. The passage is differently rendered by Benfey, Gloss. to S. V. p. 76, col. 1.

"For thou wast always a friend of our fathers"); vi. 45, 1, 7; vii. 21, 9; viii. 4, 7; viii. 45, 1 ff., 16, 18; viii. 50, 11; viii. 57, 11 (*Yasya te svādu sakhyaṁ svādvī praṇītiḥ* | "Thou whose friendship is sweet and sweet thy guidance"); viii. 81, 33; viii. 82, 3; viii. 86, 7; viii. 89, 2; x. 22, 1 f.; x. 23, 7 (*mā kir naḥ enā sakhyā vi yaushus tava cha Indra Vimadasya cha ṛisheḥ* | "Let not these friendly relations of ours, of thee, o Indra, and the rishi Vimada, be dissolved"); x. 42, 11 (*Indraḥ purastād uta madhyato naḥ sakhā sakhibhyo varivaḥ kṛinotu* | "May Indra, a friend, grant riches to us his friends before and in the middle"). He chooses for his intimate the man who presents offerings, but desires no friendship with him who offers no libations (x. 42, 4: *Atra yujaṁ kṛiṇute yo havishmān na asunvatā sakhyaṁ vashṭi śūraḥ*). He is reminded that he has friends while his adorers are friendless (viii. 21, 4: *Vayaṁ hi tvā bandhumantam abandhavo viprāsaḥ Indra yemima*). He is not only a friend, but a father, and the most fatherly of fathers (iv. 17, 17: *Sakhā pitā pitṛitamaḥ pitṛīṇām*). As such he is invoked by men (x. 48, 1: *Māṁ havante pitaraṁ na jantavaḥ* | Compare 1, 104, 9, and vii. 32, 3, 26). He is both father and mother (viii. 87, 11: *Tvaṁ hi naḥ pitā vaso tvam mātā śatakrato babhūvitha* | compare viii. 1, 6). In one place (viii. 81, 32) the adoring poet exclaims: "Thou art ours and we are thine" (*tvam asmākaṁ tava smasi*). He is the helper of the poor (viii. 69, 3: *radhra-chodanam*); the only helper to whom his worshipper has recourse (ibid. 1: *na hi anyam balā 'karam marḍitāram*). He alone among the gods has a love for mortals (vii. 23, 5: *eko devatrā dayase hi martyān*), and is their helper (i. 84, 19: *na tvad anyo maghavann asti marḍitā Indra bravīmi te vachaḥ* | viii. 55, 13: *na hi tvad anyaḥ puruhūta kaśchana maghavann asti marḍitā*); all men share in his benefits (viii. 54, 7: *yat chid hi śaśvatāṁ asi Indra sādhāraṇas tvam*). He is the deliverer and the advocate (or comforter) of his servants (viii. 85, 20: *sa prāvitā maghavā no 'dhivaktā*), and their strength (vii. 31, 5: *tve api kratur mama*). He is a wall of defence (viii. 69, 7: *Indra dṛihyasva pūr asi*). His friend is never slain or conquered (x. 152, 1: *na yasya hanyate sakhā na jīyate kadā chana*).[192]

[192] The same is said of Mitra, iii. 59, 2, and of the Maruts, v. 54, 7. Compare vii. 20, 6; vii. 32, 14; viii. 16, 5; viii. 52, 11. In viii. 69, 4, he is prayed to guard his worshipper's chariot, and to bring it forward from the rear into the van (*Indra*

His powerful arms are resorted to for protection (vi. 47, 8 : *ṛishvā te Indra sthavirasya bāhū upa steyāma śaraṇā bṛihantā*). He is invoked as a mighty protector and deliverer easy to be entreated (ibid. 11 : *trātāram Indram avitāram Indraṁ have have suhavaṁ śūram Indram*). The worshippers assume that Indra, though far off, is not afflicted with deafness, but hears distinctly their invocations (viii. 45, 17 : *uta tvā abadhiraṁ vayaṁ śrutkarṇaṁ santam ūtaye | dūrād iva havāmahe*). His right hand is grasped by suppliants for riches (x. 47, 1 : *Jagṛibhma te dakshiṇam Indra hastaṁ vasūyavo vasupate vasūnām*). The loving praises of his worshippers, uttered from the soul, proceed to him as messengers, and touch his heart (x. 47, 7 : *vanīvāno mama dūtāsaḥ Indraṁ stomāś charanti sumatīr iyānāḥ | hṛidispṛiśo manasā vachyamānāḥ*). The imploring poet with his hymn seizes the skirts of the god's robe, as a son his father's (iii. 53, 2 : *pitur na putraḥ sicham ārabhe te Indra svādishṭhayā girā śachīvaḥ*). He is clasped by the ardent hymns of his votaries as a husband is embraced by his loving wives (i. 62, 11 : *patiṁ na patnīr uśatīr uśantam spṛiśanti tvā śavasāvan manīshāḥ* | i. 186, 7 : *tam īṁ giro janayo na patnīḥ surabhishṭamaṁ narāṁ ṇasanta* | x. 43, 1 : *achha me Indram matayaḥ svarvidaḥ sadhrīchīr viśvāḥ uśatīr anūshata | pari shvajante janayo yathā patim maryaṁ śundhyum maghavānam ūtaye* | Comp. ii. 16, 9).[193] The hymns run to him and lick him, as cows their calves (x. 119, 4 : *upa mā matir asthita vāśrā putram iva priyam* | i. 186, 7 : *uta naḥ īm matayo aśvayogāḥ śiśuṁ na gāvas taruṇaṁ rihanti*). He is entreated not to be lazy like a priest (viii. 81, 30 : *mo shu brahmeva tandrayur bhava vājānām pate*); and not to allow other worshippers to arrest his horses when conveying him to the abode of the suppliants who would satisfy him with soma-libations, but to overleap the bonds by which all other candidates for his favour seek to confine him as fowlers to snare a bird, and to pass quickly by them as he would over a barren desert (ii. 18, 3 : *Mo su tvām attra bahavo hi viprāḥ ni rīraman yajamānāso anye* | iii. 25, 5 : *mā te harī vṛishaṇā vītapṛishṭhā ni ṛīraman yajamānāso anye |*

pra no ratham ava pas'chāt chit santam adrivaḥ | purastād enam me kṛidhi | compare verses 5 and 6). See ii. 27, 12.

[193] In vii. 104, 6, the worshipper prays that his hymn may cling around Indra and Soma as a girth clasps a horse (*pari vām bhūtu viśvataḥ iyam matiḥ kakshyā 'śveva vājinā*).

ati āyāhi śaśvato vayaṁ te araṁ sutebhiḥ kṛiṇavāma somaiḥ | iii. 45, 1: *ā mandrair Indra haribhir yāhi mayūraromabhiḥ* | *mā tvā kechin ni yaman viṁ na pāśinaḥ ati dhanva iva tān ihi* | x. 160, 1: *tīvrasya abhivayasaḥ asya pāhi sarvarathā vi harī iha muncha* | *Indra mā tvā yajamānāsaḥ anye ni rīraman ṭubhyam ime sutāsaḥ*). He is the king of things moving, of men, and of all terrestrial things; and out of this abundance he bestows wealth on the man who brings oblations to him (vii. 27, 3: *Indro rājā jagataś charshaṇīnām adhi kshami vishurūpam yad asti* | *tato dadāti dāśushe vasūni chodad rādhaḥ upastutaś chid arvāk*). Both his hands are full of riches (vii. 37, 3: *ubhā te pūrṇā vasunā gabhastī*). He is a magazine replenished with wealth, whom the worshipper urges to liberality (x. 42, 2: *kośaṁ na pūrṇaṁ vasunā niṛishṭam ā chyāvaya maghadeyāya śūram*). Manifold aids shoot out from him as branches from a tree (vi. 24, 3: *vṛikshasya nu te puruhūta vayāḥ vi ūtayo ruruhur Indra pūrvīḥ*). He is asked to shower satisfying wealth on his adorers, as a man with a hook shakes down ripe fruit from a tree (iii. 45, 4: *vṛiksham pakvam phalam ankī iva dhūnuhi Indra sampāraṇaṁ vasu*). Compare ix. 97, 53. Neither gods nor men can arrest him in his course when he is bent on liberality, as a terrific bull cannot be stopped, viii. 70, 3 (*na hi tvā śūra devāḥ na martāso ditsantam* | *bhīmaṁ na gāṁ vārayante*). Compare viii. 33, 8, and iv. 16, 14. His friendship is indestructible: he is prayed to be a cow to the man who desires one, and a horse to the man seeking a horse (vi. 45, 26: *dūṇāśaṁ sakhyaṁ tava gaur asi vīra gavyate* | *aśvo aśvāyate bhava*). He gives wives to those who had none (v. 31, 2: *amenāṁś chij janivataś chakartha* | iv. 17, 16: *janīyanto janidām akshitotim ā chyāvayāmaḥ*). He richly rewards his faithful servants and adorers (ii. 12, 6: *yo radhrasya choditā yaḥ kṛiśasya yo brahmaṇo nādhamānasya kīreḥ* | 14: *yaḥ sunvantam avati yaḥ pachantaṁ yaḥ śaṁsantaṁ yaḥ śaśamānam ūtī* | ii. 19, 4: *so apratīni manave purūṇi Indro dāśad dāśushe* | ii. 22, 3: *dātā rādhaḥ stuvate kāmyaṁ vasu*). The days dawn prosperously on the man who says "come, let us pour out libations to Indra" (v. 37, 1: *tasmai amṛidhrāḥ ushaso vi uchhān yaḥ "Indrāya sunavāma" ity āha*). The king in whose house the god drinks soma mixed with milk suffers no calamity, marches at the head of his hosts, slays his enemy, and lives tranquilly at home, in the enjoyment of happiness (ibid. 4: *na sa rājā vyathate yasminn Indras tivraṁ*

somam pibati gosakhāyam | ā satvanair ajati hanti vṛittraṁ ksheti kshitīḥ subhago nāma pushyan | Compare the next verse). His friend is handsome, possesses horses and cows, rides in a chariot, and enjoys always a life of opulence, and goes radiant into the assembly (viii. 4, 9: *aśvī rathī surūpaḥ id gomān id Indra te sakhā | śvātrabhājā*[194] *vayasā sachate sadā chandro yāti sabhām upa*). Indra is gladdened by the praises of the pious man, whether learned or unlearned (viii. 50, 9: *avipro vā yad avidhad vipro vā Indra te vachaḥ | sa pra mandat tvāyā.* Compare viii. 81, 12). He is prayed to deliver to-day, to-morrow, next day, and every day, and both by day and night (viii. 50, 17: *adya adya śvaḥ śvaḥ Indra trāsva pare cha naḥ | viśvā cha no jaritṛīn satpate ahā divā naktaṁ cha rakshishaḥ |* Compare viii. 53, 6). The god is, however, sometimes naïvely importuned to be more prompt in his liberality. "Gracious are thy hands, o Indra (the poet cries in iv. 21, 9), beneficent thy fingers, bestowers of wealth on thy worshipper; why, then, dost thou sit still? Why dost thou not gladden us? Why dost thou not delight in giving?" *bhadrā te hastā sukṛitota pāṇī prayantārā stuvate rādhaḥ Indra | kā te nishattiḥ kim u no mamatsi kim na ud ud u harshase dātave u*). Again in x. 42, 3, he is asked: "Why do they call thee generous, o opulent god? Sharpen me, for I hear thee to be a sharpener; let my hymn be productive, o mighty god; bring to us good fortune and riches" (*kim anga tvā maghavan bhojam āhuḥ śiśīhi mā siśayaṁ tvā śṛiṇomi | apnasvatī mama dhīr astu śakra vasuvidam bhagam Indra ābhara naḥ*). The god is even told that the poet, if in his place, and possessed of the ample resources which he alone commands, would shew himself more bountiful, and would not abandon his worshipper to poverty, but would daily lavish on him cows and other property (vii. 32, 18: *yad Indra yāvatas tvam etāvad aham īśīya | stotāram id didhisheya radāvaso na pāpatvāya rāsīya |* 19. *S'iksheyam in mahayate dive dive rāyaḥ ā kuhachidvide |*[195] viii. 14, 1. *Yad Indra aham yathā*

[194] On the sense assigned by the Indian writers to *śvātra* see my art. on the interpretation of the Veda, in Journ. R.A.S. for 1866, p. 378.

[195] These verses, with the entire hymn in which they occur, are translated by Prof. Max Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 543 ff. The word *kuhachidvide* is there rendered "to whosoever it be," and it is there mentioned in a note that "according to the commentator *kuhachidvid* means 'wherever he be.'" Prof. Müller adds: it may perhaps mean the ignorant. Prof. Roth follows Sāyaṇa in his explanation. A similar appeal is made to Agni in viii. 19, 25: *yad Agne martyas tvaṁ syām aham*

tvam īśīya vasvaḥ ekaḥ it | stotā me goshakhā syāt | śiksheyam asmai ditseyaṁ śachīpate manīshiṇe | yad ahaṁ gopatiḥ syām).

Indra supplies the place of armour, and is a champion who fights in the van, vii. 31, 6 (*tvaṁ varma sapratha̱ḥ puroyodhaś cha vṛittrahan | tvayā pratibruve yujā*). He is supplicated for all sorts of temporal blessings, as wealth in cows, horses, chariots, health, understanding, sweetness of voice (*svādmānaṁ vāshaḥ*), prosperous days, long life extending to a hundred years (ii. 21, 6; iii. 36, 10; vii. 27, 5; x. 47, 1 ff.). In iv. 32, 17 ff. the worshipper states his wishes more in detail; asks Indra to give him a thousand yoked horses, a thousand jars of soma, hundreds of thousands of cows; acknowledges that he had received ten golden jars, and urges the god not to be sparing, but to bestow abundantly in conformity with his character for liberality (*sahasraṁ vyatīnāṁ yuktānām Indram īmahe | śataṁ somasya khāryaḥ |* 18. *Sahasrā te śatā vayaṁ gavām ā chyāvayāmasi | asmatrā rādhaḥ etu te |* 19. *Daśa te kalaśānāṁ hiraṇyānām adhīmahi | bhūridāḥ asi Vṛittrahan |* 20. *Bhūridāḥ bhūri dehi no mā dabhram bhūri ā bhara | bhūri gha id Indra ditsasi |* 21. *Bhūridāḥ hi asi śrutaḥ purutrā śūra Vṛittrahan | ā no bhajasva rādhasi*). Among other boons, Indra is asked to bestow victory in war, which depends upon his will, and for which he is invoked by both the hostile armies (ii. 12, 8: *yaṁ krandasī saṁyatī vihvayete pare avare ubhayāḥ amitrāḥ |* 9, *yasmād na ṛite vijayante janāsaḥ yaṁ yudhyamānāḥ avase havante*). In x. 103, 8 ff. (= S.V. ii. 1206 ff., and Vaj. S. xvii. 40 ff.) he, in company with other gods,

mitramaho amartya | sahasaḥ sūnav āhuta | na tvā rāsīya abhiśastaye vaso na papātvāya santya | na me stotā amatīvā na durhitaḥ syād Agne na pāpayā | "Wert thou, Agni, a mortal, and were I an immortal, o invoked son of might, I would not abandon thee to malediction or misery;—my worshipper should not be poor nor distressed nor wretched." And again in viii. 44, 23, the same god is thus addressed: *Yad Agne syām ahaṁ tvam tvaṁ vā gha syāḥ aham | syus te satyāḥ ihāśishaḥ |* "Were I thou, Agni, and wert thou I, thy aspirations should be fulfilled." (In the former passage viii. 19, 25, a word, *mitramahas*, occurs which shews the uncertainty of Sāyaṇa's interpretations. He there explains it *anukūla-dīptiman*, "he whose light is favourable." In i. 44, 12, he renders it *mitrāṇām pūjaka*; in i. 58, 8, *anukūla-dīptiman* in ii. 1, 5, *hita kāri-tejaḥ*; in vi. 2, 11, *anukūle-dīpte*; in vi. 5, 4, *anukūla-dīpte mitrāṇām madayitar vā*; in vii. 5, 6, *mitrāṇām pūjayitaḥ*; in viii. 44, 14, *mitrāṇām pūjanīya*; in viii. 49, 7, *mitrāṇām asmākam pūjaka tejo vā*. Prof. Roth *s.v.* thinks it perhaps means "rich in friends.") See also i. 38, 4, 5, in Prof. Max Müller's Trans. of the R.V. pp. 65 and 70 f., and my art. on the interpretation of the Veda, Journ. R.A.S. for 1866, pp. 371, and 381 f. Compare also x. 33, 8.

who seem to be conceived as present with their hosts, as invisible allies of their worshippers, is thus addressed: 8. *Indraḥ āsām netā Bṛihaspatir Dakshiṇā Yajnaḥ puraḥ etu Somaḥ | devasenānām abhibhanjatīnāṁ jayantīnām Maruto yantu agram | 9. Indrasya vrishṇo Varuṇasya rājnaḥ Adityānām marutāṁ śardhaḥ ugram | mahāmanasām bhuvanachyavānāṁ ghosho devānāṁ jayatām ud asthāt | 10. Ud dharshaya maghavann āyudhāni ut satvanām māmakānām manāṁsi | uḍ vṛittrahan vājinām vājināni ud rathānaṁ jayatāṁ yantu ghoshāḥ | 11. Asmākam Indra samṛiteshu dhvajeshu asmākam yāḥ ishavas tāḥ jayantu | asmākaṁ vīrāḥ uttare bhavantu asmān u devāḥ avata haveshu | 12. (= Nir. ix. 33) Amīshāṁ chittam pratilobhayantī gṛihāṇā angāni Apve*[196] *parehi | abhi prehi nirdaha hṛitsu śokair andhenāmitrās tamasā sachantām* | 8. "May Indra be the leader of these (our armies), may Bṛihaspati, Largess, Sacrifice, and Soma march in front; may the host of Maruts precede the crushing, victorious armies of the gods. 9. May the fierce host of the vigorous Indra, of king Varuṇa, of the Ādityas, and the Maruts (go before us); the shout of the great-souled, conquering, world-shaking gods has ascended. 10. Rouse, o opulent god, the weapons, rouse the souls of our warriors, stimulate the power of the mighty men; may shouts arise from the conquering chariots. 11. May Indra be ours when the standards clash; may our arrows be victorious; may our strong men gain the upperhand; preserve us, o gods, in the fray. 12. Bewildering the hearts of our enemies, o Apvā,[197] take possession of their limbs and pass onward; come near, burn them with fires in their hearts; may our enemies fall into blind darkness."[198]

Indra controls the destinies of men, and is described as acting in an arbitrary manner, in vi. 47, 15, where it is said of him: *pādāv iva praharann anyam anyam kṛiṇoti pūrvam aparaṁ śachībhiḥ* | 16. *Śriṇve vīraḥ ugram ugraṁ damāyan anyam anyam ati nenīyamānaḥ | edhamāna-dviḷ ubhayasya rājā choshkūyate viśaḥ Indro manushyān* | 17. *Parā pūrveshāṁ sakhyā vṛiṇakti virtarturāṇo aparebhir eti* | "Like one moving (changing

[196] The S.V. reads *Aghe.*

[197] Apvā is said in the Nirukta vi. 12, to mean "disease or fear," *vyādhir vā bhayaṁ vā.* Roth, *s.v.* says the word means a disease. In the improvements and addition to his Lexicon, vol. v., he refers to the word as denoting a goddess, and quotes Ind. Studien iii. 203, and ix. 482.

[198] This passage is translated by Prof. Benfey in his Sāma-veda. Compare A.V. iii. 19, 6 ff. and viii. 8, 1 ff.

the positions of) his feet in walking, so Indra puts one and now another man first and last. 16. This hero is renowned as subduing every fierce man, and as advancing now one and now another. The enemy of the prosperous,[199] the king of both (worlds), Indra protects the men who are subject to him. 17. He abandons his friendships with (his) former (favourites), and consorts with others in turn."

In the following verses (viii. 45, 32) the poet seems to express disappointment at the inadequate manifestation of Indra's power, while he at the same time entreats his grace and forgiveness: *dabhraṁ chid hi tvāvataḥ kritaṁ śrinve adhi kshami | jigātu Indra te manaḥ | 33. Taved u tāḥ sukīrttayaḥ asann uta praśastayaḥ | yad Indra mṛiḷayāsi naḥ | 34. Mā naḥ ekasminn āgasi mā dvayor uta trishu | vadhīr mā śūra bhūrishu | 35. Bibhaya hi tvāvataḥ ugrād abhiprabhanginaḥ | dasmād aham ritīshahaḥ |* 32. "Little has been heard of as done upon earth by one such as thou art: let thy soul turn (to us), o Indra. 33. Let those renowns and those praises of thine be proved true by thy shewing mercy on us,

[199] "Who do not offer libations," say Yāska and Sāyaṇa (*asunvataḥ*). This line is explained by Prof. Roth in his Illustration of the Nirukta, p. 90. Or have we here the idea that the gods were jealous of human prosperity? which, as is well known, prevailed among the Greeks, and is expressed in the message of Amasis to Polycrates, as related by Herodotus, iii. 40: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀι σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν. "But thy great prosperity does not please me, as I know that the Deity is envious." See Mr. Blakesley's note in loco, and Herodotus, i. 32, and vii. 46, where the same sentiment recurs. Prof. Wilson in the Introduction to the 3rd vol. of his Trans. of the R.V. remarks on this passage: "He (Indra) is also represented in the same hymn as of a capricious temperament, neglecting those who serve him, and favouring those who pay him no adoration (p. 473, verse 17); a notion somewhat at variance with a doctrine previously inculcated, that the ceremonial worship of Indra is able to atone for the most atrocious crimes (p. 289, note)." See the note last referred to, which relates to R.V. v. 34, 4. But is this a correct deduction from the passage when properly interpreted? The verse is as follows: *Yasya avadhīt pitaraṁ yasya mātaraṁ yasya śakro bhrātaraṁ na atah īshate | veti id u asya prayatā yatankaro na kilbishād īshate vasvaḥ ākaraḥ |* "The powerful god does not flee from the man whose father, or mother, or brother he has slain. The restrainer (or, according to Roth, *s.v.* perhaps, avenger) desires such a man's offered (gifts); this god, the source of riches, does not flee from sin." Sāyaṇa says the person, whose relations the god slays, is one who neglects his worship, and whom he chastises and then reinstates in his favour (*ayajvānaṁ śikshayitvā niyojayati*). If, however, Indra is merely punishing the ungodly, can it be intended in the word *kilbishāt* in the last clause of the verse to impute to him any guilt? It may perhaps be meant that he does not fear to punish the offender against him. In verses 3, 5, and 6 of the hymn the godly man who offers libations is said to prosper, while the irreligious incurs the god's displeasure.

o Indra. 34. Slay us not for one sin, nor for two, nor for three, nor for many, o hero. 35. I am afraid of one so terrible, so crushing, so destroying, such a queller of resistance as thou art."[200] Indra is the enemy of the irreligious, whom he punishes and destroys. i. 131, 4: *S'āsas tam Indra martyam ayajyum* | "Thou, Indra, hast punished him who does not worship thee; ii. 12, 10: *yaḥ śaśvato mahi eno dadhānān amanyamānān śarvā jaghāna* | "who slew with his bolt those who are great sinners, and do not regard him; viii. 14, 15: *asunvām Indra saṁsadaṁ vishūchīṁ vi anāśayaḥ* | *somapāḥ uttaro bhavan* | "Thou, Indra, a soma-drinker, who art above all, hast destroyed and scattered the assembly which offers no libations." (Compare the passages quoted in Vol. i. pp. 259 ff.; and in my article on the Indian priests in the Vedic age, Jour. R.A.S., for 1866, pp. 286 ff.)[201] He hears and sees all things, and looks upon the wrath of men, himself uncontrolled (viii. 67, 5: *viśvaṁ śṛiṇoti paśyati* | 6. *Sa manyum martyānām adabdho nichikīshate*). He protects his faithful servants and leads them into an ample space, into celestial light and security (vi. 47, 8: *uruṁ*[202] *no lokam anu neshi vidvān svarvaj jyotir abhayaṁ svasti*); and in one place, viii. 58, 7, the hope is held that they shall ascend with him to a home in the solar sphere, and there drink nectar thrice seven times in the abode of their friend (*ud yad bradhnasya vishṭapaṁ gṛiham Indraś cha ganvahi* | *madhvaḥ pītvā sachevahi triḥ sapta sakhyuḥ pade*).

[200] The sense of verse 134 f. is thus given by Prof. Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (iv. 2) p. 38: "The poet prays Indra not to destroy him for one or more sins (verse 34), says that he is afraid of one so powerful as the god (verse 35), and entreats him to avert from him the loss of a friend or a son (verse 36). He then makes the god answer in the verse before us (37): 'Who, o mortals,' said Indra, 'without being provoked as a friend, has ever destroyed his friend? Who must flee from me?'"

[201] Compare R.V. viii. 21, 14 (=S.V. ii. 740): *nakiḥ revantaṁ sakhyāya vindase pīyanti tvā surāśvaḥ* | *yadā kṛiṇoshi nadanuṁ samūhasi ād it piteva hūyase*), which is thus rendered by Prof. Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 543 f.): "Thou never findest a rich man to be thy friend; wine-swillers despise thee. But when thou thunderest, when thou gatherest (the clouds), then thou art called like a father." Benfey renders the verse somewhat differently, thus: "Thou never takest for a friend the man who is merely rich; he who is inflated with wine is a burthen to thee: with a mere sound thou smitest them, and then thou art supplicated like a father."

[202] Compare viii. 57, 13. In A.V. vii. 84, 2, Indra is said to have repelled the hostile man, and opened an ample space for the gods (*apānudo janum amitrāyantam uruṁ devebhyaḥ akṛiṇor u lokam*).

Indra, more than any other god,[203] is invoked as a patron of the Āryas, and as their protector against their enemies earthly, or aerial: i. 51, 8: *Vi jānīhi āryān ye cha dasyavo barhishmate randhaya śāsad avratān | śākī bhava yajamānasya choditā viśvā it te sadhamādeshu chākana* | "Distinguish between the Āryas and those who are Dasyus; subject the lawless to the man who offers oblations; be a powerful helper of him who sacrifices; all these things I desire at thy festivals."[204] (See also the following verse.)

i. 103, 3: *sa jātubharmā*[205] *śraddadhānaḥ ojaḥ puro vibhindann acharad vi dāsīḥ | vidvān vajrin dasyave hetim asya āryaṁ saho vardhaya dyumnam Indra* | "Wielding the thunderbolt, and confident in his prowess, he strode onward, shattering the cities of the Dasyus. Thunderer, knowing (each), hurl thy bolt against the Dasyu, and augment the force and glory of the Ārya." i. 130, 8: *Indraḥ samatsu yajamānam āryam prāvad viśveshu śatamūtir ājishu . . . . | manave śāsad avratān tvachaṁ kṛishṇām arandhayat* | "Indra, commanding a hundred modes of succour, protected in all the battles the sacrificing Ārya: chastising the lawless, he subjected the black skin to Manu (or the Āryan man)." ii. 11, 18: *apāvṛiṇor jyótir āryāya ni savyataḥ sādi dasyur Indra* | "Thou hast disclosed the light to the Ārya; the Dasyu was placed on the left side." iii. 34, 9: *sasāna atyān uta sūryaṁ sasāna sasāna purubhojasam gām | hiraṇyayam uta bhogaṁ sasāna hatvī dasyūn pra āryaṁ varṇam āvat* | "Indra has given horses,

[203] Other gods, however, are also referred to as protectors of the Āryas. In i. 117, 21 (Nir. vi. 25) it is said of the Aśvins: *abhi dasyuṁ bakureṇa ā dhamantā uru jyotir chakratur āryāya* | "Sweeping away the Dasyu with the thunderbold, ye have created a great light for the Ārya." Prof. Roth thinks *bakura* means a wind instrument, Illust. of Nir. p. 92, and Lexicon *s.v.* Prof. Benfey follows Sāyaṇa in rendering it by thunderbolt. In vi. 21, 11, it is said of all the gods: *ye agnijihvāḥ ṛitasāpaḥ āsur ye manuṁ chakrur uparaṁ dasāya* | "Those (gods) who, fire-tongued, and frequenting religious rites, have made Manu's race (or the Āryan man) superior to the Dāsa." In vii. 100, 4, it is said of Vishṇu: *vi chakrame pṛithivīm esha etām kshetrāya Vishṇur manushe daśasyan* | "This Vishṇu strode over this earth, bestowing it as a domain on Manu's race." And in viii. 92, 1, it is said of Agni: *upo shu jātam āryasya vardhanam Agniṁ nakshanta no giraḥ* | "Our hymns have reached Agni, who was born the promoter of the Ārya."

[204] See Professor Benfey's Translation in Orient und Occident, i. 408.

[205] Sāyaṇa says this means either "he whose weapon is the thunderbolt," or "the nurturer of creatures." Benfey, Or. und Occ. iii. 132, renders the compound "born-warrior."

has given the sun, has given the prolific cow, and he has given golden wealth: destroying the Dasyus, he has protected the Āryan colour." iv. 26, 2: *aham bhūmim adadām āryāya ahaṁ vṛishṭiṁ dāśushe martyāya* | "I have given the earth to the Ārya, and rain to the worshipping mortal." vi. 18, 3: *tvaṁ ha nu tyad adamāyo dasyūn ekaḥ kṛishṭīr avanor āryāya* | "Thou didst then subdue the Dasyus, and gavest the people to the Ārya." ṛi. 25, 3: *ābhir viśvāḥ abhiyujo vishūchir āryāya viśaḥ avatārīr dāsīḥ* | "With these succours thou hast subjected all the distracted hostile Dasyu peoples to the Ārya." viii. 24, 27: *yaḥ ṛikshād aṁhaso muchad yo vā āryāt sapta sindhushu* | *vadhar dāsasya tuvinṛimṇa nīnamaḥ* | "Who delivered from great straits; who, o god of mighty force, didst in (the land of) the seven rivers turn away from the Ārya the weapon of the Dasyu." viii. 87, 6: *tvaṁ hi śaśvatīnām Indra dartā purām asi* | *hantā dasyor manor vṛidhaḥ patir divaḥ* | "Thou, Indra, art the destroyer of unnumbered cities; the slayer of the Dasyu; the prosperer of the (Āryan) man; the lord of the sky." x. 49, 2: *aham Śushṇasya śnathitā vadhar yamaṁ na yo rare āryaṁ nāma dasyave* | "I, the smiter, have stayed the weapon of Śushna; I do not abandon the Āryan race to the Dasyu." x. 86, 19: *ayam emi vichākaśad vichinvan dāsam āryam* | "I come beholding and distinguishing the Dāsa and the Ārya." (I am unable, however, to say who is the speaker here.)[206]

[206] Indra with Agni is, however, besought in vi. 60 to slay all enemies, Āryas as well as Dasyus; *hato vṛittrāṇi āryā hato dāsāni satpatī* | *hato viśvā apa dvishaḥ*). In x. 38, 3, Indra alone is similarly addressed: *Yo no dāsaḥ āryo vā purushṭuta adevaḥ Indra yudhaye chiketati* | *asmābhir te sushahāḥ santu śatravas tvayā vayaṁ tān vanuyāma sangame* | "Whatever ungodly man, o much-lauded Indra, whether a Dāsa or an Ārya, designs to fight with us,—may all such enemies be easy to overcome; may we slay them in the conflict." And in x. 102, 3, it is said: *antar yachha jighāṁsato vajram Indra abhidāsataḥ* | *dāsasya vā maghavann āryasya vā sanutar yavaya vadham* | "Arrest, o Indra, the bolt of the destroyer who seeks to slay us; avert far from us the stroke, whether of Dāsa or of Ārya." Indra and Varuṇa are invoked for the same object in vii. 83, 1: *Dāsā cha vṛittrā hatam āryāṇi cha sudāsam Indrā-varuṇā 'vasā 'vatam* | "Slay both Dāsa and Ārya enemies; protect Sudās with your succour, o Indra and Varuṇa." So too in x. 83, 1, Manyu (personified Wrath) is prayed: *sāhyāma dāsam āryaṁ tvayā yujā sahskṛitena sahasā sahasvatā* | "May we, with thee for our ally, overcome the Dāsa and the Ārya, with force-impelled, vigorous, energy." Perhaps ii. 11, 19 (*sanema ye te ūtibhis taranto viśvāḥ spṛidhaḥ āryeṇa dasyūn*) may have the same sense. In x. 65, 11, certain bountiful deities are spoken of as generating prayer, the cow, the horse, plants, trees, the earth, the mountains, the waters, as elevating the sun in the sky, and as spreading Āryan insti-

(7) *Apparent mutual incongruity of some of the preceding representations of Indra.*

The reader who is not familiarly acquainted with the hymns of the Veda, either in the original, or by translations, may think that he perceives an incompatibility between the conceptions of the god, which he will find in the different parts of the preceding sketch. And, according to our idea, no doubt, there is an incompatibility. The naïf familiarity with which Indra is treated in some places seems irreconcilable with the lofty ideas of his greatness which other portions express. And more particularly the sensual character, which is generally attributed to the god, appears to be in opposition to the moral perfection which is elsewhere described as an essential feature of his nature. But however incompatible, according to our ideas, they may seem to be, both of these sets of representations occur side by side, in the same hymns; and we must account for their co-existence and juxtaposition by supposing that the ancient Indian poets regarded the deity who was the object of their adoration as anthropopathically partaking, in a higher degree, of the elements, sensuous as well as intellectual and moral, which, on the evidence of their own consciousness, they knew to be equally constituent parts of their own nature. It must be further borne in mind that these ancient authors did not connect the same low associations as we now connect with the sensuous, or even sensual, principle in the character of the god which is exemplified in his love for the exhilarating draughts of his favourite beverage. This is clearly shewn by the high rank which, as we shall hereafter see, they assigned to Soma himself, as the deity in whom this intoxicating influence was personified, and by the power which they ascribed to him of conferring immortality upon his votaries.

And that these apparently incongruous conceptions are not the products of different minds in various stages of development, but of the same poets, may be seen from the following instances. In ii. 15, 2, Indra is said to have fulfilled some of his grandest functions under the influence of the soma-juice: *avaṁśe dyām astabhāyad bṛihantam ā rodasī apṛiṇad*

tutions upon the earth (*brahma gām aśvaṁ janayantaḥ oshadhīr vanaspatīn pṛithivīm parvatān apaḥ | sūryaṁ divi rohayantaḥ sudānavaḥ āryā vratā visṛijantaḥ adhi kshami*).

antarikṣham | sa dhārayad pṛithivīm paprathach cha somasya tā made Indraś chakāra | "He fixed the heaven in empty space; he filled the two worlds and the air; he supported the earth and spread it out; these things Indra did in the exhilaration of the soma." Similarly in viii. 36, 4, *Janitā divo janitā pṛithivyāḥ piba somam madāya kaṁ śatakrato* | "Generator of Heaven, generator of the Earth, drink soma to exhilarate thee, o god of mighty force." In viii. 87, 5, as we have seen above, p. 112, Indra is said to hear and see everything. In the seventh verse of the same hymn we are told that the belly of him, the impetuous actor, the slayer of Vṛittra, and drinker of soma, is full of vigour (*kratvaḥ it pūrṇam udaram turasya asti vidhataḥ | vṛittraghnaḥ somapāvnaḥ*). And in viii. 81, 6, it is said of him: *asya pītvā madānāṁ devo devasya ojasā | viśvā 'bhi bhuvanā 'bhavat* | "Drinking, a god, of the exhilarating draughts of this god (Soma), he, by his energy, overcame all beings (or worlds)."

(8) *Professor Roth's theory of the supersession of the worship of Varuṇa by that of Indra.*

Professsor Roth is of opinion that Varuṇa belongs to an older dynasty of gods than Indra, and that during the Vedic age the high consideration originally attaching to the former was in course of being transferred to the latter. In support of his position that Varuṇa's worship was then declining, he urges the circumstance that, in the tenth book of the Rig-veda, which contains the latest productions of that period, there is not a single entire hymn addressed to this deity.[207]

[207] See the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 73; and Böhtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit and German Lexicon, *s.v.* Indra. Professor Whitney adopts the same view (Journ. Amer. Orient. Society, iii. 327). Windischmann, in his Mithra, p. 54, extends the same remark to that god also. The passage is translated in the 2nd vol. of this work, p. 295. Although, however, there is no hymn in the tenth Maṇḍala addressed exclusively to Varuṇa, there are two, the 126th, of eight verses, and the 185th, of three verses, in which he is invoked along with two of the other Ādityas, Mitra and Aryaman. In only two verses of the former of these hymns is reference made to any other god, viz., to Rudra, the Maruts, and Agni in the verse 5, and Agni in verse 8. Varuṇa is also invoked, or referred to, along with other deities, in numerous single verses of the 10th Maṇḍala, viz., in 8, 5; 10, 6; 11, 1; 12, 8: 14, 7; 30, 1; 31, 9; 35, 10; 36, 1, 3, 12, 13; 37, 1; 51, 2, 4; 61, 17; 63, 9; 64, 5, 12; 65, 1, 5, 8, 9; 66, 2; 70, 11; 75, 2; 83, 2; 84, 7; 85, 17, 24; 89, 8, 9; 93, 4; 97, 16; 98, 1; 99, 10; 103, 9; 109, 2; 113, 5; 123, 6; 124, 4, 5, 7; 125, 1; 130, 5; 132, 2: 147, 5; 167, 3; 173, 5. See the index to Langlois's French translation of the R.V.

I give the substance of his interesting observations:—

The supersession of the one god by the other Roth considers to be a result, or feature, of the gradual modification which the old Arian religion soon began to undergo after it had been transplanted into India. The more supersensuous or spiritual elements of this religion he thinks were preserved, though in a peculiar and somewhat altered form, in the Persian creed, which, at the same time, rejected almost entirely the gods representing the powers of nature, whom it had also inherited from an earlier age. The Indian faith, as found in the Rig-veda, has, on the contrary, according to Roth, begun already to give the preference to these latter deities, to transfer to them an ever-increasing dignity and honour, to draw down the divine life into nature, and to bring it ever closer to man. Proof of this is especially to be found in the development of the myth regarding Indra, a god who, in the earlier period of Arian religious history, either had no existence, or was confined to an obscure province. The Zend legend assigns to another god the function which forms the essence of the later myth concerning Indra. This god Trita, however, disappears in the Indian mythology of tho Vedic age, and is succeeded by Indra. And not only so, but towards the end of this period Indra begins to dislodge even Varuṇa himself, the highest god of the ancient creed, from the position which is shewn, partly by historical testimonies, and partly by the very conception of his character, to belong to him, and becomes, if not the supreme god, at least the national god, whom his encomiasts strive to elevate above the ancient Varuṇa. This process was completed in the post-vedic period, as is shewn already in the Brāhmaṇas and other works of the same era. Indra becomes the chief of the Indian heaven, and maintains this place even in the composite system which adopted into itself the three great gods. The course of the movement was therefore this, that an old god, common to the Arians (*i.e.* the Persians and Indians), and perhaps also to the entire Indo-Germanic race, Varuṇa-Ormuzd-Uranos, is thrown back into the darkness, and in his room Indra, a peculiarly Indian, and a national god, is intruded. With Varuṇa disappears at the same time the ancient character of the people, while with Indra there was introduced in the same degree a new character, foreign to the primitive Indo-Germanic nature. Viewed in its internal aspect, this modification of the religious

conceptions of the Aryas consists in an ever-increasing tendency to attenuate the supersensuous, mysterious side of the creed, until the gods, who were originally the highest and most spiritual, have become unmeaning representatives of nature, Varuṇa being nothing more than the ruler of the sea, and the Ādityas merely regents of the sun's course. This process of degradation naturally led to a reaction. (See the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 76 f.)

The superior antiquity of Varuṇa to Indra may no doubt (as intimated in the passage just quoted), be argued from the fact already noticed of the coincidence of the name of the former with that of the Greek *Οὐρανός*, which goes some way to prove that a deity of this name was worshipped by the entire Indo-Germanic race before its western branches were separated from the eastern, whilst we shall look in vain for any traces of the name Indra in the Greek mythology.

(9) *Supersession of Dyaus by Indra, according to Professors Benfey and Bréal.*

It is, however, as I have already intimated, p. 34, the opinion of other writers that Indra was rather the successor of Dyaus than of Varuṇa. Thus in a note (occasioned by the word *sthātar*) to his translation of R.V. i. 33, 5 (Orient und Occident, i. 48, 1862), Professor Benfey writes: "It may be distinctly shewn that Indra took the place of the god of the heaven, who in the Vedas is invoked in the vocative as Dyaush pitar (R.V. vi. 51, 5). This is proved by the fact that this phrase is exactly reflected in the Latin (Diespiter? and Jupiter (for Dyouspiter) and in the Greek *Ζεῦ πατὲρ* (which is consequently to be taken for *Ζεὺς πατὲρ*), as a religious formula fixed, like many others, before the separation of the languages. When the Sanskrit people left the common country where for them, as well as for the other kindred tribes, the brilliant radiance of heaven (*divant*, part. from *div*, to shine . . .) appeared to them, in consequence of the climate there prevailing, as the holiest thing, and settled in the sultry India, where the glow of the heaven is destructive, and only its rain operates beneficently, this aspect of the celestial deity must have appeared the most adorable, so that the epithet Pluvius in a certain measure absorbed all the other characteristics of Dyaush pitar. This found its expression in

the name Ind-ra, in which we unhesitatingly recognize a word (which arose in some local dialect, and was then diffused with the spread of the worship) standing for sind-ra, which again was derived from syand, 'to drop.' . . .[208] The conceptions which had been attached to Dyaus, Jous, Ζεύς, were then transferred to Indra, and accordingly we find the epithet stator,' which in Latin is attached to Juppiter, applied to him." In this view Professor Benfey is followed by M. Michel Bréal, in his "Hercule et Cacus," p. 101. After giving in Section V. an account of the myth of Indra and Vṛittra, this able writer proceeds in the following section to explain its formation. I translate a few sentences from p. 101: "The first thing which ought to strike us is that the hero of the myth is not the same in the Indian, as in the classical mythology. The name Indra has nothing in common with Zeus; further Indra is an exclusively Indian god, created at an epoch when the ancestors of the European races had been already separated from their brothers in Asia; in reading the Vedas we are in some sort spectators of his first appearance, which nearly coincides with the composition of the earliest hymns. But we have already said that the Vedic mythology is extremely floating, that the attributes of one god are easily transferred to another, and that in place of Indra, other gods are often invoked as the conquerors of Vṛittra. We are authorized then to think that in this myth Indra occupies the place of some more ancient divinity. The name of this god, which we may give with perfect certainty, is Dyaus, or Dyaushpitar, the Heaven, father of beings. Dyaus is the first god of the Indo-European nations: maintained in his supreme rank by the Greeks and Latins, he has fallen from it in the Vedas, although he is there sometimes invoked, chiefly in company with the goddess Pṛithivī (the Earth)."

[208] Professor Müller assigns the same sense to Indra, in his Lectures on Language, ii. 430, note, where he writes: *Indra*, a name peculiar to India, admits but of one etymology, *i.e.* it must be derived from the same root, whatever that may be, which in Sanskrit yielded *indu*, drop, sap. It meant originally the giver of rain, the Jupiter pluvius, a deity in India more often present to the mind of the worshipper than any other. Cf. Benfey, Orient und Occident, vol. i. p. 49." Professor Roth, in his Lexicon, *s.v.* thinks the word comes from the root *in* or *inv*, with the suffix *r*, preceded by epenthetic *d*, and means "the overcomer," "the powerful." The old Indian derivations may be found, as he remarks, in Nir. x. 8. See also Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 34, referred to by Roth, Illust. of Nir., p. 136.

But whatever may be the case as regards Dyaus, the increasing popularity of Indra may, no doubt, as Professor Roth supposes, have tended also to eclipse the lustre of Varuṇa.

(10) *Opinions of Professors Roth, Whitney, Spiegel, and Dr. F. Windischmann, on the question whether Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda are historically connected.*

If Professor Roth's opinion,[209] that there is not merely an analogy, but an actual historical connection between the Ādityas and the Amshaspands of the Zend Avesta, be well founded, it will be made out that Varuṇa, who is one of the Ādityas, must have been worshipped by the Aryans before the separation of the Persian from the Indian branch of that family. And this conclusion will be confirmed if we adopt the suggestion of Professor Whitney,[210] that Ahura-Mazda is a development of Varuṇa.

I learn, however, from a communication with which I have lately been favoured by Professor Spiegel, of Erlangen, that that eminent Zend scholar is unable to recognize any similarity between Ahura-Mazda and Varuṇa, and considers the connection of the Amshaspands with the Ādityas to be very doubtful.[211] The late Dr. Windischmann

[209] Journ. Germ. Orient. Society, vi. 69, 70.

[210] Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 327. "Ahura Mazdā, Ormuzd, himself is," he writes, "as is hardly to be doubted, a development of Varuṇa, the Ādityas are correlatives of the Amshaspands, there even exists in the Persian religion the same close connection between Ahura Mazdā and Mithra as in the Indian between Mitra and Varuṇa." There is no doubt that the term *Asura*, "spirit," which is frequently applied to Varuṇa and to Mitra, and also to Indra and others of the Vedic gods, is the same word which, in its Zend form, Ahura, makes up, with the addition of Mazda, the appellation of the supreme and benevolent deity of the Iranian mythology. Professor Müller regards the names Ahuro Mazdāo as corresponding to the Sanskrit *Asuro-medhas*, the "wise spirit" (Lectures on the Science of Language, first series, 1st edition, p. 195). See also Professor Benfey's Glossary to the Sāmaveda (1848) *s.v. medhas*, from which it appears that that scholar had adopted the same identification, and considers the existing reading of R.V. viii. 20, 17, *asurasya vedhasaḥ*, to be a corruption of *asurasya medhasaḥ*. But *vedhas* occurs elsewhere as an epithet of the gods, *e.g.* of Vishṇu in i. 156, 2, 4. In the last of these verses he is styled *mārutasya vedhasaḥ*.

[211] In regard to Ahura-Mazda and the Amshaspands, Professor Spiegel has, as he informs me, collected all the positive information he could obtain in the Avesta, in the Introduction to the 3rd vol. of his translation, pp. iii. ff.

also, as Professor Spiegel informs me, held Ahura Mazda to be a purely Iranian god (Zoroastrische Studien, p. 122). And such of the grounds for regarding Varuṇa as an older deity than Indra as might otherwise have been derived from the Zend Avesta, would be a good deal weakened if we could look upon the Indra or Andra of the Zend books as standing for the same god who was known in India under the former name (see Spiegel's Avesta, i. 10), and as representing a deity who had at one time been an object of worship common both to the Indian and Persian Aryans, but who after the separation of the two tribes was degraded by the latter into an evil spirit. For while Indra would thus be proved to have been known before the period of that separation, he might also have been at one time a god held by both divisions of the Āryas in high consideration as well as Varuṇa. I learn, however, from Professor Spiegel, that the materials afforded by the Zend books in reference to this name are not sufficient to afford a basis for any positive conclusions.[212]

(11) *Whether there are any passages in the hymns which decisively shew that Indra was superseding Varuṇa.*

Beyond the fact noticed by Roth, that Varuṇa is much less frequently mentioned in the last than in the earlier books of the Rig-veda, I have not observed in the hymns themselves anything that can

[212] The identification of Andra with Indra was, as Professor Spiegel tells me, first proposed by Burnouf (Yaśna 526 ff.), where a translation is given of the passage in which Andra is mentioned. It is rendered thus by Spiegel himself, in his Avesta, i. 176: "I fight with Indra, I fight with S'auru, I fight with the Dāeva Naoghaithi, to drive them away from the dwelling, the village, the castle, the country." The name Indra or Andra, as Prof. Spiegel further informs me, occurs only in one other passage (Westergaard, Zendavesta, p. 475), which he (Prof. S.) believes to be interpolated. It contains merely the name, and consequently throws no further light on the position of the god in the Avesta. The information found in the later Parsee books regarding Indra or Andra is also meagre (compare Spiegel's Avesta, ii. 35). On this subject Professor Spiegel makes the following remarks, in the Introduction to the 3rd vol. of his Avesta, p. lxxxi.: "It is said by some that the Andra of the Avesta is the Indra of the Vedas, that Nāoghaithya answers to Nāsatyas, and Saurva to Sarva. Here from a real fact a quite incorrect conclusion is drawn. The names are the same in both religious systems; but how far the things resemble each other can never be shown in the same manner as the similarity of Soma and Haoma, etc.; for the Avesta tells us nothing more than the name of any of the beings in question."

be construed as a decisive proof that the worship of Indra was superseding that of Varuṇa during the period of their composition. It is true that even in the earlier parts of the Veda the number of hymns addressed to the former god is much greater than that in which the latter is celebrated. But I have not discovered any expressions which would distinctly indicate that the popularity of the one was waning, and that of the other increasing. There are, however, some passages which, though they do not afford any clear indications in support of such a supposition, are, at all events, not inconsistent with its correctness. Thus there are several hymns in which Indra is associated with Varuṇa[213] as an object of celebration, and where the two are described as acting in concert, viz., i. 17; iv. 41; iv. 42; vi. 68; vii. 82; vii. 83; vii. 84; vii. 85; etc.; and this association of the two might have arisen from the worshippers of Indra desiring to enhance the dignity of that god by attaching him to the older and more venerable deity. In vii. 34, 24, Varuṇa is said to have Indra for his friend (*Varuṇaḥ Indrasakhā*), but this cannot well bear the interpretation that some of their worshippers had been in the habit of regarding them as rivals and enemies, as in i. 22, 19, Vishṇu is called the intimate friend of Indra (*Indrasya yujyaḥ sakhā*). Indra and Varuṇa are called the two monarchs, *samrājā*, and the supporters of all creatures[214] (i. 17, 1, 2); fixed in their designs, *dhṛita-vratā* (vi. 68, 10). Varuṇa is supplicated along with Indra to discharge a gleaming and violent thunderbolt against the worshippers' enemy (*didyum asminn ojishṭham ugrā ni vadhishṭaṁ vajram*, iv. 41, 4), though in most other places (see above) Indra alone is regarded as the thunderer. In vii. 82, 2, it is said that one of the two, Varuṇa, is called *samrāṭ*, monarch (as he is in various places, see above, p. 60), and the other, Indra, is called *svarāṭ*, independent ruler (iii. 46, 1, and elsewhere; see i. 61, 9, above); and their separate relations and functions are described in other parts of this and the following hymns, vii. 82, 5: *Indrā-varuṇā yad imāni chakrathur viśnā jātāni bhuvanasya majmanā | kshemeṇa Mitro Varuṇaṁ duvasyati Marudbhir ugraḥ śubham anyaḥ īyate | 6 Ajāmim aryaḥ śnathayantam ātirad dabhrebhir anyaḥ pra vṛiṇoti bhūyasaḥ |* "Indra

[213] In A.V. iv. 25, 1, 2, Varuṇa and Vishṇu are worshipped together.

[214] *Dharttārā charshaṇīnām.* The same epithet is applied to Mitra and Varuṇa in v. 67, 2; and Varuṇa is called *charshaṇī-dhṛit*, "supporter of creatures," in iv. 1, 2.

and Varuṇa, when ye formed all these creatures of the world by your power, Mitra waits upon Varuṇa with tranquility, whilst the other fierce (god *i.e.* Indra) is resplendent along with the Maruts. 6. The one overcomes the destructive enemy; the other with few repels many." vii. 83, 9: *Vṛittrāṇi anyaḥ samitheshu jighnate vratāni anyaḥ abhi rakshate sadā* | "The one (Indra) loves to slay enemies in battle; the other (Varuṇa) always maintains his ordinances." vii. 84, 2: *Pari no heḷo Varuṇasya vṛiyāḥ uruṁ naḥ Indraḥ kṛiṇavad u lokam* | "Do thou remove from us the wrath of Varuṇa; may Indra open to us an ample space." vii. 85, 3: *Krishṭīr anyo dhārayati praviktāḥ vṛittrāṇi anyaḥ apratīni hanti* | "The one sustains the separate creatures; the other slays unequalled enemies." So, too, their joint action is described in other verses. Thus they are said to have dug the channels of the rivers, to have impelled the sun in the sky (vii. 82, 3: *anu apāṁ khāni atṛintam ojasā ā sūryam airayataṁ divi prabhum*), and to have made all creatures (ibid. 5). All the other gods are said to have infused strength and vigour into these two in the highest heaven (ibid. 2: *viśve devāsaḥ parame vyomani saṁ vām ojo vṛishaṇā sam balaṁ dadhuḥ*). These passages are consistent with the supposition that the two gods were felt to have been rivals, and that the author of the hymn sought to reconcile their conflicting claims, but they are not conclusive, for Vishṇu and Indra are also joined together in the same way in some hymns, i. 155; vi. 69; vii. 99, 4 ff. (see the 4th Vol. of this work, pp. 64, 71, 74 ff.); as are also Agni and Indra in others, i. 21; i. 108; i. 109; iii. 12; v. 86; vi. 59; Indra and Vāyu in iv. 46-48; Indra and Pūshan in vi. 57; Indra and Soma in vi. 72; vii. 104.

A number of verses occur in different parts of the Rig-veda (viz. i. 133, 1; iv. 23, 7; v. 2, 3, vii. 18, 16; x. 27, 6; x. 48, 7) in which the epithet *anindra*, "one who is no worshipper of Indra," is employed; but it does not appear that it is applied to persons who were not worshippers of Indra in particular, as distinguished from other Āryan gods, but either to the aboriginal tribes, who did not worship either him or any other Āryan god, or to irreligious Āryas, or rather, perhaps generally, to evil spirits as the enemies of Indra. In other places (as I have above noticed, p. 104,) we find sceptical doubts expressed regarding Indra.

The twelfth hymn of the second book is devoted to the glorification

of Indra. The first and second verses are as follows: 1. *Yo jātaḥ eva prathamo manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūshat | yasya śushmād rodasī abhyasetāṁ nṛimṇasya mahnā sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ | 2. Yaḥ pṛithivīṁ vyathamānām adṛiṁhad yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramṇāt | yo antarikshaṁ vimame varīyo yo dyāṁ astabhnāt sa janāsaḥ Indraḥ |* "1. He who, as soon as born, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force: at whose might the two worlds trembled, through the greatness of his strength, he, o men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth, who settled the agitated mountains, who meted out the vast atmosphere, who established the sky,—he, o men, is Indra." The following verses all end in the same way, by declaring that Indra is he who had performed the several acts, or possessed the various powers, which they specify. This might appear as a polemical assertion, against gainsayers, of Indra's claims to recognition as a fit object of worship.[215]

In x. 48, 11, Indra is introduced as saying: *Ādityānāṁ Vasūnāṁ rudriyāṇāṁ devo devānāṁ na mināmi dhāma | te mā bhadrāya śavase tatakshur aparājitam astṛitam ashāḷham |* "I, a god, do not assail the rank (or glory) of the Ādityas, the Vasus, or the sons of Rudra, who have fashioned me for glorious power, and made me unconquerable, irreversible, and unassailable."

In viii. 51, 2, it is said: *Ayujo asamo nṛibhir ekaḥ kṛishṭīr ayāsyaḥ | purvīr ati pra vavṛidhe viśvā jātāni ojasā ityādi |* 7. *Viśve te Indra vīryaṁ devāḥ anu kratuṁ daduḥ |* 12. *Satyam id vai u taṁ vayam Indraṁ stavāma nānṛitam | mahān asunvato vadho bhūri jyotīṁshi sunvataḥ |* "2. Without a fellow, unequalled by men, Indra, alone, unconquered, has surpassed in power many tribes and all creatures. 7. All the gods yield to the Indra in valour and strength. 12. May we praise Indra truly and not falsely: great destruction falls upon him who pours out no libations to Indra,[216] while he who does offer them is blessed with abundant light."

In iv. 30, 1 ff. Indra is described as having no superior or equal (*Nakir Indra tvad uttaro na jyāyān asti Vṛittrahan | nakir eva yathā*

[215] There is another hymn (x. 86), each verse of which ends with the words "Indra is superior to all;" but the drift of the hymn is too obscure to admit of my determining whether it has any polemical tendency or not.

[216] This sentiment appears to be repeated from i. 101, 4.

tvam), and as having alone conquered all the gods in battle. And in vii. 21, 7, it is said that even the former gods subordinated their powers to his divine glory and kingly dignity (*devāś chit te asuryyāya pūrve anu kshattrāya mamire sahāṁsi*). In the following passages (formerly quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 85 ff.), it is said that all of the gods are unable to frustrate the mighty deeds and counsels of Indra (ii. 32, 4); that no one, whether god or man, either surpasses or equals him (vi. 30, 4); that no one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to him (vii. 32, 23); and that by battle he has acquired ample space (or wealth) for the gods (vii. 98, 3). It is even said (i. 101, 3) that Varuṇa and Sūrya are subject to the command of Indra (*yasya vrate Varuṇo yasya Sūryaḥ*); and in x. 89, 8, 9, the latter is besought to destroy the enemies of Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa (thereby evincing, of course, his superiority to those three gods) (*pra ye Mitrasya Varuṇasya dhāma yujaṁ na janāḥ minanti Mitram | 9. Pra ye Mitram pra Aryamaṇaṁ durevāḥ pra sangiraḥ pra Varuṇam minanti | ni amitreshu vadham Indra tumraṁ vṛishan vṛishāṇam arushaṁ śiśīhi*).

All these texts, however, which are so laudatory of Indra, may be paralleled in the Rig-veda, not only by similar ones referring to Mitra and Varuṇa (as we have seen above), but also by a farther set of texts, in which other gods are magnified in the same style of panegyric. This is in accordance with the practice of the Indian poets to exaggerate[217] (in a manner which renders them often mutually inconsistent) the attributes of the particular deity who happens at the moment to be the object of celebration. Thus in ii. 38, 9, it is said that neither Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, nor Rudra can resist the ordinance of Savitṛi (*na yasya Indro Varuṇo na Mitro vratam Aryamā na minanti Rudraḥ*); and in vii. 38, 4, that the divine Aditi, and the kings Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman unite to magnify the same deity (*abhi yaṁ devī Aditiḥ gṛiṇāti savaṁ devasya Savitur jushāṇā | abhi samrājo Varuṇo gṛiṇanti abhi Mitrāso Aryamā sajoshāḥ*). Again, in i. 156, 4, it is declared that king Varuṇa and the Aśvins submit to the power of Vishṇu (*tam asya rājā Varuṇas tam Aśvinā kratum sachante Mārutasya vedhasaḥ*). In i. 141, 9, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman are said to triumph through Agni when he blazes forth (*tvayā hi Agne Varuṇo*

[217] See Müller's Anc. Ind. Lit. pp. 532 ff.

dhṛitavrato Mitraḥ śāśadre Aryamā). In iv. 5, 4, the same god is besought to consume those enemies who menace the stable abodes[218] of Varuṇa and the wise Mitra (*pra tān Agnir babhasat . . . pra ye minanti Varuṇasya dhāma priyā Mitrasya chetato dhruvāṇi*). If, therefore, we were to infer from passages like i. 101, 3 (which declares Varuṇa and Sūrya to be subject to Indra), that the worship of Indra was beginning to gain ground on that of Varuṇa, we should have, in like manner, to conclude from the other texts just cited, that the worship of Savitṛi, or Vishṇu, or Agni, was beginning to supersede that of all the other deities who are there subordinated to them, not excepting Indra himself.

(12) *Indra as represented in the hymns;—a metrical sketch.*

In the following verses I have endeavoured to combine in one picture the most salient and characteristic points in the representations of Indra, which are contained in the hymns. It will be seen that some parts of the sketch are translations, nearly literal, of verses occurring there; that other portions are condensed summaries of epithets, or descriptions, which are by far too numerous and too similar to each other to be all reproduced in detail; and that a third class of passages contains an amplification, and not an approximate rendering, of the texts of the original on which they are founded.

(1) *Invitation of Indra to the sacrifice.*

Hear, Indra, mighty Thunderer, hear,
Bright regent of the middle sphere;
List while we sweetly sing thy praise,
In new, and well-constructed, lays,
Hymns deftly framed by poet skilled,
As artizans a chariot build.
Come, Indra, come, thou much-invoked,
Our potent hymn thy steeds has yoked;
Thy golden car already waits
Thy pleasure at thy palace-gates:

[218] Ordinances.—Roth, *s.v. dhāman.*

Friend Indra, from the sky descend,
Thy course propitious hither bend;
Come straight, and may no rival priest
Prevail to draw thee from our feast.
Let no one catch thee unawares,
Like bird the artful fowler snares.
All is prepared; the Soma draught
Is sweet as thou hast ever quaffed;
And we will feed with corn, and tend,
Thy coursers at their journey's end.
But, Indra, though of us thou thinkest,
And our libations gladly drinkest,
We, mortal men, can only share
A humble portion of thy care.
We know how many potent ties
Enchain thee in thy paradise.
Thou hast at home a lovely wife,
The charm and solace of thy life;
Thou hast a ceaseless round of joys,
Which all thy circling hours employs—
Joys such as gods immortal know,
Unguessed by mortals here below.
But, brother Indra, come, benign,
Accept our gifts, thou friend divine.
Come, Indra, come in eager haste,
Our hymns to hear, our food to taste,
Like lover lured by female charms,
Who rushes to his mistress' arms.
Accept our sweet and grateful song;
Come, we will not detain thee long.

(2) *Indra's birth.*

Hear, Indra, while thy birth we sing,
The deeds, thy greatness, glorious king.
Old father Sky[219] and mother Earth
Both quaked, confounded at thy birth.

[219] Dyaus = Ζεύς.

The Sky exclaimed, at that great sight,
"Thy father was a stalwart wight;
Of most consummate skill was he,
The god whose genius fashioned thee."
This infant of unrivalled force
Sprang forth from a transcendant source.
A blessed mother bore the child,
And fondly on her offspring smiled,
Foretelling then, with pride and joy,
The might and glory of the boy.
He needed not a tedious length
Of autumns to mature his strength;
His force he felt as soon as born,
And laughed all hostile powers to scorn.
Grasping his deadly shafts, in pride
Of prowess, thus the infant cried:—
"Where, mother, dwell those warriors fierce
Whose haughty hearts these bolts must pierce?"
And when thy father proved thy foe,
Thy fury, Indra, laid him low.
Who vainly sought thy life to take,
When thou didst sleep, when thou didst wake?
Who, Indra, in his vengeful mood,
Thy mother doomed to widowhood?
What god stood by, thy wrath to fire,
When, seizing by the foot thy sire,
Thou smot'st him dead, in youthful ire?

(3) *Indra's arrival.*

Fulfilling now our ardent prayer,
The god approaches through the air.
On, on, he comes, majestic, bright,
Our longed-for friend appears in sight.
His brilliant form, beheld afar,
Towers stately on his golden car.
Fair sunlike lustre, godlike grace,
And martial fire illume his face.

Yet not one form alone he bears,
But various shapes of glory wears,
His aspects changing at his will,
Transmuted, yet resplendent still.
In warlike semblance see him stand,
Red lightnings wielding in his hand.
The heavenly steeds, his shining team,
With all the peacock's colours gleam.
Resistless, snorting, on they fly,
As swift as thought, across the sky;
And soon bring nigh their mighty lord,
To us, his friends, a friend adored.
Now Indra from the sky descends;
Yes, yes, to us his way he wends.
Although we see him not, we know
He now is present here below.
Within our hallowed precincts placed,
He longs our grateful feast to taste.

(4) *Indra invited to drink the Soma draught.*

Thou, Indra, oft of old hast quaffed
With keen delight our Soma draught.
All gods the luscious Soma love,
But thou all other gods above.
Thy mother knew how well this juice
Was fitted for her infant's use.
Into a cup she crushed the sap,
Which thou didst sip upon her lap.
Yes, Indra, on thy natal morn,
The very hour that thou wast born,
Thou didst those jovial tastes display
Which still survive in strength to-day.
And once, thou prince of genial souls,
Men say thou drainedst thirty bowls.
To thee the soma-draughts proceed,
As streamlets to the lake they feed,
Or rivers to the ocean speed.

Our cup is foaming to the brim
With Soma pressed to sound of hymn.
Come, drink, thy utmost craving slake,
Like thirsty stag in forest lake,
Or bull that roams in arid waste,
And burns the cooling brook to taste.
Indulge thy taste, and quaff at will;
Drink, drink again, profusely swill,
Drink, thy capacious stomach fill.

(5) *Praise of Soma.*

This Soma is a god; he cures
The sharpest ills that man endures.
He heals the sick, the sad he cheers,
He nerves the weak, dispels their fears,
The faint with martial ardour fires,
With lofty thoughts the bard inspires,
The soul from earth to heaven he lifts;
So great and wondrous are his gifts.
Men feel the god within their veins,
And cry in loud exulting strains:
"We've quaffed the Soma bright,
And are immortal grown;
We've entered into light,
And all the gods have known.
What mortal now can harm,
Or foeman vex us more?
Through thee beyond alarm,
Immortal god, we soar."
The gods themselves with pleasure feel
King Soma's influence o'er them steal;
And Indra once, as bards have told,
Thus sang in merry mood of old:—

(6) *Indra's drinking-song.*

"Yes, yes, I will be generous now,
And grant the bard a horse and cow:

I've quaffed the soma-draught.
These draughts impel me with the force
Of blasts that sweep in furious course:
I've quaffed the soma-draught.
They drive me like a car that speeds,
When whirled along by flying steeds.
These hymns approach me fondly now,
As hastes to calf the mother-cow.
I turn them over as I muse,
As carpenter the log he hews.
The tribes of men, the nations all,
I count as something very small.
Both worlds, how vast soe'er they be,
Don't equal even the half of me.
The heaven in greatness I surpass,
And this broad earth, though vast her mass,
Come, let me as a plaything seize,
And toss her wheresoe'er I please.
Come, let me smite with vigorous blow,
And send her flying to and fro.
My half is in the heavenly sphere,
I've drawn the other half down here.
How great my glory and my power!
Aloft into the skies I tower.
I'm ready now to mount in air,
Oblations to the gods to bear:
I've quaffed the Soma-draught.[220]

(7) *Indra drinks the libation.*

And not in vain the mortal prays,
For nothing loth the god obeys,
The proffered bowl he takes;
Well trained the generous juice to drain,
He quaffs it once, he quaffs again,
Till all his thirst he slakes.

[220] This "drinking song" is a translation, as we have already seen, p. 91, nearly literal, of the 119th hymn of the 10th Book of the Rig-veda.

And soon its power the Soma shows,
Through Indra's veins the influence flows,
With fervour flushed he stands;
His forehead glows, his eyes are fired,
His mighty frame with force inspired,
His towering form expands.
He straightway calls his brave allies,
To valorous deeds exhorts, and cries—
"Stride, Vishṇu, forward stride;
Come, Maruts, forth with me to war,
See yonder Vṛittra stands afar,
And waits the coming of my car;
We soon shall crush his pride."

(8) *Indra, attended by the Maruts, sets out to encounter Vṛittra.*

Amid the plaudits, long and loud,
Which burst from all the heavenly crowd,
Charmed by the sweet and magic sound
Of hymns pronounced by bards renowned,
Viewed by admiring troops of friends,
The valiant god his car ascends.
Swept by his fervid bounding steeds,
Athwart the sky the hero speeds.
The Marut-hosts his escort form,
Impetuous spirits of the storm.
On flashing lightning-cars they ride,
And gleam in warlike pomp and pride:
Each head a golden helmet crests,
And glittering mail adorns their breasts;
Spears on their shoulders rest, their hands
Bear arrows, bows, and lightning-brands.
Bright tinkling anklets deck their feet,
And thought than they is not more fleet;
Like lions' roar their voice of doom;
With iron force their teeth consume.
The hills, the earth itself, they shake,
All creatures at their coming quake;

Their headlong fury none can stay,
All obstacles are swept away.
The forest's leafy monarchs tall
Before their onset crashing fall,
As when in fierce destructive mood
Wild elephants invade a wood.

(9) *Indra's conflict with Vṛittra.*

Who is it that, without alarm,
Defies the might of Indra's arm;
That stands and sees without dismay
The approaching Maruts' dread array;
That does not shun, in wild affright,
The terrors of the deadly fight?
'Tis Vṛittra,[221] he whose magic powers
From earth withhold the genial showers,
Of mortal men the foe malign,
And rival of the race divine,
Whose demon hosts from age to age
With Indra war unceasing wage,
Who, times unnumbered, crushed and slain,
Is ever newly born again,
And evermore renews the strife
In which again he forfeits life.
Perched on a steep aerial height,
Shone Vṛittra's stately fortress bright.
Upon the wall, in martial mood,
The bold gigantic demon stood,
Confiding in his magic arts,
And armed with store of fiery darts.
And then was seen a dreadful sight,
When god and demon met in fight.
His sharpest missiles Vṛittra shot,
His thunderbolts and lightnings hot
He hurled as thick as rain.

221 The demon who personifies drought, and is also called S'ushṇa and Ahi.

The god his fiercest rage defied,
His blunted weapons glanced aside,
  At Indra launched in vain.
When thus he long had vainly toiled,
When all his weapons had recoiled,
His final efforts had been foiled,
  And all his force consumed,—
In gloomy and despairing mood
The baffled demon helpless stood,
  And knew his end was doomed.
The lightnings then began to flash,
The direful thunderbolts to crash,
  By Indra proudly hurled.
The gods themselves with awe were stilled
And stood aghast, and terror filled
  The universal world.
Even Tvashṭri sage, whose master-hand
Had forged the bolts his art had planned,
  Who well their temper knew,—
Quailed when he heard the dreadful clang
That through the quivering welkin rang,
  As o'er the sky they flew.
And who the arrowy shower could stand,
Discharged by Indra's red right hand,—
The thunderbolts with hundred joints,
The iron shafts with thousand points,
Which blaze and hiss athwart the sky,
Swift to their mark unerring fly,
And lay the proudest foemen low,
With sudden and resistless blow,
Whose very sound can put to flight
The fools who dare the Thunderer's might?
And soon the knell of Vṛittra's doom
Was sounded by the clang and boom
  Of Indra's iron shower;
Pierced, cloven, crushed, with horrid yell,
The dying demon headlong fell

Down from his cloud-built tower.
Now bound by Sushṇa's spell no more,
The clouds discharge their liquid store;
And, long by torrid sunbeams baked,
The plains by copious showers are slaked;
The rivers swell, and sea-ward sweep
Their turbid torrents broad and deep.
The peasant views, with deep delight
And thankful heart, the auspicious sight.
His leafless fields, so sere and sad,
Will soon with waving crops be clad,
And mother Earth, now brown and bare,
A robe of brilliant green will wear.
And now the clouds disperse, the blue
Of heaven once more comes forth to view.
The sun shines out, all nature smiles,
Redeemed from Vṛittra's power and wiles;
The gods, with gratulations meet,
And loud acclaim, the victor greet;
While Indra's mortal votaries sing
The praises of their friend and king.
The frogs, too, dormant long, awake,
And floating on the brimming lake,
In loud responsive croak unite,
And swell the chorus of delight.

(10) *Indra's greatness.*

What poet now, what sage of old,
The greatness of that god hath told,
Who from his body vast gave birth
To father Sky and mother Earth;
Who hung the heavens in empty space,
And gave the earth a stable base;
Who framed and lighted up the sun,
And made a path for him to run;
Whose power transcendent, since their birth
Asunder holds the heaven and earth,

As chariot-wheels are kept apart
By axles framed by workmen's art?
In greatness who with Him can vie,
Who fills the earth, the air, the sky,
Whose presence unperceived extends
Beyond the world's remotest ends?
A hundred earths, if such there be,
A hundred skies fall short of thee;
A thousand suns would not outshine
The effulgence of thy light divine.
The worlds, which mortals boundless deem,
To thee but as a handful seem.
Thou, Indra, art without a peer
On earth, or yonder heavenly sphere.
Thee, god, such matchless powers adorn,
That thou without a foe wast born.
Thou art the universal lord,
By gods revered, by men adored.
Should all the other gods conspire,
They could not frustrate thy desire.
The circling years, which wear away
All else, to thee bring no decay;
Thou bloomest on in youthful force,
While countless ages run their course.
Unvexed by cares, or fears, or strife,
In bliss serene flows on thy life.

(11) *Indra's relations to his worshippers.*

Thou, Indra, art a friend, a brother,
A kinsman dear, a father, mother.
Though thou hast troops of friends, yet we
Can boast no other friend but thee.
With this our hymn thy skirt we grasp,
As boys their father's garments clasp;
Our ardent prayers thy form embrace,
As women's arms their lords enlace;

They round thee cling with gentle force,
Like saddle-girth around a horse.
With faith we claim thine aid divine,
For thou art ours, and we are thine.
Thou art not deaf; though far away,
Thou hearest all, whate'er we pray.
And be not like a lazy priest,
Who battens at the dainty feast,
Sits still in self-indulgent ease,
And only cares himself to please.
Come, dole not out with niggard hand
The brilliant boons at thy command.
Thy gracious hands are wont to grant
Profusely all thy servants want.
Why is it, then, thou sittest still,
And dost not now our hopes fulfil?
If I were thou, and thou wert I,
My suppliant should not vainly cry.
Wert thou a mortal, I divine,
In want I ne'er would let thee pine.
Had I, like thee, unbounded power,
I gifts on all my friends would shower.
Shed wealth, as trees, when shaken, rain
Their ripe fruit down upon the plain.
Thy strong right hand, great god, we hold
With eager grasp, imploring gold.
Thou canst our longings all fulfil;
If such shall only be thy will.
Like headlong bull's, thy matchless force
Strikes all things down that bar thy course.
Art thou to gracious acts inclined?
Then who shall make thee change thy mind?
Abundant aids shoot forth from thee,
As leafy boughs from vigorous tree.
To wifeless men thou givest wives,
And joyful mak'st their joyless lives.

Thou givest sons, courageous, strong,
To guard their aged sires from wrong.
Lands, jewels, horses, herds of kine,—
All kinds of wealth are gifts of thine.
Thy friend is never slain; his might
Is never worsted in the fight.
Yes, those who in the battle's shock,
Thine aid, victorious god, invoke,
With force inspired, with deafening shout
Of triumph, put their foes to rout.
Thou blessest those thy praise who sing,
And plenteous gifts devoutly bring;
But thou chastisest all the proud,
The niggard, and the faithless crowd,
Who thine existence doubt, and cry
In scorn, "No Indra rules on high."
The rich can ne'er thy favourites be,
The rich who never think of thee.
When storms are lulled, and skies are bright,
Wine-swillers treat thee with despite.
When clouds collect and thunders roar,
The scoffers tremble and adore.
No deed is done but thou dost see;
No word is said unheard by thee.
The fates of mortals thou dost wield;
To thy decree the strongest yield.
Thou dost the high and fierce abase,
The lowly raisest in their place.
But thy true friends secure repose,
By thee redeemed from all their woes,
From straits brought forth to ample room,
To glorious light from thickest gloom.
And thou dost view with special grace,
The fair-complexioned Aryan race,
Who own the gods, their laws obey,
And pious homage duly pay.

Thou giv'st us horses, cattle, gold,
As thou didst give our sires of old.
Thou sweep'st away the dark-skinned brood,
Inhuman, lawless, senseless, rude,
Who know not Indra, hate his friends,
And spoil the race which he defends.
Chase, far away the robbers chase,
Slay those barbarians black and base;
And save us, Indra, from the spite
Of sprites that haunt us in the night,
Our rites disturb by contact vile,
Our hallowed offerings defile.
Preserve us, friend, dispel our fears,
And let us live a hundred years.
And when our earthly course we've run,
And gain'd the region of the Sun,
Then let us live in ceaseless glee,
Sweet nectar quaffing there with thee.

SECTION VII.

PARJANYA.

The following hymn, R.V. v. 83, affords a picturesque description of Parjanya, the thundering rain-god:

v. 83, 1. *Achha vada tavasaṁ gīrbhir ābhiḥ stuhi Parjanyaṁ namasā āvivāsa | kanikradad vṛishabho jīradānuḥ reto dadhāti oshadhīshu garbham | 2. Vi vṛikshān hanti uta hanti rakshaso viśvam bibhāya bhuvanam mahāvadhāt | uta anāgāḥ īshate vṛishṇyāvato yat Parjanyaḥ stanayan hanti dushkṛitaḥ | 3. Rathīva kaśayā 'śvān abhikshipann āvir dūtān kṛiṇute varshyān aha | dūrāt siṁhasya stanathāḥ ud īrate yat Parjanyaḥ kṛiṇute varshyaṁ nabhaḥ | 4. Pra vātāḥ vānti patayanti vidyutaḥ ud oshadhīr jihate pinvate svaḥ | irā viśvasmai bhuvanāya jāyate yat Parjanyaḥ pṛithivīṁ retasā 'vati | 5. Yasya vrate pṛithivī namnamīti yasya vrate śaphavaj jarbhurīti | yasya vrate oshadhīr viśvarūpāḥ sa naḥ Parjanya mahi śarma yachha | 6. Ḍivo no vṛishṭim Maruto rarīdhvam pra pinvata vṛishṇo aśvasya dhārāḥ | arvāṁ etena stanayitnunā ā ihi apo nishinchann asuraḥ pitā naḥ | 7. Abhi kranda stanaya garbham ā dhāḥ udanvatā pari dīya rathena | dṛitiṁ su karsha nishitam nyañcam samāḥ bhavantu udvato nipādāḥ | 8. Mahāntaṁ kośam ud acha nishincha syandantāṁ kulyāḥ vishitāḥ purastāt | ghṛitena dyāvā-pṛithivī vi undhi suprapāṇam bhavatu aghnyābhyaḥ | 9. Yat Parjanya kanikradat stanayan haṁsi dushkṛitaḥ | prati idaṁ viśvam modate yat kincha pṛithivyām adhi | 10. Avarshīr varsham ud u su gṛibhāya akar dhanvāni ati etavai u | ajījanaḥ oshadhīr bhojanāya kam uta prajābhyo avido manīshām |*

1. "Address the powerful (god) with these words; laud Prajanya; worship him with reverence: the procreative and stimulating fructifier, resounding, sheds his seed and impregnates the plants. 2. He splits the trees, he destroys the Rakshases; the whole creation is afraid of

the mighty stroke; even the innocent man flees before the vigorous god, when Parjanya thundering smites the evil doers.[222] 3. Like a charioteer urging forward his horses with a whip, the god brings into view his showery scouts. From afar the lion's roarings arise, when Parjanya charges the clouds with rain. 4. The winds blow, the lightnings fall, the plants shoot up; the heaven fructifies; food is produced for all created things, when Parjanya, thundering, replenishes the earth with moisture. 5. Parjanya, before whose agency the earth bows down, at whose operation all hoofed cattle quiver; by whose action plants (spring up) of every form; do thou grant us thy mighty protection. 6. Grant to us, Maruts, the rain of the sky; replenish the streams of the procreative horse; come hither with this thy thunder, our divine father, shedding waters. 7. Resound, thunder, impregnate, rush hither and thither with thy watery chariot. Draw on forward with thee thy opened and inverted water-skin; let the hills and dales be levelled. 8. Raise aloft thy vast water-vessel, and pour down showers; let the discharged rivulets roll on forward; moisten the heaven and earth with fatness; let there be well-filled drinking-places for the cows. 9. When thou, Parjanya, resounding and thundering, dost slay the evil-doers, the whole universe rejoices, whatever lives upon the earth. 10. Thou hast shed down rain; now desist; thou hast made the waterless wastes fit to be traversed; thou hast generated plants for food, and thou hast fulfilled the desires of living creatures."[223]

Parjanya is also celebrated in two other hymns of the Rig-veda, viz., vii. 101, 102. The latter consists of only three verses, and the former is less spirited and poetical than that which I have translated. It assigns to Parjanya, however, several grander epithets and functions than are found in the other, as it represents this deity as the lord of all moving creatures (vii. 101, 2: *yo viśvasya jagato devaḥ īśe*); declares

[222] There does not seem to be any sufficient reason to understand evildoers here, and in verse 9, of the cloud demons, who withold rain, or simply of the malignant clouds, as Sāyaṇa in his explanation of verse 9 (*pāpakṛito meghān*) does. The poet may naturally have supposed that it was exclusively or principally the wicked who were struck down by thunderbolts. Dr. Bühler thinks the cloud-demons are meant (Orient und Occident, i. 217, note 2).

[223] This last clause is translated according to Professor Roth's explanation, *s.v. manīshā*. Wilson, following Sāyaṇa, renders "verily thou hast obtained laudation from the people," and Dr. Bühler gives the same sense: "thou hast received praise from the creatures." *Prajābhyaḥ* may of course be either a dative or ablative.

that all worlds (or creatures), and the three spheres abide in him (ibid. 4: *yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthus tisro dyāvaḥ*); that in him is the soul of all things moving and stationary[224] (ibid. 6: *tasminn ātmā jagataś tastushaś cha*); and designates him as the independent monarch (ibid. 5: *svarāje*). In vii. 102, 1, he is called the son of Dyaus or the Sky (*Divas putrāya*). Parjanya is also mentioned in various detached verses in the R.V., viz. iv. 57, 8; v. 63, 4, 6; vi. 52, 6; vii. 35, 10; viii. 6, 1; viii. 21, 18; ix. 2, 9; ix. 22, 2; x. 66, 6; x. 98, 1, 8; x. 169, 2. In vi. 49, 6; vi. 50, 12; x. 65, 9; x. 66, 10, he is conjoined with Vāta the wind (*Parjanya-vātā, Vātā-parjanyā*), and in vi. 52, 16, with Agni (*Agniparjanyau*). In ix. 82, 3, he is called the father of the great leafy plant soma (*Parjanyaḥ pitā mahishasya parṇinaḥ* | compare ix. 113, 3).

Parjanya forms the subject of two papers by Dr. G. Bühler, the one in English in the Transactions of the London Philological Society for 1859, pp. 154 ff., and the other in German in Benfey's Orient und Occident, vol. i. (1862) pp. 214 ff. The latter of these papers is not however, a translation of the former. The former contains an English version of the hymns R.V. v. 83; vii. 101, and vii. 102; to which the German article adds a translation of A.V. iv. 15, a hymn consisting of sixteen verses. The English paper contains a comparison of Parjanya with the Lithuanian god Perkunas, the god of thunder, which is not reproduced in the German essay. Dr. Bühler holds Parjanya to have been decidedly distinct from Indra (Transact. Phil. Soc. p. 167, and Or. und Occ. 229). In the English paper he says (p. 161): "Taking a review of the whole, we find that Parjanya is a god who presides over the lightning, the thunder, the rain, and the procreation of plants and living creatures. But it is by no means clear whether he is originally a god of the rain, or a god of the thunder." He inclines however to think that from the etymology of his name, and the analogy between him and Perkunas, he was originally the thunder-god (pp. 161–167). In his German essay, his conclusion is (p. 226) that Parjanya is "the god of thunderstorms and rain, the generator and nourisher of plants and living creatures."

[224] Compare i. 115, 1, where the same thing is said of Sūrya.

SECTION VIII.

VĀYU.

Vāyu, the wind, as we have already seen, is often associated with Indra. See also i. 2, 4; i. 14, 3; i. 23, 2; i. 135, 4 ff. (*ā vāṁ ratho niyutvān vakshad avase abhi prayāṁsi sudhitāni vītaye vāyo havyāni vītaye | pibatam madhvo andhasaḥ pūrvapeyaṁ hi vāṁ hitam* | "Let your car with team of horses bring you to our aid; and to the offerings which are well-arranged for eating; Vāyu, the oblations (are well-arranged) for eating. Drink of the soma, for to you twain belongs the right to take the first draught;" and see the next verse); i. 139, 1; ii. 41, 3; iv. 46, 2 ff.; iv. 47, 2 ff.; v. 51, 4, 6 f.; vii. 90, 5 ff.; vii. 91, 4 ff.; x. 65, 9; x. 141, 4. The two gods appear to have been regarded by the ancient expositors of the Veda as closely connected with each other; for the Nairuktas, as quoted by Yāska (Nirukta, vii. 5), while they fix upon Agni and Sūrya as the representatives of the terrestrial and celestial gods respectively, speak of Vāyu and Indra in conjunction, as deities, either of whom may represent those of the intermediate sphere: *Tisraḥ eva devatāḥ iti Nairuktāḥ Agniḥ pṛithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā antarikshа-sthānaḥ sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ* | "There are three gods according to the Nairuktas, viz., Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the air, and Sūrya, whose place is in the heaven," etc.

Vāyu does not occupy a very prominent place in the Rig-veda. If we except the allegorical description in the Purusha Sūkta, x. 90, 13, where he is said to have sprung from the breath of Purusha (*prāṇād Vāyur ajāyata*), or unless we understand vii. 90, 3 (*rāye nu yaṁ jajnatuḥ rodasī ime* | "He whom the two worlds generated for wealth") to assert that he was produced by heaven and earth, I am aware of no passage where the parentage of Vāyu is declared. He is, however,

said to be the son-in-law of Tvashṭṛi (viii. 26, 21 f. *tava Vāyo ṛitaspate Tvashṭur jāmātar adbhuta | avāṁsi ā vṛiṇīmahe | 22. Tvashṭur jāmātaraṁ vayaṁ īśānaṁ rāyaḥ īmahe | sutāvanto Vāyuṁ dyumnā janāsaḥ |* 21. "We ask thy succours, o Vāyu, lord of rites, wondrous son-in-law of Tvashṭṛi. 22. We men offering libations resort to Vāyu, Tvashṭṛi's son-in-law, the lord of wealth, and seek for splendour"); but his wife's name is not given.[225] But few epithets are applied to him. He is called *darśata*, "sightly," "beautiful," or "conspiuous" (i. 2, 1), and *supsarastama*, "most handsome in form" (viii. 26, 24). He is naturally described as *krandad-ishṭi*, "rushing noisily onwards" (x. 100, 2). Together with Indra, he is designated as touching the sky, swift as thought, wise, thousand-eyed (*divispṛiśā, manojavā, viprā, sahasrākshā*, i. 23, 2, 3). He moves in a shining car, drawn by a pair of red or purple horses (i. 134, 3: *Vāyur yunkte rohitā Vāyur aruṇā*), or by several teams of horses, *chandreṇa rathena, niyutvatā rathena* (iv. 48, 1; i. 134, 1; i. 135, 4; iv. 47, 1), His team is often said to consist of ninety-nine, of a hundred, or even of a thousand horses, yoked by his will, i. 135, 1, 3 (*sahasreṇa niyutā | niyudbhiḥ śatinībhiḥ | sahasriṇībhiḥ |*); ii. 41, 1 (*sahasriṇo rathāsaḥ*); iv. 48, 4, 5 (*vahantu tvā manoyujo yuktāso navatir nava*); vii. 91, 6; vii. 92, 1, 5. As before mentioned (p. 85), Indra and Vāyu frequently occupy the same chariot, iv. 46, 2; iv. 48, 2 (*Indra-sārathiḥ | Vāyo*); vii. 91, 5 (*Indravāyū sarathaṁ yātam arvāk*), which has its framework of gold, which touches the sky, and is drawn by a thousand horses, iv. 46, 3, 4 (*ā vāṁ sahasraṁ harayaḥ Indravāyū abhi prayaḥ | vahantu somapītaye | rathaṁ hiraṇyavandhuram*[226] *Indravāyū svadharam | ā hi sthātho divispṛiśam*). Vāyu, like the other gods, is a drinker of soma. In fact, he alone, or in conjunction with Indra, was, by the admission of the other gods, entitled to the first draught of this libation, i. 134, 1; i. 135, 1, 4 (*tubhyaṁ hi pūrvapītaye devāḥ devāya yemire | 4. Pūrvapeyaṁ hi vāṁ hitam*); iv. 46, 1 (*tvaṁ hi pūrvapāḥ asi*); v. 43, 3; vii. 92, 2 (*pra yad vāṁ madhvaḥ agriyam bharanti adhvaryavaḥ*); viii. 26, 25.[227] It is

[225] Sāyaṇa gives no help. He merely says: *eshā kathā itihāsādibhir avagantavyā* | "This story is to be learned from the Itihasas, etc." In the Section on Tvashṭṛi we shall see that according to R.V. x. 17, 1 f. he had a daughter called Saraṇyu, who was the wife of Vivasvat; but Vivasvat is not identical with Vāyu.

[226] Regarding the word *vandhura* see a note in the Section on the Aśvins.

[227] On this subject we find the following story in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 25:

remarkable that Vāyu is but rarely connected with the Maruts or deities of the storm; but in one place (i. 134, 4) he is said to have begotten them from the rivers of heaven (*ajanayo Maruto vakshaṇābhyo divaḥ ā vakshaṇābhyaḥ*); and in another place (i. 142, 12) to be attended by Pūshan, the Maruts and the Viśve devas (*Pūshaṇvate Marutvate viśvadevāya Vāyave*).

The following hymns are addressed to Vāta (another name of the god of the wind). The imagery in the first is highly poetical:

x. 168, 1. *Vātasya nu mahimānam rathasya rujann eti stanayann asya ghoshaḥ | divispṛig yāti aruṇāni kṛiṇvann uto eti pṛithivyāḥ reṇum asyan | 2. Sam prerate anu vātasya vishṭhāḥ ā enaṁ gachhanti samanaṁ na yoshāḥ | tābhiḥ sayuk sarathaṁ devaḥ īyate asya viśvasya bhuvanasya rājā | 3. Antarikshe pathibhir īyamāno na ni viśate katamach chana ahaḥ | apāṁ sakhā prathamajāḥ ṛitāvā kva svij jātaḥ kutaḥ ābabhūva | ātmā devānām bhuvanasya garbho yathāvaśaṁ charati devaḥ eshaḥ | ghoshāḥ id asya śṛiṇvire na rūpaṁ tasmai Vātāya havishā vidhema |*

"1. (I celebrate) the glory of Vāta's chariot; its noise comes rending and resounding. Touching the sky, he moves onward, making all things ruddy: and he comes propelling the dust of the earth. 2. The

Devāḥ vai Somasya rājno 'grapeye na samapādayann "aham prathamaḥ pibeyam" "aham prathamaḥ pibeyam" ity eva akāmayanta | te sampādayanto 'bruvan "hanta ājim iyāma sa yo naḥ ujjeshyati sa prathamaḥ somasya pāsyati" iti | "tathā" iti | te ājim ayuḥ | teshām ājiṁ yatām abhisṛishṭānāṁ Vāyur mukham prathamaḥ pratyapadyata atha Indro 'tha Mitrāvaruṇāv atha Aśvinau | so 'ved Indro Vāyum ud vai jayati iti tam anu parāpatat | sa ha "nāv atha ujjayāva" iti | sa "na" ity abravīd "aham eva ujjeshyāmi" iti | "tṛitīyam me 'tha ujjayāva" iti | "na" iti ha eva abravīd "aham eva ujjeshyāmi" iti | "turīyam me 'tha ujjayāva iti | "tathā" iti | taṁ turīye 'tyājata | tat turīya-bhāg Indro 'bhavat tribhāg Vāyuḥ | tau saha eva Indravāyū udajayatāṁ saha Mitrāvaruṇau saha Aśvinau | "The gods did not agree in regard to the first draught of king Soma; but each of them desired, 'Let me drink first,' 'let me drink first." But coming to an arrangement, they said: 'Come, let us run a race, and the victor shall first drink the Soma.' 'Agreed,' said they all. They ran a race accordingly; and when they started and ran, Vāyu first reached the goal, then Indra, then Mitra and Varuṇa, and last the Aśvins. Indra thought he might beat Vāyu, and he followed him closely; and said 'Let us two now be the victors.' 'No,' rejoined Vāyu, 'I alone shall be the winner.' 'Let us so win together that I shall have a third (of the draught),' said Indra. 'No,' said Vāyu, 'I alone shall be the winner.' 'Let us so win together that I shall have the fourth,' continued Indra. 'Agreed,' said Vāyu. He gave him a right to the fourth, so Indra has one share out of four and Vāyu three. So Indra and Vāyu won together, as did Mitra and Varuṇa, and the two Aśvins respectively." See the story of another similar settlement by a race in the Ait. Br. iv. 7 f.

gusts (?) of the air rush after him, and congregate in him as womon in an assembly. Sitting along with them on the same car, the god, who is king of this universe, is borne along. 3. Hasting forward, by paths in the atmosphere, he never rests on any day. Friend of the waters, first-born, holy, in what place was he born? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, source of the universe, this deity moves as he lists.[228] His sounds have been heard, but his form is not (seen): this Vāta let us worship with an oblation."

x. 186, 1. *Vātaḥ ā vātu bheshajaṁ śambhu mayobhu no hṛide | 2. Pra naḥ āyūṁshi tārishat | uta Vāta pitā 'si naḥ uta bhrātā uta naḥ sakhā | sa no jīvātave kṛidhi | 3. Yad ado Vāta te gṛihe amṛitasya nidhir hitaḥ | tato no dehi jīvase |*

"1. Let Vāta, the wind, waft to us healing,[229] salutary, and auspicious, to our heart: may he prolong our lives. 2. And, Vāta, thou art our father, our brother, and our friend: cause us to live. 3. From the treasure of immortality, which is deposited yonder in thy house, o Vāta, give us to live."

Here the same property is ascribed to Vāta which is elsewhere ascribed to Rudra, that of bringing healing.

[228] Compare St. John's Gospel, iii. 8: The wind bloweth where it listeth," etc.
[229] Compare i. 89, 4.

SECTION IX.

THE MARUTS.

(1) *Their parentage, epithets, characteristics, and action.*

The Maruts, or Rudras, the gods of the tempest,[230] who form a large troop of thrice sixty (viii. 85, 8: *triḥ shashṭis tvā Maruto vavṛidhānāḥ*), or of only twenty-seven (i. 133, 6: *trisaptaiḥ śūra satvabhiḥ*),[231] are the sons of Rudra and Pṛiśni[232] (*Rudrasya maryāḥ | Rudrasya sūnavaḥ | Rudrasya sūnūn | Rudrasya putrāḥ | idam pitre marutām uchyate vachaḥ | pitar marutāṁ . . . Rudra | Pṛiśniṁ vochanta mātaram | adha pitaram ishmiṇaṁ Rudraṁ vochanta | yuvā pitā svapāḥ Rudraḥ eshāṁ sudughā Pṛiśniḥ sudinā marudbhyaḥ | Pṛiśnimātaraḥ | asūta Pṛiśnir mahate raṇāya tvesham ayāsām Marutāṁ anīkam | Gomātaraḥ | Gaur dhayati Marutāṁ śravasyur mātā maghonām |*),[233] or the speckled cow (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1 f.; i. 114, 6; i. 168, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2;

[230] Prof. Benfey, in a note to R.V. i. 6, 4, says that the Maruts (their name being derived from *mar*, 'to die,') are personifications of the souls of the departed.

[231] See also A.V. xiii. 1, 3, where the same smaller number is given: *trishaptāso marutaḥ svādusammudaḥ*. Sāyaṇa interprets the words of R.V. viii. 28, 5, *saptānāṁ sapta ṛishṭayaḥ* | "The seven have seven spears," by saying that it refers to an ancient story of Indra severing the embryo of Aditi into seven parts, from which sprang the Maruts according to the Vedic text: "The Maruts are divided into seven troops." The same story is told at greater length by Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 114, 6, where, however, it is said to be Diti, mother of the Asuras, whose embryo Indra severed first into seven portions, each of which he then subdivided into seven. See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 256.

[232] This word is regarded as a personification of the speckled clouds in Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 39, p. 145. In his Lexicon the same scholar says that like other designations of the cow, the word is employed in various figurative and mythical references, to denote the earth, the clouds, milk, the variegated or starry heaven. On ii. 34, 2, Sāyaṇa refers (as an alternative explanation) to a story of Rudra, as a bull, begetting the Maruts on Pṛiśni, the Earth, in the form of a cow.

[233] The Taittirīya Saṁhitā, ii. 2, 11, 4, says: *Pṛiśniyai vai payaso maruto jātāḥ* | "The Maruts were born from Pṛiśni's milk."

v. 42, 15; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5; v. 59, 6; vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 7, 3, 17; viii. 20, 17; viii. 83, 1). They are, however, said to be like sons to Indra (*sa sūnubhir na Rudrebhiḥ*, i. 100, 5); and they are also called *sindhu-mātaraḥ*, children of the ocean, whether we suppose this to be the aerial or terrestrial sea (x. 78, 6), and sons of Heaven, *divas-putrāsaḥ* (x. 77, 2), and *Divo maryāḥ*, iii. 53, 13; v. 59, 6. See Müller's Trans. of R.V. p. 93. In v. 56, 8, mention is made of the chariot of the Maruts "in which Rodasī stood bringing enjoyments, in company with the Maruts" (*ā yasmin tasthau suraṇāni bibhratī sachā marutsu Rodasī*). On this Sāyaṇa remarks that Rodasī is the wife of Rudra and mother of the Maruts; or that Rudra is the Wind (Vāyu), and his wife the intermediate or aerial goddess. (*Rodasī Rudrasya patnī marutām mātā | yadvā Rudro Vāyuḥ | tat-patnī mādhyamikā devī*). They are frequently associated with Indra, as we have already seen;—(compare the expressions which describe them as his allies and friends, and as increasing his strength and prowess, at the same time that they celebrate his greatness: *Marutvantam Indram | Indra-jyeṣhṭhāḥ marud-gaṇāḥ | sakhibhiḥ svebhir evaiḥ | ye te śushmaṁ ye tavishīm avardhann archantaḥ Indra marutas te ojaḥ | piba Rudrebhiḥ saganaḥ | ye tvā anu ahan Vṛittram adadhus tubhyam ojaḥ | archanti tvā Marutaḥ pūtadakhās tvam eshām ṛishir Indrāsi dhīraḥ | Rudrāsaḥ Indravantaḥ | ayam Indro Marut-sakhā | Bṛihad Indrāya gāyata marutaḥ* | i. 23, 7, 8; i. 100, 1 ff.; i. 101, 1, ff.; iii. 32, 2, 4; iii. 35, 9; iii. 47, 1, ff.; iii. 51, 7 ff.; v. 29, 1, 2, 6; v. 57, 1; vii. 32, 10; vii. 42, 5; viii. 36, 1 ff; viii. 52, 10; viii. 65, 1 ff; viii. 78, 1 ff.; viii. 85, 7 ff.; x. 73, 1; x. 99, 5; x. 113, 3);—but they are also celebrated separately in numerous hymns (as i. 37; i. 38; i. 39; i. 64; i. 85; i. 86; i. 87; i. 88; i. 166, which, with others, are rendered into English and illustrated in the 1st vol. of Professor Müller's Translation of the R.V.; see also i. 167; i. 168; v. 52; v. 53; v. 54; v. 55; v. 56; vii. 56; vii. 57; vii. 58, etc.) They are favourite deities of some of the rishis, and are often praised in highly poetical strains. They are like blazing fires, free from soil, of golden or tawny hue, and of sunlike brilliancy (*ye agnayo na śośuchann idhānāḥ | areṇavaḥ | hiraṇyāsaḥ | sūryatvachaḥ | aruṇapsavaḥ* | vi. 66, 2; vii. 59, 11; viii. 7, 7). They are also compared to swans with black plumage (*haṁsāso nīla-pṛishṭhāḥ*, vii. 59, 7); and are sometimes said to be playful as children or calves (*krīḷanti*

krīḷāḥ | śiśūlāḥ na krīḷayaḥ sumātaraḥ | vatsāso na prakrīḷinaḥ | i. 166, 2; vii. 56, 16; x. 78, 6). They are thus apostrophized in v. 54, 11: *aṁseshu vaḥ ṛishṭayaḥ patsu khādayo vakshassu rukmāḥ Maruto rathe śubhaḥ | agnibhrājäso vidyuto gabhastyoḥ śiprāḥ śīrshashu vitatāḥ hiraṉyayīḥ* | "Spears rest upon your shoulders, ye Maruts; ye have anklets on your feet, golden ornaments on your breasts, lustre in your cars, fiery lightnings in your hands, and golden helmets[234] placed upon your

[234] In ii. 34, 3, the epithet of *hiraṇya-śiprāḥ* is applied to these deities. This Sāyaṇa explains by *suvarṇamaya-śirastrāṇāḥ*, "with golden helmets." That one sense of *śiprā* (feminine) is "a head-dress, or a helmet," is settled by the verse in the text, v. 54, 11, where the words are *śiprāḥ śīrshasu vitatāḥ hiraṇyayīḥ*, "golden helmets are stretched or (placed) upon your heads;" and also by viii. 7, 25, where it is said, *śiprāḥ śīrshan hiraṇyayīḥ . . . vyanjata śriye*, "they displayed for ornament golden helmets on their heads." In the first of these passages, Sāyaṇa interprets *śiprāḥ* as meaning a 'turban,' in the second a 'helmet.' It thus appears that *śiprāḥ*, in these texts at least, must mean something external to the head, and not a feature of the face as *śipra* is often interpreted, when applied to Indra. Thus *suśipra* is explained by Sāyaṇa on i. 9, 3, as meaning *śobhana-hano śobhana-nāsika vā*, "having handsome jaws, or a handsome nose;" since Yaska, he says, makes *śipra* to mean one or other of these two parts of the face (Nirukta, vi. 17). The same explanation is given by Sāyaṇa on i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; and i. 101, 10. On iii. 30, 3, however, the same commentator says: *śipra-śabdena śirastrāṇam abhidhīyate | śobhana-śirastrāṇopetaḥ | yadvā śobhana-hanumān* | "By the word *śipra*, a helmet is signified. *Suśipra* therefore means 'having a handsome helmet,' or it means 'having handsome jaws.' On iii. 32, 3; iii. 36, 10; viii. 32, 4, 24; viii. 33, 7; viii. 55, 4; he returns to the latter interpretation. On viii. 17, 4; viii. 81, 4; viii. 82, 12; he again gives the alternative explanation as on iii. 30, 3. Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with a note on the subject of the word *śipra* and its derivatives, of which the following are the most important parts: *Śipra* in the dual means jaws (i. 101, 10; iii. 32, 1; v. 36, 2; viii. 65, 10; x. 96, 9; x. 105, 5). *Śipravat* means "having large jaws" (vi. 17, 2). *Śiprin* means the same, and is used only of Indra (i. 29, 2; i. 84, 1; iii. 36, 10, etc. etc.). *Śipriṇī*, as Professor Aufrecht considers, means "a draught (imbibed by the jaws);" and he translates i. 30, 11, thus: "(Partake, our friend, wielder of the thunderbolt, of the draughts of us thy friends the soma-drinkers, thou who art fond of Soma." *Śipruṇīvat* (x. 105, 5) will thus be "he who possesses the draught." *Śiprāḥ* in v. 54, 11, and viii. 7, 25, are "visors," the two parts of which are compared to two jaws. *Ayaḥ-śipra*, used of the Ṛibhus (iv. 37, 4) will consequently mean "having iron visors." The word occurs in other compounds, to which I need not here refer. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the armour of India to know whether anything like a visor was or is used by warriors in that country. It is, however, customary for the Hindus in particular circumstances (as for protection from the heat, and also from the cold, and for purposes of disguise) to wear their turbans not only wrapped horizontally round their heads, but also to tie another cloth perpendicularly under their chins and over the tops of their heads, thus enclosing the sides of their faces. This is called in the vernacular Hindī *ḍhāṭhā bāndhnā*. The word *ḍhaṭhā* is explained in Shakespear's Hindustani Dictionary, *s.v.* as "a handkerchief tied over the turband and over the ears."

heads." Compare i. 64, 4; i. 166, 10; ii. 34, 2, 3 (*dyāvo na stṛibhiś chitayanta khādinaḥ* | "adorned with rings, they were conspicuous like the sky with its stars"); v. 53, 4 (where, in addition to their ornaments and their weapons, they are said to have been decorated with garlands: *ye anjishu ye vāśīshu svabhānavaḥ srakshu rukmeshu khādishu* | *śrāyāḥ ratheshu dhanvasu*); v. 55, 1; v. 57, 5, 6 (every glory is manifested in their bodies: *viśvā vaḥ śrīr adhi tanūshu pipiśe*); v. 58, 2 (*khādihastam*); vii. 56, 11, 13 (*aṁseshu vo Marutaḥ khādayaḥ*[235] | "on your shoulders, Maruts, are rings"); viii. 7, 25; viii. 20, 4 (*śubhrakhādayaḥ*), 11, 22; x. 78, 2. They are armed with golden weapons, and with lightnings, dart thunderbolts, gleam like flames of fire, and are borne along with the fury of boisterous winds (*vidyunmahaso naro aśmadidyavo vātatvisho Marutaḥ*, v. 54, 3); viii. 7, 4, 17, 32 (*vajrahastaiḥ . . . maṛudbhiḥ . . . hiraṇyavāśībhiḥ*); x. 78, 2, 3 (*vātāso na ye dhunayo jigatnavo agnīnāṁ na jihvāḥ virokinaḥ*); they split Vṛittra into fragments (viii. 7, 23: *vi vṛittram parvaśo yayuḥ*); they are clothed with rain (*varshanirṇijaḥ*, v. 57, 4); they create darkness even during the day, with the rain-clouds distribute showers all over the world, water the earth, and avert heat: i. 38, 9 (*divā chit tamaḥ kṛiṇvanti parjanyena udavāhena* | *yat pṛithivīṁ vyundanti*); v. 54, 1 (*śardhāya mārutāya . . . gharma-stubhe*); v. 55, 5 (*ud īrayatha Marutaḥ samudrato yūyaṁ vṛishṭiṁ varshayatha purīshiṇaḥ*); viii. 7, 4 (*vapanti maruto miham* | 16. *ye drapsāḥ iva rodasī dhamanti anu vṛishṭibhiḥ*).[236] They open up a path for the sun, viii. 7, 8 (*sṛijanti raśmim ojasā panthāṁ sūryāya yātave*). They cause the mountains, the earth, and both the worlds to quake, i. 39, 5 (*pra vepayanti parvatān*); i. 87, 3 (*rejate bhūmiḥ*); v. 54, 1, 3 (*parvatachyutaḥ*); v. 60, 2 f. (*vo bhiyā pṛithivī chid rejate parvataś chit* | *parvataś chin mahi vṛiddho bibhāya divaś chit sānu rejate svane vaḥ*); vii. 57, 1 (*ye rejayanti rodasī chid urvī*); viii. 7, 4; viii. 20, 5. They rend trees, and, like wild elephants, they devour the forests, i. 39, 5; i. 64, 7 (*vi vinchanti vanaspatīn* | *mṛigāḥ iva hastinaḥ*

[235] On the sense of the word *khādi* see Müller's Trans. of the R.V. p. 102 and 218.

[236] In a hymn of the A.V. iv. 27, verse 3, the Maruts are said to give an impulse to the milk of cows, the sap of plants, the speed of horses (*payo dhenūnāṁ rasam oshadhīnāṁ javam arvatāṁ kavayo ye invatha*); and in the 4th verse they are described as raising the waters from the sea to the sky, and as discharging them from the sky on the earth (*apaḥ samudrād divam udvahanti divas pṛithivīm abhi ye sṛijanti*).

khādatha vanā). They have iron teeth (*ayodaṁshṭrān*, i. 88, 5); they roar like lions (*siṁhāḥ iva nānadati*, i. 64, 8); all creatures are afraid of them, i. 85, 8 (*bhayante víśvā bhuvanā marudbhyaḥ*. Their weapons are of various descriptions—spears, bows, quivers, and arrows (*vāśīmantaḥ ṛishṭimantaḥ | ishumanto nishanginaḥ*), i. 37, 2; v. 57, 2. Their coursers are swift as thought (*manojuvaḥ*, i. 85, 4). They ride, with whips in their hands (*kaśāḥ hasteshu*, i. 37, 3; i. 168, 4), in golden cars (*hiraṇyarathāḥ*, v. 57, 1), with golden wheels (*hiraṇyebhiḥ pavibhiḥ | hiraṇya-chakrān*, i. 64, 11; i. 88, 5), drawn by ruddy and tawny horses (with which the chariots are said to be winged), and flashing forth lightnings, or formed of lightning, i. 88, 1, 2 (*ā vidyunmadbhiḥ rathebhir ṛishṭimadbhir aśvaparṇaiḥ | aruṇebhiḥ piśangair aśvaiḥ*); iii. 54, 13 (*vidyudrathāḥ Marutaḥ ṛishṭimantaḥ*); v. 57, 4 (*piśangāśvāḥ aruṇāśvāḥ*). The animals by which these chariots are described as being drawn are designated in some places by the epithet *pṛishatīḥ* (i. 37, 2; i. 39, 6; i. 85, 5; viii. 7, 28), which Professor Wilson—following Sāyaṇa on Rig-veda, i. 37, 2[237]—renders by "spotted deer." But in i. 38, 12, the horses (*aśvāsaḥ*) of the Maruts are spoken of, as is also the case in viii. 7, 27, where they (the horses) are called *hiraṇya-pāṇibhiḥ*, "golden-footed;" though in the next verse (28) the *pṛishatīḥ* are again spoken of, as well as a *prashṭiḥ rohitaḥ*, which we find also in i. 39, 6, and which Sāyaṇa understands to denote either a swift buck, or a buck yoked as a leader to the does. In i. 87, 4, the troop of Maruts itself receives the epithet *pṛishad-aśva*, "having spotted horses." This is, indeed, explained by Sāyaṇa in the sense of "having does marked with white spots instead of horses;"[238] but in his notes on v. 54, 2, 10, and v. 55, 1, where the Maruts' horses are again spoken of (*na vo aśvāḥ śrathayanta | īyante aśvaiḥ suyamebhir āśubhiḥ*), he does not repeat this explanation. In v. 55, 6, where the Maruts are described as having yoked *pṛishatīḥ* (feminine) as horses (*aśvān*, masculine,) to their chariots, Sāyaṇa says we may either understand "spotted mares," or suppose the word "horse" to stand for

[237] *Pṛishatyo vindu-yuktāḥ mṛigyo Maruḍ-vāhana-bhūtāḥ | "pṛishatyo Marutām" iti Nighaṇṭāv uktatvāt.*

[238] Benfey, in his translation of this verse (Orient und Occident, ii. 250) retains the sense of antelopes. In vii. 56, 1, the Maruts are styled *svaśvāḥ*, "having good horses," which Sāyaṇa explains *śobhana-vāhāḥ*, "having good carriers."

doe (*pṛishatīḥ . . . pṛishad-varṇāḥ vaḍavāḥ | sārangī vā atra aśva-śabda-vāchyā*). In his note on *pṛishatībhiḥ* in ii. 34, 3, he says they may be either does marked with white spots, or mares; and he interprets *pṛishatīḥ* in v. 57, 3, by *aśvāḥ*, mares. Professor Aufrecht, who has favoured me with a note on the subject of the word *pṛishatīḥ*, is of opinion that, looking to all the passages where it occurs in connection with the Maruts, it must mean mares.[239] Perhaps it is best to hold with Professor Müller (Trans. of R.V. i. p. 59) that the Vedic poets admitted both ideas, as we find "that they speak in the same hymns, and even in the same verse, of the fallow deer, and also of the horses of the Maruts."

In the following verses, viii. 83, 9 ff., high cosmical functions are ascribed to the Maruts: *ā ye viśvā pārthivāni paprathan rochanā divaḥ | Marutaḥ somapītaye* | 10. *Tyān nu pūtadakshaso divo vo Maruto huve asya somasya pītaye* | 11. *Tyān nu ye vi rodasī tastabhur Maruto huve | asya somasya pītaye* | 12. *Tāṁ nu Mārutaṁ gaṇaṁ girishṭhāṁ vṛishaṇaṁ huve | asya somasya pītaye* | 9 and 10. "I invite to drink this soma the Maruts who stretched out all the terrestrial regions, and the luminaries of the sky; I call from the heaven those Maruts of pure

[239] Professor Aufrecht has pointed out a number of passages regarding the sense of the words *pṛishad-aśva* and *pṛishat*, as Rāyamukuṭa on Amara, the Vāj. Sanh. xxiv. 11, 18; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, v. 5, 1, 10, and v. 5, 2, 9. He has also indicated another verse of the Rig-veda (v. 58, 6), where *pṛishatībhis* in the feminine is joined with *aśvaiḥ* in the masculine (where Professor Müller, Trans. of R.V. i. 59, would translate, "when you come with the deer, the horses, and the chariots"); and remarks that viii. 54, 10, 11, could not mean that the ṛishi received a thousand antelopes. (The words are these: *dātā me pṛishatīnāṁ rājā hiraṇyavīnām | mā devāḥ maghavā rishat* | 11. *Sahasre pṛishatīnām adhi śchandram bṛihat pṛithu | śukraṁ hiraṇyam ādade* | "O gods, may the bountiful king, the giver to me of the gold-decked *pṛishatīs*, never perish! 11. I received gold, brilliant, heavy, broad, and shining, over and above a thousand *pṛishatīs* (probably speckled cows)." Sāyaṇa represents Indra as the bountiful patron here, and makes the worshipper pray to the gods that Indra may not perish, an erroneous interpretation, surely. Professor Roth appears, from a remark under the word *eta* (vol. i. p. 1091 of his Dict.) to have at one time regarded *pṛishatyaḥ* as a kind of deer. In his explanation of this latter word itself, however (in a later part of his Lexicon, which perhaps had not reached me when this note was first written), he says that it is a designation of the team of the Maruts; and according to the ordinary assumption of the commentators, which, however, is not established either by the Nirukta, or by any of the Brāhmaṇas known to us, denotes spotted antelopes. There is nothing, however, he goes on to say, to prevent our understanding the word (with Mahīdhara on Vāj. Sanh. ii. 16) to mean spotted mares, as mention is frequently enough made of the horses of the Maruts.

power. 11. I call to drink this soma those Maruts who held apart the two worlds. 12. I call to drink this soma that vigorous host of Maruts which dwells in the mountains."

The Maruts or Rudras (like their father Rudra; see the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 253, 259, 261, 263 f., 333 ff.), are in one hymn, viii. 20, 23, 25, supplicated to bring healing remedies, which are described as abiding in the Sindhu, the Asiknī, the seas, and the hills (*maruto mārutasya naḥ ā bheshajasya vahata | yad Sindhau yad Asiknyāṁ yat samudreshu . . . yat parvateshu bheshajam*).

(2) *Relations of the Maruts to Indra;—the rival claims of the two parties.*

Professor Wilson is of opinion (Rig-veda ii., Indroduction p. vii. and notes pp. 145 and 160), that in a few hymns some traces are perceptible of a dispute between the votaries of the Maruts and those of Indra in regard to their respective claims to worship. Thus in hymns 165 and 170 of the first book of the Ṛig-veda we find dialogues, in the first case between Indra and the Maruts, and in the second between Indra and Agastya, in which the rival pretensions of these deities appear. Indra asks, i. 165, 6: *kva syā vo Marutaḥ svadhā āsīd yan mām ekam samadhatta Ahihatye | ahaṁ hi ugras tavishas tuvishmān viśvasya śatror anamaṁ vadhasnaiḥ | 7. Bhūri chakartha yujyebhir asme samānebhir vṛishabha pauṁsyebhiḥ | bhūrīṇi hi kṛiṇavāma śavishṭha Indra kratvā Maruto yad vaśāma | 8. Vadhīṁ Vṛittram marutaḥ indriyeṇa svena bhāmena |* "Where was your inherent power, ye Maruts, when ye involved me alone[240] in the conflict with Ahi? It was I who, fierce, strong, and energetic, overturned my enemies with my shafts." The Maruts rejoin: "7. Vigorous god, thou hast done great things with us for thy helpers, through our equal valour; for, O strong Indra, we Maruts by our power can perform many great exploits when we desire." Indra replies: "8. By my own prowess, Maruts, I slew Vṛittra, mighty in my wrath," etc.

Of hymn i. 170, the Nirukta says, i. 5, that "Agastya, having prepared an oblation for Indra, desired to give the Maruts also a share in it. On which Indra came and complained." (*Agastyaḥ Indrāya havir nirupya Marudbhyaḥ sampraditsāṁ chakāra | sa Indraḥ etya*

[240] See above, p. 93, note.

paridevayānchakre). The Maruts reply, i. 170, 2: *kiṁ naḥ Indra jighāṁsasi bhrātaro marutas tava | tebhiḥ kalpasva sādhuyā mā naḥ samaraṇe vadhīḥ* | 3. *Kiṁ no bhrātar Agastya sakhā sann ati manyase | vidma hi te yathā mano asmabhyam in na ditsasi* | "Why dost thou seek to kill us, Indra? The Maruts are thy brothers. Act amicably towards them. Do not kill us in the fray." [241] Indra then says to Agastya, v. 3. "Why dost thou, brother Agastya, being our friend, disregard us? For we know how thy mind is. Thou wilt not give us anything."—See Roth's Elucidations of Nirukta, p. 6.) In i. 171, 4, also, the rishi, after imploring the favour of the Maruts, says to them apologetically: *asmād ahaṁ tavishād īshamāṇaḥ Indrād bhiyā Maruto rejamānaḥ | yushmabhyaṁ havyā niśitāni āsan tāni āre chakṛima mṛiḷata naḥ* | "I fled, trembling through fear of the mighty Indra. Oblations were prepared for you; we put them away; be merciful to us." (Compare R.V. iv. 18, 11; viii. 7, 31, and viii. 85, 7, quoted above, pp. 92 ff., note.) See Professor Muller's translation of i. 165, and the full illustrations he gives of its signification in his notes, pp. 170 ff., 179, 184, 186, 187, 189. This hymn is referred to in the following short story from the Taitt. Brāhmaṇa, ii. 7, 11, 1: *Agastyo marudbhyaḥ ukshṇaḥ praukshat | tān Indraḥ ādatta | te enaṁ vajram udyatya abhyāyanta | tān Agastyaś chaiva Indraś cha kayāśubhīyena aśamayatām | tān śāntān upāhvayata yat kayāśubhīyam bhavati śāntyai | tasmād ete aindrāmārutāḥ ukshāṇaḥ savanīyāḥ bhavanti | trayaḥ prathame 'hann ālabhyante | evaṁ dvītīye | evaṁ tṛitīye | pancha uttame 'hann ālabhyante* | "Agastya was immolating bulls to the Maruts. These bulls Indra carried off. The Maruts ran at him brandishing a thunderbolt. Agastya and Indra pacified them with the *kayāśubhīya*" (referring to R.V. i. 165, 1, of which the first verse begins with the words *kayā śubhā*). "Indra invited them to the ceremony when pacified, for the *kayāśubhīya* is used for pacification. Hence these bulls are to be offered both to Indra and the Maruts. Three are sacrificed on the first day, as many on the second and third; on the last day five are immolated."

In the following passages (some of which have been already quoted) the Maruts are said to worship Indra, viz., iii. 32, 3; v. 29, 1, 2, 6; viii. 3, 7; viii. 78, 1, 3.

[241] See Roth on the sense of this text, *s.v. kalp.*

SECTION X.

SŪRYA.

(1) *The two sun-gods separately celebrated in the hymns.*

The great powers presiding over day and night are, as we have seen above, supposed by the Indian commentators to be personified in Mitra and Varuṇa. But these deities, and especially Varuṇa, as described in the Veda, are far more than the mere representatives of day and night. They are also recognized as moral governors, as well as superintendents of physical phenomena. There are two other gods (also, as has been already noticed, p. 54, reckoned in a few passages as belonging to the Ādityas), who are exact personifications of the sun,[242] vjz., Sūrya and Savitṛi.[243] It is under these two different appellations that the sun is chiefly celebrated in the Rig-veda; and although it may be difficult to perceive why the one word should be used in any particular case

[242] In the Homeric hymn to Helios, verses 8'ff., the sun is thus described:

ὃς φαίνει θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
ἵπποις ἐμβεβαώς· σμερδνὸν δ' ὄγε δέρκεται ὄσσοις
χρυσέης ἐκ κόρυθος· λαμπραὶ δ' ἀκτῖνες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
ἀιγλῆεν στίλβουσι, παρὰ κροτάφων τε παρειαὶ
λαμπραὶ ἀπὸ κρατὸς χαρίεν κατέχουσι πρόσωπον
τηλαυγές· καλὸν δὲ περὶ χροῒ λάμπεται ἕσθος
λεπτουργὲς, πνοιῇ ἀνέμων· ὑπὸ δ' ἄρσενες ἵπποι
* * * * * *
ἔνθ' ἄρ ὄγε στήσας χρυσόζυγον ἅρμα καὶ ἵππους
ἐσπερίος πέμπῃσι δι' οὐρανοῦ Ὠκεανόνδε.

[243] Regarding the Greek ideas of the divinity of the sun, moon, and stars, the reader may compare the passages of Plato cited or referred to by Mr. Grote, Plato, iii. pp. 384, 414, 418, 449, 452, 497. One of these passages, from the Laws vii. p. 821, is as follows:—Ὦ ἀγαθοί, καταψευδόμεθα νῦν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν Ἕλληνες πάντες μεγάλων θεων, Ἡλίου τε ἅμα καὶ Σελήνης. Again in the Epinomis p. 984, mention is made of the visible deities, by which the stars are meant: θεοὺς δὲ δὴ τοὺς ὁρατούς, μεγίστους καὶ τιμιωτάτους καὶ ὀξύτατον ὁρῶντας παντῃ, τοὺς πρώτους τὴν τῶν ἄστρων φύσιν λεκτέον, κ.τ.λ.

rather than the other, the application of the names may perhaps depend upon some difference in the aspect under which the sun is conceived, or on some diversity in the functions which he is regarded as fulfilling. Different sets of hymns are, at all events, devoted to his worship under each of these names, and the epithets which are applied to him in each of these characters are for the most part separate. In some few places, both these two names, and occasionally some others, appear to be applied to the solar deity indiscriminately, but in most cases the distinction between them is nominally, at least, preserved.

The principal hymns, or portions of hymns, in praise of, or referring to, Sūrya are the following:—i. 50, 1–13; i. 115, 1–6; iv. 13, 1–3; v. 40, 5, 6, 8, 9; v. 45, 9, 10; v. 59, 5; vii. 60, 1–4; x. 37, 1 ff.; x. 170. He is treated of in Nirukta, xii. 14–16.

(2) *Sūrya's parentage, relations to the other gods, epithets, and functions.*

In x. 37, 1, Sūrya is styled the son of Dyaus (*Divas putrāya Sūryāya śaṁsata*). In x. 88, 11, he is called the son of Aditi (*Sūryām Āditeyam*), and by the same title in viii, 90, 11 (*Baṇ mahān asi Sūrya baḷ Āditya mahān asi*); but in other places he appears to be distinguished from the Ādityas, as in viii. 35, 13 ff. (*sajoshasā Ushasā Sūryeṇa cha Ādityair yātam Aśvinā*). Ushas (the Dawn) is in one place said to be his wife (*Sūryasya yoshā*, vii. 75, 5), while in another passage, vii. 78, 3, the Dawns are, by a natural figure, said to produce him (*ajījanan sūryaṁ yajnam agnim*) along with Sacrifice and Agni, and in a third text, to reveal all the three (*prāchikitat sūryaṁ yajnam agnim*). Sūrya is described as moving on a car, which is sometimes said to be drawn by one and sometimes by several, or by seven, fleet and ruddy horses or mares[244] (i. 115, 3, 4; vii. 60, 3: *ayukta sapta haritaḥ sadhastād yāḥ īṁ vahanti sūryaṁ ghṛitāchīḥ*); vii. 63, 2 (*yad etaśo vahanti dhūrshu yuktaḥ;* compare ix. 63, 7: *ayukta sūraḥ etaśam pavamānaḥ*); x. 37, 3; x. 49, 7. His path is prepared by the Ādityas, Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa, i. 24, 8 (*uruṁ hi rājā Varuṇaś chakāra sūryāya panthām anu etavai u*); vii. 60, 4 (*yasmai Ādityāḥ adhvano radanti Mitro Aryamā Varuṇaḥ sajoshāḥ*); vii. 87, 1. Pūshan goes

[244] Indra is said to traverse the sky with the sun's horses (*ahaṁ Sūryasya pari yāmi āśubhiḥ pra etaśebhir vahamānaḥ ojasā*, x. 49, 7). Compare Ovid's description of Phaethon's horses, Metam. ii. 153.

as his messenger with his golden ships, which sail in the aerial ocean, vi. 58, 3 (*yās te Pūshan nāvaḥ antaḥ samudre hiraṇyayīr antarikshe charanti | tābhrir yāsi dūtyaṁ sūryasya*). He is the preserver and soul of all things stationary and moving, i. 115, 1 (*sūryaḥ ātmā jagatas tastushaścha*); vii. 60, 2 (*viśvasya sthātur jagataścha gopāḥ*), the vivifier (*prasavitā*)[245] of men, and common to them all, vii. 63, 2, 3 (*sādhāraṇaḥ sūryo mānushāṇām | ud u eti prasavitā janānām*). Enlivened by him men pursue their ends and perform their work, vii. 63, 4 (*nūnaṁ janāḥ sūryeṇa prasūtāḥ ayann arthāni kṛiṇavann apāṁsi*). He is far-seeing, all-seeing, beholds all creatures, and the good and bad deeds of mortals,[246] i. 50, 2, 7; vi. 51, 2; vii. 35, 8; vii. 60, 2; vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1, 4; x. 37, 1 (*sūrāya viśvachakshase | paśyan janmāni sūrya | sūryaḥ uru-chakshāḥ | ṛiju marteshu vṛijinā cha paśyan | abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni chashṭe | dūredṛiśe*). He is represented as the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa, and sometimes of Agni also, i. 115, 1; vi. 51, 1; vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1; x. 37, 1 (*chakshur Mitrasya Varuṇasya Agneḥ | chakshur Mitrasya Varuṇasya | namo Mitrasya Varuṇasya chakshase*). In one passage, vii. 77, 3, Ushas (the Dawn) is said to bring the eye of the gods, and

[245] This word and others derived from the same root *su* or *sū*, are, as we shall shortly see, very frequently applied to Savitṛi. In x. 66, 2, the gods are said to be *Indra-prasūtāḥ*.

[246] The same thing is naturally and frequently said of the sun in classical literature. Thus Homer says, Iliad, iii. 277:

ἠέλιός θ᾽ ὃς πάντ᾽ ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ᾽ ἐπακούεις· κ.τ.λ.

and again in the Iliad, xiv. 344 f.:

οὐδ᾽ ἂν νῶι διαδράκοι ἠέλιός περ,
οὔτε καὶ ὀξύτατον πέλεται φάος εἰσοράασθαι·

And in the Odyssey, viii. 270 f.:

ἄφαρ δὲ οἱ ἄγγελος ἦλθε
Ἥλιος, ὅ σφ᾽ ἐνόησε μιγαζομένους φιλότητι.

So too Æschylus in the Prometheus Vinctus:

καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ.

And Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 12:

Τῆς Ῥέας φασὶ κρύφα τῷ Κρόνῳ συγγενομένης αἰσθόμενον ἐπαράσασθαι τὸν Ἥλιον·

So too Ovid, Metamorph. iv. 171 f.:

Primus adulterium Veneris cum Marte putatur
Hic vidisse deus: videt hic deus omnia primus.

and verses 195 ff.:

qui que omnia cernere debes,
Leucotheen spectas: et virgine figis in una
quos mundo debes oculos.

lead on the bright and beautiful horse, by which the sun seems to be intended (*devānāṁ chakshuḥ subhagā vahantī śvetaṁ nayantī sudṛiśīkam aśvam*; compare vii. 76, 1: *kratvā devānām ajanishṭa chakshuḥ*).[247] In x. 85, 1, it is said that while the earth is upheld by truth, the sky is upheld by the sun (*satyenottabhitā bhūmiḥ sūryeṇottabhitā dyauḥ*). He rolls up darkness like a hide, vii. 63, 1 (*charmeva yaḥ samvivyak tamāṁsi*). By his greatness he is the divine leader (or priest) of the gods, viii. 90, 12 (*mahnā devānām asuryaḥ purohitaḥ*). In viii. 82, 1, 4, he is identified with Indra, or *vice versâ*, Indra with him. In x. 170, 4, the epithets *viśvakarman*, the architect of the universe, and *viśvadevyavat*, possessed of all divine attributes, are applied to him (as in viii. 87, 2, Indra also is styled *viśvakarman* and *viśvadeva*). In vii. 60, 1, and vii. 62, 2, he is prayed at his rising to declare men sinless to Mitra, Varuṇa, etc. (*yad adya Sūrya bravo anāgāḥ udyan Mitrāya Varuṇaya satyam*).

(3) *Subordinate position sometimes assigned to him.*

In many passages, however, the dependent position of Sūrya is asserted. Thus he is said to have been produced, or caused to shine, or to rise, or to have his path prepared, etc., by Indra, ii. 12, 7 (*yaḥ Sūryaṁ yaḥ Ushasaṁ jajāna*); iii. 31, 15 (*Indro nṛibhir ajanad dīdyānaḥ sākaṁ Sūryam ushasaṁ gātum Agnim*); iii. 32, 8 (*jajāna Sūryam ushasam*); iii. 44, 2 (*sūryaṁ haryann arochayaḥ*); iii. 49, 4 (*janitā sūryasya*); vi. 17, 5; vi. 30, 5; viii. 78, 7 (*ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi*);[248] viii. 87, 2; x. 171, 4 (*tvaṁ tyam Indra sūryam paśchā santam puras kṛidhi*); by Indra and Soma, vi. 72, 2 (*ut sūryaṁ nayatho jyotishā saha*); by Agni, x. 3, 2; x. 156, 4 (*Agne nakshatram ajaram ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi | dadhaj jyotir janebhyaḥ*); by the Ushases (Dawns),

[247] In v. 59, 3, 5, and x. 10, 9, the eye of the sun is spoken of; and in x. 16, 3, the affinity of the eye to the sun is indicated. In A.V. v. 24, 9, the sun is said to be the lord of eyes (*sūryaś chakshushām adhipatiḥ*), and in A.V. xiii. 1, 45, he is said to see beyond the sky, the earth, and the waters, and to be the one eye of created things (*sūryo dyāṁ sūryaḥ pṛithivīṁ sūryaḥ āpo 'tipaśyati | sūryo bhūtasya ekaṁ chakshur āruroha divam mahīm*).

[248] In his note on this passage (viii. 78, 7) Sāyaṇa relates a legend, that formerly the Paṇis had carried off the cows of the Angirases, and placed them on a mountain enveloped in darkness, when Indra, after being lauded by the Angirases, and supplicated to restore the cows, caused the sun to rise that he might see them.

vii. 78, 3 (*ajījanan sūryaṁ yajnam agnim*); by Soma, vi. 44, 23 (*ayaṁ sūrye adadhāj jyotir antaḥ*); ix. 63, 7; ix. 75, 1; ix. 86, 29 (*tava jyotīṁshi pavamāna sūryaḥ*); ix. 96, 5 (*janitā sūryasya*); ix. 97, 41; ix. 107, 7; ix. 110, 3); by Dhātṛi, x. 190, 3 (*sūryā-chandramasau Dhātā yathāpūrvam akalpayat*); by Varuṇa, i. 24, 8; vii. 87, 1 (quoted above); by Mitra and Varuṇa, iv. 13, 2 (*anu vrataṁ Varuṇo yanti Mitro yat sūryaṁ divi ārohayanti*); v. 63, 4, 7 (*sūryam ā dhattho divi*); Indra and Varuṇa, vii. 82, 3 (*sūryam airayatañ divi prabhum*); by Indra and Vishṇu, vii. 99, 4 (*uruṁ yajnāya chakrathur u lokaṁ janayantā sūryam ushasam aynim*), and by the Angirases through their rites, x. 62, 3 (*ye ṛiteṇa sūryam ārohayan divi aprathayan pṛithivīm mātaraṁ vi*). In passages of this description the divine personality of the sun is thrown into the background: the grand luminary becomes little more than a part of nature, created and controlled by those spiritual powers which exist above and beyond all material phenomena. The divine power of Mitra and Varuṇa is said to be shown in the sky, where Sūrya moves a luminary and a bright agent [or instrument] of theirs; whom again they conceal by clouds and rain, v. 63, 4 (*māyā vām Mitrāvaruṇā divi śritā sūryo jyotiś charati chitram āyudham | tam abhreṇa vṛishṭyā gūhatho divi*). He is declared to be god-born, x. 37, 1; to be the son of the sky, ibid. (*devajātāya ketave Divas putrāya Sūryāya*); to have been drawn by the gods from the ocean where he was hidden (x. 72, 7, see above, p. 48); to have been placed by the gods in heaven, x. 88, 11 (*yadā id enam adadhur yajniyāso divi devāḥ sūryam āditeyam*), where he is identified with Agni; and to have sprung from the eye of Purusha, x. 90, 13 (*chakshoḥ sūryo ajāyata*).[249] He is also said to have been overcome and despoiled by Indra, x. 43, 5 (*saṁvargaṁ yan maghavā sūryam jayat*),[250] who, in some obscure verses is alluded to as having carried off one of the wheels of his chariot, i. 175, 4; iv. 28, 2; iv. 30, 4; v. 29, 10.

(4) *Translation of a hymn to Sūrya.*

I subjoin, with a translation, the greater part of the picturesque, if somewhat monotonous, hymn, i. 50: *Ud u tyaṁ jātavedasaṁ devaṁ*

[249] In the A.V. iv. 10, 5, the sun is said to have sprang from Vṛittra (*Vṛittrāj jāto divākaraḥ*).

[250] See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 92 f.

vahanti ketavaḥ | dṛiśe viśvāya sūryam | 2. Apa tye tāyavo yathā nakshattrā yanti aktubhiḥ | sūrāya viśvachakshase | 3. Adṛiśram asya ketavo vi raśmayo janān anu | bhrājanto agnayo yatha | 4. Taraṇir viśvadarśato jyotishkṛid asi sūrya | viśvam ā bhāsi rochanam | 5. Pratyāṅ devānāṅ viśaḥ pratyaṅṅ ud eshi mānushān | pratyaṅ viśvaṅ svar dṛiśe | 6. Yena pāvaka chakshasā bhuraṇyantaṅ janān anu | ◦ tvaṁ Varuṇa paśyasi | 7. Vi dyām eshi rajas pṛithu ahā mimāṇo aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni sūrya | 8. Sapta tvā harito rathe vahanti deva sūrya | śochishkeśaṁ vichakshaṇa | 9. ayukta sapta śundhyuvaḥ sūro rathasya naptyaḥ | tābhir yati svayuktibhiḥ | 10. Ud vayaṁ tamasas pari jyotish paśyantaḥ uttaram | devaṁ devatrā sūryam aganma jyotir uttamam |

1. "The heralds[251] lead aloft this god Sūrya, who knows all beings, (manifesting him) to the universal gaze. 2. (Eclipsed) by thy rays, the stars slink away, like thieves, before thee the all-beholding luminary. 3. His rays revealing (his presence) are visible to all mankind, flaming like fires. 4. Traversing (the heavens), all-conspicuous, thou createst light, o Sūrya, and illuminatest the whole firmament. 5. Thou risest in the presence of the race of gods, of men, and of the entire heaven, that thou mayest be beheld. 6. With that glance of thine wherewith, o illuminator, o Varuṇa, thou surveyest the busy race of men,[252] 7. thou, o Sūrya, penetratest the sky, the broad firmament, measuring out the days with thy rays, spying out all creatures. 8. Seven ruddy mares bear thee onward in thy chariot, o clear-sighted Sūrya, the god with flaming locks. 9. The sun has yoked the seven brilliant mares, the daughters of the car; with these, the self-yoked, he advances. 10. Gazing towards the upper light beyond the darkness, we have ascended to the highest luminary, Sūrya, a god among the gods."[253]

[251] In his translation of R.V. i. 166, 1, Professor Müller renders *ketu* by herald (see pp. 197, and 201), a sense which suits the verse before us very well.

[252] See Professor Benfey's translation, and note (Orient und Occident, i. p 405), and the passage of Roth's Abhandlungen (Dissertations on the literature and history of the Veda) p. 81 f., to which he refers; and in which that writer regards the reading *janān* as standing for *janām*, the acc. sing., the last syllable being lengthened on account of the metre.

[253] I subjoin a metrical translation of these verses:

1. By lustrous heralds led on high,
The omniscient Sun ascends the sky,
His glory drawing every eye.

The Atharva-veda contains a long hymn to Sūrya, xiii. 2, partly made up of extracts from the Rig-veda.

The Mahābhārata (iii. 166 ff.) also has a hymn to the same god, in which he is styled "the eye of the world, and the soul of all embodied creatures," v. 166 (*tvam bhāno jagataś chakshus tvam ātmā sarva-dehinām*); the source of all beings, the body of observances performed by those who practise ceremonies, the refuge of the Sānkhyas, the highest object of Yogins, the unbolted door, the resort of those seeking emancipation, etc., etc.; v. 166 f. (*tvaṁ yoniḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ tvaṁ āchāraḥ kriyāvatām | tvaṁ gatiḥ sarva-sānkhyānāṁ yoginām tvam parāyaṇam | anāvṛitārgaladvāraṁ tvam gatis tvam mumukshatām*); and his celestial chariot (*divyaṁ ratham*) is referred to (v. 170). He is also, we are told, said by those who understand the computation of time, to be the beginning and end of that period of a thousand yugas known as the day of Brahmā (*yad aho Brahmaṇaḥ proktaṁ sahasra-yuga-sammitam | tasya tvam ādir antaś cha kālajnaiḥ samprakīrttitaḥ*); the lord of the Manus, of their sons, of the world sprung from Manu, and of all the lords of the Manvantaras. When the time of the mundane dissolution has arrived, the Samvarttaka fire, which reduces all things to ashes, issues from his wrath (vv. 185 f.; compare the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 43 f. and 207).

2. All-seeing Sun, the stars so bright,
Which gleamed throughout the sombre night,
Now scared, like thieves, slink fast away,
Quenched by the splendour of thy ray.
3. Thy beams to men thy presence shew;
Like blazing fires they seem to glow.
4. Conspicuous, rapid, source of light,
Thou makest all the welkin bright.
5. In sight of gods, and mortal eyes,
In sight of heaven thou scal'st the skies.
6. Bright god, thou scann'st with searching ken
The doings all of busy men.
7. Thou stridest o'er the sky; thy rays
Create, and measure out, our days;
Thine eye all living things surveys.
8. 9. Seven lucid mares thy chariot bear,
Self-yoked, athwart the fields of air,
Bright Sūrya, god with flaming hair.
10. That glow above the darkness we
Beholding, upward soar to thee,
For there among the gods thy light
Supreme is seen, divinely bright.

SECTION XI.

SAVITṚI.

(1) *His epithets, characteristics, and functions.*

The hymns which are entirely or principally devoted to the celebration of Savitṛi are the following: i. 35; ii. 38; iv. 53; iv. 54; v. 81; v. 82; vii. 37; vii. 45; x. 149; with many detached passages and verses, such as i. 22, 5–8; iii. 56, 6, 7; iii. 62, 10–12, etc., etc.

The epithets, characteristics, and functions of this god, as described in the Rig-veda, are as follows:

He is pre-eminently the golden deity, being *hiraṇyāksha*, golden-eyed (i. 35, 8); *hiraṇya-pāṇi*,[254] *hiraṇya-hasta*, golden-handed (i. 22, 5; i. 35, 9, 10; iii. 54, 11; vi. 50, 8; vi. 71, 4; vii. 38, 2; S.V. i. 464; Vaj. S. i. 16; iv. 25; A.V. iii. 21, 8; vii. 14, 2; vii. 115, 2;[255] *hiraṇya-jihva*, golden-tongued (vi. 71, 3); *sujihva*, beautiful-tongued (iii. 54, 11; vii. 45, 4); *mandra-jihva*, pleasant-tongued (vi. 71, 4). He invests himself with golden or tawny mail (*piśangaṁ drāpim*, iv. 53, 2); and assumes all forms (*viśvā rūpāṇi prati mūnchate kaviḥ*, v. 81, 2). He is also *harikeśa*, the yellow-haired (x. 139, 1). Luminous in his aspect, he ascends a golden car, drawn by radiant, brown, white-footed, horses; and beholding all creatures, he pursues an ascending and descending path, i. 35, 2–5; vii. 45, 1 (*hiraṇyayena Savitā rathena devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan | yāti devaḥ pravatā yāti udvatā yāti śubrābhyāṁ yajato haribhyām | kṛiśanair viśvarūpaṁ*

[254] See the tasteless explanations of this epithet given by the commentator and the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, as mentioned in Rosen's and Wilson's notes on i. 22, 5; and see also Weber's Ind. Studien, ii. 306. The same epithet is given to Savitṛi in the Vāj. Sanhitā, i. 16, where see the commentary. Savitṛi is also called *pṛithupāṇi*, broad-handed (ii. 38, 2), and *supāṇi*, beautiful-handed (iii. 33, 6; vii. 45, 4). Tvashṭṛi, too, is called *supāṇi* (iii. 54, 12), as are also Mitra and Varuṇa (iii. 56, 7).

[255] According to the A.V. i. 33, 1, he, as well as Agni, was born in the golden-coloured waters (*hiraṇyavarṇāḥ śuchayaḥ pāvakāḥ yāsu jātaḥ Savitā yāsu Agniḥ*).

hiraṇya-śamyaṁ yajato bṛihantam ā asthād rathaṁ savitā chitrabhānuḥ | vi janān śyāvāḥ śitipādaḥ akhyan rathaṁ hiraṇyapraïgaṁ vahantaḥ | savitā suratno antarikshaprāḥ vahamāno aśvaiḥ). Surrounded by a golden lustre, *hiraṇyayīm amatim* (iii. 38, 8; vii. 38, 1; vii. 45, 3), he illuminates the atmosphere, and all the regions of the earth, i. 35, 7, 8; iv. 14, 2; iv. 53, 4; v. 81, 2 (*vi suparṇo antarikshāṇi akhyat | ashṭau vi akhyat kakubhaḥ pṛithivyāḥ | ūrdhvaṁ ketuṁ savitā devo aśrej jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛiṇvan | adābhyo bhuvanāni prachākaśat | vi nākam akhyat Savitā*). His robust and golden arms,[256] which he stretches out to bless, and infuse energy into, all creatures, reach to the utmost ends of heaven, ii. 38, 2; iv. 53, 3, 4; vi. 71, 1, 5; vii. 45, 2 (*viśvasya hi śrushṭaye devaḥ ūrdhvaḥ pra bāhavā pṛithupāṇiḥ sisarti | pra bāhū asrāk Savitā savīmani | ud u sya devaḥ Savitā hiraṇyayā bāhū ayaṁsta savanāya sukratuḥ | ud asya bāhū śithirā bṛihantā hiraṇyayā divo antān anashṭām*). In one place, however (vi. 71, 4), he is called *ayohanu*, the iron-jawed, though even there the commentator says that *ayas*, which ordinarily means iron, is to be rendered by gold. His ancient paths in the sky are said to be free from dust, i. 35, 11 (*ye te panthāḥ Savitaḥ pūrvyāso areṇavaḥ sukṛitāḥ antarikshe*). He is called (like Varuṇa and others of the gods) *asura*, a divine spirit (i. 35, 7, 10; iv. 53, 1). His will and independent authority cannot be resisted by Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, or by any other being, ii. 38, 7, 9; v. 82, 2 (*nakir asya tāni vratā devasya Savitur minanti | na yasya Indro Varuṇo na Mitro vratam Aryamā na minanti Rudraḥ | asya hi svayaśastaraṁ Savituḥ kach chana priyam | na minanti svarājyam*). He observes fixed laws, iv. 53, 4; x. 34, 8; x. 139, 3 (*vratāni devaḥ Savitā 'bhirakshate | Savitā satyadharmā*). The other gods follow his lead, v. 81, 3 (*yasya prayāṇam anu anye id yayur devāḥ*). The waters and the wind obey his ordinance, ii. 38, 2 (*āpaś chid asya vrate ā nimṛigrāḥ ayaṁ chid vāto ramate parijman*). His praises are celebrated by the Vasus, by Aditi, by the royal Varuṇa, by Mitra, and by Aryaman, vii. 38, 3, 4 (*api stutaḥ Savitā devo astu yaḥ ā chid viśve Vasavo gṛiṇanti | abhi yam devī Aditir gṛiṇāti savaṁ devasya*

[256] Indra, too, is called *hiraṇya-bāhu*, golden-armed, vii. 34, 4. Agni is said to raise aloft his arms like Savitṛi, i. 95, 7. In vii. 79, 2, the Dawns are said to send forth light as Savitṛi stretches out his arms. In i. 190, 3, also the arms of Savitṛi are alluded to. In vii. 62, 5, Mitra and Varuṇa are supplicated to stretch out their arms.

Savitur jushāṇā | abhi samrājo Varuṇo gṛiṇanti abhi Mitrāso Aryamā sajoshāḥ). He is lord of all desirable things, and sends blessings from the sky, from the atmosphere, and from the earth, i. 24, 3; ii. 38, 11 (*īśānāṁ vāryāṇām | asmabhyaṁ tad divo adbhyaḥ pṛithivyās tvayā dattaṁ kāmyaṁ rādhaḥ ā gāt | śaṁ yat stotṛibhyaḥ āpaye bhavāti uruśaṁsāya Savitar jaritre*). He impels the car of the Aśvins before the dawn, i. 34, 10 (*yuvor hi pūrvaṁ Savitā ushasho ratham ṛitāya chitraṁ ghṛitavantam ishyati*). He is *prajāpati*,[257] the lord of all creatures, the supporter of the sky and of the world, and is supplicated to hasten to his worshippers with the same eagerness as cattle to a village, as warriors to their horses, as a cow to give milk to her calf, as a husband to his wife, iv. 53, 2; iv. 54, 4; x. 149, 1, 4[258] (*Divo dharttā bhuvanasya prajāpatiḥ | Savitā yantraiḥ pṛithivīm aramṇād askambhane Savitā dyām adṛiṁhat | 4. Gāvaḥ iva grāmaṁ yuyudhir ivāśvān vāśrena vatsaṁ sumanāḥ duhānā | patir iva jāyām abhi no ni etu dhartā divaḥ Savitā viśvavāraḥ*). In v. 82, 7, he is called *viśvadeva*, "in all attributes a god." He measured (or fashioned) the terrestrial regions, v. 81, 3 (*yaḥ parthivāni vi mame*). He bestows immortality on the gods, iv. 54, 2 = Vāj. Sanh. xxxiii. 54 (*devebhyo hi prathamaṁ yajniyebhyo amṛitatvaṁ suvasi bhāgam uttamam*), as he did on the Ṛibhus, who by the greatness of their merits attained to his abode, i. 110, 2, 3 (*charitasya bhūmanā agachhata Savitur dāśusho gṛiham | tat Savitā vo amṛitatvam āsuvat*). In x. 17, 4, he is prayed to convey the departed spirit to the abode of the righteous (*yatrāsate sukṛito yatra te yayus tatra tvā devaḥ Savitā dadhātu*). He is supplicated to deliver his worshippers from sin, iv. 54, 3 (*achittī yach chakṛima daivye jane . . . . | deveshu cha Savitar mānusheshu cha tvaṁ no attra suvatād anāgasaḥ*).

Savitṛi is sometimes called *apāṁ napāt*, son of the waters (x. 149, 2), an epithet which is more commonly applied to Agni.

[257] In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 6, 4, 1 (p. 117), it is said, *Prajāpatiḥ Savitā bhūtvā prajāḥ asṛijata*, "Prajāpati, becoming Savitṛi, created living beings." On the relation of Savitṛi and Prajāpati see Weber, "Omina und Portenta," pp. 386, 392; and the passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. 3, 5, 1, where it is said that people are accustomed to identify Savitṛi with Prajāpati, *Yo hy eva Savitā sa Prajāpatir iti vadantaḥ*, etc., etc.

[258] It is not clear whether it is Savitṛi or the aerial ocean (*samudra*) from which earth, atmosphere, and sky are said in x. 149, 2, to have sprung. See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 96.

(2) *Passages in which the origin of his name seems to be alluded to.*

The word Savitṛi is defined by Yāska (Nirukta, x. 31 as meaning *sarvasya prasavitā*, but he does not explain in what sense *prasavitā* is to be taken. The root *su* or *sū*, from which it is derived, has three principal significations, (1) to generate or bring forth; (2) to pour forth a libation; and (3) to send or impel. When treating of derivatives of this root as applied to Savitṛi, Sāyaṇa sometimes gives them the sense of sending or impelling, and sometimes of permitting or authorizing (*anujñā*). In a few places he explains the root as meaning to beget. (Thus on i. 113, 1, he renders *prasūtā* by *utpannā*, and *savaḥ* by *utpattiḥ*). The word *prasavitṛi*, as well as various other derivatives of the root *su*, are introduced in numerous passages of the Rig-veda relating to the god Savitṛi, with evident reference to the derivation of that name from the same root, and with a constant play upon the words,[259] such as is unexampled in the case of any other deity.

The following are some of the passages of the Rig-veda in which these derivatives occur:

i. 124, 1. *Devo no atra Savitā nu artham prāsāvīd dvipat pra chatushpad ityai* | "The god Savitṛi hath impelled (or aroused) both two-footed and four-footed creatures to pursue their several objects."

i. 157, 1. *Prāsāvīd devaḥ Savitā jagat pṛithak* | "The god Savitṛi has aroused each moving thing" (comp. i. 159, 3).

v. 81, 2 (=Vāj. San. xiii. 3). *Viśvā rūpāṇi prati munchate kaviḥ prāsāvīd bhadram dvipade chatushpade* | *vi nākam akhyat Savitā varenyo anu prayāṇam Ushaso virājati* | 5. *Uta īśishe prasavasya tvam ekaḥ id uta Pūshā bhavasi deva yāmabhiḥ* | "The wise (Savitṛi) puts on (or, manifests) all forms. He hath sent prosperity to biped and quadruped. Savitṛi, the object of our desire, has illuminated the sky. He shines after the path of the Dawn." 5. "Thou alone art the lord of vivifying power, and by thy movements, o god, thou becomest Pūshan, (or the nourisher)."

i. 110, 2. *Saudhanvanāsaś charitasya bhūmanā ayachhata Savitur*

[259] See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 76. I cannot form an opinion whether this feature in the hymns in question affords any sufficient ground for regarding them as artificial in character, and consequently as comparatively late in their origin.

dāśusho gṛiham | 3. *Tat Savitā vo amṛitatvam āsuvat* | "Sons of Sudhanvan (Ṛibhus), by the greatness of your deeds ye arrived at the house of the bountiful Savitṛi. 3. Savitṛi bestowed on you (*āsuvat*) that immortality."

i. 159, 5. *Tad rādho adya Savitur vareṇyaṁ vayaṁ devasya prasave manāmahe* | "That desirable wealth we to-day seek through the favouring impulse of the divine Savitṛi."

ii. 38, 1. *Ud u syaḥ devaḥ Savitā savāya śaśvatamaṁ tad-apāḥ vahnir asthāt* | "The god Savitṛi hath arisen to impel (or vivify) us, he who continually so works, the supporter."

iii. 33, 6 (Nir. ii. 26). *Devo anayat Savitā supāṇis tasya vayam prasave yāmaḥ urvīḥ* | "The god Savitṛi hath led (us, *i.e.* the waters); by his propulsion we flow on broadly."

iii. 56, 6. *Trir ā divaḥ Savitaḥ vāryāṇi dive dive āsuva trir no ahnaḥ* | 7. *Trir ā divaḥ Savitā soshavīti rājānā Mitrāvaruṇā supāṇī* | "Thrice every day, o Savitṛi, send us desirable things from the sky. 7. Thrice Savitṛi continues to send down (these things to us) from the sky; and so also do the fair-handed Mitra and Varuṇa."

iv. 53, 3. *Pra bāhū asrāk Savitā savīmani niveśayan prasuvann aktubhir jagat* | 6. *Bṛihatsumnaḥ prasavitā niveśano jagataḥ sthātur ubhayasya yo vaśī* | *sa no devaḥ Savitā śarma yachhatu* | "Savitṛi hath stretched out his arms in his vivifying energy (*savīmani*[260]), stablishing and animating all that moves by his rays. 6. May that god Savitṛi, who bestows great happiness, the vivifier, the stablisher, who is lord both of that which moves and of that which is stationary, bestow on us protection."

iv. 54, 3. *Achittī yach chakṛima daivye jane dīnair dakshaiḥ prabhūtī purushvatā* | *deveshu cha Savitar mānusheshu cha tvaṁ no atra suvatād anāgasaḥ* | "Whatever (offence) we have committed by want of thought, against the divine race, by feebleness of understanding, by violence, after the manner of men, and either against gods or men, do thou, o Savitṛi, constitute (*suvatāt*) us sinless."

v. 82, 3. *Sa hi ratnāni dāśushe suvāti Savitā Bhagaḥ* | 4. *Adya no devaḥ Savitaḥ prajāvat sāvīḥ saubhagam* | *parā dushvapnyaṁ sava* | 5. *Viśvāni deva Savitar duritāni parā suva yad bhadraṁ tan naḥ āsuva* | 6. *Anāgasaḥ Aditaye devasya Savituḥ save* | *viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi* |

[260] This word also occurs in Sāma-veda, i. 464.

7. *Ā viśvadevaṁ satpatiṁ sūktair adya vṛiṇīmahe | satyasavaṁ Savitāram* | "May he, Savitṛi, who is Bhaga, (or the protector, *bhaga*), send wealth to his worshipper. 4. Send (*sāvīḥ*) to-day, o divine Savitṛi, prosperity with progeny: send away (*parā-suva*) sleeplessness (compare x. 37, 4, where a similar expression (*apa suva*) is employed in the case of Sūrya). 5. Send away, o divine Savitṛi, all calamities; send (*āsuva*) us what is good. 6. May we, becoming sinless towards Aditi, through the influence (*sava*) of the divine Savitṛi, possess all things desirable. 7. We seek to-day, with hymns, for Savitṛi, who possesses true energy (*satya-sava*[261]), and all divine attributes, the lord of the good."

vi. 71, 1. *Ud u syaḥ devaḥ Savitā hiraṇyayā bāhū ayaṁsta savanāya sukratuḥ | 2. Devasya vayaṁ Savituḥ savīmani śreshṭhe syāma vasunaś cha dāvane | yo viśvasya dvipado yaś chatushpado niveśane prasave chāsi bhūmanaḥ | 6. Vāmam adya Savitar vāmam u śvo dive dive vāmam asmabhyaṁ sāvīḥ* | "The potent god Savitṛi hath stretched out his golden arms to vivify (or impart energy). 2. May we share in the excellent vivifying power (compare x. 36, 12) of the god Savitṛi, and in the bestowal of wealth by thee, who continuest to stablish and vivify the entire two-footed and four-footed world. 6. Send to us to-day, Savitṛi, what is desirable; send it to us to-morrow, and every day."

vii. 38, 2. *Ud u tishṭha Savitaḥ . . . ā nṛibhyo marttabhojanaṁ suvānaḥ | 4. Abhi yaṁ devī Aditir gṛiṇāti savaṁ devasya Savitur jushāṇā | abhi samrājo Varuṇo gṛiṇanti abhi Mitrāso Aryamā sajoshāḥ* | "Rise, Savitṛi, . . . sending (*āsuvānaḥ*) to men the food which is fit for mortals. 4. Whom (*i.e.* Savitṛi) the goddess Aditi praises, welcoming the vivifying power of the divine Savitṛi, whom Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman laud in concert."

vii. 40, 1. *Yad adya devaḥ Savitā suvāti syāma asya ratnino vibhāge* | "May we partake in the distribution (of wealth) which the opulent god Savitṛi shall send to-day."

vii. 45, 1. *Ā devo yātu Savitā suratno antarikṣha-prāḥ vahamāno aśvaiḥ | haste dadhāno naryā purūṇi niveśayan cha prasuvan cha bhūma | 3. Sa gha no devaḥ Savitā sahāvā sāvishad vasupatir vasūni* | "May the

[261] The same epithet is applied to him in x. 36, 13. It occurs also in the Sāmaveda, i. 464.

god Savitṛi approach, rich in treasures, filling the atmosphere, borne by horses, holding in his hand many gifts suitable for men, stablishing and vivifying the world. 3. May the powerful god Savitṛi, lord of wealth, send us riches."

viii. 91, 6. *Āsavaṁ Savitur yathā Bhagasyeva bhujiṁ huve | Agniṁ samudravāsasam* | "I invoke the sea-clothed Agni, as (I invoke) the vivifying power (*savam*[262]) of Savitṛi and the bounty of Bhaga."

x. 35, 7. *Śreshṭham no adya Savitar vareṇyam bhāgam āsuva sa hi ratnadhāḥ asi* | "Send us to-day, o god Savitṛi, a most excellent and desirable portion, for thou art the possessor of riches."

x. 36, 14. *Savitā naḥ suvatu sarvatātim* | "May Savitṛi send (*suvatu*) all prosperity," etc.

x. 100, 8. *Apa amīvāṁ Savitā sāvishad nyak* | "May Savitṛi remove (*apasāvishat*) sickness."

x. 139, 1. *Sūryaraśmir harikeśaḥ purastāt Savitā jyotir ud ayān ajasram | tasya Pūshā prasave yāti vidvān sampaśyan viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ* | "Invested with the solar rays, with yellow hair, Savitṛi raises aloft his light continually from the east. In his energy (*prasave*) the wise Pūshan marches, beholding all worlds, a guardian."

Compare A.V. v. 24, 1; vii. 14, 1, 3; vii. 15, 1.

The preceding passages will suffice to show the extent to which this play on words is carried in the hymns addressed to Savitṛi.

Derivatives from the same root are, as we have already seen, also applied to Sūrya, as *prasavitā* and *prasūtaḥ*, in R.V. vii. 63, 2 and 4; and *apasuva* in x. 37, 4; to Indra (*haryaśva-prasūtāḥ*, iii. 30, 12); to Varuṇa (*parāsuva*, ii. 28, 9); and to Mitra, Aryaman, Savitṛi, and Bhaga (*suvātī*, vii. 66, 4). In vii. 77, 1, Ushas (the Dawn) is said to rouse (*prasuvantī*) all living creatures into motion. In viii. 18, 1, the impulse, vivifying power, or favouring aid (*savīmani*) of the Ādityas is referred to.

(3) *Savitṛi, sometimes distinguished from, sometimes identified with, Sūrya.*

Savitṛi is sometimes expressly distinguished from Sūrya. Thus he is said in i. 35, 9, to approach, or (according to Prof. Benfey's rendering) to

[262] In i. 164, 26, and ix. 67, 25, particularly in the latter passage, *sava* may mean a libation of soma. Compare *brahmasavaiḥ* in ix. 67, 24.

bring Sūrya (*veti sūryam*);[263] in i. 123, 3, to declare men sinless towards Sūrya[264] (*devo no attra Savitā damūnāḥ anāgaso vochati Sūryāya*); and in v. 81, 4, to combine with the rays of Sūrya (*uta Sūryasya raśmibhiḥ samuchyasi*). In explanation of the last passage, Sāyaṇa remarks, that before his rising the sun is called Savitṛi, and from his rising till his setting Sūrya (*udayāt pūrvabhāvī Savitā | udayāstamayavarttī Sūryaḥ iti*). And similarly, Yāska says, Nirukta xii. 12: *tasya kālo yadā dyaur apahatatamaskā ākīrṇaraśmir bhavati* | "the time of Savitṛi's appearance is when darkness has been removed, and the rays of light have become diffused over the sky." If so, his action must also extend to a later period of the day, as in vii. 66, 4, he is prayed along with Mitra (the god of the day) and Aryaman and Bhaga, to vivify the worshipper after the rising of the sun (*yad adya sūre udite anāgāḥ Mitro Aryamā | suvāti Savitā Bhagaḥ*). Again, in x. 139, 1, Savitṛi is termed *sūrya-raśmi*, "invested with the rays of Sūrya;" and in the 8th and 10th verses of vii. 35 (verse 8: *śam naḥ Sūryaḥ uruchakshāḥ* | 10: *śaṁ no devaḥ Savitā trāyamāṇaḥ*), as well as in x. 181, 3 (*Dhātur dyutānāt Savituś cha Vishṇor ā Sūryād abharan gharmam ete*), the two gods are separately mentioned, unless we are to suppose (but apparently without reason) that in the last passage the writer means to identify all the four gods who are there named, viz. Dhātṛi, Savitṛi, Vishṇu, and Sūrya. In i. 157, 1 also, where several gods are mentioned besides Sūrya and Savitṛi, the last two appear to be distinguished: *abodhi Agnir jmaḥ udeti Sūryo vi Ushāś chandrā mahī āvo archishā | ayukshātām Aśvinā yātave ratham prāsāvīd devaḥ Savitā jagat pṛithak* | "Agni has awoke from the earth: Sūrya rises; the great and bright Ushas has dawned with her radiance; the Aśvins have yoked their car to go; Savitṛi has vivified each moving creature." In other texts, however, the two names appear to be employed indiscriminately to denote the same deity, viz. in iv. 14, 2 (*ūrdhvaṁ ketum Savitā devo aśrej jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛiṇvan | ā aprāḥ dyāvā-pṛithivī antarikshaṁ vi Sūryo raś-*

[263] Sāyaṇa remarks here that, though the godhead of Savitṛi and Sūrya is identical, they may yet, from their representing different forms, be spoken of as respectively approaching and approached (*yadyapi savitṛi-sūryayor ekadevatātvaṁ tathāpi mūrtti-bhedena gantṛi-gantavya-bhāvaḥ*).

[264] As in another place (x. 12, 8), he is supplicated, along with Mitra and Aditi, to declare the worshippers sinless towards Varuṇa.

mibhiś chekitānaḥ); x. 158, 1 (*Sūryo no divas pātu . . .* | 2. *Josha Savitaḥ . . .* | 3. *Chakshur no devaḥ Savita . . .* | 5. *Susandṛiśaṁ tvā vayam prati paśyema Sūrya*). In i. 35, 7, also the name Sūrya may be employed as synonymous with Savitṛi, which is found in the other verses of the hymn, although, as we have already seen, the two deities appear to be distinguished in verse 9. See also i. 124, 1[e]; and vii. 63, 1–4 (when the word Sūrya is used in verses 1, 2, and 3, and Savitṛi in verse 4, and where the functions expressed by the derivatives of the root *su*, which, as we have seen, are most generally assigned to Savitṛi, are in verses 2 and 4 predicated of Sūrya).

In v. 81, 4 and 5 (*uta Mitro bhavasi deva dharmabhiḥ* | 5. *Uta Pūshā bhavasi deva yāmabhiḥ*), Savitṛi is identified with Mitra and Pūshan, or is, at least, described as fulfilling the proper function of those gods. And similarly in v. 82, 1, 3, and vii. 38, 1, 6 (unless with Prof. Roth, *s.v.* we take *Bhaga* as a simple epithet), Savitṛi seems to be identified with the god of that name. On the other hand, he is clearly distinguished from these and other deities, in such texts as iii. 54, 11, 12; vi. 49, 14; vi. 50, 1, 13; viii. 18, 3; viii. 91, 6; x. 139, 1.

The word Savitṛi is not always a proper name; but is sometimes used as an epithet. Thus in ii. 30, 1, it seems to express an attribute of Indra; and in iii. 55, 19, and x. 10, 5 (*devas Tvashṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ*), to be, as well as *viśvarūpa*, an epithet of Tvashṭṛi. As applied to this god, it probably means rather the generator, than the vivifier.

SECTION XII.

PŪSHAN.

I commence my description of this deity by translating the account given of him in the Sanskrit and German Lexicon of Messrs. Böthlingk and Roth, vol. iv. p. 854 f.

(1) *Functions and epithets of Pūshan.*

"Pūshan is a protector and multiplier of cattle (*paśupā*) and of human possessions in general (*pushṭimbhara*, R.V. vi. 3, 7). As a cowherd he carries an ox-goad (vi. 53, 9; vi. 58, 2) and he is drawn by goats (*ajāśva*). In character he is a solar deity,[265] beholds the entire universe, and is a guide on roads and journies (i. 42, 1; x. 17, 6; x. 59, 7; x. 85, 26; A.V. vi. 73, 3), and to the other world (*pathaspati*, *prapathya* (x. 17, 3, 5; A.V. xvi. 9, 2; xviii. 2, 53). He is called the lover of his sister Sūryā (vi. 55, 4, 5; vi. 58, 4). He aids in the revolutions of day and night (i. 23, 13–15); and shares with Soma the guardianship of living creatures (*Soma-pūshaṇau*, ii. 40, 1 ff.). He is invoked along with the most various deities, but most frequently with Indra (*Indrā-pūshaṇau*, i. 162, 2; vii. 35, 1), and Bhaga (iv. 30, 24; v. 41, 4; v. 46, 2; x. 125, 2. Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa xi. 4, 3, 3; Kāty. Śr. v. 13, 1). His most remarkable epithets, in addition to those above specified, are *āghṛiṇi*, *kapardin*, *karambhād*, *dasra*, *dasma*, *dasmavarchas*, *narāśaṁsa* (R.V. i. 106, 4; x. 64, 3) *vimucho napāt*, *vimochana*. Compare especially the hymns R.V. vi. 53–58; x. 26." The reader can also consult the remarks on this god given in the Introductions to Professor Wilson's translation of the Rig-veda, vol. i. p. xxxv. and vol. iii. p. xii.

The hymns which are exclusively devoted to the celebration of

[265] In Nir. vii. 9, where R.V. x. 17, 3, is quoted, Yāska explains the words *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* there applied to Pūshan, by *sarveshām bhūtānāṁ gopāyitā ādityaḥ* | "the sun, the preserver of all beings."

Pūshan are i. 42; i. 138; vi. 53–56; vi. 58; and x. 26. In ii. 40, he is invoked along with Soma, and in vi. 57, in company with Indra. The single or detached verses of other hymns in which he is mentioned are numerous. In addition to the epithets above specified by Professor Roth, I note the following, and others will be found, in the hymns which are translated below: *agohya*, not to be hidden (x. 64, 3); *anarvan*, resistless (vi. 48, 15); *abhyardhayajvan*, bringing blessings (vi. 50, 5);[266] *asura*, divine (v. 51, 11); *kshayadvīra*, ruler of heroes (i. 106, 4); *tavyas*, strong, and *tura*, vigorous (v. 43, 9); *tuvijāta*, of powerful nature (i. 138, 1); *purandhi*, wise (ii. 31, 4); *purūvasu*, abounding in wealth (viii. 4, 15); *mantumat*, wise in counsel (i. 42, 5); *mamhishṭha*, most bountiful (viii. 4, 18); *mayobhū*, beneficent (i. 138, 2); *vājin*, bestower of food (i. 106, 4); *śakra*, powerful, (viii, 4, 15); *viśvadevya*, distinguished by all divine attributes (x. 92, 13); *viśvasaubhaga*, bestowing all blessings (i. 42, 6); *viśvavedas*, knowing all things (i. 89, 6); *hiraṇyavāśīmattama*, skilful wielder of a golden spear (i. 42, 6); and Soma is said to be like Pūshan an impeller of the soul (*dhījavana*). He is the lord of all things moving and stationary, the inspirer of the soul, an unconquerable protector and defender, and is besought to give increase of wealth, i. 89, 5 (*tam īśānaṁ jagatas tastushas patiṁ dhiyaṁjinvam avase hūmahe vayam | Pūshā no yathā vedasām asad vṛidhe rakshitā pāyur adabdhaḥ svastaye* | compare ii. 1, 6). He is besought to maintain his friendship steadfast like a skin without holes and well filled with curds; he is declared to transcend mortals, and to be equal to the gods, in glory; and is prayed to protect his servants in battle and to defend them as of old, vi. 48, 18 (*dṛiter iva te avṛikam astu sakhyam | achhidrasya dadhanvataḥ supūrṇasya dadhanvataḥ* | 19. *Paro hi martyair asi samo devair uta śriyā | abhi khyaḥ Pūshan pṛitanāsu nas tvam ava nūnaṁ yathā purā*). He is said to regard, and to see clearly and at once, all creatures, iii. 62, 9 (*yo viśvā abhi vipaśyati bhuvanā saṁ cha paśyati | sa naḥ Pūshā 'vitā bhuvat*), and in x. 139, 1, is associated

[266] "Spenden entgegenbringend" (Roth). Yāska (Nir. vi. 6) explains the compound as *abhyardhayan yajati*, "one who increasing, worships," and Sāyaṇa expands this into "prospering his worshippers" (*stotṛīn abhyardhayan samṛiddhān kurvan yo yajati dhanena pūjayati tādṛiśaḥ*); Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 75, inclines to the same interpretation.

with *Savitṛi* and is described as moving onward under his impulse, and as knowing and perceiving all creatures, a guardian (*tasya Pūshā prasave yāti vidvān sampaśyan viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ*). He is connected with the marriage ceremonial in x. 85, 26 and 37, being besought to take the bride's hand and lead her away (verse 26. *Pūshā tvā ito nayatu hastagṛihya*), and to bless her in her conjugal relation (37. *tām Pūshan śivatamām ā ṛayasva*);[267] and in another place he is prayed to give his worshippers their share of damsels, ix. 67, 10 (*avitā no ajāśvaḥ Pūshā yāmani yāmani ā bhakshad kanyāsu naḥ*). According to Professor Roth (as quoted above) Pūshan is not only the tutelary god of travellers, but also, like Savitṛi and Agni, and the Greek Hermes, a ψυχοπομπός, who conducts departed spirits on their way to the other world, and in proof of this, as we have seen, he refers to R.V. x. 17, 3, 5, and two passages from the A.V. These texts are as follows: R.V. x. 17, 3 ff. (verses which, as I learn from Professor M. Müller's article on the funeral ceremonies of the Brahmāns,[268] p. xi. ff., are directed to be recited during the cremation of the body): *Pūshā tvā itaś chyāvayatu pra vidvān anashṭapaśur bhuvanasya gopāḥ | sa tvā etebhyaḥ pari dadat pitṛibhyo Agnir devebhyaḥ suvidatriyebhyaḥ | 4. Āyur viśvāyuḥ pari pāsati tvā Pūshā tvā pātu prapathe purastāt | yatrāsate sukṛito yatra te yayus tatra tvā devaḥ Savitā dadhātu | 5. Pūshā imāḥ āśāḥ anu veda sarvāḥ so asmān abhayatamena neshat | svastidāḥ āghṛiṇiḥ sarvavīro aprayuchhan puraḥ etu prajānan | 6. Prapathe pathām ajanishṭa Pūshā prapathe divaḥ prapathe pṛithivyāḥ | ubhe abhi priyatame sadasthe ā cha parā cha charati prājanan |* "3. May Pūshan convey thee away hence, the wise, the preserver of the world, who loses none of his cattle; may he deliver thee to these fathers; and may Agni (entrust thee) to the gracious gods. 4. May life, full of vitality, protect thee: May Pūshan convey thee onward on thy distant road; May Savitṛi place thee where the righteous abide, in the place whither they have gone. 5. Pūshan knows all these regions: may he conduct us in perfect security; blessing, glowing, all-heroic, may he go before us, watchful and understanding. 6. Pūshan was born to move on distant paths, on the far road of heaven and the far road of earth. He goes to and returns from both the beloved abodes."

[267] See Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 186, and 190.

[268] Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. ix., at the end.

A.V. xvi. 9, 2. *Tad Agnir āha tad u Somaḥ āha Pushā mā dhāt sukṛitasya loke* | "Agni says, and Soma says, 'may Pūshan place me in the world of righteousness.'"

A.V. xviii. 2, 53. *Agnīshomā pathikṛitā syonaṁ devebhyo ratnaṁ dadhathur vi lokam* | *upa preshyatam Pūshaṇaṁ yo vahāti ajayānaiḥ pathibhis tattra gachhatam* | "Agni and Soma, makers of paths, ye have prepared for the gods, as a treasure, a beautiful world; go thither and send hither to us Pūshan, who shall conduct us by direct roads." [269]

In R.V. i. 23, 13 f. the glowing Pūshan is prayed to bring hither, like a lost beast, the supporter of the sky, who is surrounded by brilliant grass; [270] and is said to have found the king so designated, who had been concealed (*ā Pūshan chitrabarhisham āghṛiṇe dharuṇaṁ divaḥ āja nashṭaṁ yathā paśum* | 14. *Pūshā rājānam āghṛiṇir apagūḷhaṁ guhā hitam* | *avindach chitrabarhisham*).

In one passage, i. 23, 8, the other gods are designated by the appellation of *pūsharāti*, "bestowers of Pūshan's gifts," or "having Pūshan as their chief giver."

(2) *Hymns addressed to Pūshan.*

I shall now translate some of the hymns addressed to Pūshan, from which it will appear that the character of this god is not very distinctly defined; and that it is difficult to declare positively what province of nature or of physical action he is designed to represent, as is at once manifest in the case of Dyaus, Pṛithivī, Agni, Indra, Parjanya, and Sūrya:

i. 42, 1. *Eam Pūshann adhvanas tira vi aṁho vimucho napāt* | *sakshva deva pra nas puraḥ* | 2. *Yo naḥ Pūshann agho vṛiko duśśevaḥ ādideśati* | *apa sma tvam patho jahi* | 3. *Apa tyam paripanthinam mushīvāṇaṁ huraśchitam* | *dūram adhi sruter aja* | 4. *Tvaṁ tasya dvayāvino aghaśaṁsasya kasya chit* | *padā 'bhi tishṭha tapushim* | 5. *Ā tat te dasra mantumaḥ Pūshann avo vṛiṇīmahe* | *yena pitṛīn achodayaḥ* | 6. *Adha no*

[269] Prof. Roth, *s.v.* takes *ajayānaiḥ* as = *anjoyānaiḥ*.

[270] Professor Roth understands this epithet *chitrabarhis* to mean "having glittering straw," or "having around him straw in the form of jewels," and applies it to the moon. Prof. Benfey, following Sāyaṇa, considers that Soma is the deity intended, and renders the word *chitrabarhis* by "reposing on a rich covering." The reference seems obscure.

viśvasaubhaga hiraṇyavāśīmattama | dhanāni sushaṇā kṛidhi | 7. Ati naḥ saśchato naya sugā naḥ supathā kṛiṇu | Pūshann iha kratuṁ vidaḥ | 8. Abhi suyavasaṁ naya na navajvāro adhvane | Pūshann . . . | 9. S'agdhi pūrdhi pra yaṁsi cha śiśīhi prāsi udaram | Pūshann . . . | 10. Na Pūshaṇam methāmasi sūktair abhi gṛiṇīmasi | vasūni dasmam īmahe | "1. Conduct us, Pushan, over our road; remove distress, son of the deliverer;[271] go on before us. 2. Smite away from our path the destructive and injurious wolf which seeks after us. 3. Drive away from our path the waylayer, the thief, the robber. 4. Tread with thy foot upon the burning weapon of that deceitful wretch, whosoever he be. 5. O wonder-working and wise Pūshan, we desire that help of thine wherewith thou did favour our fathers. 6. O god, who bringest all blessings, and art distinguished by thy golden spear, make wealth easy of acquisition. 7. Convey us past our opponents; make our paths easy to traverse; gain strength for us here. 8. Lead us over a country of rich pastures; let no new trouble (beset our) path. 9. Bestow, satiate, grant, stimulate us, fill our belly. 10. We do not reproach Pūshan, we praise him with hymns; we seek riches from the wonder-working god."[272]

The next hymn alludes at the beginning to Pūshan in his character of tutelary god of travellers (comp. vi. 49, 8; x. 17, 3, 6; x. 59, 7; x. 92, 13); but it is chiefly occupied with the poet's aspirations after a liberal patron, and with attempts to inflame the god's indignation against the niggards with whom he considered himself to be surrounded.

[271] *Vimucho napāt.* Professor Benfey follows Sāyaṇa *in loco* in taking this to mean "offspring of the cloud" (*jala-vimochaka-hetor meghasya puttra*). The Indian commentator, however, assigns another sense to the phrase in v. 55, 1, where it recurs, and where he explains it as "the son of Prajāpati, who at the creation sends forth from himself all creatures" (*vimunchati sṛishṭi-kāle svasakāśat sarvāḥ prajāḥ visṛijati iti vimuk Prajāpatiḥ | tasya puttra*). In R.V. viii. 4, 15 f. Pūshan is called *vimochana*, the "deliverer," which Sāyaṇa interprets "deliverer from sin" *pāpād vimochayitaḥ*). Perhaps *vimucho napāt* means the same thing. Compare the words *vi te munchantāṁ vimucho hi santi*, A.V. vii. 112, 3; and *śavaso napāt*, and the other similar phrases quoted above in p. 52. In preparing my version of this hymn I have had the aid of Benfey, as well as of Sāyaṇa.

[272] Professor Benfey refers here to a preceding note of his own on R.V. i. 41, 8, the sense of which is as follows: "I believe that this refers to a practice which we still find among barbarous, and even among partially civilized, races, of believing that they can compel their gods, by insults, and by blows inflicted on their images, to grant their desires, or if this be not accomplished, of thinking that they thereby take their revenge."

vi. 53, 1. *Vayam u tvā pathas pate rathaṁ na vājasātaye | dhiye Pūshann ayujmahi* | 2. *Abhi no naryaṁ vasu vīram prayata-dakshiṇam | vāmaṁ gṛihapatim naya* | 3. *Aditsantaṁ chid āghṛiṇe Pūshan dānāya chodaya | paṇeś chid vi mrada manaḥ* | 4. *Vi patho vājasātaye chinuhi vi mṛidho jahi sādhantām ugra no dhiyaḥ* | 5. *Pari tṛindhi paṇīnām ārayā hṛidayā kave | athem asmabhyaṁ randhaya* | 6. *Vi Pūshann ārayā tuda paṇer ichha hṛidi priyam | athem asmabhyaṁ randhaya* | 7. *Ā rikha kikirā kṛiṇu paṇīnaṁ hṛidayā kave | athem . . .* | 8. *Yām Pūshan brahmachodinīm ārām bibharshi āghṛiṇe | tayā samasya hṛidayam ā rikha kikirā kṛiṇu* | 9. *Yā te ashṭrā goopaśā āghṛiṇe paśusādhanī | tasyās te sumnam īmahe* | 10. *Uta no goshaṇim dhiyam aśvasām vājasām uta | nṛivat kṛiṇuhi vītaye* |

"1. Pūshan, we have attached thee, lord of roads, to our hymn, as a chariot (is yoked) for the acquisition of food. 2. Bring to us wealth suitable for men, and a manly estimable householder, who shall bestow on us gifts. 3. Impel to liberality, o glowing Pūshan, even the man who would fain bestow nothing: soften the soul even of the niggard. 4. Open up paths by which we may obtain food; slay our enemies; let our designs succeed, o glorious god. 5. O wise god, pierce the hearts of the niggards with an awl; and then make them subject to us. 6. Pierce them with an awl, o Pūshan; seek (for us) that which is dear to the niggard's heart; and then make them subject to us. 7. Penetrate and tear the hearts of the niggards, o wise god, and then subject them to us. 8. With that prayer-stimulating goad which thou carriest, glowing Pūshan, penetrate and tear the heart of every such man. 9. From that goad of thine, which is furnished with leathern thongs,[273] and guides cattle, we seek for prosperity. 10. Grant that our hymn may produce for us cattle, horses, food, for our enjoyment abundantly."

vi. 54, 1. *Sam Pūshan vidushā naya yo anjasā 'nuśāsati | yaḥ eva idam iti bravat* | 2. *Sam u Pūshṇā gamemahi yo gṛihān abhiśāsati | ime eva iti cha bravat* | 3. *Pūshṇaś chakraṁ na rishyati na kośo ava padyate | no asya vyathate paviḥ* | 4. *Yo asmai havishā 'vidhat na tam Pūshā 'pi mṛishyate | prathamo vindate vasu* | 5. *Pūshā gāḥ anu etu naḥ Pūshā rakshatu arvataḥ | Pūshā vājaṁ sanotu naḥ* | 6. *Pūshann anu pra gāḥ*

[273] See Bohtlingk and Roth, *s.v. goopaśa.*

ihi yajamānasya sunvataḥ | asmākaṁ stuvatām uta | 7. Mākir neśat mākīṁ rishat mākīṁ saṁ śāri kevaṭe | atha arishṭābhir ā gahi | 8. S'ṛiṇvantam Pūshaṇaṁ vayam iryam anashṭa-vedasam | īśānaṁ rāyaḥ īmahe | 9. Pūshan tava vrate vayaṁ na rishyema kadāchana | stotāras te iha smasi | 10. Pari Pūshā paṛastād hastaṁ dadhātu dakshiṇam | punar no nashṭam ājatu |

"1. May we, o Pūshan, meet with a wise man who shall straightway direct us, and say 'so it is.'[274] 2. May we meet with Pūshan,[275] who shall point out a house, and shall say 'it is this.' 3. Pūshan's wheel is not shattered, nor does its box fall, nor is its rim broken. 4. Pūshan is not hostile to the man who offers him an oblation; that man is the first to obtain wealth. 5. May Pūshan follow our kine; may he protect our horses; may he give us food. 6. Pūshan, follow the kine of the worshipper who offers soma-libations, and of us when we do the same. 7. Let nothing be lost, or injured, or fall into a pit; but come to us with (the cows) all safe. 8. We seek after Pūshan who hears us, the alert, who never loses property, who is lord of wealth. 9. Pūshan, may we, through thy appointment, never fall into calamity; we are here, thy worshippers. 10. May Pūshan stretch out his right hand far and wide, and drive hither our lost property."

vi. 55, 1. *Ehi vāṁ vimucho napād āghṛiṇe saṁ sachāvahai | rathīr ṛitasya no bhava | 2. Rathītamaṁ kaparddinam īśānaṁ rādhaso mahaḥ | rāyaḥ sakhāyam īmahe | 3. Rāyo dhārā 'si āghṛiṇe vasoḥ rāśir ajāśva | dhīvato dhīvato sakhā | 4. Pūshaṇaṁ nu ajāśvam upa stoshāma vājinam | svasur yo jāraḥ uchyate | 5. Mātur didhishum abravaṁ svasur jāraḥ śṛiṇotu naḥ | bhrātā Indrasya sakhā mama | 6. Ā ajāsaḥ Pūshaṇaṁ rathe niśṛimbhās te janaśriyam | devaṁ vahantu bibhṛataḥ |*

"1. Come hither, glowing god, the deliverer, may we meet; be the charioteer of our rite. 2. We seek riches from thee, the most skilful of charioteers, the god with braided hair, the lord of great wealth, and our friend. 3. Thou art a stream of opulence, a heap of riches, o glowing deity, drawn by goats, and the friend of every devout contemplator.

[274] Sāyaṇa says that this verse is to be muttered by a man seeking for lost property (*nashṭa-dhanam anvichhatā etaj japyam*), and refers to Gṛihya Sūtras, iii. 9. He understands the wise man of one who shall point out the mode of recovering such property.

[275] See Prof. Wilson's note *in loco*. Sāyaṇa explains: "May we by [the favour of] Pūshan meet with a man who shall shew us the house in which our lost cattle are.'

4. Let us praise Pūshan, the god drawn by goats, the giver of food, who is called the lover of his sister.[276] 5. I address the husband of his mother;[277] may he hear us, the lover of his sister, the brother of Indra, and my friend. 6. May the surefooted[278] goats, supporting Pūshan, the god who visits mankind, bring him hither upon his chariot."

vi. 56, 1. *Yaḥ enam ādideśati "karambhād" iti Pūshaṇam | na tena devaḥ ādiśe | 2. Uta gha sa rathītamaḥ sakhyā satpatir yujā | Indro vṛitrāṇi jighnate | 3* (Nir. ii. 6). *Uta adaḥ parushe gavi sūraś chakraṁ hiraṇyayam | ni airayad rathītamaḥ | 4. Yad adya tvā purushṭuta bravāma dasra mantumaḥ | tat su no manma sādhaya | 5. Imaṁ cha no gaveshaṇaṁ sātaye sīshadho gaṇam | ārāt Pūshann asi śrutaḥ | 6. Ā te svastim īmahe āreaghām upāvasum | adya cha sarvatātaye svaś cha sarvatātaye |*

"1. By him who designates Pūshan by saying 'this is the eater of meal and butter,' the god cannot be described. 2. Indra too, the lord of the good, the most skilful of charioteers, seeks to slay his enemies in company with his friend. 3. And this most skilful charioteer drove that golden wheel of the sun through the speckled cloud.[279] 4. Accomplish for us, o wonder-working and wise deity, that desire which we shall address to thee to-day. 5. And direct this exploring band of ours to the attainment of their object: for, Pūshan, thou are renowned afar. 6. We seek thy blessing, which drives away calamity, and brings opulence near, for full prosperity to-day, and for full prosperity to-morrow."

vi. 57, 1. *Indrā nu Pūshaṇā*[280] *vayaṁ sakhyāya svastaye huvema vājasātaye | 2. Somam anyaḥ upāsadat pātave chamvoḥ sutam | karambham*[281]

[276] Ushas, according to Sāyaṇa; and Sūryā, according to Prof. Roth. See the last verse of vi. 58, below.

[277] Sāyaṇa renders *mātuḥ* by *nirmātryāḥ rātreḥ*, "the constructress, Night."

[278] Roth, *s.v.* says *niśṛimbha* perhaps means "sicher auftretend;" Wilson renders "harnessed;" Sāyaṇa *niśrathya sambadhya hartāraḥ*. All seems guess work.

[279] Prof. Roth translates this verse as follows in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 19: "Er hat dort durch den krausen Wolkenzug der Sonne goldenes Rad hindurchgelenkt, der trefliche Fuhrmann (Pūschan). "He has guided the golden wheel of the sun through the curled train of clouds, the excellent driver (Pūshan)." In his Lexicon he renders the word *parusha* by "variegated," etc.

[280] Compare iii. 57, 2, and vi. 17, 11, where Pūshan and Vishṇu are said to have purified three bowls of Soma for Indra (*Pūshā Vishṇus trīṇisa rāṁsi dhāvan vṛitrahaṇam madiram aṁśum asmai*).

[281] iii. 52 7.

anyaḥ ichhati | 3. Ajāḥ anyasya vahnayo harī anyasya sambhṛitā | tābhyāṁ vṛittrāṇi jighnate | 4. Yad Indro anayad rito mahīr apo vṛishantamaḥ | tatra Pūshā 'bhavat sachā | 5. Tām Pūshṇaḥ sumatiṁ vayāṁ vṛikshasya pra vayām iva | Indrasya cha ā rabhāmahe | 6. Ut Pūshaṇaṁ yuvāmahe abhīśūn iva sārathiḥ | mahyai Indraṁ svastaye |

"1. Let us invoke Indra and Pūshan to be our friends, to bless us and to grant us food. 2. Of these two gods, the one (Indra) comes to drink the soma poured out from the ladles, and the other (Pūshan) desires meal and butter. 3. Goats convey the one, and two harnessed brown horses the other: borne by them he seeks to slay his enemies. 4. When the most vigorous Indra brought the great flowing waters, Pūshan was there with him. 5. We lay hold of that goodwill of Pūshan and of Indra, as we seize the branch of a tree. 6. We stir up Pūshan and Indra to bring us great prosperity, as a charioteer shakes his reins."

vi. 58, 1 (= S.V. i. 75). *Śukraṁ te anyad yajataṁ te anyad vishurūpe ahanī dyaur ivāsi | visvāḥ hi māyāḥ avasi svadhāvo bhadrā te Pūshann iha rātir astu | 2. Ajāśvaḥ paśupāḥ vājapastyo dhiyaṁjinvo bhuvane viśve arpitaḥ | ashṭrām Pūshā śithirām udvarīvṛijat sanchakshāṇo bhuvanā devaḥ īyate | 3. Yās te Pūshan nāvo antaḥ samudre hiraṇyayīr antarikshe charanti | tābhir yāsi dūtyaṁ sūryasya kāmena krita*[282] *śravaḥ ichhamānaḥ | 4. Pūshā subandhur divaḥ ā pṛithivyāḥ ilaspatir maghavā dasmavarchāḥ | yaṁ devāso adaduḥ Sūryāyai kāmena kṛitaṁ tavasaṁ svancham |*

"1. One of thine (appearances) is bright, the other is venerable; thy two periods are diverse; thou art like Dyaus: for, o self-dependent god, thou exercisest all wondrous powers. Q Pūshan, may thy gifts be beneficent. 2. Borne by goats, guardian of cattle, lord of a house overflowing with plenty, an inspirer of the soul, abiding within the whole creation, Pūshan has grasped his relaxed goad; the god moves onward beholding all creatures. 3. With those golden ships of thine, which sail across the aerial ocean, thou actest as the messenger of the Sun, desiring food, o god, subdued by love. 4. Pūshan is the close associate of [or the bond uniting?] heaven and earth, the lord of nourishment, the magnificent, of wondrous lustre. Him, vigorous and rapid, subdued by love, the gods gave to Sūryā."

[282] See next verse, and vi. 49, 8, where the same phrase occurs.

In ii. 40, Soma and Pūshan are celebrated conjointly as the generators of wealth, of heaven and earth, and the born preservers of the world, and as made by the gods the centre-point of immortality (*Somapūshaṇā jananā rayīṇāṁ jananā divo jananā pṛithivyāḥ | jātau viśvasya bhuvanasya gopau devāḥ akṛiṇvann amṛitasya nābhim*, verse 1); they hide the hated darkness (*imau tamāṁsi gūhatām ajushṭhā*, ibid. 2); they impel the chariot with seven wheels which traverses the air, but is not all-pervading, which revolves in all directions, is yoked by the mind, and shines with seven rays (*Somāpūshaṇā rajaso vimānaṁ saptachakraṁ ratham aviśvamínvam | vishuvṛitam manasā yujyamānaṁ taṁ jinvatho vṛishaṇā pancharaśmim*, verse 3); the one of them (Pūshan) is said to make his abode in the heaven, the other (Soma) on the earth and in the air (*divi anyo sadanaṁ chakre uchchā pṛithivyām anyo adhi antarikshe*, verse 4); the one (Soma) to have generated all creatures, and the other (Pūshan) to move onward beholding the universe (*viśvāni anyo bhuvanā jajāna viśvam anyo abhichakshāṇaḥ eti*, verse 5).

In the concluding verse of R.V. i. 138, the poet tells Pūshan that he seeks with gentle hymns to attract his attention, and that he does not treat the god with haughtiness or contempt, or reject his friendship (*o su tvā vavṛitīmahi stomebhir dasma sādhubhiḥ | na hi tvā Pūshann atimanye āghṛiṇe na te sakhyam apahnuve*).

In x. 26, he is said to be the fulfiller of prayers, and the stimulator of sages (*matīnaṁ cha sādhanaṁ viprāṇāṁ cha ādhavam*, verse 4); to be the promoter[283] of sacrifices, to impel the horses of chariots, to be a rishi friendly to men, and a protecting friend of the wise man (*pratyardhir yajnānāṁ aśvahayo rathānām | ṛishiḥ sa yo manurhito viprasya yavayat-sakhaḥ*, verse 5), the unshaken friend, born of old, of every suppliant (*viśvasya arthinaḥ sakhā sanojāḥ anapachyutaḥ*).

[283] Prof. Roth, *s.v.* thinks the word *pratyardhi*, which occurs also in x. 1, 5, may mean "entitled to the half of," "having an equal share in." Compare *abhy-ardhayajvan* above, p. 172, and note.

SECTION XIII.

USHAS.

This goddess, who corresponds to the *Ἠώς* (Æolic *Αὐώς*) of the Greeks, and to the Aurora of the Latins, is a favourite object of celebration with the poets of the Rig-veda, and the hymns addressed to her are among the most beautiful—if not the most beautiful—in the entire collection. The following are those which are specially dedicated to her honour, viz., i. 48; i. 49; i. 92; i. 113; i. 123; i. 124; iii. 61; iv. 51; iv. 52; v. 79; v. 80; vi. 64; vi. 65; vii. 75–81; x. 172. She is also invoked or referred to in numerous detached verses.

To give an idea of the manner in which Ushas is described and celebrated, I shall quote the larger portion of three hymns, of which the second and third are more remarkable than the first (introducing here and there some parallel passages from other quarters), and I shall afterwards give a summary of the principal attributes and functions which are attributed to her.

(1) *Three hymns to Ushas.*

i. 48, 1. *Saha vāmena naḥ Ūsho vi uchha duhitar Divaḥ | saha dyumnena bṛihatā vibhāvari rāyā devi dāsvatī | 2. Aśvavatīr gomatīr viśvasuvido bhūrī chyavanta vastave | udīraya prati mā sūnṛitāḥ ushaś choda rādho maghonām | 3. Uvāsa ushāḥ uchhāt cha nu devī jīrā rathānām | ye asyāḥ ācharaṇeshu dadhrire samudre na śravasyavaḥ | 4. Ūsho ye te yāmeshu yunjate mano dānāya sūrayaḥ | attrāha tat kaṇvaḥ eshāṁ kaṇvatamo nāma gṛiṇāti nṛiṇām | 5. Ā gha yosheva sūnarī ushāḥ yāti prabhunjatī | jarayantī vṛijanam padvad īyate ut pātayati pakshiṇaḥ | 6. Vi yā sṛijati samanaṁ vi arthinaḥ padaṁ na veti odatī | vayo nakis te paptivāṁsaḥ āsate vyushṭau vājinīvati |* [i. 124, 12 = vi. 64, 4. *Ut te vayaś chid vasater apaptan naraś cha ye pitubhājo vyushṭau* | see also i. 48, 9]. i. 48, 7. *Esha ayukta parāvataḥ sūryasyodayanād adhi | śataṁ rathebhiḥ subhagā ushāḥ iyaṁ vi yāti abhi mānushān | 8. Viśvam asyāḥ nanāma*

chakshase jagaj jyotish kṛiṇoti sūnarī | apa dvesho maghonī duhitā divaḥ ushāḥ uchhad apa sridhaḥ | 9. *Ushaḥ ā bhāhi bhānunā chandreṇa duhitar divaḥ | āvahantī bhūri asmabhyaṁ saubhagaṁ vyuchhantī divishṭishu* | 10. *Viśvasya hi jīvanam prāṇanaṁ tve vi yad uchhasi sūnari | sā no rathena bṛihatā vibhāvari śrudhi chitramaghe havam* | [i. 49, 1. *Usho bhadrebhir ā gahi divaś chid rochanād adhi | vahantu aruṇapsavaḥ upa tvā somino gṛiham* | 2. *Supeśasaṁ sukkaṁ rathaṁ yaṁ adhyasthāḥ ushas tvam | tena suśravasaṁ janam prāva adya duhitar divaḥ* | vi. 65, 2. *Vi tad yayur aruṇayugbhir aśvaiś chitraṁ bhānti ushasaś chandrarathāḥ* | vii. 75, 6. *Prati dyutānām arushāso aśvāś chitrāḥ adṛiśrann ushasaṁ vahantaḥ | yāti śubhrā viśvapiśā rathena* |]. i. 48, 12. *Viśvān devān ā vaha somapītaye antarikshād ushas tvam* |

"1. Dawn on us with prosperity, o Ushas, daughter of the sky, with great glory, o luminous and bountiful goddess, with riches. 2. (These dawns) bringing horses and cows, and all-bestowing, have oftentimes hastened to shine.[284] Awake for me joyful voices (or hymns)[285] o Ushas, and send us the wealth of the magnificent. 3. Ushas has dawned (before); let her now dawn (again), the goddess who impels our chariots, which at her arrivals are borne forward, like wealth-seekers in the ocean.[286] 4. Kaṇva, the chief of his race, here celebrates the name of those wise men who at thy approaches, o Ushas, direct their thoughts to liberality. 5. Like an active woman, Ushas advances cherishing[287] (all things); she hastens on arousing footed creatures,[288] and

[284] The word *vastave* is so rendered by Benfey. See his translation, in loco, and his Glossary to the Sāma-veda, *s.vv. ush*, and *vas*, and *vastu;* and Roth *s.v. ush.* 2.

[285] Benfey renders *sūnṛitāḥ* here by "Herrlichkeiten," 'glorious things;' but in i. 92, 7, and i. 113, 12, he translates the same word by "beautiful hymns." A note on it by Professor Aufrecht will be found further on.

[286] The sense of *dadhrire* in this clause is not very clear. Prof. Wilson renders after Sāyaṇa: "chariots, which are harnessed at her coming; as those who are desirous of wealth send ships to sea." Prof. Benfey explains: "carts, which roll at her approach, like wealth-seekers in the sea;" *i.e.*, as he adds in a note: "The waggons full of wealth are driven hither by the dawn; they are so full as to reel and swing about." It is difficult to see how this sense can be extracted from the words.

[287] Sāyaṇa makes *prabhuñjatī = prakarsheṇa sarvam pālayantī.* Benfey renders it "ruling," and Roth *s.v.* "rendering service."

[288] Professors Benfey and Bollensen (Orient und Occident, ii. 463) both explain *jarayantī* here in the sense of "setting in motion," or "arousing," the former deriving it from the root *jar*, "to hasten," and the latter from *jar = gar*, "to wake."—See Bollensen's remarks in pp. 463–465. In other places, as we shall see, and as he allows, it must be rendered "making old."

makes the birds fly aloft. 6. She sends forth both the active and the beggars (to their occupation); lively, she loves not to stand still; the flying birds no longer rest after thy dawning, o bringer of food.[289] [i 124, 12. The birds fly up from their nests, and men seeking food, leave their homes.] 7. She has yoked (her horses) from the remote rising-place of the sun; this auspicious Ushas advances towards men with a hundred chariots. 8. Everything that moves bows down before her glance; the active goddess creates light; by her appearance the magnificent daughter of the sky drives away our haters; Ushas has repelled our enemies. 9. Shine forth, Ushas, daughter of the sky with brilliant radiance, bringing to us abundant prosperity, dawning upon our devotions. 10. In thee, when thou dawnest, o lively goddess, is the life and the breath of all creatures; resplendent on thy massive car hear our invocation. [i. 49, 1. Come, Ushas, even from the light of the sky, by auspicious (paths); let the ruddy (horses) bring thee to the house of the offerer of soma. 2. Protect to-day, o Ushas, daughter of the sky, the prosperous man with that beautifully formed and pleasant chariot on which thou standest. vi. 65, 2. They went apart with their ruddy-yoked horses; the Dawns on the luminous cars shine brilliantly. vii. 75, 6. The bright and ruddy steeds were beheld bearing onward the shining Ushas. The lustrous goddess moves in a chariot beautified with all sorts of ornaments]. i. 48, 12. Ushas, bring all the gods to drink our soma."

i. 92, 1 (=S.V. ii. 1105). *Etāḥ u tyāḥ Ushasaḥ ketum akrata pūrve 'rdhe rajaso*[290] *bhānum anjate | nishkṛiṇvānāḥ āyudhānīva dhṛishṇavaḥ prati gāvo arushīr yanti mātaraḥ* | 2 (= S.V. ii. 1106). *Ud apaptann aruṇāḥ bhānavo vṛithā svāyujo arushīr gāḥ ayukshata | akrann ushāso vayunāni pūrvathā ruśantam bhānum arushīr aśiśrayuḥ* | 3 (=S.V. ii. 1107). *Archanti nārīr apaso na vishṭibhiḥ samānena yojanena ā parāvataḥ | ishaṁ vahantīḥ sukṛite sudānave viśvā id aha yajamānāya sunvate* | 4. *Adhi peśāṁsi vapate nṛitūr iva apornute vakshaḥ usreva barjaham | jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛiṇvatī gāvo na vrajaṁ vi ushāḥ*

[289] *vājinīvatī* is explained by Yāska, Nir. xi. 26, and xii. 6, by *annavatī;* and by Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 3, 10, by *annavat-kriyāvatī*, "mistress of rites possessing food." These senses of the word seem uncertain.

[290] Compare i. 124, 51: *pūrve 'rdhe rajaso aptyasya gavāṁ janitrī akṛita pra ketum* | "The mother of the cows has displayed her signal in the eastern part of the watery firmament."

āvar tamaḥ | [i. 123, 10. *Kanyeva tanvā śāśadānā eshi devi devam iyakshamāṇam* | *saṁsmayamānā yuvatiḥ purastād āvir vakshāṁsi kṛiṇushe vibhātī* | 11. *Susankāśā mātṛimṛishṭeva yoshā āvis tanvaṁ kṛiṇushe dṛiśe kam* | i. 124, 4 (=Nirukta, iv. 16). *Upo adarśi śundhyuvo na vaksho nodhāḥ ivāvir akṛita priyāṇi* | *admasad na sasato bodhayantī śaśvattamā āgāt punar eyushīnām* | 7 (=Nir. iii. 5). *Abhrātā iva puṁsaḥ eti pratīchī garttārug iva sanaye dhanānām*[291] | *jāyeva patye uśatī suvāsāḥ ushāḥ hasreva ni riṇīte apsaḥ* | v. 80, 5. *Eshā śubhrā na tanvo vidānā ūrdhveva snātī dṛiśaye no asthāt* | vi. 64, 2. *Āvir vakshaḥ kṛiṇushe śumbhamānā devi rochamānā mahobhiḥ* | compare v. 80, 46]. i. 92, 5. *Prati archiḥ ruśad asyāḥ adarśi vi tishṭhate bādhate kṛishṇam abhvam*[292] | *svaruṁ na peśo vidatheshu anjan chitraṁ divo duhitā bhānum aśret* | 6. *Atārishma tamasas pāram asya ushāḥ uchhantī vayunā kṛiṇoti* | *śriye chhando na smayate vibhātī supratīkā saumanasāya ajīgaḥ* | 7. *Bhāsvatī netrī sūnṛitānāṁ divaḥ stave duhitā Gotamebhiḥ* | *prajāvato nṛivato aśvabudhyān usho goagrān upa māsi vājān* | 8. *Ushas tam aśyāṁ yaśasaṁ suvīrāṁ dāsapravargaṁ rayim aśvabudhyam* | *sudaṁsasā śravasā yā vi bhāsi vājaprasūtā subhage bṛihantam* | 9. *Viśvāni devī bhuvanā 'bhichakshya pratīchī chakshur urviyā vibhāti* | *viśvaṁ jīvaṁ charase bodhayantī viśvasya vāchaṁ avidat manāyoḥ* | 10. *Punaḥ punar jāyamānā*[293] *purāṇī samānaṁ varṇam abhi śumbhamānā* | *śvaghnīva kṛitnur vijaḥ āmināna martasya devī jarayantī āyuḥ* | 11. *Vyūrṇatī divo antān abodhi upa svasāraṁ sanutar yuyoti* | *praminatī manushyā yugāni yoshā jārasya chakshasā vibhāti* | [i. 115, 2. *Sūtyo devīm Ushashaṁ rochamānām maryo na yoshām abhi eti paśchāt* | vii. 75, 4. *Divo duhitā bhuvanasya patnī* | 5. *Vājinīvatī sūryasya yoshā*]. i. 92, 12. *Paśūn na chitrā subhagā prathānā sindhur na kshodaḥ urviyā vi aśvait* | *aminatī daivyāni vratāni sūryasya cheti raśmibhir dṛiśānā* | 13. *Ushas tat chitram ābhara asmabhyaṁ vājinīvati* | *yena tokaṁ cha tanayaṁ cha dhāmahe* | 14. *Usho adyeha gomati aśvāvati vibhāvari* | *revad asme vi uchha sūnṛitāvati* | 15. *Yukshva hi vājinīvati aśvān adya aruṇān ushaḥ* | *atha no viśvā saubhagāni āvaha* |

[291] Compare R.V. ix. 96, 20.

[292] Compare iv. 51, 9 : *Gūhantīḥ abhvam asitaṁ ruśadbhir śukrās tanūbhiḥ śuchayaḥ* | "The bright lucid Dawns concealing the black abyss with their radiant bodies."

[293] Compare i. 123, 2 : *Uchchā vi akhyad yuvatiḥ punarbhūḥ* | "The youthful (goddess) born anew, has shone forth on high." iii. 61, 1 : *Purāṇī devi yuvatiḥ purandhir anu vrataṁ charasi* | "Thou, o goddess, old, (and yet) young, wise, movest at thy will."

"1. These Dawns have become conspicuous; they display their lustre in the eastern hemisphere; like bold warriors drawing forth their weapons, the ruddy mother-cows advance. 2. The rosy beams have flashed up spontaneously; they have yoked the self-yoked ruddy cows. The Dawns, as of old, have brought us consciousness; the red cows have assumed a brilliant lustre. 3. Like women active in their occupations, they shine from afar along a common track, bringing sustenance to the pious and liberal worshipper, and all things to the man who offers libations of soma. 4. Ushas, like a dancer, puts on her gay attire; she displays her bosom as a cow its udder: creating light for all the world, she has dissipated the darkness, as cattle (abandon) their stall.[294] [i. 123, 10. Like a maid triumphing[295] in her (beautiful) form, thou, goddess, advancest to meet the god who seeks after thee (the sun); smiling, youthful, and resplendent, thou unveilest thy bosom in front. 11. Like a fair girl adorned by her mother, thou displayest thy body to the beholder. i. 124, 4. She has been beheld like the bosom of a bright maiden.[296] Like Nodhas,[297] she has revealed things that we love. Awaking the sleepers like an inmate of the house, she has come, the most perpetual of all the females who have returned. 7. As a woman who has no brother appears in presence of (another) man, as a man mounted on a chariot goes forth in pursuit of wealth, as a loving wife shews herself to her husband, so does Ushas, as it were, smiling, reveal her form.[298] v. 80, 5. She displays her person like a fair

[294] "As cattle of their own accord go quickly to their own cowpen"—Sāyaṇa. "As cows open their stall"—Benfey. See his note in loco.

[295] The word so rendered is *śaśadānā*.—Sāyaṇa explains it "becoming manifest." The word, however, as appears from the context, as well as other passages in which it occurs, i. 33, 13; i. 116, 2; i. 124, 6; i. 141, 9; vii. 98, 4; vii. 104, 24; x. 120, 5, has evidently the sense assigned to it by Roth, in Illust. of Nir. p. 83, where he renders it by "triumphing," in i. 33, 13, and x. 120, 5. In the passage before us he makes it mean "distinguished by beauty." Benfey explains it by "triumphing" in i. 33, 13, and i. 116, 2. His translation of the R.V. does not extend beyond the 118th hymn of the 1st Maṇḍala.

[296] Sāyaṇa, following Yāska, explains *śundhyuvo na yakshaḥ*, as the "rays on the breast of the sun," or as "the breast of a particular white water bird." Roth, Illust. of Nir. p. 44, translates "as the breast of a pure virgin."

[297] This is the name of a Rishi. Roth thinks it may be an appellative here. Müller, Trans. of R.V. i. p. 107, thinks it may have the general meaning of poet.

[298] Roth, Illust. of Nir. p. 25, says "The sense of the verse appears to be: "as a brotherless maiden, who after her father's death has no longer any home, turns more

woman, like one rising out of the water in which she has been bathing. vi. 64, 2. Thou, full of brightness, displayest thy bosom, o goddess, shining in thy glory]. i. 92, 5. Her bright ray has been perceived; it extends and pierces the black abyss. The daughter of the Sky has assumed a brilliant glow, like the decorations of the sacrificial post on festivals. 6. We have crossed over this darkness; Ushas dawning restores consciousness; radiant, she smiles like a flatterer seeking his own advantage; fair in her aspect, she has awakened all creatures to cheerfulness. 7. The shining daughter of the skies, leader of cheerful voices (or hymns),[299] has been lauded by the Gotamas. Ushas, thou distributest resources in offspring, men, horses, and kine. 8. Blessed Ushas, thou who, animated by strength, shinest forth with wonderful riches, may I obtain that renowned and solid wealth, which consists in stout sons, numerous slaves, and horses. 9. Directing her eyes towards all creatures, the goddess shines before them far and wide. Rousing into motion every living thing, she notices the voice of every adorer. 10. Born again and again, though ancient, shining with an ever uniform hue, (she goes on) wasting away the life of mortals, carrying it away as a clever gambler the stakes.[300] 11. She is perceived revealing the ends of the sky; she chases far away her sister (Night). Wearing out the lives of men, the lady shines with the light of her lover (the sun). [i. 115, 2. The sun follows the shining goddess Ushas, as a man, coming after, approaches a woman. vii. 75, 4. Daughter of the Sky, mistress of the world, food-providing wife of the sun.] i. 92, 12. The bright, and blessed goddess has widely diffused her rays, as if she were driving forth cattle in various directions, or as a river

boldly to men, as a warrior on a chariot goes forth proudly to conquer booty (comp. ix. 96, 20), as a decorated wife in presence of her husband, so Ushas unveils before the eyes of men all her beauty, smiling as it were in the sure consciousness of its overpowering effect." This explanation seems to express well the import of the word *sāśadānā* as interpreted in a previous note.

[299] See above, note 285.

[300] Sāyaṇa takes *śvaghnī* for a "fowler's wife" (*vyādha-strī*), and *vijaḥ* for "birds." See Wilson in loco. Benfey takes *vijaḥ* for "dice," and explains the clause as denoting a cunning gambler who tampers with the dice, by shaving them down. See his note. Bollensen, Orient und Occident, ii. 464, translates: "as a fortunate gamester carries off the gains." The phrase *vijaḥ iva ā mināti* occurs again in R.V. ii. 125, where Sāyaṇa takes *vijaḥ* for *udvejakaḥ*, "a vexer." So uncertain are his explanations!

rolling down its floods; maintaining the ordinances of the gods, she is perceived, made visible by the rays of the sun. 13. Ushas, provider of food, bring us that brilliant fortune whereby we may possess offspring. 14. Ushas, resplendent, awaking cheerful voices (or hymns), dawn richly upon us to-day, bringing cows and horses. 15. Yoke to-day, Ushas, thy ruddy steeds, and then bring us all blessings."

i. 113, 1 (=S.V. ii. 1099; Nir. ii. 19). *Idaṁ śreshṭhaṁ jyotishāṁ jyotir āgāt chitraḥ praketo ajanishṭa vibhvā | yathā prasūtā Savituḥ savāya eva rātrī Ushase yonim araik* | [i. 124, 8 *Svasā svasre jyāyasyai yonim araig apaiti asyāḥ pratichakshya iva*] i. 113, 2 (= S.V. ii. 1100; Nir. ii. 20). *Ruśadvatsā ruśatī śvetyā āgād araig u kṛishṇa sadanāni asyāḥ | samānabandhū amṛite anūchī dyāvā varṇaṁ charataḥ āmināne* | 3 (= S.V. ii. 1101). *Samāno adhvā svasror anantas tam anyā 'nyā charato devaśishṭe | na methete na tashṭhatuḥ sumeke naktoshāshā samanasā virūpe* | 4. *Bhāsvatī netrī sūnṛitānām acheti chitrā vi duro naḥ āvaḥ | prārpya jagad vi u no rāyo akhyad ushāḥ ajīgar bhuvanāni viśvā* | [i. 48, 1·5. *Usho yad adyā bhānunā vi dvārāv ṛiṇavo divaḥ | ityādi*] i. 113, 5. *Jihmaśye charitave maghonī ābhogaye ishṭaye rāye u tvam | dabhram paśyadbhyaḥ urviyā vi chakshe ushāḥ ajīgar bhuvanāni viśvā* | 6. *Kshattrāya tvaṁ śravase tvam mahīyai ishṭaye tvam artham iva tvam ityai | visadṛiśā jīvitā 'bhipra-chakshe ushāḥ ajīgar bhuvanāni viśvā* | 7. *Eshā divo duhitā pratyadarśi vyuchhantī yuvatiḥ śukravāsāḥ*[301] | *viśvasyeśānā pārthivasya vasvaḥ usho adyeha subhage vi uchha* | 8. *Parāyatīnām anu eti pāthaḥ āyatīnām prathamā śaśvatīnām | vyuchhantī jīvam udīrayantī ushāḥ mṛitaṁ kaṁ chana bodhayantī* | [i. 123, 8. *Sadṛiśīr adya sadṛiśīr id u śvo dīrghaṁ sachante Varuṇasya dhāma | anavadyās triṁśataṁ yojanāni ekaikā kratūm pari yanti sadyaḥ* | 9. *Jānatī ahnaḥ prathamasyo nāma śukrā kṛishṇād ajanishṭa śvitīchī | ṛitasya yoshā na mināti dhāma ahar ahar nishkṛitam ācharantī*] i. 113, 9. *Usho yad agniṁ samidhe chakartha vi yad āvaś chakshasā sūryasya | yad mānushān yakshyamāṇān ajīgas tad deveshu chakṛishe bhadram apnaḥ* | 10. *Kiyati ā tat samayā bhavāti yāḥ vyūshur yāś cha nūnaṁ vyuchhān | anu pūrvāḥ kṛipate vāvaśānā pradīdhyānā josham anyābhir yāti* | 11. *Īyus te ye pūrvatarām apaśyan vyuchhantīm ushasam martyāsaḥ | asmābhir u nu pratichakshyā abhūd ā u te yanti*

[301] Compare vii. 77, 2: *Viśvam pratīchī saprathāḥ ud asthād ruśad vāso bibhratī śukram aśvait.*

ye aparīshu paśyān | 12. *Yāvayaddveshā ritapāḥ ṛitejāḥ sumnāvarī sūnṛitā īrayantī* | *sumangalīr bibhratī devavītim ihādya Ushāḥ śreṣṭhatamā vi uchha* | 13. *S'aśvat purā ushāḥ vi uvāsa devī atho adya idaṁ vi āvo maghonī* | *atho vi uchhād uttarān anu dyūn ajarā 'mṛitā charati svadhābhiḥ* | 14. *Vi anjibhir divaḥ ātāsu adyaud apa kṛishṇāṁ nirṇijaṁ devī āvaḥ* | *prabodhayantī aruṇebhir aśvair ā ushāḥ yāti suyujā rathena* | 15. *Āvahantī poshyā vāryāṇi chitraṁ ketuṁ kṛiṇute ċhekitānā* | *īyushīnām upamā śāśvatīnāṁ vibhātīnām prathamā ushāḥ vi aśvait* | [i. 124, 2. *Aminatī daivyāni vratāni praminatī manushyā yugāni* | *īyushīnām upamā śaśvatīnām āyatīnām prathamā ushāḥ vy adyaut* |] i. 113, 16. *Ud īrdhvaṁ jīvo asur naḥ āgād apa prāgāt tamaḥ ā jyotir eti* | *araik panthāṁ yātave Sūryāya aganma yatra pratirante āyuḥ* | 17. *Syūmanā vāchaḥ ud iyartti vahniḥ stavāno rebhaḥ ushaso vibhātīḥ* | *adya tad uchha gṛiṇate maghoni asme āyur ni didīhi prajāvat* | 18. *Yāḥ gomatīr ushasaḥ sarvavīṛāḥ vyuchhanti dāśushe martyāya* | *vāyor iva sūnṛitānām udarke tāḥ aśvadāḥ aśnavat somasutvā* | 19. *Mātā devānām Aditer anīkaṁ yajnasya-ketur bṛihatī vi bhāhi* | *praśastikṛid brahmaṇe no vi uchha ā no jane janaya viśvavāre* | 20. *Yat chitram apnaḥ ushaso vahanti īyānāya śaśamānāya bhadram* | *tan no Mitro Varuṇo māmahantām Aditiḥ sindhuḥ Pṛithivī uta ᶜDyauḥ* |

"1. "This light has arrived, the greatest of all lights; the glorious and brilliant illumination has been born. Inasmuch as she (Ushas) has been produced for the production of Savitṛi, the Night has made way for Ushas. [i. 124, 8. The sister (Night) has made way for her elder sister (Ushas); and departs, after she has, as it were, looked upon her]. i. 113, 2. The fair and bright Ushas, with her bright child (the Sun) has arrived; to her the dark (Night) has relinquished her abodes; kindred to one another, immortal, alternating, Day and Night go on changing colour. 3. The same is the never-ending path of the two sisters, which they travel, commanded by the gods. They strive not, they rest not, the prolific Night and Dawn, concordant, though unlike. 4. The shining Ushas, leader of joyful voices (or hymns), has been perceived; she has opened for us the doors (of the sky): setting in motion all moving things, she has revealed to us riches; Ushas has awakened all creatures. [i. 48, 15. Ushas, as thou hast by thy light opened to us the two doors of heaven, etc.] i. 113, 5. (Arousing) the prostrate sleeper to

move, (impelling) another to enjoyment, to the pursuit of wealth, (enabling) those who see but a little way, to see far; Ushas has awakened all creatures. 6. (Arousing) one to seek royal power, another to follow after fame, another for grand efforts, another to pursue as it were his particular object,—Ushas awakes all creatures to consider their different modes of life. 7. She, the daughter of the sky, has been beheld breaking forth, youthful, clad in shining attire: mistress of all earthly treasures, auspicious Ushas, shine here to-day. 8. Ushas follows the track of the Dawns that are past, and is the first of the unnumbered Dawns that are to come, breaking forth, arousing life, and awaking every one that was dead. [i. 123, 8. Alike to-day, alike to-morrow, they observe the perpetual ordinance of Varuṇa. Spotless, they each instantaneously shoot forward thirty yojanas, their destined task.[302] 9. Knowing the indication of the earliest day, the bright, the lucid (goddess) has been born from the black (gloom). The female does not transgress the settled ordinance, coming day by day to the appointed place.] i. 113, 9. Inasmuch as thou hast made Agni to be kindled, hast shone forth by the light of the sun, and hast awakened the men who are to offer sacrifice, thou hast done good service to the gods. 10. How great is the interval that lies between[303] the Dawns which have arisen, and those which are yet to arise? Ushas yearns longingly after the former Dawns, and gladly goes on shining with the others (that are to come). 11. Those mortals are gone who saw the earliest Ushas dawning; we shall gaze upon her now; and the men are coming who are to behold her on future morns. 12. Repelling foes, protecting right (or rites), born in right (or rites), imparting joy, stimulating joyful voices (or hymns), bringing good fortune, promoting the feast of the gods, rise on us, Ushas, the best (of all Dawns). 13. Perpetually in former days did the divine Ushas dawn; and now to-day the magnificent goddess beams upon this world: undecaying, immortal, she marches on by her own will. 14. She has shone forth with her splendours on the borders of the sky; the bright goddess has chased away the dark veil of

[302] See Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. kratu.*

[303] *samayā* means "near," according to Sāyaṇa. Prof. Müller, Trans. p. 220, considers it to signify "together," "at once." The rendering I have given is that of Professor Aufrecht.

night; arousing the world, Ushas advances in her well-yoked car, drawn by ruddy steeds. 15. Bringing with her abundant boons, revealing herself, she displays a brilliant lustre. Ushas has shone forth, the last of the numerous Dawns which are past, and the first of those which are coming. [i. 124, 2. Maintaining the ordinances of the gods, but wasting away the lives of men, Ushas has shone forth, the last of the numerous former dawns, and the first of those that are coming.] i. 113, 16. Arise! our life, our breath, has come; darkness has departed; light arrives; Ushas has opened up a path for the sun to travel: we have reached the point where men prolong their days. 17. The priest, the poet, celebrating the brightening Dawns, arises with the web[304] of his hymn; shine therefore, magnificent Ushas, on him who praises thee; gleam on us with life and offspring. 18. May he who offers libations of soma obtain such Dawns as rise upon the liberal mortal, (Dawns) rich in kine, in (sons) all stalwart, and in horses, at the end of his hymns which resound like the wind.[305] 19. Mother of the gods, manifestation of Aditi, forerunner of the sacrifice, mighty Ushas, shine forth! Arise, bestowing approbation on our prayer; giver of all boons, increase our progeny.[306] 20. May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, the Ocean, the Earth, and the Sky, bestow upon us those brilliant and excellent resources which the Dawns bring to the man who offers sacrifice and praise."

(2) *Relations of Ushas to the other deities.*

Ushas, as we have seen, is constantly described as the daughter of the Sky (*duhitā Divaḥ*, as in i. 30, 22; i. 48, 1, 8, 9; i. 92, 5, 7; i. 183, 2; iv. 30, 8; vii. 67, 2; viii. 47, 14 f.; *divijāḥ* in vii. 75, 1).[307] She is also called the sister of Bhaga and the kinswoman of Varuṇa, i. 123, 5 (*Bhagasya svasā Varuṇasya jāmiḥ*). She is also the sister of

[304] *Syūmanā* is taken by Sāyaṇa as an accusative plural and construed with *vāchaḥ* in the sense of "hymns sewed together," or "connected." Professor Benfey takes it as the instrumental singular of *syūman*, and renders, "with the web of the word." Professor Aufrecht confirms this view, referring to R.V. iii. 61, 4.

[305] See Benfey *in loco*, and Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. udarka*, where *sūnṛita* is explained of hymns.

[306] Professor Aufrecht proposes to translate *jane ā janaya* by "give us prominence among men." Sāyaṇa explains the words by "settle us in the country" (*janapade ābhimukhyena prādurbhāvaya | avasthāpaya.*

[307] In i. 46, 1, she is called "the beloved of the Sky" (*priyā Divaḥ*).

Night, i. 113, 2, 3; x. 127, 3, and in i. 124, 8, the elder sister. Night is also in one place, x. 127, 8, called the daughter of the Sky. The two sisters are frequently conjoined in the duals *naktoshasā* and *ushasānaktā* or otherwise, i. 13, 7; i. 90, 7; i. 96, 5; i. 122, 2; i. 186, 4; ii. 2, 2; ii. 3, 6; ii. 31, 5; iv. 55, 3; v. 41, 7; vii. 2, 6; vii. 42, 5; ix. 5, 6; x. 36, 1; x. 70, 6; x. 110, 6. In vii. 2, 6, they are compared to two great celestial females (*yoshaṇe divye mahī na ushasānaktā*), and in ii. 31, 5, they are characterized as the two blessed goddesses who are seen alternately[308] and impel all moving things (*uta tye devī subhage mithūdṛiśā ushasānaktā jagatām apījuvā | stushe |*). Ushas is also, as was to be expected, frequently brought into connection with the Sun. As we have seen above, he is called her lover, i. 92, 11, or if with Roth, *s.v. jāra*, we should understand this of Agni, the Sun is indubitably described as going after Ushas as a man after a woman, in i. 115, 2, quoted above. He is said to follow her track, v. 81, 2 (*savitā anu prayāṇam ushaso vi rājati*); and she is represented as bringing the eye of the gods and leading on the beautiful white horse (the sun), vii. 77, 3. She is declared to be the mistress of the world and the wife of the sun, vii. 75, 5 (*bhuvanasya patnī | vājinīvatī sūryasya yoshā*), as the Dawns, in the plural, are said to be in iv. 5, 13 (*kadā no devīr amṛitasya patnīḥ sūro varṇena tatanann ushasaḥ*). In iii. 61, 4, Ushas is said to be *svasarasya patnī*, which Sāyaṇa renders wife of the Sun or the Day.[309] In vii. 78, 3, the Dawns are even said to generate the sun, sacrifice and Agni (*ajījanan sūryaṁ yajnam agnim*). Ushas and Agni are also frequently brought into conjunction, fire being always kindled for sacrificial purposes at dawn. He is called her lover, and is said to appear with, or before the dawn, i. 69, 1; i. 124, 1, 11; iii. 5, 1; iv. 13, 1; iv. 14, 1; vii. 8, 1; vii. 9, 1, 3; vii. 10, 1; vii. 67, 2; vii. 77, 1; vii. 78, 2; viii. 43, 5; x. 1, 1; x. 8, 4; x. 35, 6; x. 122, 7.[310] In one place he is represented as going to meet her as she comes, and to beg for riches (iii. 61, 6. *āyatīm Agne Ushasaṁ vahātīṁ vāmam eshi draviṇam bhikshamāṇaḥ*). In vii. 6, 5, Agni is said to have

[308] So Professor Roth understands *mithūdṛiśā*. Sāyaṇa makes it "looking at each other."

[309] Roth, however, Illustr. of Nirukta, p. 56, says *svasara* (neuter) means only customary road, place of abode, court for cattle, but he does not advert to this passage.

[310] In x. 3, 3 (=S.V. ii. 898), Agni appears to be the lover of his sister, the Night. See Benfey's trans. of the S.V. ii. 898.

made the Dawns, the spouses of the noble god (*yo aryapatnīr ushasaś chakāra*), which Sāyaṇa understands of the sun. Ushas is also often connected with the Aśvins, the time of whose manifestation, as we shall hereafter see, is regarded by Yāska as being between midnight and sunrise, i. 44, 2; i. 180, 1; iii. 20, 1; vii. 69, 5; vii. 72, 3, 4; viii. 9, 18; x. 41, 1. They are said to associate with her, i. 183, 2 (*Divo duhitrā Ushasā sachethe*); and she is said to be their friend, iv. 52, 2 (*sakhā 'bhūd Aśvinor Ushāḥ | 3. Uta sakhā 'si Aśvinoḥ*). In viii. 9, 17, she is called upon to awaken them (*pra bodhaya Usho Aśvinā*). Her hymn is said to have awoke them, iii. 58, 1 (*Ushasaḥ stomo Aśvināv ajīgaḥ*). Again, however, we are told that when the Aśvins' car is yoked, the daughter of the sky is born, x. 39, 12 (*yasya yoge duhitā jāyate Divaḥ*). In one place, x. 85, 19, the moon is said to be born again and again, ever new, and to go before Ushas as the herald of the day (*navo navo bhavati jāyamāno ahnāṁ ketur ushasām eti agram*). Indra is said to have created, or lighted up, Ushas, ii. 12, 7 (*yaḥ sūryaṁ yaḥ Ushasaṁ jajāna*); ii. 21, 4; iii. 31, 15; iii. 32, 8; iii. 44, 2 (*haryann ushasam archayaḥ*); vi. 17, 5. He is, however, sometimes represented as assuming a hostile attitude towards her. In ii. 15, 6, he is said to have crushed her chariot with his thunderbolt (*vajreṇa anaḥ Ushasaḥ sampipesha*). The same thing is repeated in iv. 30, 8 ff. (where the poet, with the want of gallantry which was so characteristic of the ancients, does not hesitate to admire the manliness and heroism of Indra in overcoming a female): *Etad gha id uta vīryyam Indra chakartha pauṁsyam | striyaṁ yad durhaṇāyuvaṁ vadhīr duhitaram Divaḥ | 9. Divaś chid gha duhitaram mahān mahīyamānām | Ushasam Indra sam pinak | 10 (= Nirukta, xi. 47). Apa Ushāḥ anasaḥ sarat sampishṭād aha bibhyushī | ni yat sīm śiśnathad vṛishā | 11 (= Nir. xi. 48). Etad asyāḥ anaḥ śaye susampishṭaṁ vipāśi ā | sasāra sīm parāvataḥ |* "8. This, Indra, was a deed of might and manliness which thou didst achieve, that thou didst smite the daughter of the sky, a woman who was bent on evil. 9. Thou Indra, a great (god), didst crush Ushas, though the daughter of the sky, who was exalting herself. 10. Ushas fled away in terror from her shattered car, when the vigorous (Indra) had crushed it. 11. This chariot of hers lies broken and dissolved, while she herself has fled afar off." These verses are translated in his Illustrations of the Nirukta by Roth, who

adduces R.V. x. 138, 5, as referring to the same myth: *Indrasya vajrād abibhed abhiśnathaḥ prākrāmat śundhyūr ajahād Ushāḥ anaḥ* | "The bright Ushas was afraid of the destructive thunderbolt of Indra; she departed and abandoned her chariot." And in x. 73, 6, it is said that Indra destroyed certain foes like the chariot of Ushas (*avāhann Indraḥ Ushaso yathā anaḥ*).

Soma is said to have made the Dawns bright at their birth, vi. 39, 3, (*śuchijanmanaḥ Ushasaś chakāra*), and to have formed them the wives of a glorious husband, vi. 44, 23 (*ayam akṛiṇod ushasaḥ supatnīḥ*). Bṛihaspati is said to have discovered Ushas, the Sun, etc., x. 67, 5, (*Bṛihaspatir Ushasaṁ Sūryaṁ gām arkaṁ viveda*), and to have repelled the darkness by light, x. 68, 9 (*so arkeṇa vi babādhe tamāṁsi*).

The early fathers, who were wise and righteous, and companions of the gods in their festivities, are said to have possessed efficacious hymns wherewith they discovered the hidden light, and generated Ushas, vii. 76, 4 (*te id devānāṁ sadhamādaḥ āsann ṛitāvānaḥ kavayaḥ pūrvyāsaḥ* | *gūḷhaṁ jyotir pitaro anvavindan satyamantrāḥ ajanayann Ushāsam*).

(3) *Epithets, characteristics, and functions of Ushas.*

The Nighaṇṭu, i. 8, gives sixteen names of Ushas, which seem to be almost entirely epithets, viz. *vibhāvarī* (the resplendent), *sūnarī* (the beautiful), *bhāsvatī* (the shining), *odatī* (the flowing, gushing, from the root *ud*, according to Professor Roth, *s.v.*), *chitrāmaghā* (possessed of brilliant riches), *arjunī* (the white), *vājinī*, *vājinīvatī* (the bringer of food), *sumnāvarī* (the giver of joy), *ahanā*, *dyotanā* (the bright), *śvetyā* (the fair-coloured), *arushī* (the ruddy), *sūnṛitā*, *sūnṛitāvatī*, *sūnṛitāvarī* (the utterer of pleasant or sacred voices).[311] Some of these epithets

[311] Professor Aufrecht thinks that this word *sūnṛita* is to be explained as follows: He considers it to be a derivative from *nṛit*, "to be in motion," compounded with *su*. Its first meaning is 'movable' (*sūnṛitā maghāni*, R.V. vii. 57, 6), then 'brisk,' 'alert' (*sūnṛita*, predicated of Indra, viii. 46, 20; *sūnṛite* of Ushas, iv. 55, 9; i. 123, 5; 124, 10; viii. 9, 17). As a feminine substantive in the plural it means either 'activity,' or, with a supplied *gir*, "lively voices" (*sūnṛitānāṁ girām*, iii. 31, 18); *netrī sūnṛitānām* is Ushas as a stimulator, or rather, leader (χορηγός) of joyful voices (of birds, etc.); *sūnṛitā īrayantī* is just the same. Professor Aufrecht is of opinion that the words *vāyor iva sūnṛitānām udarke*, in R.V. i. 113, 18, should not be rendered as I have done in p. 190, above, but translated thus: "when fervent voices arise like the rising of the wind (*ortu vocum velut ortu venti*)." *Udarka* he

are of frequent occurrence in the hymns, and there are also many others to be found there, such as *maghonī* (the magnificent), *subhagā* (the fortunate), *aruṇapsu* (the ruddy), *ṛitāvarī* (the righteous), *ṛitapā* (the preserver of right or of order), *ṛitejā* (born in right, or order), *śuchi* (bright), *hiraṇyavarṇā* (gold-hued), *devī* (the goddess, or the divine), *amṛitā* (the immortal), *raṇvasandṛik* (of pleasant aspect), *sudṛiśīkasandṛik* (the same), *supratīkā* (the brilliant), *satyaśravasī* (possessed of real wealth, or renown), *dānuchitrā* (bringing brilliant gifts), *ghṛitapratīkā* (shining like butter), *indratamā* (most similar to Indra), i. 30, 20; i. 48, 1, 2, 7, 10; i. 92, 6–9, 14, 15; i. 113, 2, 12, 13; i. 123, 4, 6; i. 134, 4; iii. 61, 2, 5; iv. 55, 9; v. 59, 8; v. 80, 1; vii. 75, 5; vii. 77, 2; vii. 78, 4; vii. 79, 3; vii. 81, 1; viii. 62, 16.

Ushas is borne onward on a shining chariot, of massive construction, richly decorated and spontaneously yoked (*rathena bṛihatā,—supeśasā,—viśvapiśā,—śośuchatā,—jyotishmatā,—svadhayā yujyamānena*), i. 48, 10; i. 49, 2; i. 123, 7; iii. 61, 2; v. 80, 2; vii. 75, 6; vii. 78, 1, 4; from the distant east, i. 92, 1; i. 124, 5. She is also said to arrive on a hundred chariots, i. 48, 7. She is drawn by ruddy horses (*aruṇebhir aśvaiḥ*), i. 30, 22; i. 49, 1; i. 92, 15; i. 113, 4; iii. 61, 2; iv. 51, 5; v. 79, 1 ff.; vii. 75, 6, or by cows or bulls of the same colour, Nighaṇṭu i. 15; R.V. i. 92, 2; i. 124, 11; v. 80, 3; and traverses rapidly a distance of thirty yojanas, i. 123, 8. Like a beautiful young woman dressed by her mother, a richly decked dancing girl, a gaily attired wife appearing before her husband, or a female rising resplendent out of the bath,—smiling, and confiding in the irresistible power of her attractions, she unveils her bosom to the gaze of the beholder, i. 92, 4; i. 123, 10; i. 124, 4 ff.; v. 80, 4, 5; vi. 64, 2. She dispels the darkness, disclosing the treasures it had concealed; she illuminates the world, revealing its most distant extremities. She is the life and breath of all things, causing the birds to fly forth from their nests, visiting every house, and like an active housewife arousing her household, awakening the five races of men, yea all creatures, as if from death, and sending men forth to the pursuit of their several occupations,

regards as derived from *ud* and the root *ṛi*, and as meaning "rising," "motion upward," and compares R.V. iii. 8, 5. *Devayāḥ vipraḥ udiyartti vācham*, "The pious priest raises his voice;" and vi. 47, 3. *Ayam me pītaḥ udiyartti vācham*, "This soma, when drunk, raises my utterance." I note that *sūnṛitā* is invoked as a goddess (*devī*) in R.V. i. 40, 3, and x. 141, 2.

i. 48, 5, 8, 10; i. 49, 4; i. 92, 11; i. 113, 8, 16; i. 123, 4, 6; i. 124, 12; ii. 34, 12; vii. 76, 1; vii. 79, 1 f.; vii. 80, 1, and rendering good service to the gods, by causing all worshippers to awake, and the sacrificial fires to be kindled, i. 113, 9. She is, however, entreated to arouse only the devout and liberal worshipper, and to leave the ungodly niggard to sleep on in unconsciousness, i. 124, 10; iv. 51, 3. She is young, being born anew every day, and, yet she is old, nay immortal, and wears out the lives of successive generations, which disappear one after another, while she continues undecaying, i. 92, 9 ff.; i. 113, 13, 15; i. 123, 2; i. 124, 2; vii. 18, 20.

The worshippers, however, sometimes venture to take the credit of being more alert than Ushas, and of awaking her instead of being awakened by her (*prati stomair abhutsmahi*, iv. 52, 4; vii. 68, 9; vii. 81, 3; x. 88, 19; and this the Vasishṭhas claim to have been the first to do by their hymns, vii. 80, 1 (*prati stomebhir ushasam Vasishṭhāḥ gīrbhir viprāsaḥ prathamāḥ abudhran*); and in one place she is solicited to make no delay, that the sun may not scorch her like a thief or an enemy, v. 79, 9 (*vi uchha duhitar Divo mā chiraṁ tanuthāḥ apaḥ | na it tvā stenaṁ yathā ripuṁ tapāti sūro archishā*). She is prayed to bring the gods to drink the libations of Soma, i. 48, 12. Agni and the gods generally are described as waking with Ushas (*usharbudhaḥ*), i. 14, 9; i. 44, 11; i. 92, 18; iii. 2, 14; iv. 6, 8; vi. 4, 2; vi. 15, 1; ix. 84, 4.

As we have already seen from the hymns which have been translated, she is frequently asked to bring, or dawn (as in former times) on the worshipper with, various sorts of wealth, children, slaves, etc., to afford protection, and to prolong life, i. 30, 22; i. 48, 1 ff., 9, 11, 15; i. 92, 8, 13 ff.; iv. 51, 7; vii. 41, 7; vii. 75, 2; vii. 77, 5; to revolve like a wheel ever new, iii. 61, 3; to confer renown and glory on the liberal benefactors of the poet, v. 79, 6 f. (comp. i. 48, 4); to drive away sleeplessness to Trita Āptya, viii. 47, 14–16.

The worshippers in one place ask that they may obtain from her riches, and stand to her in the relation of sons to a mother (vii. 81, 4: *tasyās te ratnabhājaḥ īmahe vayaṁ syāma mātur na sūnavaḥ*).

In x. 58, 8, the souls of the departed are said to go to the sun and to Ushas.

Ushas, as represented in the hymns,—a metrical sketch.

In the following verses I have attempted to reproduce the most striking ideas in the hymns to Ushas, which have been quoted above. It will be seen on comparison that there is little in these lines of which the germ will not be found in the originals, though some of the ideas have been expanded and modified.

Hail, Ushas, daughter of the sky,
Who, borne upon thy shining car
By ruddy steeds from realms afar,
And ever lightening, drawest nigh :—

Thou sweetly smilest, goddess fair,
Disclosing all thy youthful grace,
Thy bosom bright, thy radiant face,
And lustre of thy golden hair ;—

(So shines a fond and winning bride,
Who robes her form in brilliant guise,
And to her lord's admiring eyes
Displays her charms with conscious pride ;—

Or virgin by her mother decked,
Who, glorying in her beauty, shews
In every glance, her power she knows
All eyes to fix, all hearts subject ;—

Or actress, who by skill in song
And dance, and graceful gestures light,
And many-coloured vestures bright,
Enchants the eager, gazing throng ;—

Or maid who, wont her limbs to lave
In some cool stream among the woods,
Where never vulgar eye intrudes,
Emerges fairer from the wave) ;—

But closely by the amorous sun
Pursued, and vanquished in the race,
Thou soon art locked in his embrace,
And with him blendest into one.

Fair Ushas, though through years untold
Thou hast lived on, yet thou art born
Anew on each succeeding morn,
And so thou art both young and old.

As in thy fated ceaseless course
Thou risest on us day by day,
Thou wearest all our lives away
With silent, ever-wasting, force.

Their round our generations run:
The old depart, and in their place
Springs ever up a younger race,
Whilst thou, immortal, lookest on.

All those who watched for thee of old
Are gone, and now 't is we who gaze
On thy approach; in future days
Shall other men thy beams behold.

But 't is not thoughts so grave and sad
Alone that thou dost with thee bring,
A shadow o'er our hearts to fling;—
Thy beams returning make us glad.

Thy sister, sad and sombre Night
With stars that in the blue expanse
Like sleepless eyes mysterious glance,
At thy approach is quenched in light;—

And earthly forms, till now concealed
Behind her veil of dusky hue,
Once more come sharply out to view,
By thine illuming glow revealed.

Thou art the life of all that lives,
The breath of all that breathes; the sight
Of thee makes every countenance bright,
New strength to every spirit gives.

When thou dost pierce the murky gloom,
Birds flutter forth from every brake,
All sleepers as from death awake,
And men their myriad tasks resume.

Some, prosperous, wake in listless mood,
And others every nerve to strain
The goal of power or wealth to gain,
Or what they deem the highest good.

But some to holier thoughts aspire,
In hymns the race celestial praise,
And light, on human hearths to blaze,
The heaven-born sacrificial Fire.

And not alone do bard and priest
Awake;—the gods thy power confess
By starting into consciousness
When thy first rays suffuse the east;

And hasting downward from the sky,
They visit men devout and good,
Consume their consecrated food,
And all their longings satisfy.

Bright goddess, let thy genial rays
To us bring stores of envied wealth
In kine and steeds, and sons, with health,
And joy of heart, and length of days.

SECTION XIII.

AGNI.

Agni is the god of fire, the Ignis of the Latins,[312] the Ogni of the Slavonians. He is one of the most prominent deities of the Rig-veda, as the hymns addresed to him far exceed in number those which are devoted to the celebration of any other divinity, with the sole exception of Indra.

(1) *His functions.*

Agni is not, like the Greek Hephaistos, or the Latin Vulcan, the artificer of the gods (an office which, as we shall presently see, is in the Veda assigned to Tvashṭṛi), but derives his principal importance from his connection with the ceremonial of sacrifice. He is an immortal (*amṛita, amartya*) i. 44, 6; i. 58, 1; ii. 10, 1, 2; iii. 2, 11; iii. 3, 1; iii. 11, 2; iii. 27, 5, 7; vi. 9, 4; vii. 4, 4; viii. 60, 11; x. 79, 1, who has taken up his abode among mortals as their guest (*atithi*), i. 44, 4; i. 58, 6; ii. 4, 1; iii. 2, 2; iv. 1, 20; v. 1, 8; v. 8. 2; v. 18, 1; vi. 2, 7; vi. 15, 1, 4; vii. 8, 4; viii. 73, 1; x. 1, 5; x. 91, 2; x. 92, 1. He is the domestic priest, *purohita, ṛitvij, hotṛi, brahman*, who wakes with the dawn (*usharbudh*), or even before the dawn (*ushasaḥ purohitam*) i. 1, 1; i. 12, 1; i. 13, 1, 4; i. 26, 7; i. 36, 3, 5; i. 44, 7, 12; i. 45, 7; i. 58, 1, 6; i. 60, 4; i. 68, 4, (7); i. 76, 2, 4; i. 127, 1; i. 141, 12; i. 149, 4, 5; ii. 5, 1; ii. 6, 6; ii. 9, 1; iii. 7, 9; iii. 10, 2, 7; iii. 11, 1; iii. 14, 1; iii. 19, 1; iv. 1, 8; v. 11, 2; v. 26, 7; vi. 15, 1, 4, 16; vi. 16, 1; vii. 7, 5; vii. 10, 5; vii. 11, 1; vii. 16, 5, 12; viii. 44, 6; viii. 49, 1; ix. 66, 20;[313] x. 1, 6; x. 92, 2, appointed

[312] On the worship of fire among the Greeks and Romans see the volume of M. Fustel de Coulanges, entitled "La Cité Antique," pp. 21 ff.

[313] In this verse he is called a rishi, as well as a priest, common to the five races (*pañchajanyaḥ purohitaḥ*).

both by men and gods, who concentrates in his own person, and exercises in a higher sense, all the various sacrificial offices which the Indian ritual assigned to a number of different human functionaries, the *adhvaryu*, *hotṛi*, *potṛi*, *neshṭṛi*, *praśāstṛi*, etc. (i. 94, 6; ii. 1, 2; ii. 5, 2 ff.; iv. 9, 3, 4; x. 2, 1 (*piprīhi devān uśato yavishṭha vidvān ṛitūn ṛitupate yajeha | ye daivyāḥ ṛitvíjas tebhir Agne tvaṁ hotṛīṇām asi āyajishṭhaḥ* | "satiate and worship here the longing gods, o most youthful deity, knowing the proper seasons, and along with the divine priests, for thou, Agni, art the most adorable of hotṛis"); x. 92, 8–11 (*Agniṁ hotāram paribhūtamam matim*, "Agni, the wise; the most eminent of hotṛis." He is a sage, the divinest among sages (*asuro vipaśchitām*, iii, 3, 4), intimately acquainted with all the forms of worship, the wise director, the successful accomplisher, and the protector, of all ceremonies, who enables men to serve the gods in a correct and acceptable manner, in cases where this would be beyond their own unaided skill, i. 1, 4 (*Agne yaṁ yajnam adhvaraṁ víśvataḥ paribhūr asi | sa id deveshu gachhati* | "Agni, that sacrifice which thou encompassest on every side goes to the gods"); i. 31, 1 (*tvam Agne prathamo Angirāḥ ṛishir devo devānām abhavaḥ śivaḥ sakhā* | "Agni, thou art the first rishi Angiras, a god, the auspicious friend of gods"); iii. 3, 3 (*vidathasya sādhanam* | "The accomplisher of the ceremony"); iii. 21, 3 (*ṛishiḥ śreshṭhaḥ samidhyase yajnasya prāvitā bhava* | "Thou art lighted, a most eminent rishi; protect the sacrifice"); iii. 27, 2 (*vipaśchitaṁ yajnasya sādhanam* | 7. *Purastād eti māyayā vidathāni prachodayan* | 2. "The sage, the accomplisher of the sacrifice. 7. He goes before, by his wondrous power promoting the ceremonies"); vi. 14, 2 (*vedhastamaḥ ṛishiḥ*); vii. 4, 4 (*kavir ákavishu prachetāḥ* | "Wise among the foolish; and intelligent"); x. 2, 4 (*yad vo vayam pramināma vratāni vidushām devāḥ avidushṭarāsaḥ | Agnis tad víśvam ā ṛiṇāti vidvān yebhir devān ṛitubhiḥ kalpayāti* | 5. *Yat pākatrā manasā dīnadakshāḥ na yajnasya kránvate martyāsaḥ | Agnis tad hotā kratuvid vijānan yajishṭho devān rituśo yajāti* | 4. "Agni, knowing what seasons to assign to the gods, rectifies all those mistakes which we ignorant men commit against your prescriptions, o ye most wise gods. 5. Those matters relating to the sacrifice which we mortals of feeble intellects, with our imperfect comprehension, do not understand, may Agni, the venerated priest

who knows all these points, adjust, and worship the gods at the proper time"); x. 91, 3 (*Agne kaviḥ kāvyena asi viśvavit*). To him the attention of the worshippers is turned, as men's eyes are to the sun, v. 1, 4 (*Agnim achha devayatām manāṁsi chakshūṁshi iva sūrye saṁ charanti*). He is the father, king, ruler, banner, or outward manifestation,[314] and superintendent of sacrifices and religious duties (*ketuṁ yajnānām | pitā yajnānāṁ | ketur adhvarāṇām | rājānam adhvarasya | adhyakshaṁ dharmaṇām imam | īśe yo viśvasyāḥ devavīteḥ*, iii. 3, 3, 4; iii. 10, 4; iii. 11, 2; iv. 3, 1; vi. 2, 3; viii. 43, 24; x. 1, 5; x. 6, 3). He is also the religious leader or priest of the gods (*sadyo jāto vi amimīta yajnam Agnir devānām abhavat purogāḥ | Agnir devo devānām abhavat purohitaḥ*, x. 110, 11; x. 150, 4. He is a swift (*raghupatvā*,[315] x. 6, 4) messenger, moving between heaven and earth, commissioned both by gods[316] and by men to maintain their mutual communications, to announce to the immortals the hymns, and to convey to them the oblations, of their worshippers, or to bring them down from the sky to the place of sacrifice (*sa devān ā iha vakshati | Agniṁ dūtaṁ vṛiṇīmahe | imam ū su tvam asmākaṁ saniṁ gāyatraṁ navyāṁsam Agne deveshu pravochaḥ | devāsas tvā Varuṇo Mitro Aryamā saṁ dūtam pratnam indhate | dūto viśām asi | patir hi adhvarāṇām Agne dūto viśām asi | yad devānām mitramahaḥ purohito 'ntaro yāsi dūtyam | tvāṁ dūtam aratiṁ havyavāhaṁ devāḥ akṛiṇvann amṛitasya nābhim | imaṁ no yajnam amṛiteshu dhehi | antar īyase arushā yujāno yushmāṁś cha devān viśaḥ ā cha martān | tvām Agne samidhānaṁ yavishṭhya devāḥ dūtaṁ chakrire havyavāhanam | tvāṁ viśve sajoshasaḥ devāso dūtam akrata | tvām dūtam Agne amṛitaṁ yuge yuge dadhire*

[314] His father begot him (*janitā tvā jajāna*) to be the revelation and brilliant banner of all sacrifices. With the phrase, *janitā tvā jajāna*, compare the expressions in x. 20, 9, also relating to Agni, and in iv. 17, 4, relating to Indra.

[315] Compare the *raghuvartaniṁ ratham* of the Aśvins, R.V. viii. 9, 8.

[316] Taitt. Sanh. ii. 5, 8, 5. *Agnir devānāṁ dūtaḥ asīd Uśanā Kāvyo 'surāṇām* | "Agni was the messenger of the gods Kāvya Uśanas of the asuras." Ibid. ii. 5, 11, 8. *Agnir devānāṁ dūtaḥ āsīd Daivyo 'surāṇām* | "Agni was the messsenger of the gods, Daivya of the Asuras." Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 1, 6. *ā tantum Agnir divyaṁ tatāna | tvaṁ nas tantur uta setur Agne | tvam panthāḥ bhavasi devayānaḥ | tvayā Agne pṛishṭhaṁ vayam āruhema | atha devaiḥ sadhamādam mademā* | "Agni stretched out the celestial bond; thou art our bond and our bridge, o Agni; thou art the path leading to the gods. By thee may we ascend to the summit of heaven, and live in hilarity among the gods."

pāyum ugraṁ devāsaś cha martāsaś cha jāgriviṁ vibhuṁ viśpatiṁ namasā ni shedire | devān ā sādayad iha | dūto devānām asi martyānām antar mahāṁś charasi rochanena yaṁ tvā devāḥ dadhire havyavāham puruspṛiho mānushāso yajatram | i. 12, 1, 2, 4, 8; i. 27, 4; i. 36, 3, 4, 5; i. 44, 2, 3, 5, 9, 12; i. 58, 1; i. 74, 4, 7; i. 188, 1; ii. 6, 6, 7; ii. 9, 2; ii. 10, 6; iii. 5, 2; iii. 6, 5; iii. 9, 8; iii. 11, 2; iii. 17, 4; iii. 21, 1, 5; iv. 1, 8; iv. 2, 3; iv. 7, 8; iv. 8, 2, 4; v. 8, 6; v. 21, 3; vi. 15, 8–10; vii. 11, 4; vii. 16, 4; vii. 17, 6; viii. 19, 21; viii. 23, 18, 19; viii. 39, 1, 9; viii. 44, 3; x. 4, 2; x. 46, 10; x. 91, 11; x. 122, 7). Being acquainted with the innermost recesses of the sky (iv. 8, 2. *Sa hi veda vasu-dhitim mahān ārodhanaṁ divaḥ | sa devān ā iha vakshati* | 4. *Sa hotā sa id u dūtyaṁ chikitvān antar īyate* |), he is well fitted to act as the herald of men to summon the gods to the sacrifices instituted in their honour. He comes with them seated on the same car (iii. 4, 11; vii. 11, 1, *ā viśvebhiḥ sarathaṁ yāhi devaiḥ*), or in advance of them (*ā devānām agrayāvā iha yātu* | x. 70, 2); and shares in the reverence and adoration which they receive (i. 36, 4; ii. 2, 1). He brings Varuṇa to the ceremony, Indra from the sky, the Maruts from the air (x. 70, 11, *ā Agne vaha Varuṇam ishṭaye naḥ Indraṁ divo Maruto antarikshāt*). He makes the oblations fragrant, x. 15, 12 = Vāj. S. xix. 66 (*Tvam Agne īḷito jātavedo avāḍ havyāni surabhīni kṛitvī*). Without him the gods experience no satisfaction (vii. 11, 1, *na ṛite tvad amṛitāḥ mādayante*). He himself offers them worship (vii. 11, 3; viii. 91, 16; x. 7, 6). He is sometimes described as the mouth and the tongue through which both gods and men participate in the sacrifices (ii. 1, 13. *tvām Agne ādityāsaḥ āsyaṁ tvāṁ jihvāṁ śuchayaś chakrire kave* | 14. *Tve Agne viśve amṛitāsaḥ adruhaḥ āsā devāḥ havir adanti āhutam* | *tvayā martāsaḥ svadante āsutim*). He is elsewhere asked to eat the offerings himself (iii. 21, 1 ff.; iii. 28, 1-6. *Agne vīhi puroḷāsam āhutam*), and invited to drink the soma-juice (i. 14, 10; i. 19, 9; i. 21, 1, 3. *Viśvebhiḥ somyam madhu Agne Indreṇa Vāyunā piba*).

The 51st hymn of the tenth book contains a dialogue between Agni and the other gods, in which they give utterance to their desire that he would come forth from his dark place of concealment in the waters and the plants, and seek to persuade him to appear and convey to them the customary oblations (verse 5: *ehi manur devayur yajnakāmo arankṛitya tamasi ksheshi Agne | sugān pathaḥ kṛiṇuhi devayānān vaha hav-*

yāni sumanasyamānaḥ). After he has expressed the grounds of his reluctance and apprehension (verses 4, 6),[317] he is induced by the promise of long life and a share in the sacrifice to accede to their request (verse 6. *Kurmas te āyur ajaraṁ yad Agne yathā yukto jātavedo na rishyāḥ | atha vahāsi sumanasyamāno bhāgaṁ devebhyo havishaḥ sujāta*). In the next following hymn (the 52nd) Agni proclaims himself the master of the ceremonies, declares himself ready to obey the commands of the gods, solicits a share in the sacrifice for himself, and asks how and by what path he can bring them the oblations (verse 1. *Viśve devāḥ śāstana mā yathā iha hotā vṛito manavai yan nishadya | pra me brūta bhāgadheyaṁ yathā vo yena pathā havyaṁ vo vahāni | 2. Ahaṁ hotā ni asīdaṁ yajīyān viśve maruto mā junanti*). Agni is the lord, protector, and leader of the people, *viśpati, viśāṁ gopā, viśām puraetā* (i. 12, 2; i. 26, 7; i. 31, 11; i. 96, 4; ii. 1, 8; iii. 11, 5); the king or monarch of men (*rājā kṛishṭīnām asi mānushīṇām | rājānam | samrājaṁ charshaṇīnām | viśāṁ rājanam |* i. 59, 5; ii. 1, 8; iii. 10, 1; v. 4, 1; vi. 7, 1; vii. 8, 1; viii. 43, 24). He is also the lord of the house, *gṛihapati*, dwelling in every abode (*yaḥ pancha charshaṇīr abhi ni shasāda dame dame kavir gṛihapatir yuvā |* i. 12, 6; i. 36, 5; i. 60, 4; v. 8, 2; vii. 15, 2). He is a brilliant guest in every house; dwells in every wood

[317] Verse 6 is as follows: *Agneḥ pūrve bhrātaro artham etam rathīvādhvānam anu āvarīvuḥ | tasmād bhiyā Varuṇa dūram āyam gauro na kshepnor avije jyāyāḥ |* "Agni's former brothers have sought this goal, as a charioteer passes along a road. But fearing this journey, o Varuṇa, I went to a distant place, and trembled like a wild bull which quakes at the sound of the huntsman's bowstring." It is clear from verse 7, that Agni means that his brothers had never returned, and that he fears a similar fate. The following passage of the Tait. Sanh., ii. 6, 6, 1, seems to be founded on this verse: *Agnes trayo jyāyāṁso bhrātaraḥ āsan | te devebhyo havyaṁ vahantaḥ prāmīyanta | so 'gnir abibhed itthaṁ vāva sya ārtim ārishyati iti sa nilāyata | so 'paḥ praviśat | taṁ devatāḥ praisham aichhan | tam matsyaḥ prābravīt | tam aśapad "dhiyādhiyā tvā vadhyāsur yo mā prāvochaḥ" iti | tasmād matsyaṁ dhiyādhiyā ghnanti | śaptaḥ hi | tam anvavindan | tam abruvann "upa naḥ āvarttasva havyaṁ no vaha" iti | so 'bravīd "varaṁ vṛiṇai yad eva gṛihītasya āhutasya bahiḥparidhi skandāt tan me bhrātṛīṇām bhāgadheyam asad" iti |* "Agni had three elder brothers, who died while carrying oblations to the gods. Agni feared lest he should incur the same fate, and accordingly he disappeared, and entered into the waters. The gods sought to discover him. A fish pointed him out. Agni cursed the fish,—'Since thou hast pointed me out, may men slay thee whenever they will.' Men in consequence slay a fish at their pleasure, because it was cursed. (The gods) found Agni, and said to him, 'Come to us and bring us our oblations.' He replied, 'Let me ask a favour; let whatever part of the presented oblations falls outside of the sacred enclosure be the share of my brothers.'"

like a bird; friendly to mankind, he despises no man; kindly disposed to the people, he lives in the midst of every family, x. 91, 2 (*sa darśatáśrīr atithir gṛihe gṛihe vane vane śiśriye takvavīr iva | janañ janañ janyo nātimanyate viśaḥ a ksheti viśyo viśañ viśam*). He is a father, mother, brother, son, kinsman, and friend (*ā hi sma sūnave pitā āpir yajati āpaye sakhā sakhye varenyaḥ | tvam pitā 'si nas tvañ vayaskṛit tava jāmayo vayam | tvañ jāmir janānām Agne mitro asi priyaḥ | sakhā sakhibhyaḥ īḍyaḥ | tvām Agne pitaram ishṭibhir narāḥ tvām bhrātrāya śamyā tanūrucham | tvam putro bhavasi yas te 'vidhat | pitā mātā sadam in mānushāṇām | Agne bhrātaḥ | Agnim manye pitaram Agnim āpim Agnim bhrātaram sadam it sakhāyam* | i. 26, 3; i. 31, 10, 14, 16; i. 75, 4; i. 161, 1; ii. 1, 9; vi. 1, 5; v. 4, 2; viii. 43, 16; viii. 64, 16; x. 7, 3); and some of his worshippers claim with him a hereditary friendship (i. 71, 10. *Mā no Agne sakhyā pitryāṇi pra marshishṭhāḥ*). He drives away and destroys Rakshases or Asuras (*bādhasva dvisho rakshaso amīvāḥ | pra Agnaye viśvaśuche dhiyamdhe asuraghne | Agniḥ rakshāñsi sedhati* | iii. 15, 1; vii. 13, 1; vii. 15, 10; viii. 23, 13; viii. 43, 26; x. 87, 1; x. 187, 3). In hymn x. 87, he is invoked to protect the sacrifice (verse 9. *tīkshṇena Agne chakshushā raksha yajñam*), and to consume the Rakshases and Yātudhānas with his iron teeth and by the most terrible manifestations of his fury (verse 2. *Ayodañshṭro archishā yātudhānān upa spṛiśa jātavedaḥ samiddhaḥ* | verse 5. *Agne tvachañ yātudhanasya bhindhi hiñsrā 'śanir harasā hantu enam* | verse 14. *Parā śṛiṇīhi tapasā yātudhānān parā 'gne raksho harasā śṛiṇīhi* |).

(2) *Agni's births, and triple existence.*

Various, though not necessarily inconsistent, accounts are given in the hymns of the birth of Agni. Sometimes a divine origin is ascribed to him, while at other times his production, or at least his manifestation, is ascribed to the use of the ordinary human appliances. Thus he is said to have at first existed potentially but not actually in the sky, x. 5, 7 (quoted above in p. 51); to have been brought from the sky, or from afar, by Mātariśvan[318] (*ā anyañ [Agniñ] divo Mata-*

[318] In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* Mātariśvan is said (1) to denote a divine being, who, as the messenger of Vivasvat, brings down from heaven to the Bhṛigus Agni, who had before been concealed; and (2) to be a secret name of Agni; and it is remarked that the word cannot be certainly shewn by any text to be in the Vedic

riśvā jabhāra | sa jāyamānaḥ parame vyomani āvir Agnir abhavan Mātariśvane | i. 60, 1; i. 93, 6; i. 143, 2; iii. 5, 10; iii. 9, 5; vi. 8, 4); to have been generated by Indra between two clouds or stones (*yo aśmanor antar agniṁ jajāna*, ii. 12, 3); to have been generated by Dyaus, x. 45, 8 (*Agnir amṛito abhavad vayobhir yad enaṁ Dyaur janayat suretāḥ*); to be the son of Dyaus and Pṛithivī, iii. 2, 2; iii. 25, 1 (*Agne Divaḥ sūnur asi prachetas tanā Pṛithivyāḥ uta viśvavedāḥ*); x. 1, 2; x. 2, 7 (*yaṁ tvā Dyāvāpṛithivī yaṁ tvā āpas Tvashṭā yaṁ tvā suja nimā jajāna*); x. 140, 2; whom he magnified, or delighted, at [or by] his birth, iii. 3, 11 (*ubhā pitarā mahayann ajāyata Agnir Dyāvāpṛithivī bhūriretasā*). His production is also said to be due to the waters (x. 2, 7; x. 91, 6),[319] and to Tvashṭṛi (i. 95, 2; x. 2, 7). He is elsewhere said to have been generated by the Dawns, vii. 78, 3 ([*Ushaso*] *ajījanan sūryaṁ Yajnam Agnim*); by Indra and Vishṇu, vii. 99, 4 ([*Indrāvishṇū*] *uruṁ Yajnāya chathathur u lokaṁ janayanta Sūryam Ushasam Agnim*); generated or

hymns, a synonyme of Vāyu. I add some observations on the same subject, which had been made at an earlier period by Professor Roth, in his illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 112, where he is elucidating R.V. vi. 8, 4 ("Mātariśvan, the messenger of Vivasvat, brought Agni Vaiśvānara from afar"): "The explanation of Mātariśvan as Vāyu" (which is given by Yāska) "cannot be justified by the Vedic texts, and rests only upon the etymology of the root *śvas*. The numerous passages where the word is mentioned in the Rig-veda exhibit it in two senses. Sometimes it denotes Agni himself, as in the texts i. 96, 3, 4; iii. 29, 4 (11 ?); x. 114, 1, etc.; at other times, the being who, as another Prometheus, fetches down from heaven, from the gods, the fire which had vanished from the earth, and brings it to the Bhṛigus, i. 60, 1; i. 93, 6; iii. 2, 13; iii. 5, 10; iii. 9, 5. To think of this bringer of fire as a man, as a sage of antiquity, who had laid hold of the lightning, and placed it on the altar and the hearth, is forbidden by those texts which speak of him as bringing it from heaven, not to mention other grounds. As Prometheus belongs to the superhuman class of Titans, and is only by this means enabled to fetch down the spark from heaven, so must Mātariśvan be reckoned as belonging to those races of demigods, who, in the Vedic legends, are sometimes represented as living in the society of the gods, and sometimes as dwelling upon earth. As he brings the fire to the Bhṛigus, it is said of these last, that they have communicated fire to men (*e.g.*, in i. 58, 6), and Agni is called the son of Bhṛigu (*Bhṛigavāṇa*). Mātariśvan also must be reckoned as belonging to this half-divine race." .... "It may also be mentioned that the same function of bringing down fire is ascribed in one text (vi. 16, 13) to Atharvan, whose name is connected with fire, like that of Mātarisvan; and also that the sisters of Atharvan are called Mātariśvarīs in x. 120, 9." See my article on Manu in vol. xx. of the Journ. R.A.S., p. 416, note. In one place (vii. 15, 4) Agni is called the falcon of the sky (*divaḥ śyenāya*).

[319] A.V. i. 33, 1. *Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ śuchayaḥ pāvakāḥ yāsu jātaḥ Savitā yāsu Agniḥ | yāḥ Agnīṁ garbhaṁ dadhire suvarṇās tāḥ naḥ āpaḥ śaṁ syonāḥ bhavantu.*

fashioned by the gods, vi. 7, 1 f. (*janayanta devāḥ*); viii. 91, 17 (*taṁ tvā 'jananta mātaraḥ kaviṁ devāso angiraḥ*); x. 46, 9 (*devās tatakshur manave yajatram*); as a light to the Ārya, i. 59, 2 (*taṁ tvā devāso janayanta devaṁ vaiśvānara jyotir id āryāya*); or placed by the gods among the descendants of Manu, i. 36, 10; ii. 4, 3 (*Agniṁ devāso mānushīshu vikshu priyaṁ dhuḥ ksheshyanto na mitram*); vi. 16, 1; viii. 73, 2. Yet although the son, he is also the father of the gods, i. 69, 1 (*bhuvo devānām pitā putraḥ san*). In viii. 19, 33, the superiority of the Fire-god to all other fires is shewn by their being declared to be dependent on him like branches of a tree (*yasya te Agne anye agnayaḥ upakshito vayāḥ iva*); vii. 1, 14 (*sa id Agnir agnīn ati asti anyān*).

Agni is in some passages represented as having a triple existence, by which may be intended his threefold manifestations, as the sun in heaven, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as ordinary fire in the earth, although the three appearances are elsewhere otherwise explained. In x. 88, we have the following verses:

6 (= Nir. vii. 27). *Mūrdhā bhuvo bhavati naktam Agnis tataḥ Sūryo jāyate prātar udyan* | 8. *Sūktavākam prathamam ād id Agnim ād id havir ajanayanta devāḥ* | *sa eshāṁ yajno abhavat tanūpās taṁ Dyaur veda tam Pṛithivī tam āpaḥ* | 10 (= Nir. vii. 28). *Stomena hi divi devāso Agnim ajījanan śaktibhiḥ rodasiprām* | *tam ū akṛiṇvan tredhā bhuve kaṁ sa oshadhīḥ pachati viśvarūpāḥ* | 11 (= Nir. vii. 29). *Yaded enam adadhur yajniyāso divi devāḥ Sūryam āditeyam* | *yadā charishṇū mithunāv abhūtām ād it prāpaśyan bhuvanāni viśvā* |

"6. Agni is by night the head of the earth: then he is born as the Sun rising in the morning.[320] 8. The gods produced first the hymn, then Agni, then the oblation. He was their protecting sacrifice: him Dyaus knows, him Pṛithivī, him the Waters. 10. With a hymn by their powers the gods generated Agni who fills the worlds: they formed him for a threefold existence: he ripens plants of every kind. 11. When

[320] It appears from Professor Aufrecht's abstract of the contents of the Matsya-purāṇa that, in section 115, the sun is said to enter into Agni during the night, and Agni into the sun by day. Catalogue of Bodl. Sanskrit MSS., p. 41*a*. The Ait. Br. viii. 28, says: *ādityo vai astaṁ yann Agnim anupraviśati* | *so 'ntardhīyate* | .... *Agnir vai udvān Vāyum anupraviśati* | *so 'ntardhīyate* | .... *Vāyor Agnir jāyate prāṇād hi balād mathyamāno 'dhijāyate* | .... *Agner vai ādityo jāyate* | "The sun, when setting, enters into Agni and disappears .... Agni, when blowing upwards, enters Vāyu, and disappears .... Agni is produced from Vāyu, for when attrition is taking place, he is born from breath as force. The sun is produced from Agni."

the adorable gods placed him, Sūrya the son of Aditi, in the sky, when the moving twins came into being, then they (the gods) beheld all creatures."

According to Yāska (Nir. vii. 27) it is intended in verse 6 to represent the sun as identical with Agni (*"tataḥ sūryo jāyate prātar udyan" sa eva*). The same writer tells us (Nir. vii. 28) that according to his predecessor Śākapūṇi the threefold existence of Agni, referred to in verse 8, is his abode on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven (*"tredhā" bhāvāya "pṛithivyām antarikshe divi" iti Śākapūṇiḥ*), and adds that a Brāhmaṇa declares his third manifestation to be the Sun (*"yad asya divi tṛitīyaṁ tad asāv ādityaḥ" iti hi brāhmaṇam*). The constantly moving twins, mentioned in verse 11, are Ushas and the Sun according to Yāska (Nir. vii. 29. *Sarvadā sahachāriṇāv Ushāś cha Ādityaś cha*). Agni would thus be identified not only with Sūrya the celestial, but with Indra or Vāyu, the aerial or atmospheric deity, according to passages of the Nirukta vii. 5, already quoted in p. 8; and with Vishṇu, if we adopt the interpretation of that deity's three steps given by Śākapūṇi in Nir. xii. 19, as expounded by the commentator Durgāchārya, viz. that Vishṇu abides on earth as terrestrial fire, in the atmosphere in the form of lightning, and in the sky as the Sun (*"Pṛithivyām antarikshe divi" iti Śakapūṇiḥ | pārthivo 'gnir bhūtvā pṛithivyāṁ yat kinchid asti tad vikramate tad adhitishṭhati | antarikshe vaidyutāmanā divi Sūryātmanā*).[321] In R.V. x. 45, 1, = Vāj. S. xii. 18, (see also verse 2) a threefold origin is ascribed to Agni, the first from the heaven, the second from us (*i.e.* apparently from the earth), and the third from the waters, which may mean the atmosphere[322] (*Divas pari prathamaṁ jajne Agnir asmad dvitīyam pari jātavedāḥ | tṛitīyaṁ apsu*).[323] The same three abodes of Agni are perhaps referred to[324] in x. 56, 1 = S.V. i. 65 (*idaṁ te ekam paraḥ u te ekam tṛitīyena jyotishā saṁ viśasva*). In iii. 26, 7 (=Vāj.S. xviii. 66), he is called *arkas tridhātuḥ*, a threefold light,[325]

[321] Quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 56.

[322] See above, p. 39, note 73. See Comm. on Vāj. S. xii. 18.

[323] A.V. xii. 1, 20. *Agnir divaḥ ā tapati Agner devasya uru antarikṣam | Agnim martāsaḥ indhate havyavāhaṁ ghṛitapriyam* | "Agni glows from the sky; to Agni belongs the broad air; men kindle Agni, the bearer of oblations, the lover of butter." Compare A.V. xiii. 3, 21, and xviii. 4, 11.

[324] So the Scholiast on the Sāma-veda understands the verse, as I learn from Professor Benfey's note to his translation, p. 216.

[325] Compare A.V. viii. 39, 9.

in v. 4, 8 *trishadhastha* (according to Sāyaṇa=*trishu divyādishu sthāneshu sthita*), occupying three abodes, and in viii. 39, 8 *tripasthya*, having three homes. In i. 95, 3, he is said to have three births, one in the ocean, another in the sky, and a third in the waters (*trīṇi jānā paribhūshanti asya samudre ekaṁ divi ekam apsu*), which Sāyaṇa understands 1st of the submarine fire (*vaḍavānala*), 2nd of the sun, and 3rd of the lightning. He is elsewhere called *dvijanman*, having two births, i. 60, 1; i. 140, 2; i. 149, 2, 3, which Sāyaṇa explains either as born of the Heaven and Earth, or from two sticks, or because he has one birth from the sticks and a second when he is formally consecrated; but is said in one of these passages to dwell in the three lights (*abhi . . . trī rochanāni . . . asthāt*).

In ii. 9, 3, two places of birth only are mentioned—an upper (*parame janman*), and a lower (*avare sadasthe*)—which Sāyaṇa interprets of the sky and the atmosphere; and in viii. 43, 28, in like manner, only two are alluded to, the celestial, and that in the waters (*yad Agne divijāḥ asi apsujāḥ vā*),

In x. 91, 6, as we have already seen, his generation is ascribed only to the waters, the mothers. (Compare iii. 1, 3; iii. 9, 4.)

In A.V. iv. 39, 2, the earth is said to be a cow, and Agni her calf (*Pṛithivī dhenus tasyāḥ Agnir vatsaḥ*). In verses 4 and 6, Vāyu is said to be the calf of the air, and Sūrya of the sky.

In different passages the process of friction,[326] by which the god is

[326] See Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i. 16, and Professor Haug's translation, pp. 35 ff. I add here a sentence or two from this work (Ait. Br. i. 16) to illustrate what the texts above quoted say of the power of Agni to hallow all sacrifices, although in the present case a special rite is referred to: *sā eshā svargyā āhutir yad Agnyāhutiḥ | yadi ha vai apy abrāhmaṇokto yadi duruktokto yajate atha ha eshā āhutir gachhaty eva devān na pāpmanā saṁsṛijyate* | "The Agni oblation is that which conducts to heaven. Even if a man who is called a no-Brāhman, or a person of bad reputation, perform it, still this oblation goes to the gods, and is unaffected by the sin (of the performer)." See Professor Haug's translation, p. 38, note 17. The S'atapatha Brāmaṇa, ii. 3, 3, 1, relates that Agni, when created by Prajāpati, began to burn everything, and threw the world into confusion. Thereupon the creatures who then existed sought to crush him. Not being able to bear this, he came to a man and said, "I cannot endure this; let me enter into thee. Having generated me, nurse me; and if thou wilt do this for me in this world, I will do the same for thee in the next. The man agreed (*sa yatra Agniṁ sasṛije sa idaṁ jātaḥ sarvam eva dagdhuṁ dadhre | ity eva āvilam eva | tāḥ yās tarhi prajāḥ āsus tāḥ ha enaṁ sampeshṭuṁ dadhrire | so 'titikshamāṇaḥ purusham eva abhyeyāya | 2. Sa ha uvācha "na vai aham idaṁ titikshe hanta tvā pravisāni | tam mā janayitvā bibhṛihi | sa yathaiva māṁ tvam asmin loke jana-*

daily generated by his worshippers, is described or alluded to. In iii. 29, 1 ff., it is said: *astīdam adhimanthanam asti prajananaṁ kṛitam | etāṁ viśpatnīm ābhara Agnim manthāma pūrvathā* | 2. (=S.V. i. 79) *Araṇyor nihito jātavedāḥ garbhaḥ iva sudhito garbhiṇīshu | dive dive īḍyo jāgṛivadbhir havishmadbhir manushyebhir Agniḥ* | 3. (=Vāj. S. xxxiv. 14) *Uttānāyām ava bhara chikitvān sadyaḥ pravītā vṛishaṇaṁ jajāna* | "This process of friction, of generation, has begun; bring this mistress of the people (the lower *araṇi*, or wood for friction); let us rub out Agni as heretofore.[327] 2. This god is deposited in the two pieces of

yitvā bharishyasi evam eva ahaṁ tvām amushmin loke janayitvā bharishyāmi" iti | "tathā" iti taṁ janayitvā abhibhaḥ). Herodotus, iii. 16, tells us what the Egyptians thought of Agni: Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ νενόμισται τό πῦρ θηρίον εἶναι ἔμψυχον, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν τά περ ἂν λάβῃ, πλησθὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορῆς συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατέσθιομένῳ.

[327] Hence, perhaps, it is that he is called *dvi-mātā*, born of two parents (i. 31, 2). As regards *dvi-janmā* having a double birth (i. 60, 1; i. 140, 2; i. 149, 4, 5,) see above. He is also called *bhūrijanmā*, having many births (x. 5, 1). In R.V. i. 95, 2, he is said to be produced by the ten young women, *i.e.* the ten fingers (*daśa imaṁ tvashṭur janayanta garbham atandrāso yuvatayaḥ*). See Roth, Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 120; Benfey's Orient und Occident, ii. 510; and Roth's Lexicon, *s.vv. tvashṭri* and *yuvati*. In iii. 29, 3, he is called the son of Iḷā, whatever sense we ascribe to this word. In regard to the persons or families by whom the sacrificial fire is supposed to have been first kindled, and the rites of Āryan worship introduced, viz., Manu, Angiras, Bhṛigu, Atharvan, Dadhyanch, etc., see my paper on "Manu, the progenitor of the Āryan Indians," in vol. xx. Journ. R.A.S., pp. 410–416. I subjoin some of the passages there quoted: i. 36, 19. *Ni tvām Agne manur dadhe jyotir janāya śaśvate* | "Manu has placed thee (here) a light to all (generations of) men." vii. 2, 3. *Manushvad Agnim Manunā samiddhaṁ sam adhvarāya sadam in mahema* | "Let us, like Manu, ever attract to the sacrifice Agni, who was kindled by Manu." x. 63, 7. *Yebhyo hotrām prathamām āyeje Manur samiddhāgnir manasā sapta hotṛibhiḥ | te Ādityāḥ abhayaṁ śarma yachhata* | "O ye Ādityas, to whom Manu, when he had lighted Agni, presented, in company with seven hotri priests, with his heart, the first oblation, bestow on us secure protection." x. 69, 3. *Yat te Manur yad anīkaṁ Sumitraḥ samīdhe Agne tad idaṁ navīyaḥ* | "That lustre of thine, o Agni, which Manu, which Sumitra kindled, is the same which is now renewed." viii. 43, 13. *Uta tvā Bhṛiguvat śuche Manushvad Agne āhuta | Angirasvad havāmahe* | "Like Bhṛigu, like Manush, like Angiras, we invoke thee who hast been summoned to blaze." vi. 16, 13. *Tvām Agne pushkarād adhi Atharvā nir amanthata* | 14. *Tam u tvā Dadhyaṅṅ ṛishiḥ putraḥ īdhe Atharvaṇaḥ* | 13. "Agni, Atharvan drew thee forth from the lotus leaf. 14. Thee, Dadhyanch, the son of Atharvan, kindled." x. 21, 5. *Agnir jāto Atharvaṇā vidad viśvāni kāvyā | bhuvad dūto Vivasvataḥ* | "Agni, produced by Atharvan, knows all sciences. He has become the messenger of Vivasvat." i. 58, 6. *Dadhush ṭvā Bhṛigvo mānusheshu ā* | "The Bhṛigus have placed thee among men." x. 46, 2. *Imaṁ vidhanto apāṁ sadasthe paśuṁ na nashṭam padair anu gman | guhā chatantam uśijo namobhir ichhanto dhīrāḥ Bhṛigavo avindan* | "Worshipping, and desiring him with obeisances,

wood, as the embryo in pregnant women. Agni is daily to be lauded by men bringing oblations and awaking (early). 3. Skilled [in the process], bring [the upper piece of wood] into contact with the lower, lying recumbent: being impregnated, she speedily brings forth the vigorous (Agni)."[328] Compare R.V. i. 68, 2, where it is noticed as remarkable that a living being should spring out of dry wood (*śushkād yad deva jīvo janishthāḥ*); iii. 23, 2, 3; vii. 1, 1; x. 49, 1, 5; x. 7, 5. He is produced from the two sticks as a new-born infant, v. 9, 3 (*uta sma yaṁ śiśuṁ yathā navaṁ janishṭha araṇī*); viii. 23, 25 (*sūnuṁ vanaspatīnām*). Strange to say, cries the poet, addressing himself to both worlds, the child, as soon as born, begins with unnatural voracity to consume his parents, and is altogether beyond his mortal worshipper's comprehension, x. 79, 4 (*tad vām ṛitaṁ rodasī prabravīmi jāyamāno mātarā garbho atti | nāhaṁ devasya martyaś chiketa*). But when born he is like the wriggling brood of serpents, difficult to catch, v. 9, 4 (*uta sma durgṛibhīyase putro na hvāryāṇām*). Wonderful is his growth, and his immediate activity as a messenger, seeing he is born of a mother who cannot suckle him, x. 115, 1 (*chitraḥ it śiśos taruṇasya vakshatho na yo mātarāv apyeti dhātave | anūdhāḥ yadi jījanad adha cha nu vavaksha sadya mahi dūtyaṁ charan*); but he is nourished and developed by the oblations of clarified butter which are poured into his mouth, and which he consumes, iii. 21, 1 (*stokānām agne medaso ghṛitasya hotaḥ prāśāna | "*Agni, invoker of the gods, eat these portions of fat and butter;" see also verses 2 and 3); v. 11, 3 (*ghṛiteṇa tvā avardhayan*); v. 14, 6; viii. 39, 3 (*Agne manmāni tubhyaṁ kaṁ ghṛitaṁ na juhve āsani*); viii. 43, 10, 22; x. 69, 1 f.; x. 118, 4, 6, and A.V. i. 7, 2 (*Agne tailasya prāśāna*).

In iii. 26, 7, he himself exclaims "butter is my eye" (*ghṛitaṁ me chakshuḥ*).

the wise and longing Bhṛigus have followed him with their steps, like a lost animal, and have found him concealed in the receptacle of the waters." In viii. 23, 17. Kāvya Uśanas is said to have established Agni to be a priest for men (*Uśanā Kāvyas tvā ni hotāram asādayat | ḍyajiṁ tvā manave jātavedasam*).

[328] The ancient Indians regarded the upper piece of wood as the male, and the lower as the female, factors in the generation of Agni. See the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 46, note 52.

(3) *His epithets and characteristics.*

His epithets are various, and for the most part descriptive of his physical characteristics. He is *sarpirāsuti*, *ghṛitānna*, butter-fed (ii. 7, 6; vii. 3, 1; x. 69, 2); *ghṛita-nirṇik*, butter-formed (iii. 17, 1; iii. 27, 5; x. 122, 2); *ghṛita-keśa*, butter-haired (viii. 49, 2); *ghṛita-pṛishṭha*, butter-backed (v. 4, 3; v. 37, 1; vii. 2, 4; x. 122, 4); *ghṛitapratīka*, gleaming with butter (iii. 1, 18; v. 11, 1; x. 21, 7); *ghṛita-yoni*, issuing from butter (v. 8, 6, compare ii. 3, 11); *drvanna*, fed by wood (ii. 7, 6); *dhūma-ketu*, having smoke for his mark, signal, or ensign (i. 27, 11; i. 44, 3; i. 94, 10; v. 11, 3; viii. 43, 4; viii. 44, 10; x. 4, 5; x. 12, 2); he sends up his smoke like a pillar to the sky, iv. 6, 2 (*metā iva dhūmaṁ stabhāyad upa dyām*); vii. 2. 1 (*upa spṛiśa divyaṁ sānu stūpaiḥ*); vii. 3, 3; vii. 16, 3 (*ud dhūmāso arushāso divispṛiśaḥ* [*asthuḥ*]; his smoke is waving, his flame cannot be seized, viii. 23, 1 (*charishṇudhūmam agṛibhītaśochisham*); he is driven by the wind, and rushes through the woods like a bull lording it over a herd of cows, i. 58, 4, 5 (*vane ā vātachodito yūthe na sāhvān ava vāti vaṁsagaḥ*); i. 65, 8. He is a destroyer of darkness, i. 140, 1 (*tamohan*), and sees through the gloom of the night, i. 94, 7 (*rātryāś chid andho ati deva paśyasi*). The world, which had been swallowed up and enveloped in darkness, and the heavens, are manifested at his appearance, and the gods, the sky, the earth, the waters, the plants rejoice in his friendship, x. 88, 2 (*gīrṇam bhuvanaṁ tamasā 'pagūḷham āviḥ svar abhavaj jāte Agnau | tasya devāḥ pṛithivī dyaur utāpo araṇayann oshadhīḥ sakhye asya*). He is *chitra-bhānu*, *chitra-śochiḥ*, of brilliant lustre or blaze (i. 27, 6; ii. 10, 2; v. 26, 2; vi. 10, 3; vii. 9, 3; vii. 12, 1; viii. 19, 2), *ūrdhva-śochis*, upward-flaming (vi. 15, 2), *śukra-śochiḥ*, bright-flaming (vii. 15, 10; viii. 23, 20), *pāvaka-śochis*,[329] with clear flames (viii. 43, 31), *śukra-varṇa*, *śuchi-varṇa*, bright coloured (i. 140, 1; v. 2, 3), *śochishkeśa*, with blazing hair

[329] Agni is also styled *śīraśochis* in viii: 60, 10 (=S.V. ii. 904), 14 (=S.V. i. 49), and *śīra* in vii. 43, 31. On the last place Sāyaṇa explains *śīra* as sleeping or lying in the sacrifices (*yajneshu śayanīyaśīlam*). On viii. 60, 10, he makes the compound word = *aśana-śīla-jvālam*, "he whose flame pervades." On the 14th verse he takes it as = *śayana-svabhāva-rochishkam*, "he whose brilliance has the character of lying or sleeping." In both places Professor Benfey renders it "gleaming like lightning." Professor Roth, Illustr. of Nir., p. 42, thinks *śīra* may mean "piercing."

(i. 45, 6; iii. 14, 1; iii. 17, 1; iii. 27, 4; v. 8, 2; v. 41, 10), *hari-keśa*, with tawny hair (iii. 2, 13), golden-formed (iv. 3, 1; x. 20, 9, *hiraṇya-rūpaṁ janitā jajāna*), and *hiri-śmaśru*, with golden beard (v. 7, 7). He carries sharp weapons, *tigmaheti*, *tigmabhṛishṭi* (iv. 4, 4; iv. 5, 3), he has sharp teeth, *tigmajambha* (i. 79, 6; i. 143, 5; iv. 5, 4; iv. 15, 5; viii. 19, 22), burning teeth, *tapurjambha* (i. 58, 5; viii. 23, 4), brilliant teeth, *śuchidant* (v. 7, 7), golden teeth, *hiraṇyadant* (v. 2, 3), iron grinders, *ayodaṁshṭra* (x. 87, 2), and sharp and consuming jaws (viii. 49, 13; x. 79, 1 (*tigmāḥ asya hanavaḥ | nānā hanū vibhṛite sam bharete asinvatī bapsatī bhūri attaḥ*). According to one passage, he is footless and headless (*apād aśīrshā*, iv. 1, 11), and yet he is elsewhere said to have a burning head, *tapurmūrdhā* (vii. 3, 1), three heads and seven rays, *trimūrdhānaṁ saptaraśmim* (i. 146, 1; ii. 5, 2), to be four-eyed, *chaturaksha* (i. 31, 13), thousand-eyed, *sahasrāksha* (i. 79, 12), and thousand-horned, *sahasraśṛinga* (v. 1, 8).[330] He is *kṛishṇādhvan*, *kṛishṇavarttani*, *kṛishṇa-pavi*, *i.e.* his path and his wheels are marked by blackness (ii. 4, 6; vi. 10, 4; vii. 8, 2; viii. 23, 19); he envelopes the woods, consumes and blackens them with his tongue (i. 143, 5; v. 41, 10; vi. 60, 10, *archishā vanā viśvā parishvajat | kṛishṇā karoti jihvayā*); x. 79, 2, *asinvann atti jihvayā vanāni*); he is all-devouring, *viśvād* (viii. 44, 26); driven by the wind, he invades the forests, and shears the hairs of the earth, i. 65, 4 (*ibhyān na rājā vanāni atti | yad vātajūto vanā vi asthād Agnir ha dāti romā pṛithivyāḥ*), like a barber shaving a beard, x. 142, 4 (*yadā te vāto anuvāti śochir vapteva śmaśru vapasi pra bhūma*). He causes terror, like an army let loose, i. 66, 8 (*seneva sṛishtā amaṁ dadhāti*); i. 143, 5; x. 142, 4 (*yad udvato nivato yāsi bapsat pṛithag eshi pragardhinīva senā*). His flames roar like the waves of the sea, i. 44, 12 (*yad devānām mitramahaḥ purohitao antaro yāsi dūtyam | sindhor iva prasvanitāsaḥ ūrmayo Agner bhrājante archayaḥ*). He sounds like thunder, vii. 3, 6 (*divo na te tanyatur eti śushmaḥ*); x. 45, 4 (*ākrandad Agniḥ stanayann iva Dyauḥ*[331]); viii. 91, 5; he roars like

[330] In one place (viii. 19, 32) Agni is called *sahasra-mushka*, which the commentator explains by *bahu-tejaska*, having many flames. The same epithet is, as we have seen, applied in R.V. vi. 46, 3, to Indra, where Sāyaṇa makes it equivalent to *sahasra-śepha*, mille membra genitalia habens.

[331] It is to be observed that in this passage Dyaus, and not Indra, is described as the thunderer. See above p. 118 f., the reference to the question whether Dyaus had been superseded by Indra.

the wind, ibid. (*huve vātasvanaṁ kavim Parjanya-krandyaṁ sahaḥ | Agniṁ samudravāsasam*[332]); like a lion, iii. 2, 11 (*nānadan na siṁhaḥ*); and when he has yoked his red, wind-driven horses to his car, he bellows like a bull, and invades the forest-trees with his flames; the birds are terrified at the noise when his grass-devouring sparks arise, i. 94, 10 (*yad ayukthāḥ arushā rohitā rathe vātajūtā vṛishabhasyeva te ravaḥ | ād invasi vanino dhūmaketūnā | 11. Adha svanād uta bibhyuḥ patatriṇo drapsāḥ yat te yavasādo vi asthiran*). He is resistless as the resounding Maruts, and as the lightnings of heaven, i. 143, 5 (*na yo varāya Marutām iva svanaḥ seneva sṛishṭā divyā yathā 'śaniḥ*). He has a hundred manifestations, and shines like the sun, i. 149, 3 (*sūro na rurukvān śatātmā*); vii. 3, 6. His lustre is like the rays of the dawn and the sun, x. 91, 4 (*ā te chikitre ushasām iva etayaḥ arepasaḥ sūryasyeva raśmayaḥ*), and like the lightnings of the rain-cloud, ibid. 5 (=S.V. ii. 332, *tava śriyo varshyasyeva vidyutaḥ*); and he is borne on a chariot of lightning, iii. 14, 1 (*vidyudratha*), on a luminous car, i. 140, 1 (*jyotīratha*),[333] i. 141, 12 (*chandraratha*); iii. 5, 3; v. 1. 11 (*ā adya ratham bhānumo bhānumantam Agne tishṭha*); on a brilliant, x. 1, 5 (*chitraratha*), golden, iv. 1, 8 (*hiraṇyaratha*), on an excellent or beautiful car, iii. 3, 9 (*sumadratha*); iv. 2, 4 (*suratha*). This chariot is drawn by horses or mares characterized as butter-backed (*ghṛitapṛishṭha*), wind-impelled (*vātajūta*), beautiful (*svaśva*), ruddy (*rohit*), tawny (*arusha*), active (*jīrāśva*), assuming all forms (*viśvarūpa*), and mind-yoked (*manoyuj*), and by other epithets (i. 14, 6, 12; 1. 45, 2; i. 94, 10; i. 141, 12; ii. 4, 2; ii. 10, 2; iv. 1, 8; iv. 2, 2, 4; iv. 6, 9 (*ṛijumushka!*); vi. 16, 43; vii. 16, 2; viii. 43, 16; x. 7, 4; x. 70, 2 f.), which he yokes in order to summon the gods, i. 14, 12 (*tābhir devān ihāvaha*); iii. 6, 6 (*ṛitasya vā keśinā yogyābhir ghṛitasnuvā rohitā dhuri dhishva | athāvaha devān deva vidvān | 9. Ā ebhir [devaiḥ] Agne sarathaṁ yāhi arvāṅ*); viii. 64, 1 (*yukshā hi devahūtamān aśvān Agne rathīr iva*).

[332] Here it will be noted, he is also said "to be clothed with, or enveloped by, the ocean." The same epithet had also occurred in the preceding verse (=S.V. i. 18), where the rishi is also said to invoke the bright god, as did Aurva, Bhrigu, and Apnavāna (*Aurvabhṛiguvat śuchim Apnavāna-vad ā huve Agniṁ samudra-vāsasam*).

[333] The same epithet is applied to the gods in general in x. 63, 4.

(4) *High divine functions assigned to him.*

The highest divine functions are ascribed to Agni. He is called the divine monarch (*samrājo asurasya*), and declared to be strong as Indra, vii. 6, 1 (*Indrasyeva pra tavasas kṛitāni vande*). Although (as we have seen above) he is described in some passages as the offspring of heaven and earth, he is said in other places to have stretched them out, iii. 6, 5 (*tava kratvā rodasī ā tatantha*); vii. 5, 4; to have spread out the two worlds like two skins, vi. 8, 3 (*vi charmanīva dhishaṇe avartayat*); to have produced them, i. 96 4 (*janitā rodasyoḥ*); vii. 5, 6 (*bhuvanā janayan*); to have, like the unborn, supported the earth and sky with true hymns, i. 67, 3 (*ajo na kshāṁ dadhāra pṛithivīṁ tastambha dyām mantrebhiḥ satyaiḥ*); to have, by his flame, held aloft the heaven, iii. 5, 10 (*ud astambhīt samidhā nākam rishvaḥ*); to have kept asunder the two worlds, vi. 8, 3 (*vi astabhnād rodasī mitro adbhutaḥ*); to have formed the mundane regions and the luminaries of heaven, vi. 7, 7 (*vi yo rajāṁsi amimīta sukratur vaiśvānaro vi divo rochanā kaviḥ*); vi. 8, 2; to have begotten Mitra, x. 8, 4 (*janayan Mitram*), and caused the sun, the imperishable orb, to ascend the sky, x. 156, 4 (*Agne nakshatram ajaram ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi*); to have made all that flies, or walks, or stands, or moves, x. 88, 4[334] (*sa patatri itvaraṁ sthāḥ jagad yat śvātram agnir akṛiṇod jātavedāḥ*); to adorn the heaven with stars, i. 68, 5 (*pipeśa nākaṁ stṛibhir damūnāḥ*). He is the head (*mūrddhā*) and summit (*kakud*) of the sky, the centre (*nābhi*) of the earth (i. 59, 2); compare verse 1; vi. 7, 1; viii. 44, 16; x. 88, 5; he props up men like a pillar, i. 59, 1 (*sthūṇeva janān upamid yayantha*); iv. 5, 1 (*anūnena bṛihatā vakshathena upa stabhāyad upamin na rodhaḥ*). His greatness exceeds that of heaven and all the worlds, i. 59, 5 (*Divaś chit te bṛihato jātavedo vaiśvānara pra ririche mahitvam*); iii. 3, 10 (*Jātaḥ āpṛiṇo bhuvanāni rodasī Agne tā viśvā paribhūr asi tmanā*); iii. 6, 2.[335] He, the destroyer of cities, has achieved famous exploits

[334] This half verse (x. 88, 4) is quoted in Nirukta, v. 3. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, explains the words by saying that Agni subjects all things to himself at the time of the mundane dissolution. The gods are said in the same hymn (x. 88, 7,) to have thrown into Agni an oblation accompanied by a hymn, and in verse 9, this oblation is said to have consisted of all creatures or all worlds (*bhuvanāni viśvā*).

[335] Epithets of this description may have been originally applied to some other god to whom they were more suitable than to Agni, and subsequently transferred to him by his worshippers in emulation of the praises lavished on other deities.

of old, vii. 6, 2 (*purandarasya gīrbhir ā vivāse Agner vratāni pūrvyā mahāni*). Men tremble at his mighty deeds, and his ordinances and designs cannot be resisted, ii. 8, 3 (*yasya vratam̃ na mīyate*); ii. 9, 1 = Vāj. S. xi. 36 (*adabdhavrata-pramatir . . . Agniḥ*); vi. 7, 5; viii. 44, 25; viii. 92, 3 (*yasmād rejante kṛishṭayaś charkṛityāni kṛiṇvataḥ*). Earth and heaven and all beings present and future obey his commands; vii. 5, 4 (*tava tridhātu pṛithivī uta dyaur vaiśvānara vratam Agne sachanta*); A.V. iv. 23, 7 (*yasya idam pradiśi yad rochate yaj jātam̃ janitavyam̃ cha kevalam | staumi Agniṁ nāthito johavīmi*). He conquered wealth, or space, for the gods in battle, i. 59, 5 (*yudhā devebhyo varivaś chakartha*); and delivered them from calamity, vii. 13, 2 (*tvam̃ devān abhiśaster amunchaḥ*). He is the conqueror of thousands (*sahasrajit*), i. 188, 1. All the gods fear and do homage to him when he abides in darkness, vi. 9, 7 (*viśve devāḥ anamasyan bhiyānās tvām Agne tamasi tasthivām̃sam*). He is celebrated and worshipped by Varuṇa, Mitra, the Maruts, and all the 3,339 gods, iii. 9, 9 (*trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇi Agniṁ triṁśach cha devāḥ nava chāsaparyan*); iii. 14, 4 (*Mitraś cha tubhyam̃ Varuṇaḥ sahasvo Agne viśve Marutaḥ sumnam archan*); x. 69, 9 (*devāś chit te amṛitāḥ jātavedo mahimānam̃ Vādhryaśva pra vochan*). It is through him that Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman triumph, i. 141, 9 (*tvayā hi Agne Varuṇo dhṛitavrato Mitraḥ śāśadre Aryamā sudānavaḥ*). He knows and sees all worlds, or creatures, iii. 55, 10 (*Agnis tā viśvā bhuvanāni veda*); x. 187, 4 (*yo viśvā 'bhipaśyati bhuvanā sam̃ cha paśyati*).[336] He knows the recesses of heaven, iv. 8, 2, 4 (*vidvān ārodhanam̃ divaḥ*), the divine ordinances and the races or births of of gods and men, i. 70, 1, 3 (*ā daivyāni vratā chikitvān ā mānushasya janasya janma | etā chikitvo bhūmā ni pāhi devānām̃ janma martāmś cha vidvān*); iii. 4, 11; vi. 15, 13; the secrets of mortals, viii. 39, 6 *Agnir jātā devānām Agnir veda martānām apīchyam*); and hears the invocations which are addressed to him, viii. 43, 23 (*tam̃ tvā vayam̃ havāmahe sṛiṇvantam̃ jātavedasam*). He is *asura*, "the divine," iv. 2, 5; v. 12, 1; v. 15, 1; vii. 2, 3; vii. 6, 1.

[336] These same words are in iii. 62, 9, applied to Pūshan: See above, p. 172.

(5) *Agni's relations to his worshippers.*

The votaries of Agni prosper, they are wealthy and live long, vi. 2, 4, 5 (*samidhā yas te āhutiṁ niśitim martyo naśat | vayāvantaṁ sa pushyati kshayam Agne śatāyusham*); vi. 5, 5 (*yas te yajnena samidhā yaḥ ukthair arkebhiḥ sūno sahaso dadāśat | sa martyeshu amṛita prachetāḥ rāyā dyumnena śravasā vi bhāti*); vi. 10, 3; vi. 13, 4; vi. 15, 11; vii. 11, 2; viii. 19, 5, 6; viii. 44, 15; viii. 73, 9. He is the deliverer (compare viii. 49, 5) and friend of the man who comes to him with fine horses and gold, and a chariot full of riches, and delights to entertain him as a guest, iv. 4, 10 (*yas tvā svaśvaḥ suhiraṇyo Agne upayāti vasumatā rathena | tasya trātā bhavasi sakhā yas te ātithyam ānushag jujoshat*); and grants protection to the devoted worshipper who sweats to bring him fuel,[337] or wearies his head to serve him, iv. 2, 6 (*yas te idhmaṁ jabharat sishvidāno mūrdhānam vā tatapate tvāyā | bhuvas tasya svatavān pāyur Agne*). He watches with a thousand eyes over the man who brings him food and nourishes him with oblations, x. 79, 5 (*yo asmai annaṁ tṛishu ādadhāti ājyair ghṛitair juhoti pushyati | tasmai sahasram akshabhir vi chakshe*). He bestows on his servant a renowned, devout, excellent, incomparable son, who confers fame upon his father,[338] v. 25, 5 (*Agnis tuviśravastamaṁ tuvibrahmāṇam uttamam | atūrtaṁ śrāvayatpatim putraṁ dadāti dāśushe*). He gives riches, which he abundantly commands, i. 1, 3 (*Agninā rayim aśnavat*); i. 31, 10 (*tvam Agne pramatis tvam pitā 'si nas tvaṁ vayaskṛit tava jāmayo vayam | saṁ tvā rāyaḥ śatinaḥ saṁ sahasriṇaḥ suvīraṁ yanti vratapām adābhya*); i. 36, 4 (*viśvaṁ so Agne jayati tvayā dhanaṁ yas te dadāśa martyaḥ*). The man whom he protects and inspires in battle conquers abundant food, and can never be overcome, i. 27, 7 f. = S.V. ii. 765 f. (*yam Agne pṛitsu martyam avāḥ vājeshu yaṁ junāḥ | sa yantā śaśvatīr ishaḥ | 8. Nakir asya sahantya paryetā kayasya chit*). No mortal enemy can by any wondrous power gain the mastery over him who sacrifices to this god,

[337] In viii. 91, 19 f. the rishi informs Agni that he has no cow which would yield butter for oblations, and no axe to cut wood withal, and that therefore his offering is such as the god sees; and he begs him to accept any sorts of wood he may throw into him (*na hi me asti aghnyā na svadhitir vananvati | atha etādṛig bharāmi te | 20. Yad Agne kāni kāni chid ā te dārūṇi dadhmasi tā jushasva yavishṭhya*).

[338] Such is the sense assigned by Sāyaṇa to the epithet *śrāvayat-patim*.

viii. 23, 15 (*na tasya māyayā chana ripur īśīta martyaḥ | yo Agnaye dadāśa havyadātibhiḥ*). He also confers, and is the guardian and lord of, immortality, i. 31, 7 (*tvaṁ tam Agne amṛitatve uttame marttaṁ dadhāsi*); vii. 7, 7 (*amṛitasya rakshitā*); vii. 4, 6 (*īśe hi Agne amṛitasya bhūreḥ*). He was made by the gods the centre of immortality, iii. 17, 4 (*amṛitasya nābhiḥ*). His worshippers seek him with glad hearts, viii. 43, 31 (*hṛidbhir mandrebhir īmahe*). In a funeral hymn Agni is supplicated to warm with his heat the unborn part[339] of the deceased, and in his auspicious form to carry it to the world of the righteous, x. 16, 4 (*ajo bhāgas tapasā taṁ tapasva taṁ te śochis tapatu taṁ te archiḥ | yās te śivās tanvo jātavedas tābhir vahainaṁ sukṛitām u lokam*).[340] He carries

[339] Professor Aufrecht thinks that this is not the sense of the words, and that they mean: "The goat (with whose skin the dead is covered) is thy share; that consume with thy heat; that be consumed with thy flash and flame," etc.; and compares Āśvalāyanaś Gṛihya Sūtras iv. 2, 4; 3, 20; and Kātyāyanaś Śrauta Sūtras, xxv. 7, 34. I gather from the fact that this passage is cited in the Lexicon of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth under aja 1, *c* (where the sense of goat is assigned to the word), that they are of the same opinion as Professor Aufrecht. I think, however, that the rendering I have followed is more agreeable to the context. In the preceding verses 1 and 2, Agni had been besought not so to burn the body of the deceased as to destroy it (compare R.V. i. 162, 20), but after having sufficiently "cooked" the man (*yadā śṛitaṁ kṛiṇavaḥ*), to send him to the Fathers. In verse 3, the different elements of which the body, when living, was composed, are commanded to return to the sources from which they were at first derived; and then in the verse before us (as I understand it), the god is besought to warm the man's unborn part, and convey it to the world of the righteous. In the text there is no word answering to "thy," which has, therefore, to be supplied by those who understand aja of a goat. It is more natural to suppose that it is the soul of the departed man than that of a goat which is to be conveyed to the world of the righteous; (although I am aware that Manu, v. 42, declares that cattle which are sacrificed go to heaven, and the same is said of the sacrificial horse in R.V. i. 162, 21, and i. 163, 12 f.); and in the following verse (x. 16, 5) it is evidently the man who is said to have been offered to Agni, and whom Agni is besought to dismiss to the Fathers. My rendering has the support of Professor Müller (Journ. of Germ. Or. Soc., vol. ix. p. xv.), who translates *ajo bhāgaḥ* by "das ew'ge Theil," the eternal part, and of M. Langlois, who renders it "une portion immortelle." These verses, x. 16, 1-5, will be found quoted at length in the section on Yama.

[340] Some further verses of this hymn will be quoted in the section on Yama. In verse 9, the *kravyād Agni*, the consumer of carrion, or of the dead, is spoken of as an object to be repelled. In the Vāj. S. i. 17, Agni is prayed to drive away two of his own forms, the *āmād* and the *kravyād*, and to bring the sacrificial fire (*apa Agne Agnim āmādaṁ jahi nish kravyādam sedha | ā devayajaṁ vaha*), where the commentator says that three Agnis are mentioned, the one which devours raw flesh (*āmād*) which is the common culinary fire (*laukiko 'gniḥ*), the second the funereal (*kravyāt | śavadāhe kravyam māṁsam atti iti kravyāt chitāgniḥ*), and the third the

men across calamities, as in a ship over the sea, or preserves from them, iii. 20, 4 (*parshad viśvā 'ti duritā gṛiṇantam*); v. 4, 9 (*viśvāni no durgahā jātavedaḥ sindhuṁ na nāvā duritā 'ti parshi*); vii. 12, 2 (*sa mahnā viśvā duritāni sahvān | sa no rakshishad duritād avadyāt*). All blessings issue from him as branches from a tree, vi. 13, 1 (*tvad viśvā subhaga saubhagāni Agne vi yanti vanino na vayāḥ*). He is like a water-trough in a desert, x. 4, 1 (*dhanvann iva prapā asi Agne*). All treasures are congregated in him, x. 6, 6 (*saṁ yasmin viśvā vasūni jagmuḥ*); he commands all the riches in the earth, the upper and lower oceans, the atmosphere, and the sky, vii. 6, 7 (*ā devo dade budhnyā vasūni vaiśvānaraḥ uditā sūryasya | ā samudrād avarād ā parasmād ā Agnir divaḥ ā pṛithivyāḥ*); x. 91, 3 (*vasur vasūnāṁ kshayasi tvam ekaḥ id dyāvā cha yāni pṛithivī cha pushyataḥ*). He is, in consequence, continually supplicated for all kinds of boons, riches, food, deliverance from enemies and demons, poverty, nakedness, reproach, childlessness, hunger, i. 12, 8, 9; i. 36, 12 ff.; i. 58, 8, 9; ii. 4, 8; ii. 7, 2, 3; ii. 9, 5; iii. 1, 21; iii. 13, 7; iii. 16, 5; iv. 2, 20; iv. 3, 14; iv. 11, 6; v. 3, 11; vi. 1, 12 f.; vi. 4, 8; vi. 5, 7; vi. 6, 7; vii. 1, 5, 13, 19. He is besought to protect his worshippers with a hundred iron walls, vi. 48, 8; vii. 3, 7 (*śatam pūrbhir āyasībhir ni pāhi*); vii. 16, 10; to be himself such a fortification with a hundred surrounding walls, vii. 15, 14 (*adha mahī naḥ ayasī anādhṛiśhṭo nṛipītaye | pūr bhava śatabhujiḥ*); i. 189, 2; to consume their enemies like dry bushes, iv. 4, 4 (*ni amitrān oshatāt tigmahete | yo no arātiṁ samidhāna chakre nīchā taṁ dhakshi atasaṁ na śushkam*); to strike down the malevolent as a tree is destroyed by lighting, vi. 8, 5 (*pavyeva rājann aghaśaṁsam ajara nīchā ni vṛiścha vaninaṁ na tejasā*). Compare A.V. iii. 1, 1; iii. 2, 1; vi. 120, 1. He is invoked in battle, viii. 43, 21 (*samatsu tvā havāmahe*), in which he leads the van, viii. 73, 8 (*puroyāvānam ājishu*). He is prayed to forgive whatever sin the worshipper may have commited through folly, and to make him guiltless towards Aditi, iv. 12, 4 (*yat chid hi te purushutrā yavishṭha achittibhiś chakṛima kach chid āgaḥ | kṛidhi su asmān Aditer anāgān vi enāṁsi śiśratho vishvag Agne*); viii. 93, 7 (*yat sīm āgaś chakṛiṇa tat su mṛila tad Aryamā*

sacrificial (*yāgayogyaḥ*). Compare Vaj. San. xviii. 51 f. The Taitt. Sanh. ii. 5, 8, 6, mentions another threefold division of fire: *Trayo vai agnayo havyavāhano devānāṁ kavyavāhanaḥ pitṛīṇāṁ saharakshāḥ asurāṇām.*

Aditiḥ śiśrathantu; see above pp. 46 and 47); and to avert Varuṇa's wrath, iv. 1, 4 (*tvaṁ no Agne Varuṇasya vidvān devasya heḷo ava yāsiśīshṭhāḥ*).

In two passages, as we have already seen (p. 108, note), the worshipper naively says to Agni (as Indra's votary says to him), viii. 44, 23, "If I were thou, and thou, Agni, wert I, thy aspirations should be fulfilled;" and viii. 19, 25 f., "If, Agni, thou wert a mortal, and I, o thou who art rich in friends, were an immortal, (26) I would not abandon thee to wrong or to penury. My worshipper should not be poor, nor distressed, nor miserable."

In viii. 92, 2, Agni called Daivodāsa (*Daivodāso 'gniḥ*), from which it would appear that king Divodāsa claimed him especially as his tutelary god. In the same way he is called in viii. 19, 32 (*samrājaṁ Trāsadasyavam*), and in x. 69, 1 ff., he is called Agni Badhryasva, apparently because a sage of that name had kindled him. Compare the epithet Kauśika applied to Indra in R.V. i. 10, 11, and the first vol. of this work, pp. 347 ff.

Agni is occasionally identified with other gods and different goddesses, Indra, Vishṇu, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Anśa, Tvashṭṛi, Rudra, Pūshan, Savitṛi, Bhaga, Aditi, Hotrā, Bhāratī, Iḷā, Sarasvatī, ii. 1, 3–7, and 11 (*tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ satām asi tvaṁ Vishṇur urugāyo namasyaḥ*, etc.); iii. 5, 4; v. 3, 1; vii. 12, 3; x. 8, 5.[341] All gods are comprehended in him, v. 3, 1 (*tve viśve sahasas putra devāḥ*); he surrounds them as the circumference of a wheel does the spokes, v. 13, 6 (*Agne nemir arān iva tvaṁ devān paribhūr asi*); compare i. 141, 9. Varuṇa is in one place spoken of as his brother, iv. 1, 2 (*sa bhrātaram Varuṇam Agne ā vavṛitsva*).

Agni is associated with Indra[342] in different hymns, as i. 108 and 109; iii. 12; vi. 59 and 60; vii. 93 and 94; viii. 38 and 40. The two

[341] Another verse where Agni is identified with other gods is i. 164, 46. *Indram Mitraṁ Varuṇam Agnim āhur atho divyaḥ sa suparṇo garutmān | ekaṁ sad viprāḥ bahudhā vadanti Agnim Yamam Mātariśvānam āhuḥ |* "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni; then there is that celestial, well-winged bird. Sages name variously that which is but one; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan." Compare A.V. xiii. 3, 13: *sa Varuṇaḥ sāyam Agnir bhavati sa Mitro bhavati prātar udyan | sa Savitā bhūtvā antarikṣheṇa yāti sa Indro bhūtvā tapati madhyato divaṁ |* "Agni becomes Varuṇa in the evening; rising in the morning he is Mitra; becoming Savitṛi he moves through the air; becoming Indra he glows in the middle of the sky."

[342] See Müller's Lectures on Language. Second series, pp. 495 f.

gods are said to be twin brothers, having the same father, and having their mothers here and there,[343] vi. 59, 2 (see above, pp. 14 and 81), to be both thunderers (*vajriṇā*), slayers of Vṛittra or of foes (*vṛittrahaṇā*), and shakers of cities, iii. 12, 4, 6 (*Indrāgnī navatim puro dāsapatnīr adhunutam | sākam ekena karmaṇā*); vi. 59, 3; vi. 60, 3; vii. 93, 1, 4; viii. 38, 2.[344] They are also invited together to come and drink soma (vii. 93, 6; viii. 38, 4, 7–9), and are together invoked for help, vii. 94, 7 (*Indrāgnī avasā ā gatam asmabhyaṁ charshaṇīsahā*). In one place, i. 109, 4, they are called *aśvinā*, "horsemen." (See Müller, as quoted at the foot of the page). Agni is elsewhere said to exercise alone the function usually assigned to Indra, and to slay Vṛittra and destroy cities, i. 59, 6 (*Vaiśvānaro dasyum Agnir jaghanvān adhūnot kāshṭhāḥ ava S'ambaram bhet*); i. 78, 4 (*tam u tvā vṛittrahantamam yo dasyūn avadhūnushe | dyumnair abhi pra noṇumaḥ*); vi. 16, 14, 39, 48 (*vṛittrahaṇam purandaram | Agne puro rurojitha*); vii. 5, 3; vii. 6, 2; viii. 63, 4. He is also described as driving away the Dasyus from the house, thus creating a large light for the Ārya, vii. 5, 6 (*tvaṁ dasyūn okasaḥ ājaḥ uru jyotir janayann āryāya*, compare i. 59, 2, and x. 69, 6), as the promoter of the Ārya, viii. 92, 1 (*āryasya vardhanam Agnim*), and as the vanquisher of the irreligious Paṇis, vii. 6, 3 (*ni akratūn grathino mṛidhravāchaḥ paṇīn aśrāddhān avṛidhān ayajñān | pra pra tān dasyūn Agnir vivāya pūrvaś chakāra aparān ayajyūn*),—although it is Indra who is most frequently represented in the hymns as the patron and helper of the sacred race, and the destroyer of their enemies. On the other hand, in viii. 38, 1, where the two gods are called two priests (*yajñasya ṛitvijā*), Indra is made to share in the character peculiar to Agni.[345] In hymn i. 93, Agni and Soma are celebrated in company.

[343] The word so rendered is *ihehamātarā*. Sāyaṇa says it means that their mother Aditi is here and there, *i.e.* everywhere. Roth, *s.v.* understands it to mean that the mother of the one is here, of the other there, *i.e.* in different places. Compare *iheha jāte* R.V. v. 47, 5. See Müller's Lectures on Language ii. 495.

[344] Compare A.V. iv. 23, 5; vii. 110, 1 f.

[345] Compare the words attributed to Indra in x. 119, 13 above, p. 91.

(6) *Agni,—a metrical sketch.*

Great Agni, though thine essence be but one,
Thy forms are three; as fire thou blazest here,
As lightning flashest in the atmosphere,
In heaven thou flamest as the golden sun.

It was in heaven thou hadst thy primal birth;
By art of sages skilled in sacred lore
Thou wast drawn down to human hearths of yore,
And thou abid'st a denizen of earth.

Sprung from the mystic pair,[346] by priestly hands
In wedlock joined, forth flashes Agni bright;
But,—o ye Heavens and Earth, I tell you right,—
The unnatural child devours the parent brands.

But Agni is a god: we must not deem
That he can err, or dare to reprehend
His acts, which far our reason's grasp transcend:
He best can judge what deeds a god beseem.

And yet this orphaned god himself survives:
Although his hapless mother soon expires,
And cannot nurse the babe, as babe requires,—
Great Agni, wondrous infant, grows and thrives.

Smoke-bannered Agni, god with crackling voice
And flaming hair, when thou dost pierce the gloom
At early morn, and all the world illume,
Both Heaven and Earth and gods and men rejoice.

In every home thou art a welcome guest;
The household's tutelary lord; a son,
A father, mother, brother, all in one;
A friend by whom thy faithful friends are blest.

[346] The two pieces of fuel by the attrition of which fire is produced, which, as we have seen above, are represented as husband and wife.

A swift-winged messenger, thou callest down
From heaven, to crowd our hearths, the race divine,
To taste our food, our hymns to hear, benign,
And all our fondest aspirations crown.

Thou, Agni, art our priest, divinely wise,
In holy science versed; thy skill detects
The faults that mar our rites, mistakes corrects,
And all our acts completes and sanctifies.

Thou art the cord that stretches to the skies,
The bridge that spans the chasm, profound and vast,
Dividing Earth from Heaven, o'er which at last
The good shall safely pass to Paradise.

But when, great god, thine awful anger glows,
And thou revealest thy destroying force,
All creatures flee before thy furious course,
As hosts are chased by overpowering foes.

Thou levellest all thou touchest; forests vast
Thou shear'st like beards which barber's razor shaves,
Thy wind-driven flames roar load as ocean-waves,
And all thy track is black when thou hast past.

But thou, great Agni, dost not always wear
That direful form; thou rather lov'st to shine
Upon our hearths with milder flame benign,
And cheer the homes where thou art nursed with care.

Yes, thou delightest all those men to bless,
Who toil, unwearied, to supply the food
Which thou so lovest, logs of well-dried wood,
And heaps of butter bring,—thy favourite mess.

Though I no cow possess, and have no store
Of butter,—nor an axe fresh wood to cleave,
Thou, gracious god, wilt my poor gift receive,—
These few dry sticks I bring; I have no more.

Preserve us, lord, thy faithful servants save
From all the ills by which our bliss is marred;
Tower like an iron wall our homes to guard,
And all the boons bestow our hearts can crave.

And when away our brief existence wanes,
When we at length our earthly homes must quit,
And our freed souls to worlds unknown shall flit,
Do thou deal gently with our cold remains;

And then thy gracious form assuming, guide
Our unborn part across the dark abyss
Aloft to realms serene of light and bliss,
Where righteous men among the gods abide.

SECTION XIV.

TVASHṬṚI.

This god, who in the later mythology is regarded as one of the Ādityas,[347] but as we have seen (in the section on those deities) does not bear that character in the hymns of the Rig-veda, is the Hephaistos, or Vulcan, of the Indian pantheon, the ideal artist, the divine artizan, the most skilful of workmen, who is versed in all wonderful and admirable contrivances, x. 53, 9 (*Tvashṭā māyāḥ ved apasām apastamaḥ*). He sharpens the iron axe of Brahmaṇaspati, ibid. (*śiśite nūnam paraśuṁ svāyasaṁ yena vriśchād etaśo Brahmaṇaspatiḥ*); and forges the thunderbolts of Indra,[348] i. 32, 2 (*Tvashṭā asmai vajraṁ svaryaṁ tataksha*); i. 52, 7; i. 61, 6; i. 85, 9; v. 31, 4; vi. 17, 10; x. 48, 3; which are described as golden (*hiraṇyaya*) i. 85, 9, or of iron (*āyasa*) x. 48, 3, with a thousand points (*sahasrabhṛishṭi*) and a hundred edges (*śatāśri*), i. 85, 9; vi. 17, 10 (see above, p. 86). He is styled *supāṇi*, *sugabhasti*, the beautiful-, or skilful-handed, iii. 54, 12; vi. 49, 9; *svapas*, *sukṛit*, the skilful worker, i. 85, 9; iii. 54, 12; *viśvarūpa*,[349] the omniform, or archetype, of all forms, i. 13, 10; iii. 55, 19;[350] x. 10, 5; and *savitṛi*, the vivifier, iii. 55, 19; x. 10, 5. He imparts generative power and bestows offspring,[351] i. 142, 10 (*tan nas turīpam adbhutam puru vā*

[347] See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 103 ff.

[348] According to R.V. i. 121, 3, Indra himself (?) is said to have fashioned the thunderbolt (*takshad vajram*).

[349] In iii. 38, 4, the epithet *viśvarūpa* is applied to another god,—Indra according to Sāyaṇa.

[350] Quoted in Nirukta x. 34. See Roth's illustrations of that work, p. 144, where the word *savitṛi* is said to be an epithet of Tvashṭṛi.

[351] In A.V. vi. 81, 3, Tvashṭṛi is said to have bound the amulet which Aditi wore when she was desirous of offspring, on the arm of a female, in order that she might bear a son (*yam parihastam abibhar Aditiḥ putrakāmyā | Tvashṭā taṁ asyāḥ ā badhnād yathā putraṁ janād iti*). In A.V. xi. 1, 1, Aditi is said to have cooked a brahmaudana oblation when desirous of sons (*Aditir nāthitā iyam brahmaudanam pachati putrakāmā*). See the 1st vol. of this work, p. 26.

aram puru tmanā | Tvashṭā poshāya vi syatu rāye nābhā no asmayuḥ); iii. 4, 9 = vii. 2, 9 (*tan nas turīpam adha poshayitnu deva Tvashṭar vi rarāṇaḥ syasva | yato vīraḥ karmaṇyaḥ sudakṣho yuktagrāvā jāyate devakāmaḥ*); vii. 34, 20 (*ā yan naḥ patnīr gamanti achha Tvashṭā supāṇir dadhātu vīrān*); compare Vāj. Sanh. xxi. 20; xxii. 20; xxvii. 20; and A.V. ii. 29, 2. He forms husband and wife for each other, even from the womb, R.V. x. 10, 5 (*garbhe nu nau janitā dampatī kar devas Tvashṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ*); A.V. vi. 78, 3 (*Tvashṭā jāyām ajanayat Tvashṭā asyai tvām patim*). He developes the seminal germ in the womb, and is the shaper of all forms, human and animal, R.V. i. 188, 9 (*Tvashṭā rūpāṇi hi prabhuḥ paśūn viśvān samānaje*); viii. 91, 8 (*Tvashṭā rūpeva takshyā*); x. 184, 1 (*Vishṇur yonim kalpayatu Tvashṭā rūpāṇi piṁśatu*); A.V. ii. 26, 1; v. 26, 8; ix. 4, 6 (*Tvashṭā rūpāṇāṁ janitā paśūnām*); Vāj. S. xxxi. 17; Taitt. Saṁh. i. 5, 1, 2; i. 6, 4, 4; vi. p. 65*a* (of India Office MS. *Tvashṭā vai retasaḥ siktasya rūpāṇi vikaroti | tam eva vṛishaṇam patnīshv apisṛijate so 'smai rūpāṇi vikaroti*); Śatapatha Br. i. 9, 2, 10 (*Tvashṭā vai siktaṁ reto vikaroti*); xiii. 1, 8, 7. Compare ii. 2, 3, 4; iii. 7, 3, 11. He has produced and nourishes a great variety of creatures; all worlds (or beings) are his, and are known to him; he has given to the heaven and earth and to all things their forms, iii. 55, 19 (*devas Tvashṭa savitā viśvarūpaḥ puposha prajāḥ purudhā jajāna | imā cha viśvā bhuvanāni asya*); iv. 42, 3 (*Tvashṭeva viśvā bhuvanāni vidvān*); x. 110, 9 (*yaḥ imé dyāvāpṛithivī janitrī rūpair apiṁśad bhuvanāni viśvā*). The Vāj. S. xxix. 9, says: *Tvashṭā vīraṁ devakāmaṁ* (comp. R.V. iii. 4, 9, quoted above) *jajāna Tvashṭur arvā jāyate āśur áśvaḥ | Tvashṭedaṁ viśvam bhuvanaṁ jajāna*' | "Tvashṭṛi has generated a strong man, a lover of the gods.' From Tvashṭṛi is produced a swift horse. Tvashṭṛi has created the whole world." He bestows long life, R.V. x. 18, 6 (*iha Tvashṭā sujanimā sajoshāḥ dīrgham āyuḥ karati jīvase vaḥ*); A.V. vi. 78, 3 (*Tvashṭā sahasram āyūṁshi dīrgham āyur karotu vām*). He puts speed into the legs of a horse, Vāj. S. ix. 8 = A.V. vi. 92, 1 (*ā te Tvashṭā patsu javaṁ dadhātu*). In ii. 23, 17, he is said to be skilled in all Sāma-texts and to have created Brahmaṇaspati above all creatures (*viśvebhyo hi tvā bhuvanebhyas pari Tvashṭā 'janat sāmnaḥ sāmnaḥ kaviḥ*), and is said, along with heaven and earth, the waters, and the Bhṛigus, to have generated Agni, x. 2,

7; x. 46, 9 (*Dyāvā yam Agnim pṛivithī janishṭām āpas Tvashṭā Bhṛigavo yaṁ sahobhiḥ*); compare i. 95, 2.[352] He is master of the universe (*bhuvanasya sakshaṇi*), ii. 31, 4; a first-born protector and leader, ix. 5, 9 (*Tvashṭāram agrajāṁ gopām puroyāvānam ā huve*); compare i. 13, 10. He is a companion of the Angiṛases, x. 70, 9 (*yad Angirasām abhavaḥ sachābhūḥ*), and knows the region of the gods (*devānām pāthaḥ upa pra vidvān uśan yakshi*). He is supplicated to nourish the worshipper and protect his sacrifice. He is *draviṇodas*, the bestower of blessings, and *suratna*, possessed of abundant wealth, x. 70, 9, and x. 92, 11; and is asked, like other gods, to take pleasure in the hymns of his worshippers, and to grant them riches, vii. 34, 21 f. (*prati naḥ stomaṁ Tvashṭā jusheta | Tvashṭā sudātro vi dadhātu rāyaḥ*).

Tvashṭṛi is in several passages connected with the Ṛibhus, who, like him, are celebrated as skilful workmen (see Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*), who fashioned Indra's chariot and horses, made their own parents young, etc., i. 111, 1 (*takshan rathaṁ suvṛitam vidmanā 'pasas takshan harī Indravāhā vṛishaṇvasū | takshan pitṛibhyām Ṛibhavo yuvad vayaḥ*), i. 161, 7; iv. 33, 3; iv. 35, 5; iv. 36, 3; and are spoken of by Sāyaṇa (on i. 20, 6) as Tvashṭṛi's pupils (*takshaṇa-vyāpāra-kuśalasya Tvashṭuḥ śishyāḥ Ṛibhavaḥ*). These Ṛibhus are said to have made into four a single new sacrificial cup which Tvashṭṛi had formed (i. 20, 6. *uta tyaṁ chamasaṁ navaṁ Tvashṭur devasya nishkṛitam | akartta chaturaḥ punaḥ* | i. 110, 3). This exhibition of skill is said to have been performed by command of the gods, and in consequence of a promise that its accomplishment should be rewarded by their exaltation to divine honours, i. 161, 1–5, (verse 2, *yadi eva karishyatha sākaṁ devair yajniyāso bhavishyatha*). Tvashṭṛi is in this passage represented as becoming ashamed and hiding himself among the goddesses when he saw this alteration of his work, verse 4 (*yadā 'vākhyat chamasān chaturaḥ kṛitān ād it Tvashṭā gnāsu antar ni ānaje*), and as resenting this change in his own manufacture as a slight to himself, and as having in consequence sought to slay his rivals, verse 5 (*hanāma enān iti Tvashṭā yad abravīt chamasaṁ ye devapānam anindishuḥ*). In another place (iv. 33, 5, 6), on the contrary, he is said to have applauded

[352] Who is the being who claims, in x. 125, 1 f. to sustain Tvashṭṛi and other gods (*aham somam āhanasam bibharmi ahaṁ Tvashṭāram*)?

their design, and admired the brilliant results of their skill (*vibhrājamānāṁs chamasān ahā iva avenat Tvashṭā chaturo dadṛiśvān*).[353]

In x. 66, 10, the Ṛibhus are spoken of as the supporters of the sky (*dhartāro divaḥ Ṛibhavaḥ suhastāḥ*).

In ii. 1, 5, Agni is identified with Tvashṭṛi, as he is also, however, with many other gods in other verses of the same hymn. In i. 95, 5, Agni appears to be designated by the word Tvashṭṛi. In vi. 47, 19, where Tvashṭṛi is spoken of as yoking his horses and shining resplendently (*yunjāno haritā rathe bhūri Tvashṭeha rājati*), the commentator supposes that Indra is referred to.[354]

(2) *Tvashṭṛi's daughter and her wedding.*

In x. 17, 1 f. Tvashṭṛi is said to have given his daughter Saraṇyū in marriage to Vivasvat: "*Tvashṭā duhitre vahatuṁ kṛiṇoti*" *iti idaṁ viśvam bhuvanam sameti | Yamasya mātā paryuhyamānā maho jāyā Vivasvato nanāśa | apāgūhann amṛitām martyebhyaḥ kṛitvī savarṇām adaḍur Vivasvate | utāśvināv abharad yat tad āsīd ajahād u dvā mithunā Saraṇyūḥ* | "Tvashṭṛi makes a wedding for his daughter. (Hearing) this the whole world assembles. The mother of Yama, the wedded wife of the great Vivasvat, disappeared. 2. They concealed the immortal (bride) from mortals. Making (another) of like appearance, they gave her to Vivasvat. Saraṇyū bore the two Aśvins, and when she had done so, she deserted the two twins." These two verses are quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 10 f., where the following illustrative story is told: *Tatra itihāsam ācakshate | Tvāshṭṛī Saraṇyūr Vivasvataḥ Ādityād yamau mithunau janayānchakāra | sā savarṇām anyām pratinidhāya*

[353] See the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 30, pp. 210 f. of Professor Haug's translation. The Ṛibhus had by their austere fervour, it is there said, conquered for themselves a right to partake in the soma libations among the gods (*Ṛibhavo vai deveshu tapasā somapītham abhyajayan*), which, however, they were only allowed to do along with Savitṛi (=Tvashṭṛi ?), to whom Prajāpati had said, These are thy pupils; do thou alone drink with them; *tava vai ime antevāsās tvam eva ebhiḥ sampibasva*); and with Prajāpati. The gods, however, it is said, loathed these deified mortals on account of their human smell (*tebhyo vai devāḥ apa eva abībhatsanta manushya-gandhāt;* and accordingly placed two Dhāyyās (particular verses) between themselves and the Ṛibhus.

[354] On the obscure passage, i. 84, 15, where the name of Tvashṭṛi is mentioned, the reader may consult Wilson's translation and note, Professor Roth's explanation in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 49, and Professor Benfey's version in his Orient and Occident, ii. 245 f.

āśvaṁ rupaṁ kṛitvā pradadrāva | sa Vivasvān Ādityaḥ āśvaṁ eva rūpaṁ kṛitvā tām anusṛitya sambabhūva | tato 'śvinau jajñāte savarṇāyām Manuḥ | "Saraṇyū, the daughter of Tvashṭṛi, bore twins to Vivasvat, the son of Aditi. She then substituted for herself another female of similar appearance, and fled in the form of a mare. Vivasvat in like manner assumed the shape of a horse, and followed her. From their intercourse sprang two Aśvins, while Manu was the offspring of Savarṇā (or the female of like appearance)." See Roth's interpretation of R.V. x. 17, 1 ff. and remarks thereon, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 424 f.; and the same writer's translation, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 161, of a passage of the Bṛihaddevatā, quoted by Sāyaṇa on R.V. vii. 72, 2, relating the same story about Vivasvat and Saraṇyū which is given in the Nirukta. That passage is as follows: *Abhavad mithunaṁ Tvashṭuḥ Saraṇyūs Triśirāḥ saha | sa vai Saraṇyūm prāyachhat svayam eva Vivasvate | tataḥ Saraṇyvāṁ jāte te Yamayamyau Vivasvataḥ | tāv apy ubhau yamāv eva hy āstām Yamyā cha vai Yamaḥ | Sṛishṭvā bharttuḥ parokshaṁ tu Saraṇyūḥ sadṛiśīṁ striyam | nikshipya mithunau tasyām aśvā bhūtvā prachakrame | avijñānād Vivasvāṁs tu tasyām ajanayad Manum | rājarshir āsīt sa Manur Vivasvān iva tejasā | sa vijñāya apakrāntāṁ Saraṇyūm ātmarūpiṇīm | Tvāshṭrīm prati jagāmāśu vājī bhūtvā salakshaṇaḥ | Saraṇyūs tu Vivasvantaṁ vijñāya hayarūpiṇam | maithunāyopachakrāma tāṁ sa tattrāruroha saḥ | tatas tayos tu vegena śukraṁ tad apatad bhuvi | upājighrat cha sā tv aśvā tat śukraṁ garbha-kāmyayā | āghrāṇa-mātrāt śukraṁ tat kumārau sambabhūvatuḥ | Nāsatyaś chaiva Dasraś cha yau stutāv aśvināv api |* "Tvashṭṛi had twin children, (a daughter) Saraṇyū, and (a son) Triśiras. He gave Saraṇyū in marriage to Vivasvat, to whom she bore Yama and Yamī, who also were twins. Creating a female like herself without her husband's knowledge, and making the twins over in charge to her, Saraṇyū took the form of a mare, and departed. Vivasvat, in ignorance, begot, on the female who was left, Manu, a royal rishi, who resembled his father in glory. But discovering that the real Saraṇyū, Tvashṭṛi's daughter, had gone away, Vivasvāt followed her quickly, taking the shape of a horse of the same species as she. Recognizing him in that form she approached him with the desire of sexual connection, which he gratified. In their haste his seed fell on the ground, and she, being desirous of offspring, smelled it. From

this act sprang the two Kumāras (youths) Nāsatya and Dasra, who are lauded as Aśvins (sprung from a horse)."

In R.V. viii. 26, 21 f., as we have already seen, p. 144, Vāyu also is spoken of as Tvashṭṛi's son-in-law. Whether Vāyu's wife was different from Saraṇyū, or whether there is a discrepancy between this story and the one just referred to about Vivasvat, does not appear.

Tvashṭṛi is represented as having for his most frequent attendants the wives of the gods, i. 22, 9 (*Agne patnīr iha ā vaha devānām uśatīr upa | Tvashṭāraṁ somapītaye*); ii. 31, 4; ii. 36, 3; vi. 50, 13; vii. 35, 6; x. 64, 10; x. 66, 3. This, according to Professor Roth, *s.v.*, results from the fact that it is in the wombs of females that his creative action is principally manifested.

In x. 49, 10, he is spoken of as if he were a deity of some importance, though inferior to Indra, since the latter is said to place in the rivers a lucid element, which even Tvashṭṛi, though a god, could not do (*ahaṁ tad āsu dhārayaṁ yad āsu na devaś chana Tvashṭā adhārayad rúśat*).

(3) *Hostility of Indra and Tvashṭṛi.*

Indra is occasionally represented as in a state of hostility with Tvashṭṛi and his son.[355] Thus in iii. 48, 4, it is said that Indra overcame him, and carried off his soma-juice, which he drank from the cups (*Tvashṭāram Indro janushā 'bhibhūya āmushya somam apibat chamūshu*), and in iv. 18, 3, that the same god drank off the soma in his house (*Tvashṭur gṛihe apibat somam Indraḥ*). In explanation of these allusions, the commentator, who in his note on iii. 48, 4, calls Tvashṭṛi an Asura (*Tvashṭṛināmakam asuram*), refers to the Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 4, 12, 1, where it is related that Tvashṭṛi, whose son had been slain by Indra, began to perform a soma-sacrifice in the absence of the latter, and refused, on the ground of his homicide, to allow him to assist at the ceremony; when Indra interrupted the celebration, and drank off the soma by force (*Tvashṭā hataputro vīndraṁ somam āharat | tasminn Indraḥ upahavam aichhata | taṁ na upāhvayata "putram me*

[355] In i. 80, 14 (see above, p. 96), it is said that even Tvashṭṛi trembles at Indra's wrath when he thunders. But this trait is merely introduced to indicate the terrific grandeur of Indra's manifestations. In Vāj. Sanh. xx. 44, Tvashṭṛi is said to have imparted vigour to Indra (*Tvashṭā dadhat śushmam Indrāya vṛishṇe*).

'vadhīr" iti | sa yajna-veśasaṁ kṛitvā prāsahā somam apibat | These words are repeated in ii. 5, 2, 1). Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 6, 3, 6 ff.; v. 5, 4, 7 ff.; xii. 7, 1, 1; xii. 8, 3, 1 ff.

The son of Tvashṭṛi is mentioned in two passages of the Rig-veda. In x. 8, 8, it is said: *Sa pitryāṇi āyuḍhāni vidvān indreshitaḥ Āptyo abhy ayudhyat | triśīrshāṇaṁ saptaraśmim jaghanvān Tvāshṭrasya chin niḥ sasṛije Trito gāḥ |* 9. *Bhūri id Indraḥ udinakshantam ojo avābhinat satpatir manyamānam | Tvāshṭrasya chid Viśvarūpasya gonām ācha-krāṇas trīṇi śīrshā parā vark |* "This Trita Āptya, knowing his paternal weapons, and impelled by Indra, fought against the three-headed and seven-rayed (monster), and slaying him, he carried off the cows even of the son of Tvashṭṛi. 9. Indra, the lord of the good, pierced this arrogant being, who boasted of his great force; seizing the cows, he struck off the three heads even of Viśvarūpa the son of Tvashṭṛi (or of the omniform son of Tvashṭṛi)." (Compare ii. 11, 19). A loud-shouting monster with three heads and six eyes, perhaps identical with the son of Tvashṭṛi, is also mentioned in x. 99, 6, as having been overcome by Indra or Trita (*sa id dāsaṁ tuviravam patir dan shaḷakshaṁ triśīrshāṇam damanyat | asya Trito nu ojasā vṛidhāno vipā varāham ayoagrayā han*).

Viśvarūpa is frequently mentioned in later works.

According to the Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 5, 1, 1 ff., he was the priest of the gods, while he was sister's son (no further genealogy is given) of the Asuras.[356] He had three heads, called respectively the soma-

[356] I subjoin a passage from the same Sanhitā, vi. 4, 10, 1 (p. 49 of India Office MS., No. 1702), relating to the gods and Asuras, their original equality in goodness and power, and their respective priests. *Bṛihaspatir devānām purohitaḥ āsīt śaṇḍāmarkāv asurāṇām | brahmaṇvanto devāḥ āsan brahmaṇvanto 'surāḥ | te 'nyonyaṁ nāśaknuvann abhibhavitum | te devāḥ śaṇḍāmarkāv upāmantrayanta | tāv abrūtām "varam vṛiṇāvahai grahāv eva nāv atrāpi gṛihyetām" iti | tābhyām etau śukrāmanthināv agrihṇan | tato devāḥ devāḥ abhavan parā 'surāḥ | yasyaivam vidushaḥ śukrāmanthinau gṛihyete bhavaty atmanā parā asya bhrātṛivyo bhavati | tau devāḥ apanudya atmana Indrāyājuhuvuḥ | ityādi |* "Bṛihaspati was the priest of the gods, Śaṇḍa and Marka the priests of the Asuras. The gods were devout and so were the Asuras. Neither could overcome the other. The gods invited Śaṇḍa and Marka, who said, 'Let us ask a favour; let draught also be offered to us.' The gods, in consequence, allowed to them the śukra and manthin draughts, and by doing so became gods, and the Asuras were worsted. The man who knows this and acts accordingly prospers himself and his enemy succumbs. The gods sent away Śaṇḍa and Marka and offered up themselves to Indra." Compare the Śat. Br. iv. 2, 1, 4 ff. According to the Kāṭhaka 25, 7, quoted in Indische Studien

drinker, the wine-drinker, and the food-eater. He declared in public that the sacrifices should be shared by the gods only, while he privately recommended that they should be offered to the Asuras. For, as the author of the Brāhmaṇa remarks, it is customary for people in public to promise every one a share, whereas it is only those to whom the promise is privately made who obtain its fulfilment. Indra was alarmed lest his dominion should by this procedure of Viśvarūpa be overturned, and he accordingly smote off his heads with a thunderbolt. The three heads were turned into birds, the one called Soma-drinker became a Kapinjala (or Francoline partridge), the Wine-drinker a Kalavinka (or sparrow), and the Food-eater a Tittiri (or partridge), etc. (*Viśvarūpo vai Tvāshṭraḥ purohito devānām āsīt svasrīyo 'surāṇām | tasya trīṇi śīrshāṇy āsan somapānaṁ surāpānam annādanam | sa pratyakshaṁ devebhyo bhāgam avadat paroksham asurebhyaḥ | sarvasmai pratyaksham bhāgaṁ vadanti | yasmai eva parokshaṁ vadanti tasya bhāgaḥ uditaḥ | tasmād Indro 'bibhed īdṛiṅ vai rāshṭram paryāvarttayati iti tasya vajram ādāya śīrshāṇy achhinat | yat somapānam āsīt sa kapinjalo 'bhavat | yat surāpānaṁ sa kalavinkaḥ | yad annādanaṁ sa tittiriḥ*). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa tells the story in some respects at greater length, i. 6, 3, 1 ff.: *Tvashṭur ha vai puttras triśīrshāḥ shaḍakshaḥ āsa | tasya trīṇy eva mukhāny āsus tad yad evaṁrūpaḥ āsa tasmād Viśvarūpo nāma | 2. Tasya somapānam eva ekaṁ mukham āsa | surāpāṇam ekam | anyasmai aśanāya ekam | tam Indro didvesha tasya tāni śīrshāṇi prachichheda | 3. Sa yat somapānam āsa tataḥ kapinjalaḥ samabhavat | tasmāt sa babhrukaḥ iva babhrur iva hi somo rājā | 4. Atha yat surāpāṇam āsa tataḥ kalavinkaḥ samabhavat | so 'bhimādyatkaḥ iva vadati | abhimādyann iva hi surām pītvā vadati | 5. Atha yad anyasmai aśanāya āsa tatas tittiriḥ samabhavat | tasmāt sa viśvarūpatamaḥ iva | santy eva ghṛitastokāḥ iva tvad madhustokāḥ iva tvat parṇeshv āśchutitāḥ | evaṁrūpaṁ hi sa tena aśanam āvayat | 6. Sa Tvashṭā chukrodha "kuvin me putram avadhīd" iti so 'pendram eva somam ājahre | sa yathā 'yaṁ somaḥ prasutaḥ evam apendraḥ eva āsa | 7. Indro ha vai īkshānchakre*

iii. 467 (compare Aśv. Śrauta Sūtras, i. 4, 9), the gods had four hotṛi priests, Bhūpati, Bhuvanapati, Bhūtānāmpati, and Bhūta, of whom the first three died from discharging their duty, when the fourth became afraid and fled, etc. Professor Weber compares the story about Agni, quoted above, p. 203, from the Taitt. S. On the original equality of the gods and Asuras see the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 51 ff., and note 22, p. 15, above.

"idaṁ vai mā somād antaryanti" iti | sa yathā balīyān abalīyasaḥ evam anupahūtaḥ eva yo dronakalaśe śukraḥ āsa tam bhakshayānchakāra | sa ha enaṁ jihiṁsa | so 'sya viśvaṁñ eva prāṇebhyo dudrāva mukhād ha eva asya atha sarvebhyo 'nyebhyaḥ prāṇebhyaḥ | 8. *Sa Tvashṭā chukrodha "kuvid me 'nupahūtaḥ somam abhakshad" iti | sa svayam eva yajnaveśasaṁ chakre | sa yo dronakalaśe śukraḥ pariśishṭaḥ āsa taṁ pravarttayānchakara "Indra-śatrur vardhasva" iti ....* | 10. *Atha yad abravīd Indra-śatrur vardhasva" iti tasmād u ha enam Indraḥ eva jaghāna | atha yad ha śaśvad avakshad "Indrasya śatrur vardhasva" iti śaśvad u ha sa eva Indram ahanishyat* | "Tvashṭṛi had a son with three heads and six eyes, who had three mouths; and hence was called Viśvarūpa (Omniform). 2. One of his mouths was the Soma-drinker, the second the Wine-drinker, and the third was destined for consuming other things. Indra hated this Viśvarūpa, and cut off his three heads. 3. From the Soma-drinker sprang a Kapinjala (Francoline partridge); and hence this bird is brown, because king Soma is of that colour. 4. From the Wine-drinker sprang a Kalavinka (sparrow); and in consequence this bird utters sounds like a drunkard, just as a person does who has drunk wine. 5. From the third mouth sprang a Tittiri (common partridge), which in consequence has the greatest variety of colours, for drops of ghee and of honey seem to be sprinkled in different places on its wings: for by this mouth he (Viśvarūpa) received such sorts of food. 6. Tvashṭṛi was incensed; and saying "He has killed my son," he offered a libation of soma to the gods, excluding Indra. 7. Indra perceived that he was excluded from partaking the soma, and as a stronger acts towards a weaker being, he without invitation drank off the purified soma in the vessel. But it affected him injuriously; it issued from his mouth and then from all the other outlets of his body. 8. Tvashṭṛi was angry that Indra had drunk the soma without invitation; and himself broke off the sacrifice, employing the soma which was left in the vessel (in another rite) using the formula 'Thou of whom Indra is the enemy, flourish!' 10. As he used the words accented so as to produce this sense, Indra slew him. Had he said 'Flourish, enemy of Indra,' he would have slain Indra, instead of Indra slaying him."

The version of the same legend from the Kāṭhaka, 12, 10, in Indische Studien, iii. 464, gives some other particulars; Indra was afraid that Viśvarūpa was going to become everything ("all this": *sa Indro 'man-*

yatâ "ayaṁ vâva idam bhavishyati), and he accordingly prevailed on a carpenter to run and cut off his heads, which the artizan accordingly did with his axe (*sa takshāṇaṁ tishṭhantam abravīd "ādhava asya imāni śīrshāṇi chhindhi" | tasya takshā upadrutya paraśunā śīrshāṇy achhinat*).

Compare the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 6, 3, 1 ff.; v. 5, 4, 2 ff.; and the Mahābhārata, Udyoga Parva, 228 ff.

In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, section 77, Tvashṭṛi is identified with Viśvakarman and Prajāpati. Compare verses 1, 10, 15, 16, 34, 36, 38, and 41. Professor Weber (Omina und Portenta, p. 391 f.) refers to a passage of the Adbhutādhyāya of the Kauśika Sūtras, where Tvashṭṛi is identified with Savitṛi and Prajāpati.

SECTION XV.

THE AS'VINS.

(1) *The character and parentage of the Aśvins, their relations to Sūrya, their attributes and accompaniments.*

The Aśvins seem to have been a puzzle even to the oldest Indian commentators. Yāska thus refers to them in the Nirukta, xii. 1:

Atha ato dyusthānāḥ devatāḥ | tāsām Aśvinau prathamāgāminau bhavataḥ | Aśvinau yad vyaśnuvāte sarvaṁ rasena anyo jyotishā anyaḥ | "Aśvair aśvināv" ity Aurṇabhāvaḥ | tat kāv Aśvinau | "Dyāvāpṛithivyāv" ity eke | "ahorātrāv" ity eke | "Sūryāchandramasāv" ity eke | "rājānau puṇyakṛitāv" ity aitihāsikāḥ | tayoḥ kālaḥ ūrddham ūrdhvarātrāt prakāśībhāvasya anuvishhṭambham anu | tamobhāgo hi madhyamo jyotirbhāgaḥ ādityaḥ | 5. Tayoḥ kālaḥ sūryodayaparyantaḥ |

"Next in order are the deities whose sphere is the heaven; of these the Aśvins are the first to arrive. They are called Aśvins because they pervade (*vyaśnuvāte*) everything, the one with moisture, the other with light. Aurṇabhāva says they are called Aśvins, from the horses (*aśvaiḥ*, on which they ride). Who, then, are these Aśvins? 'Heaven and Earth,'[357] say some; 'Day and Night,' say others; 'The Sun and Moon,' say others; 'Two kings, performers of holy acts,' say the legendary writers. Their time is subsequent to midnight, whilst the manifestation of light is delayed; [and ends with the rising of the sun, ibid. xii. 5]. The dark portion [of this time] denotes the intermediate (god = Indra?), the light portion Āditya (the Sun)."[358]

[357] Compare S. P. Br. iv. 1, 5, 16, *Atha yad "Aśvināv" iti imē ha vai dyāvāpṛithivī pratyaksham aśvinau | ime hi idaṁ sarvaṁ āśnuvātām |* "The Heaven and Earth are manifestly the As'vins, for they (Heaven and Earth) have pervaded everything."

[358] See the different interpretation given by Professor Goldstücker, at the close of this section. The words are obscure.

Professor Roth, on the strength of this passage, considers that Yāska identifies the two Aśvins with Indra and the Sun (Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 159).[359]

In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 425, the same author thus speaks of these gods: "The two Aśvins, though, like the ancient interpreters of the Veda, we are by no means agreed as to the conception of their character, hold, nevertheless, a perfectly distinct position in the entire body of the Vedic deities of light. They are the earliest bringers of light in the morning sky, who in their chariot hasten onward before the dawn, and prepare the way for her."[360]

In a passage of the R.V., x. 17, 2 (quoted above in the section on Tvashṭṛi, p. 227), the Aśvins are represented as the twin sons of Vivasvat and Saraṇyū. They are also called the sons of the sky (*divo napātā*) in R.V. i. 182, 1; i. 184, 1;[361] x. 61, 4; and in i. 46, 2, *sindhumātarā*, the offspring of the Ocean[362] (whether aerial or terrestrial).

The Taitt. S. vii. 2, 7, 2, says that the Aśvins are the youngest of the gods (*aśvinau vai devānām ānujāvarau*).

In i. 180, 2, the sister of the Asvins is mentioned, by whom the commentator naturally understands Ushas (*svasṛisthānīyā svayaṁsāriṇī vā ushāḥ*). In vii. 71, 1, and elsewhere (see above, p. 188, 191), Ushas is called the sister of Night, whilst in i. 123, 5, she is said to be the sister of Bhaga and Varuṇa.

The Aśvins are in many parts of the Rig-veda connected with Sūryā, the youthful daughter of the sun (called also Urjānī in one

[359] R.V. i. 181, 4, is, according to Roth, quoted by Yāska in illustration of his view: "Born here and there these two have striven forward (?) with spotless bodies according to their respective characters. One of you, a conqueror and a sage, [is the son] of the strong one (?); the other is born onward, the son of the sky" (*ihehajātā samavāvaśītām arepasā tanvā nāmabhiḥ svaiḥ | jishṇur vām anyaḥ sumakhasya sūrir divo anyaḥ subhagaḥ putraḥ ūhe*). Compare Roth's transl. in Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 159.

[360] For some speculations of Professor Müller and Weber, on the Aśvins, see the lectures of the former, 2nd series, p. 489 f., and the Indische Studien of the latter, vol. v. p. 234.

[361] In i. 181, 4, only one of them is said to be the son of the sky. See note 369, above.

[362] On this the commentator remarks that, although it is the Sun and Moon that are sprung from the sea, yet the same epithet applies equally to the Aśvins who, in the opinion of some, are identical with the former (*yadyapi sūrya-chandramasāv eva samudrajau tathāpy Aśvinoḥ keshāṁchit mate tadrūpatvāt tathātvam*).

place, i. 119, 2, as Sāyaṇa understands it, *sūryasya duhitā*),[363] who is represented as having, for the sake of acquiring friends, chosen them for her two husbands, i. 119, 5 (*ā vām patitvaṁ sakhyāya jagmushī yoṣhā 'vṛiṇita jenyā yuvām patī*); iv. 43, 6 (*tad ū shu vām ajiraṁ cheti yānaṁ yena patī bhavathaḥ Sūryāyāḥ*); vii. 69, 3 (*vi vaṁ ratho vadhvā yādamānaḥ antān divo bādhate varttanibhyām*); x. 39, 11, *na taṁ rājānāv Adite kutaś chana na aṁhaḥ aśnoti duritaṁ ṇakir bhayam | yam Aśvinā suhavā rudravarttanī puroratha kṛiṇuthaḥ patnyā saha* | "Neither distress, nor calamity, nor fear from any quarter assails the man whom ye Aśvins, along with [your] wife, cause to lead the van in his car;"[364] and as loving to ascend their chariot, i. 34, 5; i. 116, 17; i. 117, 13 (*yuvo rathaṁ duhitā sūryasya saha śriyā Nāsatyā 'vṛiṇīta*); i. 118, 5 (*ā vāṁ rathaṁ yuvatis tishṭhad atra jushṭvī narā duhitā Sūryasya*); iv. 43, 2; v. 73, 5 (*ā yad vāṁ Sūryā rathaṁ tishṭhat*, etc.); vi. 63, 5 f.; vii. 68, 3; vii. 69, 4; viii. 8, 10; viii. 22, 1; viii. 29, 8.[365]

R.V. i. 116, 17, is as follows: *ā vāṁ rathaṁ duhitā sūryasya kārshmevātishṭhad arvatā jayantī | viśve devāḥ anv amanyanta hṛidbhiḥ "saṁ śriyā Nāsatyā sachethe"* | "The daughter of the sun stood upon your chariot, attaining first the goal, as if with a race-horse. All the gods regarded this with approbation in their hearts (exclaiming) 'Ye, o Nāsatyas, associate yourselves with good fortune.'" On this passage Sāyaṇa remarks as follows: *Savitā sva-duhitaraṁ Sūryākhyām Somāya rājne pradātum aichhat | tāṁ Sūryāṁ sarve devāḥ varayāmāsuḥ | te anyonyam ūchur "Ādityam avadhiṁ kṛitvā ājiṁ dhāvāma yo asmākam ujjeshyati tasya iyam bhavishyati" iti | tatra Aśvināv udajayatām | sā cha Sūryā jitavatas tayoḥ ratham āruroha | "atra Prajāpatir vai somāya rājne duhitaram prāyachhad" ityādikam brāhmaṇam anusandheyam* | "Savitṛi had destined his daughter Sūryā to be the wife of king Soma. But all the gods were anxious to obtain her hand, and resolved that the victor in a race which they agreed to run, with the sun for their goal, should get her. She was accordingly won by the Aśvins, and ascended their chariot." Sāyaṇa goes on to quote the commence-

[363] Professor Roth, *s.v.*, takes the word for a personification of *ūrjā*, "nourishment."

[364] The construction of the words *patnyā saha*, "with wife," is not however very clear, as they may perhaps refer to the wife of the worshipper.

[365] See also A.V. vi. 82, 2.

ment of the story, as told in the Brāhmaṇa. The words agree with those which introduce a reference to Sūryā's marriage to Soma in Ait. Br. iv. 7, but the story there told (of which an abstract will be found in a note further on) does not coincide with that of which the commentator gives a summary.

Allusion is also made to Sūryā in connection with the Aśvins in x. 85, 9, where, however, they no longer appear as her husbands,—a fact which seems to involve a contradiction between the passages cited above, and this: 9. *Somo vadhūyur abhavat Aśvinā 'stām ubhā varā | Sūryāṁ yat patye śaṁsantīm manasā Savitā 'dadāt* | 14. *Yad Aśvinā pṛichhamānāv ayātaṁ trichakreṇa vahatuṁ Sūryāyāḥ | viśve devāḥ anu tad vām ajānan putraḥ pitarāv avṛiṇīta Pūshā* | "Soma was the wooer, the Aśvins were the two friends of the bridegroom,[366] when Savitṛi gave to her husband Sūryā, consenting in her mind. 14. When ye came, Aśvins, to the marriage procession of Sūryā, to make enquiries, all the gods approved, and Pushan,[367] as a son, chose you for his parents."

The daughter of the Sun is connected with the Soma plant in ix. 1, 6 (*punāti te parisrutaṁ somaṁ sūryasya duhitā* | "The Daughter of the Sun purifies thy distilled soma," etc; and in ix. 113, 3, she is said to have brought it after it had been expanded by the rain (*parjanyavṛiddham mahishaṁ taṁ sūryasya duhitā "bharat*).

If we look on Soma as the plant of that name, the connection between him and Sūryā is not very clear; but if Soma be taken for the moon, as he evidently appears to be in x. 85, 3 ("When they crush the plant, he who drinks fancies that he has drunk Soma; but no one tastes of him whom the priests know to be Soma;")[368] it is not unnatural, from the relation of the two luminaries, that he should have been regarded as son-in-law of the sun.

The Aśvins are described as coming from afar, from the sky or from the lower air, and are besought to allow no other worshippers to stop

[366] Compare A.V. xi. 8, 1, "When Manyu brought his bride from the house of Sankalpa, who were the bridegroom's friends?" etc. (*yad Manyur jāyām āvahat Sankalpasya gṛihād adhi | ke āsan janyāḥ ke varāḥ kaḥ u jyeshṭhavaro 'bhavat*).

[367] Weber asks (Ind. S. v. 183, 187,) whether Pūshan here is not meant to designate Soma, the bridegroom. In vi. 58, 4, the gods are said to have given Pūshan to Sūryā. See above p. 179.

[368] See at the close of the next section on Soma, and Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 179.

them, i. 22, 2 (*divispṛiśā*); i. 44, 5 (*ā no yātaṁ divo achha pṛithivyāḥ mā vām anye ni yaman devayantaḥ*); viii. 5, 30 (*tena no vājinīvasū parāvataś chid āgatam*); viii. 8, 3, 4, 7 (4. *Ā no yātaṁ divas pari antarikshāt*); viii. 9, 2; viii. 10, 1; viii. 26, 17; or as being in, or arriving from, different unknown quarters, whether above or below, far or near, and among different races of men, i. 184, 1; v. 73, 1 (*yad adya sthaḥ parāvati yad arvāvati*); v. 74, 10 (*aśvinā yad ha karhi chit śuśruyātam imaṁ havam*); vii. 70, 3; vii. 72, 5 (*ā paśchātād nāsatyā ā purastād ā aśvinā yātam adharād udaktāt | ā viśvataḥ*); viii. 10, 5 (*yad adya aśvināv apāg yat prāk stho vājinīvasū | yad Druhyavi Anavi Turvaśe Yadau huve vām atha mā āgatam*); viii. 62, 5. Sometimes the worshipper enquires after their locality, v. 74, 2, 3; vi. 63, 1; viii. 62, 4 (*kuha sthaḥ kuha jagmathuḥ kuha śyeneva petathuḥ*). In one place (viii. 8, 23,) they are said to have three stations (*trīṇi padāni Aśvinor āviḥ santi guhā paraḥ*). The time of their appearance is properly the early dawn, when they yoke their horses to their car and descend to earth to receive the adorations and offerings of their votaries, i. 22, 1 (*prātaryujā vi bodhayāśvinau*); i. 184, 1; iv. 45, 2; vii. 67, 2; vii. 69, 5; vii. 71, 1–3; vii. 72, 4; vii. 73, 1; viii. 5, 1, 2; viii. 9, 17; x. 39, 12; x. 40, 1, 3; x. 41, 1, 2; x. 61, 4). I cite a few of these texts: vii. 67, 2. *Aśochi Agniḥ samidhāno asme upo adṛiśran tamasaś chid antāḥ | acheti ketur ushashaḥ purastāt śriye divo duhitur jāyamānaḥ* | 3. *Abhi vāṁ nūnam aśvinā suhotā stomaiḥ sishakti nāsatyā vivakvān* | "Agni, being kindled, has shone upon us; even the remotest ends of the darkness have been seen; the light in front of Ushas, the daughter of the sky, has been perceived, springing up for the illumination (of all things). 3. Now, Aśvins, the priest invokes you with his hymns," etc.

viii. 5, 1. *Dūrād iheva yat satī aruṇapsur aśiśvitat | vi bhānuṁ viśvadhā 'tanat* | 2. *Ṇṛivad dasrā manoyujā rathena pṛithupājasā | sachethe Aśvinā Ushasam* | "When the rosy-hued Dawn, though far away, gleams as if she were near at hand, she spreads the light in all directions. 2. Ye, wonder-working Aśvins, like men, follow after Ushas in your car which is yoked by your will, and shines afar."

viii. 9, 17. *Pra bodhaya Ushaḥ Aśvinā* | "Wake, o great and divine Ushas, the Aśvins," etc.

x. 39, 12. *Ā tena yātaṁ manaso javīyasā rathaṁ yaṁ vām Ribhavaś*

chakrur Aśvinā | yasya yoge duhitā jāyate Divaḥ ubhe ahanī sudine vivasvataḥ | "Come, Asvins, with that car swifter than thought which the Ṛibhus fashioned for you, at the yoking of which the daughter of the sky (Ushas) is born, and day and night become propitious to the worshipper."

x. 61, 4. *Kṛishṇā yad goshu aruṇīshu sīdad Divo napātāv Aśvinā huve vām* | "When the dark [night] stands among the tawny cows (rays of dawn), I invoke you, Aśvins, sons of the Sky."

In i. 34, 10, Savitṛi is said to set their shining car in motion before the dawn (*yuvor hi pūrvaṁ Savitā ushaso ratham ṛitāya chitraṁ ghṛitavantam ishyati*).

In other passages their time is not so well defined. Thus, in i. 157, 1, it is said: *abodhi Agnir jmaḥ udeti sūryo vi Ushāś chandrā mahī āvo archishā | ayukshātām aśvinā yātave ratham prāsāvīd devaḥ Savitā jagat pṛithak* | "Agni has awoke; the sun rises from the earth; the great and bright Ushas has dawned with her light; the Aśvins have yoked their car to go; the divine Savitṛi has enlivened every part of the world," where both the break of dawn and the appearance of the Aśvins appear to be made simultaneous with the rising of the sun. The same is the case in vii. 72, 4: *vi cha id uchhanti aśvinā ushasaḥ pra vām brahmāṇi kāravo bharante | ūrdhvam bhānuṁ Savitā devo aśred bṛihad agnayaḥ samidhā jarante* | "The Dawns break, Aśvins; poets offer to you prayers; the divine Savitṛi has assumed his lofty brilliance; fires crackle mightily, (fed by) fuel."

In v. 76, 3, the Aśvins are invited to come at different times, at morning, mid-day, and sunset (*uta ā yātam sangave prātar ahno madhyandine uditā sūryasya*); and in viii. 22, 14, it is similarly said that they are invoked in the evening as well as at dawn. It need not, however, surprise us that they should be invited to attend the different ceremonies of the worshippers, and therefore conceived to appear at hours distinct from the supposed natural periods of their manifestation.

It may seem unaccountable that two deities of a character so little defined, and so difficult to identify, as the Aśvins, should have been the object of so enthusiastic a worship as appears from the numerous hymns dedicated to them in the R.V. to have been paid to them in ancient times. The reason may have been that they were hailed as the precursors of returning day, after the darkness and dangers of

the night. In some passages (viii. 35, 16 ff.) they are represented as being, like Agni, the chasers away of evil spirits (*hataṁ rakshāṁsi*); vii. 73, 4 (*rakshohaṇā*).

The Aśvins are said to be young, *yuvānā* (vii. 67, 10), ancient, *pratnā* (vi. 62, 5), beautiful, *valgū* (vi. 62, 5; vi. 63, 1), honey-hued, *madhuvarṇā* (viii. 26, 6), lords of lustre, *śubhas patī* (viii. 22, 14; x. 93, 6), bright, *śubhrā* (vii. 68, 1), of a golden brilliancy, *hiraṇya-peśasā* (viii. 8, 2), agile, *nṛitū* (vi. 63, 5), fleet as thought, *manojavasā* (viii. 22, 16) swift as young falcons, *śyenasya chij javasā nūtanena ā gachhatam* (v. 78, 4), possessing many forms, *purū varpāṁsi Aśvinā dadhānā* (i. 117, 9), wearing lotus garlands, *pushkarasrajā* (x. 184, 2, and A.V. iii. 22, 4, Śatap. Br. iv. 1, 5, 16), strong, *śakrā* (x. 24, 4), mighty, *puruśakatamā* (vi. 62, 5), terrible, *rudrā* (v. 75, 3; x. 93, 7), possessed of wondrous powers, *māyinā* or *māyāvinā* (vi. 63, 5; x. 24, 4), and profound in wisdom, *gambhīrachetasā* (viii. 8, 2). They rush onward excitedly, *madachyutā*[369] (viii. 22, 16; viii. 35, 19), and traverse a golden, *hiraṇyavartanī*, or terrible, *rudravartanī*, path (v. 75, 3; viii. 5, 11; viii. 8, 1; viii. 22, 1, 14; x. 39, 11).[370]

The car, golden, or sunlike, in all its various parts and appurtenances, wheels, fellies, axle, pole, reins, etc., i. 180, 1 (*hiraṇyayāḥ vām pavayaḥ*); iv. 44, 4, 5 (*hiraṇyayena rathena*); v. 77, 3 (*hiraṇyatvaṅ rathaḥ*); viii. 5, 28, 29, 35 (*rathaṁ hiraṇyavandhuraṁ hiraṇyābhīśum Aśvinā | ā hi sthātho divispṛiśam | 29. hiraṇyayī vāṁ rabhir īshā aksho hiraṇyayaḥ | ubhā chakrā hiraṇyayā*); viii. 8, 2 (*rathena sūryatvachā*); viii. 22, 9, on which they ride, flying as on bird's wings, i. 183, 1 (*yenopayāthaḥ sukṛito duroṇaṁ tridhātunā patatho vir na parṇaiḥ*), was formed by the Ribhus, x. 39, 12 (see above, p. 238), and is singular in its formation, being three-wheeled (*trichakra*), and triple in some

[369] Professor Roth, *s.v.*, renders this epithet by "moving in excitement," etc., and Professor Müller, Trans. of R.V. i. p. 118, translates it, when applied to Indra, his horses, or the Aśvins, by "furiously or wildly moving about."

[370] Two epithets very commonly applied to them are *dasrā* and *nāsatyā*. The former term is explained by Sāyaṇa to signify destroyers of enemies, or of diseases (note on i. 3, 3), or beautiful (on viii. 75, 1). Professor Roth, *s.v.*, understands it to signify wonder-workers. The second word, *nāsatyā*, is regarded by Sāyaṇa, following one of the etymologies given by Yāska (vi. 13), as equivalent to *satyā*, truthful. If this is the sense, *satyā* itself might as well have been used. In the later literature Dasra and Nāsatya were regarded as the separate names of the two Aśvins. See Müller's Lectures, 2nd series, p. 491.

other parts of its construction, its fellies, supports, etc. (*trivṛit | trivandhura | trayaḥ pavayaḥ | trayaḥ skambhāsaḥ skabhitāsaḥ ārabhe*),[371] i. 34, 2, 9; i. 47, 2; i. 118, 1, 2; i. 157, 3; vii. 71. 4; viii. 74, 8; x. 41, 1.

This car moves lightly (*raghuvarttani*), viii. 9, 8, and is swifter than thought (*manaso javīyān rathaḥ*), i. 117, 2; i. 118, 1; v. 77, 3; vi. 63, 7; x. 39, 12, or than the twinkling of an eye (*nimishaś chij javīyasā rathena*), viii. 62, 2. It is decked with a thousand ornaments and banners (*sahasra-ketu, sahasra-nirṇij*), i. 119, 1; viii. 8, 11, 14, and has golden reins, viii. 22, 5. It is sometimes said to be drawn by a single ass, as the word *rāsabha*[372] is, in one place at least, i. 34, 9, expressly explained by the commentator (*aśvasthānīyasya gardabhasya*),[373] i. 34, 9; i. 116, 2; viii. 74, 7; but more frequently by birds, or bird-like, fleet-winged, golden-winged, falcon-like, swan-like horses, i. 46, 3 (*yad vāṁ ratho vibhish patat*); i. 117, 2 (*rathaḥ svaśvaḥ*); i. 118, 4 (*ā vāṁ śyenāso aśvinā vahantu rathe yuktāso āśavaḥ patangāḥ*); i. 180, 1 (*suyamāsaḥ aśvāḥ*); i. 181, 2 (*ā vām aśvāsaḥ śuchayaḥ . . . . vahantu*); iv. 45, 4 (*haṁsāso ye vām madhumanto asridho hiranyaparṇāḥ*); v. 74, 9; v. 75, 5 (*vibhiś Chyavānam Aśvinā ni yāthaḥ*); vi. 63, 6, 7 (*ā vāṁ vayaḥ*

[371] The word *vandhura* is variously explained by Sāyaṇa as *nīḍabandhanādhārabhūtam* (on i. 34, 9), *unnatānatarūpa-bandhana-kāshṭham* (on i. 47, 2), *veshṭitam sāratheḥ sthānam* (on i. 118, 1), *sārathyāśraya-sthānam* (on i. 157, 3), *sārathyadhishṭhāna-sthānam* (on vii. 71, 4), and *trivandhura* as *triphalakāsanghaṭitena* (on viii. 74, 8). The epithet would thus mean either (1) having three perpendicular pieces of wood, or (2) having a triple standing place or seat for the charioteer. In i. 34, 2, the chariot is said to have three props fixed in it to lay hold of (*trayaḥ skambhāsaḥ skabhitāsaḥ ārabhe*), which the commentator says were meant to secure the rider against the fear of falling when the chariot was moving rapidly. This explanation would coincide with one of the senses assigned to *vandhura*. In i. 181, 3, their chariot is called *śṛipra-vandhuraḥ*, which, according to the commentator, is = *vistīrṇa-purobhāgaḥ*, "having a wide fore-part."

[372] See the legend in the Aitareya Brahmana, p. 270–273 of Dr. Haug's translation. It is there related, iv. 7–9, that at the marriage of Soma and Sūryā, the gods ran a race to determine to which of them the āśvina śastra should belong. The Aśvins gained it, though some other deities gained a share. Agni ran the race in a car, drawn by mules (*aśvatarī-rathena Agnir ājim adhāvat*), Ushas in one drawn by ruddy bulls (*gobhir aruṇair Ushāḥ ājim adhāvat*), Indra in one drawn by horses (*aśvarathena Indraḥ ājim adhāvat*), while the Aśvins carried off the prize in a car drawn by asses (*gardabha-rathena Aśvinā udajayatām*). Compare R.V. i. 116, 2, where the ass is said to have won.

[373] Prof. Benfey in a note on i. 116, 2, while agreeing in this sense, refers also to iii. 53, 5, where as well as in viii. 74, 3, Sāyaṇa explains the word as meaning a neighing or snorting horse.

aśvāso vahishṭhāḥ abhi prayo nāsatyā vahantu); vii. 69, 7; viii. 5, 7, 22, 33, 35 (*tūyaṁ śyenebhir āśubhiḥ | yātam aśvebhir Aśvinā | yad vām ratho vibhish patāt | ā iha vām prushitapsavo vayo vahantu parṇinaḥ | dravatpāṇibhir aśvaiḥ*); x. 143, 5. They carry a honied whip (*kaśā madhumatī*), i. 122, 3; i. 157, 4,[374] and their car traverses the regions (*pra vāṁ ratho manojavāḥ iyartti tiro rajāṁsi*), vii. 68, 3.

The Aśvins are fancifully represented in i. 34, 1 ff. as doing, or as being requested to do, a variety of acts thrice over, viz. to move thrice by night and thrice by day, (verse 2) to bestow nourishment thrice at even and at dawn, (verse 3) to bestow wealth thrice, (verse 5) to aid the devotions of the worshippers thrice, (ibid.) to bestow celestial medicaments thrice, and earthly thrice (verse 6), etc.

They are elsewhere (ii. 39, 1 ff.) compared to different twin objects; to two vultures on a tree, to two priests reciting hymns (verse 1), to two goats, to two beautiful women (*mene iva tanvā śumbhamāne*), to husband and wife (verse 2), to two ducks, *chakravākā* (verse 3), to two ships which transport men, to two protecting dogs (verse 4), to two eyes, two hands, two feet (verse 5), to two sweetly-speaking lips, two breasts yielding nourishment, two nostrils, two ears (verse 6), to two swans, two falcons, two deer, two buffaloes, two wings of one bird (*sākaṁyujā śakunasyeva pakshā*), etc., etc., v. 78, 1–3; viii. 35, 7–9; x. 106, 2 ff.

They are the guardians of the slow and the hindmost, and of the female who is growing old unmarried; they are physicians[375] and restore the blind, the lame, the emaciated, and the sick, to sight, power of locomotion, health, and strength, i. 34, 6; i, 116, 16; i. 157, 6; viii. 9, 6, 15; viii. 18, 8; viii. 22, 10; viii. 75, 1; x. 39, 3, 5 (*amājuraś chid bhavatho yuvam bhago anāśoś chid avitārā apamasya chit | andhasya chit nāsatyā kṛiśasya chid yuvām id āhur bhishajā rutasya chit*); x. 40, 8. See also A.V. vii. 53, 1, where it is said that the Aśvins are the physicians of the gods, and warded off death from the wor-

[374] See below the section on the "progress of the Vedic religion, etc." Indra has a golden whip, viii. 33, 11.

[375] In Taitt. Br. iii. 1, 2, 11, the As'vins are called the physicians of the gods, the bearers of oblations, the messengers of the universe, the guardians of immortality (*yau devānām bhishajau havyavāhau viśvasya dūtāv amṛitasya gopau*); and in that and the preceding paragraph (10) they are connected with their own asterism (*nakshatra*), the As'vayuj.

shipper (*pratyauhatām aśvinā mṛityum asmad devānām Agne bhishajā śachībhiḥ*).

They place the productive germ in all creatures, and generate fire, water and trees, i. 157, 5 (*yuvaṁ ha garbhaṁ jagatīshu dhattho yuvaṁ viśveshv bhuvaneshu antaḥ | yuvam Agniṁ cha vrishaṇāv apaś cha vanaspatīn aśvināv airayethām*). They are connected with marriage, procreation, and love, x. 184, 2 (= A.V. v. 25, 3: *garbhaṁ te aśvinau devāv ā dhattām pushkarasrajā*); x. 85, 26 (*aśvinā tvā pravahatāṁ rathena | gṛihān gachha gṛihapatnī yathā 'saḥ*); A.V. ii. 30, 2 (*saṁ chen nayātho aśvinā kāminā saṁ cha vakshathaḥ | "When, ye, Aśvins, bring together two lovers," etc.*); vi. 102, 1; xiv. 1, 35 f.; xiv. 2, 5. See Weber's Indische Studien v. 218, 227, 234.

(2) *Legends regarding various persons delivered or favoured by the Aśvins.*

The following are a few of the modes in which the divine power of the Aśvins is declared in different hymns to have been manifested for the deliverance of their votaries.

When the sage Chyavāna had grown old, and had been forsaken, they divested him of his decrepit body, prolonged his life, and restored him to youth, making him acceptable to his wife, and the husband of maidens, i. 116, 10 (*jujurusho nāsatyā uta vavrim prāmunchataṁ drāpim iva Chyavānāt | prātiratāṁ jahitasyāyur dasrā ād it patim akṛiṇutaṁ kanīnām*); i. 117, 13 (*yuvaṁ Chyavānam Aśvinā jarantam punar yuvānaṁ chakrathuḥ śachībhiḥ*); i. 118, 6; v. 74, 5 (*pra Chyavānāj jujurusho vavrim atkaṁ na munchathaḥ | yuvā yadi kṛithaḥ punar ā kāmam ṛiṇve vadhvaḥ*); vii. 68, 6; vii. 71, 5; x. 39, 4.

This legend is related at length in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in a passage which will be cited further on.

In the same way they renewed the youth of Kali[376] after he had grown old, x. 39, 8 (*yuvaṁ viprasya jaraṇām upeyushaḥ punaḥ Kaler akṛiṇutaṁ yuvad vayaḥ*); compare i. 112, 15, where they are said to have befriended him after he had married a wife (*Kaliṁ yābhir vittajāniṁ duvasyathaḥ*).

[376] The family of the Kalis is mentioned, viii. 55, 15.

They brought on a car to the youthful Vimada[377] a bride named Kamadyū, who seems to have been the beautiful wife of Purumitra, i. 112, 19 (*yābhiḥ patnīr Vimadāya nyūhathuḥ* | here wives are mentioned in the plural); i. 116, 1 (*yā arbhagāya Vimadāya jāyāṁ senājuvā nyūhatuḥ*); x. 65, 12 (*Kamadyuvam Vimadāya ūhathuḥ*); i. 117, 20 (*yuvaṁ śachībhir Vimādāya jāyāṁ ni ūhathuḥ Purumitrasya yoshām*); x. 39, 7 (*yuvaṁ rathena Vimadāya śundhyuvaṁ ni ūhathuḥ Purumitrasa yoshaṇām*). Sāyaṇa, on i. 117, 20, makes *yoshām* = *kumārīm*, by which he appears to intend the daughter of Purumitra, who he says was a king. But *yoshā* seems more frequently to denote a wife.

They restored Vishṇāpū, like a lost animal, to the sight of Viśvaka, son of Kṛishṇa, their worshipper, who, according to the commentator, was his father, i. 116, 23 (*avasyate stuvate kṛishṇiyāya ṛijūyate nāsatyā śachībhiḥ* | *paśuṁ na nashṭam iva darśanāya Vishṇāpvaṁ dadathur Viśvakāya*); i. 117, 7; x. 65, 12.

The names both of Viśvaka and Vishṇāpū occur in R.V. viii. 75, 1–3, a hymn addressed to the Aśvins; and the commentator (as one explanation of the passage) connects the reference there made to the former with the legend before us (on which, however, the hymn itself throws no light).

Another act recorded of the Aśvins is their intervention in favour of Bhujyu, the son of Tugra, which is obscurely described in the following verses in R.V. i. 116, 3 ff. (*Tugro ha Bhujyum Aśvinā udameghe rayiṁ na kaśchit mamṛivān avāhāḥ* | *tam ūhathur naubhir ātmanvatībhir antarikshaprudbhir apodakābhiḥ* | 4. *Tisraḥ kshapas trir ahā ativrajadbhir nāsatyā Bhujyum ūhathuḥ patangaiḥ* | *samudrasya dhanvann ārdrasya pāre tribhiḥ rathaiḥ śatapadbhiḥ shaḷaśvaiḥ* | 5. *Anārambhaṇe tad avīrayethām anāsthāne agrabhaṇe samudre* | *yad aśvinā ūhuthur Bhujyum astam śatāritrāṁ nāvam ātasthivāṁsam* | "Tugra abandoned Bhujyu in the water-cloud, as any dead man leaves his property. Ye, Aśvins, bore him in animated water-tight ships, which traversed the air. 4. Three nights and three days did ye convey him in three flying cars, with a hundred feet and six horses, which crossed over to the dry land beyond the liquid ocean. 5. Ye put forth your vigour in the ocean, which offers no stay, or standing-place, or support, when ye

[377] A rishi of this name is mentioned, R.V. viii. 9, 15; x. 20, 10; x. 23, 7; and a family of Vimadas in x. 23, 6.

bore Bhujyu to his home, standing on a ship propelled by a hundred oars." R.V. i. 117, 14 f. (*yuvam Bhujyum arṇaso niḥ samudrād vibhir ūhathur ṛijrebhir aśvaiḥ* | 15. *Ajohavīd aśvinā Taugryo vām proḷhaḥ samudram avyathir jaganvān* | *nish ṭam ūhathuḥ suyujā rathena manojavasā vṛishaṇā svasti* | "Ye conveyed Bhujyu out of the liquid ocean with your headlong flying horses. 15. The son of Tugra invoked you, Aśvins. Borne forward, he moved without distress over the sea. Ye brought him out with your well-yoked chariot swift as thought." Again in i. 182, 5 ff. it is said: *yuvam etaṁ chakrathuḥ sindhushu plavam ātmanvantam pakshiṇaṁ Taugryāya kam* | 6. *Avaviddhaṁ Taugryam apsu antar anārambhaṇe tamasi praviddham* | *chatasro nāvo jaṭhalasya jushṭāḥ ud aśvibhgām ishitāḥ pārayanti* | 7. *Kaḥ svid vṛiksho nishṭhito madhye arṇaso yaṁ Taugryo nādhitaḥ paryashvajat* | *parṇā mṛigasya pataror ivārabhe ud aśvinā ūhathuḥ śromatāya kam* | "Ye (Aśvins) made this animated, winged, boat for the son of Tugra among the waters .... 6. Four ships,[378] eagerly desired, impelled by the Aśvins, convey to the shore Tugrâ, who had been plunged in the waters, and sunk in bottomless darkness. 7. What was that log, placed in the midst of the waves, which, in his straits, the son of Tugra embraced, as the wings of a flying creature, for support?" In vii. 68, 7, Bhujyu is said to have been abandoned by his his malevolent companions in the middle of the sea (*uta tyam Bhujyum Aśvinā sakhāyo madhye jahur durevāsaḥ samudre*). The story is also alluded to in i. 112, 6, 20; i. 118, 6; i. 119, 4; i. 158, 3; vi. 62, 6; vii. 69, 7; viii. 5, 22; x. 39, 4; x. 40, 7; x. 65, 12; x. 143, 5.

Again, when Viśpalā's leg had been cut off in battle, like the wing of a bird, the Aśvins are said to have given her an iron one instead, R.V. i. 112, 10; i. 116, 15 (*charitraṁ hi ver ivāchhedi parṇam ājā Khelasya paritakmyāyām* | *sadyo janghām āyasīṁ Viśpalāyai dhane hite sartave praty adhattam*); i. 117, 11; i. 118, 8; x. 39, 8.[379]

They restored sight to Rijrāśva, who had been made blind by his cruel father, for slaughtering one hundred and one sheep, and giving them to a she-wolf to eat, the she-wolf having supplicated the Aśvins on behalf of her blind benefactor, i. 116, 16; i. 117, 17 f. (*śatam meshān vṛikye māmahānaṁ tamaḥ praṇītam aśivend pitrā* | *ā akshī*

[378] The sense of *jaṭhala* is not clear.

[379] Compare the word *viśpalāvasū* in R.V. i. 182, 1,

ṛijrāśve aśvināv adhattaṁ jyotir andhāya chakrathur vichakshe | 18. *Sunam andhāya bharam ahvayat sā vṛikīr aśvinā "vṛishaṇā narā" iti* | *jāraḥ kanīnaḥ iva chakshadānaḥ Ṛijrāśvaḥ śatam ekaṁ cha meshān*). A person called Rijrāśva is mentioned with others in i. 100, 17, as praising Indra.

They restored Parāvṛij (or an outcast), who was blind and lame, to sight and the power of walking, i. 112, 8 (*yābhiḥ śachībhir vṛishaṇā Parāvṛijam pra andhaṁ śroṇaṁ chakshase etave kṛithaḥ*). Parāvṛij is connected with Indra in ii. 13, 12, and ii. 15, 7.

The rishi Rebha has been hidden by the malignant, bound, overwhelmed in the waters (a well, according to the commentator,) for ten nights and nine days, and abandoned till he was nearly, if not entirely, dead. The Aśvins drew him up as soma-juice is raised with a ladle, i. 112, 5 (*yābhiḥ Rebhaṁ nivṛitaṁ śitam adbhyaḥ ud Vandanam airayataṁ svar dṛiśe*); i. 116, 24 (*daśa rātrīr aśivena nava dyūn avanaddhaṁ śnathitam apsu antaḥ* | *viprutaṁ Rebham udani pravṛiktam un ninyathuḥ somam iva sruveṇa* | Compare i. 117, 12); i. 117, 4 (*aśvaṁ na gūḷham Aśvinā durevair ṛishiṁ narā vṛishaṇā Rebham apsu* | *taṁ saṁ rinīthe viprutaṁ daṁsobhiḥ*); i. 118, 6; i. 119, 6; x. 39, 9 (*yuvaṁ ha Rebhaṁ ṛishaṇā guhā hitam ud airayatam mamṛivāṁsam Aśvinā*).

Vandana also was delivered by them from some calamity, the nature of which does not very clearly appear from most of the texts, and restored to the light of the sun, i. 112, 5; i. 116, 11; i. 117, 5; i. 118, 6. In x. 39, 8, they are said to have raised him out of a pit[380] (*yuvaṁ Vandanam ṛiśyadād ud ūpathuḥ*). According to i. 119, 6, 7, however, he would appear to have been restored from decrepitude, as a chariot is repaired by an artizan (*pra dīrghena Vandanas tāri āyushā* | 7. *Yuvaṁ Vandanaṁ nirṛitaṁ jaraṇyayā rathaṁ na dasrā karaṇā saminvathaḥ*).

So, too, the Aśvins bestowed wisdom on their worshipper Kakshīvat, of the family of Pajra; and performed the notable miracle of causing a hundred jars of wine and honied liquor to flow forth from the hoof of their horse as from a sieve, i. 116, 7 (*Yuvaṁ narā stuvate Pajriyāya kakshīvate aradatam purandhim* | *kārotarāt śaphād aśvasya vṛishṇaḥ*

[380] The word *ṛiśyada* is explained by Messrs Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, as a pit for snaring deer.

śataṁ kumbhān asinchataṁ surāyāḥ); i. 117, 6 (*tad vāṁ narā śāṁsyam Pajriyena kakshīvatā nāsatyā parijman | śaphād aśvasya vājino janāya śataṁ kumbhān asinchatam madhūnām*).

When invoked by the popular sage Atri Saptavadhri, who, with his companions, had been plunged by the malice and arts of evil spirits into a gloomy and burning abyss,[381] they speedily came to his assistance, mitigated the heat with cold, and supplied him with nutriment so that his situation became tolerable, if not agreeable, till they eventually extricated him from his perilous position, i. 112, 7; i. 116, 8 (*himenāgniṁ ghraṁsam avārayethām pitumatīm ūrjam asmai adattam | ṛibīse Atrim aśvinā 'vanītam unninyathuḥ sarvaganaṁ svastī*); i. 117, 3 (*ṛishiṁ narāv aṁhasaḥ pānchajanyam ṛibīsad atrim munchatho ganena | minantā dasyor aśivasya māyāḥ*); i. 118, 7; i. 119, 6; v. 78, 4–6 (*Atrir yad vām avarohann ṛibīsam ajohavīd nādhamānevā yoshā | śyenasya chij javasā nūtanena āgachhatam aśvinā śantamena*); vii. 71, 5; viii. 62, 3, 7–9; x. 39, 9 (*yuvam ṛibīsam uta taptam Atraye omanvantaṁ chakrathuḥ Saptavadhraye*). In x. 80, 3, the deliverance of Atri is ascribed to Agni (*Agnir Atriṁ gharme urushyad antaḥ*).

They listened to the invocation of the wise Vadhrimatī, and gave her a son called Hiranyahasta, i. 116, 13; i. 117, 24 (*Hiranyahastam Aśvinā rarāṇā putraṁ narā Vadhrimatyai adattam*); vi. 62, 7; x. 39, 7.

They gave a husband to Ghoshā when she was growing old in her father's house, i. 117, 7 (*Ghoshāyai chit pitṛishade duroṇe patiṁ juryantyai aśvināv adattam*); x. 39, 3, 6; x. 40, 5; and, according to the commentator on i. 117, 7, cured her of the leprosy with which she had been afflicted.

They caused the cow of Sayu, which had left off bearing, to yield milk, i. 116, 22; i. 117, 20 (*adhenuṁ dasrā staryaṁ vishaktām apinvataṁ śayave Aśvinā gam*); i. 118, 8; i. 119, 6; x. 39, 13.

They gave to Pedu a strong, swift, white horse, animated by Indra, and of incomparable Indra-like prowess, which overcame all his enemies, and conquered for him unbounded spoils, i. 116, 6; i. 117, 9 (*purū varpāṁsi Aśvinā dadhānā ni Pedave ūhathur āśum aśvam | sahasrasāṁ vājinam apratītam ahihanaṁ śravasyaṁ tarutram*); i. 118,

[381] See Professor Roth's explanation of the words *ṛibīsa* and *gharma*, *s.vv.*, and his illustrations of Nirukta, vi. 36.

9 (*yuvañ śvetam Pedave Indrajūtam ahihanam Aśvinā 'dattam aśvam*); i. 119, 10 (*Indram iva charshaṇīsaham*); vii. 71, 5; x. 39, 10.

Finally, to say nothing of the succours rendered to numerous other persons (i. 112, 116, 117, 118, 119,) the Aśvins did not confine their benevolence to human beings, but are also celebrated as having rescued from the jaws of a wolf a quail by which they were invoked (i. 116, 14; i. 117, 16; i. 118, 8; x. 39, 13 (*vṛikasya chid vārtikām antar āsyād yuvañ śachibhir grasitām amunchatam*).

The deliverances of Rebha, Vandana, Parāvṛij, Bhujyu, Chyavāna, and others are explained by Professor Benfey (following Dr. Kuhn and Professor Müller), in the notes to his translations of the hymns in which they are mentioned, as referring to certain physical phenomena with which the Aśvins are supposed by these scholars to be connected. But this allegorical method of interpretation seems unlikely to be correct, as it is difficult to suppose that the phenomena in question should have been alluded to under such a variety of names and circumstances. It appears, therefore, to be more probable that the rishis merely refer to certain legends which were popularly current of interventions of the Aśvins in behalf of the persons whose names are mentioned. The word Parāvṛij (in i. 112, 8), which is taken by the commentator for a proper name, and is explained by Professors Müller[382] and Benfey as the returning, or the setting, sun, is interpreted by Professor Roth in his Lexicon, *s.v.*, as an outcast.

(3) *Connection of the Aśvins with other deities.*

In viii. 26, 8, the Aśvins are invoked along with Indra (*Indra-nāsatyā*), with whom they are also connected in x. 73, 4, and on whose car they are in one place said to ride, while at other times they accompany Vāyu, or the Ādityas, or the Ṛibhus, or participate in the strides of Vishṇu, viii. 9, 12 (*yad Indreṇa sarathañ yātho Aśvinā yad vā Vāyunā bhavathaḥ samokasā | yad Ādityebhir Ṛibhubhir yad vā Vishṇor vikramaṇeshu tishṭhathaḥ*). In i. 182, 2, they are said to possess strongly the qualities of Indra (*Indratamā*) and of the Maruts

[382] Lectures on Language, second series, p. 512.

(*Maruttamā*). In x. 131, 4, 5, they are described as assisting Indra in his conflict with the Asura Namuchi (see above, p. 93 f., note), and as vigorous slayers of Vṛittra, or of enemies, *vṛitrahantamā* (viii. 8, 22). They are eagerly longed for (?) by the other gods when they arrive, x. 24, 5 (*viśve devāḥ akṛipanta samīchyor nishpatantyoḥ*).

(4) *Relations of the Aśvins to their worshippers.*

The Aśvins are worshipped with uplifted hands, vi. 63, 3 (*uttānahasto yuvayur vavanda*), and supplicated for a variety of blessings, for long life and deliverance from calamities, i. 157, 4 (*prāyus tārishṭaṁ niḥ rapāṁsi mṛikshaṭam*); for offspring, wealth, victory, destruction of enemies, preservation of the worshippers themselves, of their houses and cattle, vii. 67, 6; viii. 8, 13, 15, 17; viii. 9, 11, 13; viii. 26, 7; viii. 35, 10 ff. They are exhorted to overwhelm and destroy the niggard who offers no oblations, and to create light for the wise man who praises them, i. 182, 3 (*kim atra dasrā kṛiṇuthaḥ kim āsāthe jano yaḥ kaśchid ahavir mahīyate | ati kramishṭaṁ juratam paṇer asuṁ jyotir viprāya kṛiṇutaṁ vachasyave*).

No calamity or alarm from any quarter can touch the man whose chariot they place in the van, x. 39, 11[383] (*na taṁ rājānāv adite kutaśchana na aṁho aśnoti duritaṁ nakir bhayaṃ | yam aśvinā suhavā rudravartanī puroratham kṛiṇuthaḥ patnyā saha*). The rishi addresses them as a son his parents, vii. 67, 1 (*sūnur na pitarā vivakmi*). In x. 39, 6, a female suppliant, who represents herself as friendless and destitute, calls on them to treat her as parents do their children, and rescue her from her misfortunes (*iyaṁ vām ahve śṛiṇutaṁ me Aśvinā putrāyeva pitarā mahyaṁ śikshatam | anāpir ajnā asajātyā amatiḥ purā tasyāḥ abhiśaster ava spṛitam*). In another place, viii. 62, 11, they seem to be reproached with being as tardy as two old men to respond to the summons of their worshipper (*kim idaṁ vām purāṇavaj jarator iva śasyate* | "Why is this praise addressed to you as if you were old men and worn out?"). In vii. 72, 2, the rishi represents himself as having

[383] Compare the request preferred to Indra to bring forward the chariot of his worshipper from the rear to the front (viii. 69, 4 f.).

hereditary claims on their consideration, and a common bond of union[384] (*yuvor hi naḥ sakhyā pitryāṇi samāno bandhur uta tasya vittam*).

The Aśvins are described as being, like the other gods, fond of the soma-juice (iii. 58, 7, 9; iv. 45, 1, 3; viii. 8, 5; viii. 35, 7–9), and are invited to drink it with Ushas and Sūrya, viii. 35, 1 ff.

(5) *Legend of Chyavana and the Aśvins, according to the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata.*

The following version of the legend relating to the cure of Chyavana by the Aśvins (to which allusion is made in the passage of the R.V. quoted above) is found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff.:

1. *Yatra vai Bhṛigavo vā Angiraso vā svargaṁ lokaṁ samāśnuvata tat Chyavano vā Bhārgavaś Chyavano vā Āngirasaś tad eva jīrṇiḥ kṛityārūpo jahe* | 2. *S'aryāto ha vai idam Mānavo grāmeṇa chachāra* | *sa tad eva prativeśo niviviśe* | *tasya kumārāḥ krīḍantaḥ imaṁ jīrṇiṁ kṛityārūpam anarthyam manyamānāḥ loshṭair vipipishuḥ* | 3. *Sa S'āryātebhyaś chukrodha* | *tebhyo 'sanjnāṁ chakāra pitā eva putreṇa yuyudhe bhrātā bhrātrā* | 4. *S'aryāto ha īkshānchakre yat "kim akaraṁ tasmād idam āpadi" iti* | *sa gopālāṁś cha avipālāṁś cha saṁhvayitavai uvācha* | 5. *Sa ha uvācha "ko vo adya iha kinchid adrākshīd" iti* | *te ha ūchuḥ "purushaḥ eva ayaṁ jīrṇiḥ kṛityārūpaḥ śete* | *tam anarthyam manyamānāḥ kumārāḥ loshṭair vyapikshann" iti* | *sa vidānchakāra "sa vai Chyavanaḥ" iti* | 6. *Sa rathaṁ yuktvā Sukanyāṁ S'āryātīm upādhāya prasishyanda* | *sa ājagāma yatra ṛishir āsa tat* | 7. *Sa ha uvācha "ṛishe namas te* | *yan na avedishaṁ tena ahiṁsisham* | *iyaṁ Sukanyā* | *tayā te apahnuve* | *sanjānītām me grāmaḥ" iti* | *tasya ha tataḥ eva grāmaḥ sanjajne* | *sa ha tataḥ eva S'aryāto Mānavaḥ udyuyuje "na id aparaṁ hinasāni" iti* | 8. *Aśvinau ha vai idam bhishajyantau cheratuḥ* | *tau Sukanyām upeyatuḥ* | *tasyām mithunam īshāte* | *tan na jajnau* | 9. *Tau ha ūchatuḥ "Sukanye kam imaṁ jīrṇiṁ kṛityarūpam upaśeshe* | *āvām anuprehi" iti* | *sā ha uvācha "yasmai mām pitā adād na taṁ*

[384] The commentator explains this of a common ancestry by saying, in accordance with later tradition, that Vivasvat and Varuṇa were both sons of Kas'yapa and Aditi, and that Vivasvat was the father of the As'vins, while Varuṇa was father of Vasishṭha, the rishi of the hymn. See the 1st volume of this work, pp. 329 f., note 114.

jîvantaṁ hâsyâmi" iti | tad ha ayam ṛishir âjajnau | 10. *Sa ha uvâcha "Sukanye kiṁ tvâ etad avochatâm" iti | tasmai etad vyâchachakshe | sa ha vyâkhyâtaḥ uvâcha "yadi tvâ etat punar bruvataḥ sâ tvam brûtâd 'na vai susarvâv iva stho na susaṁriddhâv iva atha me patiṁ nindathaḥ' iti | tau yadi tvâ bruvataḥ 'kena âvam asarvau svaḥ kena asaṁriddhâv' iti | sâ tvam brûtât 'patiṁ nu me punar yuvânaṁ kurutam atha vâṁ vakshyâmi' iti" | tâṁ punar upeyatus tâṁ ha etad eva ûchatuḥ |* 11. *Sâ ha uvâcha "na vai susarvâv iva stho na susaṁriddhâv iva atha me patiṁ nindathaḥ" iti | tau ha ûchatuḥ "kena âvam asarvau svaḥ kena asaṁriddhâv" iti | sâ ha uvâcha "patiṁ nu me punar yuvânaṁ kurutam atha vâṁ vakshyâmi" iti |* 12. *Tau ha ûchatur "etaṁ hradam abhyavahara | sa yena vayasâ kamishyate tena udaishyati" iti | taṁ hradam abhyavajahâra | sa yena vayasâ chakame tena udeyâya |* 13. *Tau ha ûchatuḥ "Sukanye kena âvam asarvau svaḥ kena asaṁriddhâv" iti | tau ha ṛishir eva pratyuvâcha "kurukshetre amî devâḥ yajnaṁ tanvate | te vâṁ yajnâd antaryanti | tena asarvau sthas tena asaṁriddhâv" iti | tau ha tataḥ eva Âśvinau preyatuḥ | tâv âjagmatur devân yajnaṁ tanvânân stute bahishpavamâne |* 14. *Tau ha ûchatur "upa nau hvayadhvam" iti | te ha devâḥ ûchur "na vâm upahvayishyâmahe | bahu manushyeshu saṁsṛishtam achârishṭam bhishajyantâv" iti |* 15. *Tau ha ûchatur viśîrshṇâ vai yajnena yajadhve" iti | "kathaṁ viśîrshṇâ" iti | "upa nau hvayadhvam atha vo vakshyâvaḥ" iti | "tathâ" iti | tâ upâhvayanta tâbhyâm etam âśvinaṁ graham agṛihṇaṁs tâv adhvaryû yajnasya abhavatâm | tâv etad yajnasya śiraḥ pratyadhattâm |*

"When the Bhṛigus or the Angirases had reached the heavenly world, Chyavana of the race of Bhṛigu, or Chyavana of the race of Angiras, having magically assumed a shrivelled form, was abandoned. Saryâta, the descendant of Manu, wandered over this [world] with his tribe. He settled down in the neighbourhood [of Chyavana]. His youths, while playing, fancied this shrivelled magical body to be worthless, and pounded it with clods. Chyavana was incensed at the sons of Saryâta. He created discord among them, so that father fought with son, and brother with brother. Saryâta bethought him, 'what have I done, in consequence of which this calamity has befallen us?' He ordered the cowherds and shepherds to be called, and said, 'Which of you has seen anything here to-day?' They replied, 'This shrivelled

magical body which lies there is a man. Fancying it was something worthless, the youths pounded it with clods.' Saryāta knew then that it was Chyavana. He yoked his chariot, and taking his daughter Sukanyā, drove off, and arrived at the place where the rishi was. He said, 'Reverence to thee, rishi; I injured thee because I did not know. This is Sukanyā, with her I appease thee. Let my tribe be reconciled.' His tribe was in consequence reconciled; and Saryāta of the race of Manu departed thence "lest," said he, "I might do him some other injury." Now the Aśvins used to wander over this world, performing cures. They approached Sukanyā, and wished to seduce her; but she would not consent. They said to her, 'Sukanyā, what shrivelled magical body is this by which thou liest? follow us.' She replied, 'I will not abandon, while he lives, the man to whom my father gave me.' The rishi became aware of this. He said, 'Sukanyā, what was this that they said to thee?' She told it to him. When informed, he said, 'If they address thee thus again, say to them, 'Ye are neither complete nor perfect, and yet ye speak contemptuously of my husband!' and if they ask, 'In what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' then reply, 'Make my husband young again, and I will tell you.' Accordingly they came again to her, and said the same thing. She answered, "Ye are neither complete nor perfect, and yet ye talk contemptuously of my husband!' They enquired, 'In what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' She rejoined, 'Make my husband young again, and I will tell you.' They replied, 'Take him to this pond, and he shall come forth with any age which he shall desire.' She took him to the pond, and he came forth with the age that he desired. The Aśvins then asked, 'Sukanyā, in what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' To this the rishi replied, 'The other gods celebrate a sacrifice in Kurukshetra, and exclude you two from it. That is the respect in which ye are incomplete and imperfect.' The Aśvins then departed and came to the gods who were celebrating a sacrifice, when the Bahishpavamāna[385] text had been recited. They said, 'Invite us to join you.' The gods replied, 'We will not invite you, for ye have wandered about very familiarly among men,[386] per-

[385] See Haug's Ait. Br. ii. p. 120, note 13.

[386] In the Mahābhārata, S'āntip. v. 7589 f. it is said that the As'vins are the S'ūdras of the gods, the Angirases being the Brahmans, the Ādityas the Kshatriyas,

forming cures.' The Aśvins rejoined, "Ye worship with a headless sacrifice.' They asked, 'How [do we worship] with a headless [sacrifice]?' The Aśvins answered, 'Invite us to join you, and we will tell you.' The gods consented, and invited them. They received this Āśvina draught (*graha*) for the Aśvins, who became the two adhvaryu priests[387] of the sacrifices, and restored the head of the sacrifice." As regards the cutting off of the head of the sacrifice see the passages quoted in the 4th volume of this work, pp. 109 ff.

The Taittirīya Sanhitā vi. 4, 9, 1, gives the following brief notice of the story of the Aśvins replacing the head of the sacrifice, with an addition not found in the Śatap. Br.:

Yajnasya śiro 'chhidyata | te devāḥ aśvināv abruvan "bhishajau vai sthaḥ | idaṁ yajnasya śiraḥ pratidhattam" iti | tāv abrūtāṁ "varaṁ vṛiṇāvahai grahaḥ eva nāv atrāpi gṛihyatām" iti | tābhyām etam āśvinam agṛihnan | tato vai tau yajnasya śiraḥ pratyadhattām | yadāśvino gṛihyate yajnasya nishkṛityai tau devāḥ abruvann "apūtau vai imau manushyacharau bhishajāv" iti | tasmād brāhmaṇena bheshajaṁ na kāryam | apūto hy esho 'medhyo yo bhishak | tau bahishpavamānena pavayitvā tabhyām etam āśvinam agṛihnan |

"The head of the sacrifice was cut off. The gods said to the Aśvins, 'You are physicians; replace this head of the sacrifice.' The Aśvins replied, 'Let us ask a favour: allow a libation for us also to be received in this ceremony.' They, in consequence, received for them this Āśvina oblation, when they replaced the head of the sacrifice. When this Āśvina libation had been received for the sake of rectifying the sacrifice, the gods said of the Aśvins, 'These two are unclean, going among men as they do, as physicians.' Hence, no Brāhman must act as a physician, since a person so acting is unclean and unfit to sacrifice. They purified the Aśvins by the Bahishpavamāna; and then received for them the Āśvina libation." Compare the Ait. Br. i. 18, pp. 41 ff. of Professor Haug's translation.

A story, varying in some particulars, is narrated in the Mahābhārata,

and the Maruts the Vaiśyas. With the objection made against the Aśvins of too great familiarity with mortals, compare the numerous instances of help rendered to their worshippers, which have been quoted above from the R.V., and which may have given rise to this idea.

[387] Compare S. P. Br. viii. 2, 1, 3.

Vanaparva, 10,316 ff. The original text is too lengthy to be cited, but I shall give its substance. We are there told that the body of Chyavana, when performing austerity in a certain place, became encrusted with an ant-hill; that king Śaryāti came then to the spot with his 4000 wives and his single daughter Sukanyā; that the rishi, seeing her, became enamoured of her and endeavoured to gain her affections, but without eliciting from her any reply. Seeing, however, the sage's eyes gleaming out from the ant-hill, and not knowing what they were, the princess pierced them with a sharp instrument, whereupon Chyavana became incensed, and afflicted the king's army with a stoppage of urine and of the other necessary function. When the king found out the cause of the infliction, and supplicated the rishi for its removal, the latter insisted on receiving the king's daughter to wife, as the sole condition of his forgiveness. Sukanyā accordingly lived with the rishi as his spouse. One day, however, she was seen by the Aśvins, who endeavoured, but without effect, to persuade her to desert her decrepit husband, and choose one of them in his place. They then told her they were the physicians of the gods, and would restore her husband to youth and beauty, when she could make her choice between him and one of them. Chyavana and his wife consented to this proposal; and, at the suggestion of the Aśvins, he entered with them into a neighbouring pond, when the three came forth of like celestial beauty, and each asked her to be his bride. She, however, recognized and chose her own husband. Chyavana, in gratitude for his restoration to youth, then offered to compel Indra to admit the Aśvins to a participation in the Soma ceremonial, and fulfilled his promise in the course of a sacrifice which he performed for king Śaryāti. On that occasion Indra objected to such an honour being extended to the Aśvins, on the ground that they wandered about among men as physicians, changing their forms at will; but Chyavana refused to listen to the objection, and carried out his intention, staying the arm of Indra when he was about to launch a thunderbolt, and creating a terrific demon, who was on the point of devouring the king of the gods, and was only prevented by the timely submission of the latter.[388]

[388] See the similar account of Chyavana's power in the passage from the Anuśāsana parva quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, second edition, p. 470 f.

(6) *Remarks on the Aśvins by Professor Goldstücker.*

I have been favoured by Professor Goldstücker with the following note on the Aśvins :—

The myth of the Aśvins is, in my opinion, one of that class of myths in which two distinct elements, the cosmical and the human or historical, have gradually become blended into one. It seems necessary, therefore, to separate these two elements in order to arrive at an understanding of the myth. The historical or human element in it, I believe, is represented by those legends which refer to the wonderful cures effected by the Aśvins, and to their performances of a kindred sort; the cosmical element is that relating to their luminous nature. The link which connects both seems to be the mysteriousness of the nature and effects of the phenomena of light, and of the healing art at a remote antiquity. That there might have been some horsemen or warriors of great renown who inspired their contemporaries with awe by their wonderful deeds, and more especially by their medical skill, appears to have been also the opinion of some old commentators mentioned by Yāska, for some "legendary writers," he says, took them for "two kings, performers of holy acts;" and this view seems likewise borne out by the legend in which it is narrated that the gods refused the Aśvins admittance to a sacrifice on the ground that they had been on too familiar terms with men. It would appear then that these Aśvins, like the Ṛibhus, were originally renowned mortals, who, in the course of time, were translated into the companionship of the gods; and it may be a matter of importance to investigate whether, besides this *a priori* view, there are further grounds of a linguistic or grammatical character for assuming that the hymns containing the legends relating to these human Aśvins are posterior or otherwise to those descriptive of the cosmical gods of the same name.

The luminous character of the latter can scarcely be matter of doubt, for the view of some commentators—recorded by Yāska,—according to which they were identified with "heaven and earth," appears not to be countenanced by any of the passages known to us. Their very name, it would seem, settles this point, since *aśva*, the horse, literally, "the pervader," is always the symbol of the luminous deities, especially of the sun. The difficulty, however, is to determine their position

amongst these deities and to harmonize with it the other myths connected with them. I may here, however, first observe that, though Yāska records opinions which identify the Aśvins with "day and night," and "sun and moon," the passage relied upon by Professor Roth to prove that Yāska himself identified them with Indra and Āditya (the sun), does not bear out any such conclusion. For the passage in question, as I understand it, means: "their time is after the (latter) half of the night when the (space's) becoming light is resisted (by darkness); for the middlemost Aśvin (between darkness and light) shares in darkness, whilst (the other), who is of a solar nature (āditya), shares in light." There is this verse relating to them: "In nights," [389] etc. Nor does Durga, the commentator on Yāska, attribute to the latter the view which Professor Roth ascribes to him. His words, as I interpret them, are: "'their time is after the (latter) half of the night when the (space's) becoming light is resisted,' (means) when, after the (latter) half of the night, darkness intersected by light makes an effort against light, that is the time of the Aśvins. . . . . Then the nature of the middlemost (between them) is a share in that darknesss which penetrates into light; and the solar one (āditya) assumes that nature which is a share in the light penetrating into darknesss. These two are the middlemost and the uppermost: this is the teacher's (*i.e.* Yāska's) own opinion, for, in order to substantiate it, he gives as an instance the verse '*Vasātishu sma*,'" [390] etc.

[389] Nir. xii. 1, *tayoḥ kālaḥ ūrdhvam ardharātrāt prākāśībhāvasyānuvishṭambham anu* (the last word is omitted in Durga MS. I. O. L., No. 206) *tamobhāgo hi madhyamo jyotirbhāga ādityaḥ*; *tayor eshā bhavati Vasātishu sma*, etc.

[390] Durga I. O. L., No. 206: *Tayoḥ kāla ūrdhvam ardharātrāt prakāśībhāvasyānu vishṭambham | jyotishā vyatibhidyamānam ūrdhvam ardharātrāt tamo yadā jyotir anu vishṭabhnāti so 'śvinoḥ kālaḥ | [tataḥ prabhṛiti sandhistotraṁ purodayād āśvinam, udite sauryāṇi] | tatra yat tamo 'nuvishṭaṁ* (the MS. of Professor Müller, Lect. 2nd series, p. 490, reads *'nupravishṭam*) *jyotishi tadbhāgo madhyamasya rūpam* (the MS. of Prof. M. ibid.: *tadbhāgo madhyamaḥ | tan madhyamasya rūpam*): *yaj jyotis tamasy anuvishṭaṁ* (the same, ibid. *anupravishṭam*) *tadbhāgam tadrūpam ādityaḥ | tāv etau madhyamottamāv iti svamatam ācharyasya | yataḥ samarthanāyodāharati tayor eshā bhavati Vasātishu smeti.* Professor Roth, in his illustrations of Nirukta, xii. 1, very correctly observes that the verse quoted by Yāska (*vāsatishu sma*, etc.) does not bear out the view that the Aśvins are Indra and Āditya; but the proper inference to be drawn from this circumstance would seem to be, not that Yaska quoted a verse irrelevant to his view, but that Professor Roth attributed to him a view which he had not entertained, and that it may be preferable to render Āditya, as proposed above, "the solar (Aśvin)," or the Aśvin of a solar nature.

To judge, therefore, from these words, it is the opinion of Yāska that the Aśvins represent the transition from darkness to light, when the intermingling of both produces that inseparable duality expressed by the twin nature of these deities. And this interpretation, I hold, is the best that can be given of the character of the *cosmical* Aśvins. It agrees with the epithets by which they are invoked, and with the relationship in which they are placed. They are young, yet also ancient, beautiful, bright, swift, etc; and their negative character—the result of the alliance of light with darkness—is, I believe, expressed by *dasra*, the destroyer, and also by the two negatives in the compound *nāsatya* (*na* + *a-satya*), though their positive character is again redeemed by the ellipsis of "enemies, or diseases," to *dasra*, and by the sense of *nāsatya*, not un-true, *i.e.* truthful. They are the parents of Pūshan, the sun; for they precede the rise of the sun; they are the sons of the sky, and again the sons of Vivasvat and Saraṇyū. Vivasvat, I believe, here implies the firmament "expanding" to the sight through the approaching light; and though Saraṇyū is to Professor Müller one of the deities which are forced by him to support his dawn-theory, it seems to me that the etymology of the word, and the character of the myths relating to it, rather point to the moving air, or the dark and cool air, heated, and therefore set in motion, by the approach of the rising sun. The Aśvins are also the husbands or the friends of Sūryā, whom I take for the representative of the weakest manifestation of the sun; and I believe that Sāyaṇa is right when, by the sister of the Aśvins, he understands Ushas, the dawn. The mysterious phenomenon of the intermingling of darkness —which is no longer complete night—and of light—which is not yet dawn—seems to agree with all these conceptions, and with the further details of a cosmical nature, which are so fully given in the preceding paper.

SECTION XVI.

SOMA.

Reference has been already made to the important share which the exhilarating juice of the soma-plant assumes in bracing Indra for his conflict with the hostile powers in the atmosphere, and to the eagerness of all the gods to partake in this beverage.

Soma is the god who represents and animates this juice, an intoxicating draught which plays a conspicuous part in the sacrifices of the Vedic age. He is, or rather was in former times, the Indian Dionysus or Bacchus. Not only are the whole of the hymns in the ninth book of the Rig-veda, one hundred and fourteen in number, besides a few in other places, dedicated to his honour, but constant references to the juice of the soma occur in a large proportion of the other hymns. It is clear therefore, as remarked by Professor Whitney (Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 299), that his worship must at one time have attained a remarkable popularity. This circumstance is thus explained by the writer to whom I have referred: "The simple-minded Arian people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine: it was to their apprehension a god, endowing those into whom it entered with godlike powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were sacred. The high antiquity of this cultus is attested by the references to it found occurring in the Persian Avesta;[391] it seems, however, to have received a new impulse on Indian territory."

[391] See Dr. Windischmann's Essay on the Soma-worship of the Arians, or the

(1) *Quotation from Euripides relating to the Greek god Dionysus.*

As illustrating the sentiments which gave rise to the adoration of Dionysus, the Grecian Soma, I shall introduce here some verses from the Bacchae of Euripides, 272.ff., in which the philosophical poet puts into the mouth of the prophet Teiresias a vindication of the worship of the new god, against the ridicule which had been thrown upon him by Pentheus, together with a statement of the reasons which justified his deification, and a rationalistic explanation of a current myth regarding him :

Οὗτος δ' ὁ δαίμων ὁ νέος ὃν σὺ διαγελᾷς
οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην μέγεθος ἐξειπεῖν ὅσος
καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ἔσται· δύο γὰρ, ὦ νεανία,
τὰ πρῶτ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, Δημήτηρ θεὰ,
Γῆ δ' ἐστίν· ὄνομα δ' ὁπότερον βούλει κάλει·
αὕτη μὲν ἐν ξηροῖσιν ἐκτρέφει βροτούς·
ὁ δ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τἀντίπαλον, ὁ Σεμέλης γόνος,
βότρυος ὑγρὸν πῶμ' εὑρὼν, κεἰσηνέγκατο
θνητοῖς, ὃ παύει τοὺς ταλαιπώρους βροτοὺς
λύπης, ὅταν πλησθῶσιν ἀμπέλου ῥοῆς,
ὕπνον τε, λήθην τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν κακῶν,
δίδωσιν, οὐδ' ἔστ' ἄλλο φάρμακον πόνων.
οὗτος θεοῖσι σπένδεται θεὸς γεγὼς,
ὥστε διὰ τοῦτον τἀγάθ' ἀνθρώπους ἔχειν.
καὶ καταγελᾷς νιν, ὡς ἐνερράφη Διὸς
μηρῷ· διδάξω σ' ὡς καλῶς ἔχει τόδε.
ἐπεί νιν ἥρπασ' ἐκ πυρὸς κερδυνίου
Ζεὺς, εἰς δ' Ὄλυμπον βρέφος ἀνήγαγεν νεὸν,
Ἥρα νιν ἤθελ' ἐκβαλεῖν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ,
Ζεὺς δ' ἀντεμηχανήσατ', οἷα δὴ θεός.
ῥήξας μέρος τι τοῦ χθόν' ἐγκυκλουμένου
αἰθέρος ἔθηκε τόνδ' ὅμηρον ἐκδιδοὺς
Διόνυσον Ἥρας νεικέων· χρόνῳ δέ νιν
βροτοὶ τραφῆναι φασιν ἐν μηρῷ Διὸς,
ὄνομα μεταστήσαντες, ὅτι θεᾷ θεὸς
Ἥρᾳ ποθ' ὡμήρευσε, συνθέντες λογον.
μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὅδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει·
ὅταν γαρ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολύς,
λέγειν το μέλλον τοὺς μεμηνότας ποιεῖ.

translated extracts from it in the 2nd vol. of this work, p. 469 ff.; and the extract there given, p. 474, from Plutarch de Isid. et Osir, 46, in which the soma, or as it is in Zend, haoma, appears to be referred to under the appellation ὄμωμι. See also on the fact of the soma rite of the Indians being originally identical with the haoma ceremony of the Zoroastrians, Haug's Aitareya Brâhmana, Introd., p. 62.

Ἄρεώς τε μοῖραν μεταλαβὼν ἔχει τινὰ.
στρατὸν γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντα κἀπὶ τάξεσι
φόβος διεπτόησε, πρὶν λόγχης θιγεῖν·
μανία δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ Διονύσου πάρα, κ.τ.λ.

"I cannot express how great this young god, whom thou ridiculest, is destined to become in Greece. For, young man, there are two things which are the foremost among men, the goddess Demeter, who is the Earth;—call her by whichever name thou pleasest;—who nourishes mortals with dry food. But he, the son of Semele, took the contrary course. He discovered and introduced among men the liquid draught of the grape, which puts an end to the sorrows of wretched mortals,—when they are filled with the stream from the vine,—and induces sleep, and oblivion of the evils endured by day. Nor is there any other remedy for our distresses. He, born a god, is poured out in libations to gods, so that through him men receive good. And thou ridiculest him by saying that he was sewn up in the thigh (μηρῷ) of Zeus. But I shall shew thee how this is rendered reasonable. When Zeus rescued the infant from the lightning-flame, and brought him to Olympus, Hera wished to expel him from heaven. But Zeus, like a god, counteracted this design. Detaching a portion of the aether which encircles the earth, he gave this as a hostage (ὅμηρον) to Hera, so delivering Dionysus from her hostility; and in course of time, because he became a hostage to Hera, men began to say,—changing the word, and inventing a fable,—that he had been reared in the thigh of Zeus. And this god is a prophet. For Bacchic excitement and raving have in them great prophetic power. When this god enters in force into the body, he causes men to rave and foretell the future. And he also partakes of the character of Ares (Mars). For panic (sometimes) terrifies a force of armed men drawn up in battle array, before the actual clashing of the hosts. This madness too is derived from Dionysus." [392]

[392] In an earlier part of the same play, verses 200 ff. the following protest against free enquiry in religious matters is put by the poet into the mouth of Teiresias, who says to Cadmus:

οὐδὲν σοφιζόμεσθα τοῖσι δαίμοσι.
πατρίους παραδοχὰς, ἃς θ' ὁμήλικας χρόνῳ
ἐκτήμεθ', οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ καταβαλεῖ λόγος,
οὐδ' εἰ δι' ἄκρων τὸ σοφὸν ηὑρηται φρενῶν.

"In things that touch the gods it is not good
To suffer captious reason to intrude.

(2) *Prevalence and enthusiastic character of the ancient Soma-worship.*

Professor Haug, in his work on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Introd. p. 60), thus writes of the soma sacrifice: "Being thus," (*i.e.* through the oblation of an animal) "received among the gods, the sacrificer is deemed worthy to enjoy the divine beverage, the soma, and participate in the heavenly king, who is Soma. The drinking of the soma-juice makes him a new man; though a new celestial body had been prepared for him at the Pravargya ceremony, the enjoyment of the soma beverage transforms him again; for the nectar of the gods flows for the first time in his veins, purifying and sanctifying him."

With the decline of the Vedic worship, however, and the introduction of new deities and new ceremonies, the popularity of Soma gradually decreased, and has long since passed away; and his name is now familiar to those few Brahmans only who still maintain in a few places the early Vedic observances.

The hymns addressed to Soma were intended to be sung while the juice of the plant, said to be produced on Mount Mūjavat, R.V. x. 34, 1 (*somasyeva Maujavatasya bhakshaḥ*),[393] from which he takes his name (the *asclepias acida* or *sarcostemma viminale*) was being pressed out and purified.[394] They describe enthusiastically the flowing forth and filtration of the divine juice, and the effects produced on the worshippers, and supposed to be produced on the gods,[395] by partaking of the beverage. Thus the first verse of the first hymn of the ninth book runs

> Traditions handed down from sire to son
> Since time itself began its course to run
> By reasonings never can be undermined,
> Though forged by intellects the most refined."

To this the advocates of a critical investigation into the truth of ancient beliefs might reply in the words of the Messenger in the Helena of the same poet, verses 1617 f. (though their original application was different):

> σώφρονος δ' ἀπιστίας
> οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν χρησιμώτερον βροτοῖς.
>
> "Nought can to men more useful be,
> Than prudent incredulity."

[393] *Mūjavan parvataḥ*, "Mūjavat is a hill," Nir. ix. 8. See also Vāj. S. iii. 61, and commentary.

[394] See the process as described by Windischman, after Dr. Stevenson, in the 2nd volume of this work, p. 470.

[395] See Ait. Br. vi. 11, quoted above, p. 88, note 168.

thus: *Svādishṭhayā madishṭhayā pavasva Soma dhārayā Indrāya pātave sutaḥ* | "O Soma, poured out for Indra to drink, flow on purely in a most sweet and most exhilarating current." In vi. 47, 1, 2, the juice is described as sweet, honied, pungent, well-flavoured, and exhilarating. No one can withstand Indra in battle when he has drunk it (*svādush kilāyam madhumān utāyaṁ tīvraḥ kilāyaṁ rasavān utāyam | uto nu asya papivāṁsam Indraṁ na kaśchana śṛhate āhaveshu | ayaṁ svādur iha madishṭhaḥ āsa*). When quaffed, it stimulates the voice, and calls forth ardent conceptions (ibid. verse 3). In a verse (viii. 48, 3,) already quoted above (p. 90, note), in the account of Indra, the worshippers exclaim: "We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us, or what can the malice of any mortal effect, o thou immortal god?"

(3) *How the soma-plant was brought to the earth.*

The plant is said to have been brought by a falcon, i. 80, 2 (*somaḥ śyenābhṛitaḥ*); iii. 43, 7 (*ā yaṁ te* [*Indrāya*] *śyenaḥ uśate jabhāra*); viii. 71, 9; from the sky, iv. 26, 6 (*ṛijīpī śyeno dadamāno aṁśum parāvataḥ śakuno mandram madam | somam bharad dādṛihāno devavān divo amushṇād uttarād ādāya*); viii. 84, 3; by a well-winged bird, or Suparṇa, to Indra, viii. 89, 8 (*divaṁ suparṇo gatvāya somaṁ vajriṇe ābharat*); or from a mountain, i. 93, 6 (*amathnād anyam* (*somam*) *pari śyeno adreḥ*), where it had been placed by Varuṇa, v. 85, 2 (*divi sūryam adadhāt somam adrau*). In iii. 48, 2; v. 43, 4; ix. 18, 1; ix. 62, 4; ix. 85, 10; ix. 98, 9, it is called *girishṭhā* (found on a mountain). In another place, ix. 113, 3, it is declared to have been brought by the daughter of the sun from the place where it had been nourished by Parjanya, the rain-god, when the Gandharvas took it, and infused into it sap (*Parjanya-vṛiddham mahisham taṁ sūryasya duhitā 'bharat | taṁ gandharvāḥ praty agṛibhṇan taṁ some rasam ādadhuḥ*). In ix. 82, 3, as we have seen above, p. 142, Parjanya is said to be the father of Soma; and in A.V. xix. 6, 16, the god is said to have sprung from Puruśha (*rājnaḥ Somasya . . . . jātasya Purushād adhi*).

In other passages a Gandharva is connected with the soma-plant, the sphere (*pada*) of which he is said to protect, and all the forms of which

he is said to manifest, ix. 83, 4; ix. 85, 12[396] (*gandharvaḥ itthā padam asya rakshati | ūrdhvo gandharvo adhi nāke asthād viśvā rūpāṇi pratichakshāṇo asya*). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has the following story regarding the mode in which the gods obtained soma from the Gandharvas, i. 27. *Somo vai rājā gandharveshv āsīt | taṁ devāś cha ṛishayaś cha abhyadhyāyan "katham ayam asmān somo rājā āgachhed" iti | sā Vāg abravīt "strīkāmāḥ vai gandharvāḥ | mayā eva striyā bhūtayā paṇayadhvam" iti "Na" iti devāḥ abruvan "kathaṁ vayaṁ tvad ṛite syāma" iti | sā 'bravīt "krīṇīta eva | yarhi vāva vo mayā artho bhavitā tarhy eva vo 'ham punar āgantāsmi" iti | "tathā" iti | tayā mahāṇagnyā bhūtayā Somam rājānam akrīṇan*[397] "King Soma was among the Gandharvas. The gods and rishis desired him, and said 'How shall we get him to come to us?' Vāch said, 'The Gandharvas are fond of females; buy him in exchange for me turned into a female.' They answered, 'No: how can we live without thee?' She rejoined, 'Buy him, and whenever you have occasion for me I shall return to you.' They agreed, and bought king Soma with Vāch turned into a female, quite naked [*i.e.* unchaste]." See Professor Haug's translation of this Brāhmana, p. 59, and compare pp. 201 ff.; 294; and 400.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa iii. 2, 4, 1 ff., it is related that the soma existed formerly in the sky, whilst the gods were here (on earth). They desired to get it, that they might employ it in sacrifice. The Gāyatrī flew to bring it for them. While she was carrying it off the Gandharva Vibhāvasu robbed her of it.' The gods became aware of this, and knowing the partiality of the Gandharvas for females (compare iii. 9, 3, 20, and A.V. iv. 37, 11 f.), they sent Vāch, the goddess of speech, to get it from them, which she succeeded in doing (*Divi vai somaḥ āsīt | atha iha devāḥ | te devāḥ akāmayanta "ā naḥ somo gachhet*

[396] See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *Gandharva*.

[397] The Taitt. Br. vi. 1, 6, 5 (pp. 90 ff. of Indian Office MS.), tells the same story, but says that they turned Vāch into a woman one year old; and that after she had gone they induced her to come back by singing (the Gandharvas, whom she had left, meanwhile reciting a prayer, or incantation), and hence women love a man who sings (*tam somam āhriyamāṇam gandharvo Viśvāvasuḥ paryamushṇāt | .. te devāḥ abruvan "strīkāmāḥ vai gandharvāḥ striyā nishkrīṇāma" iti | te Vācham striyam ekahāyanīm kṛitvā tayā, nirakrīṇan | sā rohid-rūpam kṛitvā gandharvebhyo 'pakramya atishṭhat | tad rohito janma | te devāḥ abruvan "apa yushmad akramīn na asmān upāvarttate vihvayai" iti | brahma gandharvāḥ avadann | agāyan devāḥ | sā devān gāyataḥ upāvarttata | tasmād gāyantam striyaḥ kāmayante | kāmukā enam striyo bhavanti ya evam veda*).

tena āgatena yajemahi" iti | .... 2. Tebhyo gāyatrī somam achha apatat | tasyai āharantyai gandharvo Viśvāvasuḥ paryamushṇāt | te devāḥ aviduḥ "prachyuto vai parastāt somaḥ | atha no na āgachhati | gandharvāḥ vai paryamoshishur" iti | te ha ūchur "yoshit-kāmāḥ vai gandharvāḥ | Vācham eva ebhyaḥ prahiṇavāma | sā naḥ saha somena āgamishyati" iti | tebhyo Vācham prāhiṇvan sā enān saha somena āgachhat. And in xi. 7, 2, 8, it is said: "The soma existed in the sky. The Gāyatrī became a bird, and brought it" (*divi vai Somaḥ āsīt taṁ gāyatrī vayo bhūtvā "harat*). See also the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 4, 3, 13, and iii. 6, 2, 2–18, towards the close of which passage, as well as in iii. 9, 3, 18, the Gandharvas are spoken of as the guardians of the soma (*somarakshāḥ*); and Taitt. Sanh. vi. 1, 6, 1, 5.

(4) *Soma's wives.*

The Taitt. Sanh., ii. 3, 5, 1, relates that Prajāpati had thirty-three daughters whom he gave to king Soma. Soma, however, frequented the society of Rohiṇī only. This aroused the jealousy of the rest, who returned to their father. Soma followed, and asked that they should go back to him, to which, however, Prajāpati would not agree till Soma had promised to associate with them all equally. He agreed; but again behaved as before, when he was seized with consumption, etc. (*Prajāpates trayastriṁśad duhitaraḥ āsan | tāḥ Somāya rājne 'dadāt | tāsāṁ Rohiṇīm upait | tāḥ īrshyantīḥ punar agachhan | tāḥ anvait | tāḥ punar ayāchata | tāḥ asmai na punar adadāt | so 'bravīd "ṛitam amīshva yathā samāvachhaḥ upaishyāmi atha te punar dāsyāmi" iti | sa ṛitam āmīt | tāḥ asmai punar adadāt | tāsāṁ Rohiṇīm eva upait | yakshma ārchhat*). In the Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 10, 1 ff., another story is told of Soma. Prajāpati created him; and after him the three Vedas, which he took into his hand. Now, Sītā Sāvitrī loved Soma, while he loved Śraddhā. Sītā came to her father Prajāpati, and, saluting him, asked to be allowed to approach him with her complaint. She loved Soma, she said, while he loved Śraddhā. Prajāpati made for her a paste formed of a sweet smelling substance, to which he imparted potency by the recitation of certain formulas, and then painted it upon her forehead. She then returned to Soma, who invited her to approach him. She desired him to promise her his

society, and to tell her what he had in his hand; whereupon he gave her the three Vedas; and in consequence women always ask for some gift as a price for their embraces, etc. The Brāhmaṇa goes on to recommend the use of the same paste, prepared with the same formulas, as a specific for producing love or good will (*Prajāpatiḥ Somaṁ rājānam asṛijata | taṁ trayo vedāḥ anv asṛijyanta | tān haste 'kuruta | atha ha Sītā Sāvitrī Somaṁ rājānaṁ chakame | Śraddhām u sa chakame | sā ha pitaram Prajāpatim upasasāra | taṁ ha uvācha "namas te astu bhagavaḥ | upa tvā ayāni* (2) *pra tvā āpadye | Somaṁ vai rājānaṁ kāmaye Śraddhām u sa kāmayate" iti | tasyai u ha sthāgaram alankāraṁ kalpayitvā daśahotāram purastād vyākhyāya chaturhotāraṁ dakshiṇataḥ panchahotāram paśchāt shaḍdhotāram uttarataḥ saptahotāram uparishṭāt sambhāraiś patnibhiś cha mukhe alankṛitya | 3. Asya arddhaṁ vavrāja | tāṁ ha udīkshya uvācha "upa mā varttasva" iti | taṁ ha uvācha "bho gantuṁ* (the commentator explains the phrase as if he read *bhogaṁ tu*) *me ākakshva | etan me ākakshva yat te pāṇāv" iti | tasyai u trīn vedān pradadau | tasmād u ha striyo bhogam eva hārayante*).

(5) *Properties ascribed to the soma-juice or its presiding deity.*

The juice of this plant is said to be an immortal[398] draught, i. 84, 4 (*jyeshṭham amartyam madam*) which the gods love, ix. 85, 2 (*daksho devānām asi hi priyo madaḥ*); ix. 109, 15 (*pibanti asya viśve devāso gobhiḥ śrītasya nṛibhiḥ sutasya*),[399] to be medicine for a sick man, viii. 61, 17 (*tad āturasya bheshajam*). All the gods drink of it, ix. 109, 15 (*pibanti asya viśve devāsaḥ*). The god who is its personification is said to clothe whatever is naked, and to heal whatever is sick; through him the blind sees, and the lame walks abroad, viii. 68, 2 (*abhy ūrṇoti yan nagnam bhishakti viśvaṁ yat turam | pra īṁ andhaḥ khyat niḥ śroṇo bhūt*); x. 25, 11. He is the guardian of men's bodies, and occupies their every member, viii. 48, 9 (*tvaṁ hi nas tanvaḥ soma gopāḥ gātre gātre nishasattha nṛichakshāḥ*).

[398] This means, according to Sāyaṇa, that it has no deadly effects, like other intoxicating drinks (*somapānajanyo vadho madāntara-vat māraka na bhavati ity arthaḥ*).

[399] The Taitt. Br. i. 3, 3, 2, says that soma is the best nourishment of the gods, and wine of men, and ibid. 4, that soma is a male and the wine a female, and the two make a pair (*etad vai devānām paramam annaṁ yat somaḥ etad manushyāṇām yat surā | 4. Pumān vai somaḥ strī surā | tan mithunam*).

(6) *Divine powers attributed to Soma.*

A great variety of divine attributes and operations are ascribed to Soma. As Professor Whitney observes, he is "addressed as a god in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers belong to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow" (Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. iii. 299). He is said to be *asura*, divine (ix. 73, 1; ix. 74, 7), and the soul of sacrifice, *ātmā yajñasya* (ix. 2, 10; ix. 6, 8). He is immortal, *amṛita* (i. 43, 9), and confers immortality on gods and men, i. 91, 1, 6, 18; viii. 48, 3, quoted above, p. 90, note; ix. 106, 8 (*tvām devāso amṛitāya kam papuḥ*); ix. 108, 3 (*tvaṁ hi anga daivyā pavamāna janimāni dyumattama amṛitatvāya ghoshayaḥ*); ix. 109, 3 (*eva amṛitāya mahe kshayāya sa śukro arśha divyaḥ pīyūshaḥ*).[400] In a passage (ix. 113, 7 ff.) where the joys of paradise are more distinctly anticipated and more fervently implored than in most other parts of the Rigveda, Soma is addressed as the god from whom the gift of future felicity is expected. Thus it is there said: *yatra jyotir ajasraṁ yasmin loke svar hitam | tasmin māṁ dhehi pavamāna amṛite loke akshite | yatra rājā Vaivasvato yatrāvarodhanaṁ divaḥ | yatrāmūr yahvatīr āpas tatra mām amṛitaṁ kṛidhi* | 7. "Place me, o purified god, in that everlasting and imperishable world where there is eternal light and glory. O Indu (soma), flow for Indra. 8. Make me immortal in the world where king Vaivasvata (Yama, the son of Vivasvat,) lives, where is the innermost sphere of the sky, where those great waters flow." The three following verses may be reserved for the section on Yama.

Soma exhilarates Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Vishṇu, the Maruts, the other gods, Vāyu, Heaven and Earth, ix. 90, 5 (*matsi Śoma Varuṇam matsi Mitram matsi Indram Indo pavamāna Vishṇum | matsi śardho mārutam matsi devān matsi mahām Indram Indo madāya*); ix. 97, 42 (*matsi Vāyum ishṭaye rādhase cha matsi Mitrā-varuṇā pūyamānaḥ | matsi śardho mārutam matsi devān matsi Dyāvā-pṛithivī deva Soma*). Both gods and men resort to him, saying that his juice is sweet, viii. 48, 1 (*viśve yaṁ devāḥ uta martyāso madhu bruvanto abhi sancharanti*). By him (but see p. 270) the Ādityas are strong, and the earth vast, x. 85, 2 (*somena Ādityāḥ balinaḥ somena pṛithivī mahī*). He is the friend,

[400] In regard to the manner in which the gods acquired immortality, see the S'atap Br. ix. 5, 1, 1 ff. quoted above p. 14, note 21.

helper, and soul of Indra, iv. 28, 1 (*tvā yujā tava tat soma sakhye Indro apo manave sasrutas kaḥ | 2. Tvā yujā ni khidat Sūryasya Indraś chakraṁ sahasā sadyaḥ Indo*); ix. 85, 3 (*ātmā Indrasya bhavasi*); x. 25, 9 (*Indrasyendo śivaḥ sakhā*), whose vigour he stimulates, ix. 76, 2 (*Indrasya śushmam īrayan*), and whom he succours in his conflicts with Vṛitra, ix. 61, 22 (*yaḥ Índram āvitha Vṛitrāya hantave*). He rides in the same chariot with Indra, *Indreṇa saratham* (ix. 87, 9; ix. 103, 5). He has, however, winged mares of his own, and a team like Vāyu, ix. 86, 37 (*īśānaḥ imā bhuvanāni vīyase yujānaḥ Indo haritaḥ suparṇyaḥ*); ix. 88, 3 (*vāyur na yo niyutvān ishṭayāmā*). He ascends his filter in place of a car, and is armed with a thousand-pointed shaft, ix. 83, 5; ix. 86, 40 (*pavitra-rathaḥ sahasrabh ṛishṭiḥ*). His weapons which, like a hero, he grasps in his hand, ix. 76, 2 (*śūro na dhatte āyudhā gabhastyoḥ*), are sharp and terrible, ix. 61, 30 (*bhīmāni āyudhā tigmāni*), and his bow swift-darting, ix. 90, 3 (*tigmāyudhaḥ kshipradhanvā*). He is the slayer of Vṛitra, *vṛitrahan*, or *vṛitrahantama* (i. 95, 5; ix. 24, 6; ix. 25, 3; ix. 28, 3; x. 25, 9), and, like Indra, the destroyer of foes, and overthrower of cities, ix. 61, 2; ix. 88, 4 (*Indro na yo mahā karmāṇi chakrir hantā vṛitrāṇām asi Soma pūrbhit*). In ix. 5, 9, he appears to receive the epithet of *prajāpati*, lord of creatures. He is the creator and father of the gods, ix. 42, 4 (*krandan devān ajījanat*); ix. 86, 10 (*pitā devānāṁ janitā vibhuvasuḥ*); ix. 87, 2 (*pitā devānāṁ janitā sudakshaḥ*); ix. 109, 4; the generator of hymns, of Dyaus, of Pṛithivī, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Vishṇu, ix. 96, 5 (*Somaḥ pavate janitā matīnāṁ janitā Divo janitā Pṛithivyāḥ | janitā Agner janitā Sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitota Vishṇoḥ*). He dispels the darkness, i. 91, 22 (*tvaṁ jyotishā vi tamo vavartha*); ix. 66, 24 (*śukraṁ jyotir ajījanat | kṛishṇā tamāṁsi janghanat*), lights up the gloomy nights, vi. 39, 3 (*ayaṁ dyotayad adyuto vi aktūn*); and has created and lighted up the sun, the great luminary common to all mankind, vi. 44, 23 (*ayaṁ sūrye adadhāj jyotir antaḥ*); ix. 61, 16 (*pavamāno ajījanad divaś chitraṁ na tanyatum | jyotir vaiśvānaram bṛihat*); ix. 97, 41 (*ajanayat sūrye jyotir Induḥ*); ix. 107, 7 (*ā sūryaṁ rohayo divi*); ix. 110, 3 (*ajījano hi pavamāna Sūryam*). He stretched out the atmosphere, i. 91, 22 (*tvam ā tatantha uru antarikshaṁ*); vi. 47, 3 f.; and in concert with the Fathers (*Pitṛis*), the Sky and the Earth, viii. 48, 13 (*tvaṁ Soma pitṛi-*

bhiḥ saṁvidāno anu dyāvāpṛithivī ā tatantha). He is the upholder of the sky and the sustainer of the earth, keeping the two apart, vi. 44, 24 (*ayaṁ dyāvāpṛithivī vi skabhāyat*); vi. 47, 5 (*ayam mahān mahatā skambhanena ud dyām astabhnād vṛishabho marutvān*); ix. 87, 2 (*vishṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ pṛithivyāḥ*); ix. 89, 6; ix. 109, 6. He produced in the sacrifices the two divine worlds, which are kindly disposed to men, ix. 98, 9 (*sa vāṁ yajneshu ṛānavī Indur janishṭa rodasī | devo devī*). He is king of gods and men, ix. 97, 24 (*rājā devānām uta martyānām*), elevated over all worlds [or beings] like the divine sun, ix. 54, 3 (*ayaṁ visvāni tishṭhati punāno bhuvanopari | somo devo na sūryaḥ*). All creatures are in his hand, ix. 89, 6 (*viśvāḥ uta kshitayo haste asya*).[401] His laws are like those of king Varuṇa, i. 91, 3; ix. 88, 8 (*rājno nu te Varuṇasya vratāni*); and he is prayed to forgive their violation, and to be gracious as a father to a son, and to deliver from death, viii. 48, 9 (*yat te vayam pramināma vratāni sa no mṛila sushakhā deva vasyaḥ*); x. 25, 3 (*uta vratāni Soma te pra aham mināmi pākyā | adha piteva sūnave vi vo made mṛila no abhi chid vadhād vivakshase*). He is thousand-eyed, ix. 60, 1, 2 (*sahasra-chakshas*), and sees and knows all creatures, and hurls the irreligious into the abyss, ix. 73, 8 (*vidvān sa viśvā bhuvanā 'bhi paśyati ava ajushtān vidhyati karte avratān*); and guards the lives of all moving beings as a cowherd tends his cattle, x. 25, 6 (*paśuṁ na Soma rakshasi purutrā vishṭhitaṁ jagat | samākṛiṇoshi jīvase vi vo made viśvā sampaśyan bhuvanā vivakshase*). He is the chief and most fiery of the formidable, the most heroic of heroes, the most bountiful of the beneficent, and as a warrior he is always victorious,[402] ix. 66, 16 (*mahān asi*

[401] Compare some additional passages quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 98 f.

[402] In ix. 96, 16, 19, his weapons are referred to; in vi. 44, 22, he is said to have robbed his malignant father of his weapons and his magical devices (*ayaṁ svasya pitur āyudhāni Indur amushṇād aśivasya māyāḥ*). It is related in the Ait. Br. i. 14, that there was formerly war between the gods and the Asuras. They fought together in the east, south, west, and north, and in all these quarters the Asuras were victorious. In the north-east, however, the gods were not overcome, for that is "the unconquerable region." The gods ascribed their former defeats to the fact of their having no king, and agreed to make Soma their monarch, after which they were victorious on all the points of the compass (*Devāsurāḥ vai eshu lokeshu samayatanta | tataḥ etasyām prāchyāṁ diśi ayatanta | tāṁs tato 'surāḥ ajayan | .... te udīchyāṁ prāchyām diśi ayatanta | te tato na parājayanta | sā eshā dig aparājitā | .... te devāḥ abruvann "arājatayā vai no jayanti | rājānaṁ karavāmahai" iti | "tathā" iti | te somaṁ rājānam akurvan | te somena rājnā sarvāḥ diśo 'jayan*).

soma jyeshṭhaḥ ugrāṇām Indo ojishṭhaḥ | yudhvā san śaśvad jigetha | 17. *Yaḥ ugrebhyaś chid ojīyān śūrebhyaś chit śūrataraḥ | bhūridābhyaś chid mamhīyān*). He conquers for his worshippers cows, chariots, horses, gold, heaven, water,—a thousand desirable things, ix. 78, 4 (*gojin naḥ somo rathajid hiraṇyajit svarjid abjit pavate sahasrajit*), and every thing, viii. 68, 1 (*viśvajit*). He is a wise rishi, viii. 68, 1 (*ṛishir vipraḥ kāvyena*); strong, skilful, omniscient, prolific, glorious, i. 91, 2 (*tvaṁ Soma kratubhiḥ sukratur bhūs tvaṁ dakshaiḥ sudaksho viśvavedāḥ | tvaṁ vṛishā vṛishatvebhir mahitvā dyumnebhir dyumnī abhavo nṛichakshāḥ*). He is the priest of the gods, the leader of poets, a rishi among sages, a bull among wild animals, a falcon among kites, an axe in the woods, ix. 96, 6 (*brahmā devānām padavīḥ kavīnām ṛishir viprāṇām mahisho mṛigāṇām | śyeno gṛidhrāṇāṁ svadhitir vanānām*). He is an unconquerable protector from enemies; i. 91, 21 (*ashāḷhaṁ yutsu pṛitanāsu paprim*); x. 25, 7 (*tvaṁ naḥ Soma viśvato gopāḥ adābhyo bhava | sedha rājann apa sridhaḥ*). If he desires that his votaries shall live, they do not die, i. 91, 6 (*tvaṁ cha soma no vaśo jīvātuṁ na marāmahe*). In viii. 48, 7, he is prayed to prolong their lives, as the sun the days (*Soma rājan pra naḥ āyūṁshi tārīr ahānīva sūryo vāsarāṇi*). In x. 59, 4, he is prayed not to abandon the worshipper to death (*mo shu naḥ soma mṛityave parā dāḥ*). The friend of a god like him cannot suffer, i. 91, 8 (*na rishyet tvātavaḥ sakhā*). The friendship and intimacy of such a god is eagerly desired, ix. 66, 18 (*vṛiṇīmahe sakhyāya vṛiṇīmahe yujyāya*). In x. 30, 5, he is said to rejoice in the society of the waters, as a man in that of beautiful young women (*yābhiḥ somo modate harshate cha kalyāṇībhir yuvatibhir na maryaḥ*).

(7) *Soma associated with other gods.*

Soma is associated with Agni as an object of adoration in i. 93, 1 ff. In verse 5 of that hymn those two gods are said to have placed the luminaries in the sky (*yuvam etāni divi rochanāni Agniś cha Soma sukratū adhattam*). In the same way Soma and Pūshan are conjoined in ii. 40, 1 ff., where various attributes and functions of a magnificent character are ascribed to them. Thus, in verse 1, they are said to be the generators of wealth, and of heaven and earth, to have been born

the guardians of the whole universe, and to have been made by the gods the centre of immortality (*jananā rayīnāṁ jananā divo jananā pṛithivyāḥ | jātau viśvasya bhuvanasya gopau devāḥ akṛiṇvann amṛitasya nābhim*). The one has made his abode in the sky, and the other on the earth, and in the atmosphere (verse 4). The one has produced all the worlds, and the other moves onward beholding all things (verse 5) (4. *Divi anyaḥ sadanaṁ chakre uchchā pṛithivyām anyo adhi antarikshe | 5. Viśvāni anyo bhuvanā jajāna viśvam anyo abhichakshāṇaḥ eti*). In vi. 72, and vii. 104, Soma and Indra are celebrated in company. In the first of these hymns they are said to dispel darkness, to destroy revilers, to bring the sun and the light, to prop up the sky with supports, and to have spread out mother earth (verse 1. *Yuvaṁ Sūryaṁ vividathur yuvaṁ svar viśvā tamāṁsi ahataṁ nidaś cha | 2. Vāsayathaḥ ushāsam ut sūryam nayatho jyotishā saha | upa dyāṁ skambhathuḥ skambhanena aprathatam pṛithivīm mātaraṁ vi*). In vii. 104, their vengeance is invoked against Rākshases, Yātudhānas, and other enemies.

Hymn vi. 74, is dedicated to the honour of Soma and Rudra conjointly. The two gods, who are said to be armed with sharp weapons (*tigmāyudhau tigmāhetī*) are there supplicated for blessings to man and beast, for healing remedies, and for deliverance from sin (*śaṁ no bhūtaṁ dvipade śaṁ chatushpade | etāni asme viśvā tanūshu bheshajāni dhattam | ava syatam munchatam yan no asti tanūshu baddham kṛitam eno asmat*).

(8) *Soma in the post-vedic age a name of the moon.*

In the post-vedic age the name Soma came to be commonly applied to the moon and its regent. Even in the Rig-veda, some traces of this application seem to be discoverable. Thus in x. 85, 2 ff. (which, however, Professor Roth regards as of comparatively modern date: Ill. of Nir. p. 147), there appears to be an allusion to the double sense of the word: 2. *Somenādityāḥ balinaḥ Somena pṛithivī mahī | atho nakshatrāṇām eshām upasthe Somaḥ āhitaḥ | 3. Somaṁ manyate papivān yat sampiṁshanti oshadhim | Somaṁ yam brahmāṇo vidur na tasyāśnāti kaśchana | 4. Āchhadvidhānair gupito bārhataiḥ Soma rakshitaḥ | grāvṇām it śṛinvan tishṭhasi na te aśnāti pārthivaḥ | 5. Yat tvā devāḥ prapibanti tataḥ āpyāyase punaḥ | Vāyuḥ Somasya rakshitā samānām māsaḥ ākṛitiḥ |*

"2. By Soma the Ādityas are strong; by Soma the earth is great; and Soma is placed in the centre of these stars. 3. When they crush the plant, he who drinks regards it as Soma. Of him whom the priests regard as Soma (the moon) no one drinks. 4. Protected by those who shelter thee, and preserved by thy guardians,[403] thou, Soma, hearest the sound of the crushing-stones; but no earthly being tastes thee. 5. When the gods drink thee, o god, thou increasest again. Vāyu is the guardian of Soma: the month is a part of the years."[404] In the Atharva-veda the following half-verse occurs, xi, 6, 7: *Somo mā devo munchatu yam āhuś chandramāḥ iti* | "May the god Soma free me, he whom they call the moon." And in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 6, 4, 5; xi. 1, 3, 2; xi. 1, 3, 4, and xi. 1, 4, 4, we have the words: *Esha vai Somo rājā devānām annaṁ yat chandramāḥ* | "This king Soma, who is the moon, is the food of the gods." Similarly in xi. 1, 3, 5: *chandramāḥ vai Somo devānām annam* | "Soma is the moon, the food of the gods." See also i. 6, 3, 24: *Sūryaḥ eva āgneyaḥ* | *chandramāḥ saumyaḥ* | "The sun has the nature of Agni, the moon of Soma;" and xii. 1, 1, 2: *Somo vai chandramāḥ* | "Soma is the moon." In v. 3, 3, 12, and in ix. 4, 3, 16, Soma is said to be the king of the Brāhmans (*Somo 'smākam brāhmaṇānāṁ rājā*). In the Vishṇu Purāṇa (book i. chap. 22, p. 85 of Wilson's translation, vol. 2, Dr. Hall's ed.) the double character of Soma is indicated in these words: "Brahmā appointed Soma to be monarch of the stars and planets, of Brāhmans and of plants, of sacrifices and of austere devotions" (*nakshattra-grahaviprāṇāṁ vīrudhāṁ chāpy aśeshataḥ* | *Somaṁ rājye dadau Brahmā yajnānaṁ tapasām api*).

[403] The word so rendered is *bārhataiḥ*. In the Lexicon of Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, its sense is said to be doubtful. Professor Weber (Ind. St. v. 178 ff. where these verses, with the rest of the hymn in which they occur, is translated and annotated) renders it "lofty ones" (Erhabene). Langlois makes it "overseers." The moon is mentioned again in verses 18 and 19. In R.V. viii. 71, 8, Soma sparkling in the cups is compared to the moon shining on the waters (*yo apsu chandramāḥ iva somaś chamūshu dadriśe* | *piba id asya tvam īśishe*). See Professor Benfey's note on R.V. i. 84, 15, in his Orient and Occident, ii. 246.

[404] Weber and Langlois take *māsaḥ* for a nominative. Böhtlingk and Roth cite the passage under *mās*, thus making it a genitive.

SECTION XVII.

BṚIHASPATI AND BRAHMAṆASPATI.

I will commence my description of this god with a translation of the account given of him in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon: "Bṛihaspati, alternating with Brahmaṇaspati, is the name of a deity in whom the action of the worshipper upon the gods is personified. He is the suppliant, the sacrificer, the priest, who intercedes with the gods on behalf of men, and protects them against the wicked. Hence he appears as the prototype of the priests, and the priestly order; and is also designated as the purohita of the divine community." The ancient Indian conception of this deity is more fully explained in Professor Roth's dissertation on "Brahma and the Brahmans,"[405] in the first volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, pp. 66 ff., where the author well points out the essential difference between the original idea represented in this god and those expressed in most of the other and older divinities of the Veda, consisting in the fact that the latter are personifications of various departments of nature, or of physical forces, while the former is the product of moral ideas, and an impersonation of the power of devotion. From this paper I extract the following remarks: "Brahma, on the other hand [in contradistinction to deva], has an entirely different point of departure, and significance. Its original sense, as easily discovered in the Vedic hymns, is that of prayer; not praise or thanksgiving, but that species of invocation which, with the force of the will directed to the god, desires to draw him to the worshipper, and to obtain satisfaction from him. It denotes the impetuous supplication which was natural to that ancient faith, and which sought, as it were, to wrest from the god the

[405] Portions of this paper were long ago translated by me in the Benares Magazine.

boon which it demanded" (p. 67). "Immediately derived from this neuter noun brahma is the name of the god Brahmaṇaspati, who is, in many respects, a remarkable deity. His entire character is such as does not belong to the earliest stage of the Vedic mythical creations, but points to a second shape which the religious consciousness endeavoured to take, without, however, being able actually to carry it fully into effect. The entire series of the principal divinities of the Veda belongs to the domain of natural symbolism, which appears here more decided, unmixed, and transparent than perhaps among any other people of the Indo-germanic race, but which, on this account, is also less rich in references to other departments of life, and has not been able to get beyond a certain uniformity. But Brahmaṇaspati is one of the divine beings who do not stand immediately within the circle of physical life, but form the transition from it to the moral life of the human spirit. In him, the lord or protector of prayer, is seen the power and dignity of devotion, the energetic action of the will upon the gods who are the personifications of natural objects, and immediately upon nature. And it may still be plainly perceived in what manner this god, as a new-comer, was introduced into the circle of mythological beings already established, and could only find a place by the side of the other gods, or by supplanting them.[404]

"Indra is the highest god of the Vedic faith, or, at least, the one whose action has the most immediate bearing on the welfare of men. He is the god of the friendly noon-day firmament, which, after all obscurations, again shines anew, on which the fertility of the earth and the tranquility and enjoyment of human existence depend. And the prayer which most frequently recurs in the Veda, and is addressed to Indra, is that he will counteract the attempts of the cloud-demon who threatens to carry away the fertilizing waters of the sky, or holds them shut up in the caverns of the mountains, will pour forth those waters, fertilize the earth, and bestow nourishment on men and cattle. Now, if the essence of the god Brahmaṇaspati really expresses, as the name imports, the victorious power of prayer, then we should find him in this circle of myths, more than in any other. And in point of fact

[404] "All the gods whose names are compounded with *pati* ('lord of'—) must be reckoned among the more recent, *e.g.* Vāchaspati, Vāstoshpati, Kshetrasya pati. They were the products of reflection.

he does appear along with Indra in that conflict of his against the fiend, and that too in such a way that a department of labour is assigned to him, which, in most of the other hymns, is appropriated exclusively to Indra. And, finally, in some few passages, it is he who, all alone, breaks through the caverns of Bala, in order to bring to light the concealed treasures of the fertilizing water, or, according to the figurative language employed, the cows with abundant milk" (pp. 71 ff.).

After quoting R.V. ii. 24, 3 f. (which will be cited below) Professor Roth proceeds: "It is therefore brahma, prayer, with which the god breaks open the hiding place of the enemy. Prayer pierces through to the object of its desire, and attains it. And if now we should seek to discover, in the natural phenomenon to which reference is made, viz., in the storm, that force which so mightily breaks through the hostile bulwarks, it is the lightning alone which can be the outward symbol of the victorious god. Brahmaṉaspati is, therefore, called the 'shining,' the 'gold-coloured' (v. 43, 12). The thunder is his voice" (p. 74). Again: "Brahmaṉaspati's domain extends still further; it reaches as far as the efficacy of invocation. He succours also in battle (R.V. vi. 73, 2)" (p. 74). "And, finally, a widely extended creative power is ascribed to him in the remarkable verses of a hymn of the tenth mandala (68, 8 ff.) attributed to Ayāsya of the race of Angiras" (p. 75).

(1) *Passages in which Bṛihaspati and Brahmaṉaspati are celebrated.*

I subjoin one entire hymn and portions of some others, which will illustrate the characteristics ascribed to Brahmaṉaspati in the Rig-veda, and will shew how that name alternates with Bṛihaspati in different verses of the same composition.

R.V. ii. 23, 1. *Gaṉānām̃ tvā gaṉapatim̃ havāmahe kavim̃ kavīnām upamaśravastamam | jyeshṭharājam brahmaṉām Brahmaṉaspate ā naḥ śṛiṉvann ūtaye sīda sadanam | 2. Devāś chit te asurya prachetaso Bṛihaspate yajniyam bhāgam ānaśuḥ | usrāḥ iva sūryo jyotishā maho viśveshām ij janitā brahmaṉām asi | 3. Ā vibādhya parirapas tamām̃si cha jyotishmantam̃ ratham ṛitasya tishṭhasi | Bṛihaspate bhīmam amitradambhanam̃ rakshohaṉam̃*

gotrabhidaṁ svarvidam | 4. *Sunītibhir nayasi trāyase janaṁ yas tubhyaṁ dāśād na tam aṁho aśnavat* | *brahmadvishas tapano manyumīr asi Bṛihaspate mahi tat te mahitvanam* | 5. *Na tam aṁho na duritaṁ kutaśchana nārātayas titirur na dvayāvinaḥ* | *viśvāḥ id asmād dhvaraso vi bādhase yaṁ sugopāḥ rakshasi Brahmaṇaspate* | 6. *Tvaṁ no gopāḥ pathikṛid vichakshaṇas tava vratāya matibhir jarāmahe* | *Bṛihaspate yo no abhi hvaro dadhe svā tam marmartu duchhunā harasvatī* | 7. *Uta vā yo no marchayād anāgaso arātīvā martaḥ sānuko vṛikaḥ* | *Bṛihaspate apa taṁ vartaya pathaḥ sugaṁ no asyai devavītaye kṛidhi* | 8. *Trātāraṁ tvā tanūnāṁ havāmahe avaspartar adhivaktāram asmayum* | *Bṛihaspate devanido ni barhaya mā durevāḥ uttaraṁ sumnam un naśan* | 9 (=Nir. iii. 11). *Tvayā vayam suvṛidhā Brahmaṇaspate spārhā vasu manushyā ā dadīmahi* | *yāḥ no dūre taḷito yāḥ arātayo abhi santi jambhaya tāḥ anapnasaḥ* | 10. *Tvayā vayam uttamaṁ dhīmahi vayo Bṛihaspate papriṇā sasninā yujā* | *mā no duśśaṁso abhidipsur īśata pra suśaṁsāḥ matibhis tārishīmahi* | 11. *Anānudo vṛishabho jagmir āhavaṁ nishṭaptā śatrum pṛitanāsu sāsahiḥ* | *asi satyaḥ ṛiṇayāḥ Brahmaṇaspate ugrasya chid damitā vīḷuharshiṇaḥ* | 12. *Adevena manasā yo rishyaṇyati śāśām ugro manyamāno jighāṁsati* | *Bṛihaspate mā praṇak tasya no vadho ni karma manyuṁ durevasya śardhataḥ* | 13. *Bhareshu havyo namasopasadyo gantā vājeshu sanitā dhanam dhanam* | *viśvāḥ id aryo abhidipsvo mṛidho Bṛihaspatir vi vavarha rathān iva* | 14. *Tejishṭhayā tapanī rakshasas tapa ye tvā nide dadhire dṛishṭavīryam* | *āvis tat kṛishva yad asat te ukthyam Bṛihaspate vi parirapo ardaya* | 15. *Bṛihaspate ati yad aryo arhād dyumad vibhāti kratumaj janeshu* | *yad dīdayat śavasā ṛitaprajāta tad asmāsu draviṇam dhehi chitram* | 16. *Mā naḥ stenebhyo ye abhi druhas pade nirāmiṇo ripavo 'nneshu jagṛidhuḥ* | *ā devānām ohate vi vrayo hṛidi Bṛihaspate na paraḥ sāmno viduḥ* | 17. *Viśvebhyo hi tvā bhuvanebhyas pari Tvashṭā 'janat sāmnaḥ sāmnaḥ kaviḥ* | *sa ṛiṇachid ṛiṇayāḥ Brahmaṇaspatir druho hantā mahaḥ ṛitasya dhartari* | 18. *Tava śriye vi ajihīta parvato gavāṁ gotram udasṛijo yad Angiraḥ* | *Indreṇa yujā tamasā parivṛitam Bṛihaspate nir apām aubjo arṇavam* | 19. *Brahmaṇaspate tvam asya yantā sūktasya bodhi tanayaṁ cha jinva* | *viśvaṁ tad bhadraṁ yad avanti devāḥ bṛihad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ* |

Although the translation which I subjoin is very imperfect, and I am uncertain as to the sense of many words and phrases occurring in it, the general sense is clear and undoubted:

"We invoke thee, Brahmaṇaspati, the commander of hosts,[405] the wise, the most highly renowned of sages, the monarch of prayers; do thou hear us, and take thy place on our hearth, bringing succour. 2. Even the gods have, o divine Bṛihaspati, obtained the worshipful portion of thee, who art wise: as the great sun by his light generates rays, so art thou the generator of all prayers. 3. Overcoming demons and darkness, thou standest upon the luminous, awful, foe-subduing, rakshas-slaying, cow-pen-cleaving, heaven-reaching, chariot of the ceremonial. 4. By thy wise guidance thou leadest and preservest men; no calamity can befal him who offers gifts to thee; thou vexest, and overcomest the wrath of, the enemy of devotion; this, o Bṛihaspati, constitutes thy greatness. 5. No calamity or misfortune from any quarter, neither foes nor deceivers, can overwhelm the man—(thou repellest from him all evil spirits)—whom thou, a sure protector, dost guard, o Brahmaṇaspati. 6. Thou art the wise guardian who opens for us a way; with hymns we pay homage to thy sovereign power. Bṛihaspati, may his own hot ill luck destroy the man who devises evil against us. 7. Whatever hostile mortal, powerful[406] and rapacious, assails us who are innocent, do thou, Bṛihaspati, turn him away from our path, and enable us easily to reach the feast of the gods. 8. We invoke thee, o deliverer, who art the protector of our bodies, and our partial patron; destroy, o Bṛihaspati, the revilers of the gods; let not the wicked attain high prosperity. 9. May we through thee, our prosperer, o Brahmaṇaspati, acquire enviable riches profitable for men. Crush the foes, whether far or near, who assail us [and make them] destitute. 10. Through thee, o Bṛihaspati, a liberal and generous friend, may we obtain the highest vigour. Let not our malicious enemy gain the mastery over us; may we who are friendly in our intentions overcome them by our hymns. 11. Stubborn, strong, he enters into the battle, he vexes the foe, he overpowers him in conflict. Thou, Brahmaṇaspati, art a real avenger of guilt, a subduer even of the fierce and vehemently passionate man. 12. Let us not be struck by the shaft of the man who, with ungodly mind, seeks to injure us, who, esteeming himself fierce, seeks to slay (any of thy) worshippers;

[405] Compare the epithet *sarvagaṇa* in v. 51, 12.

[406] *Sānuka* = *samuchhrita*, according to Sayaṇa.

we repel the rage of the presumptuous and malicious man. 13. Bṛihaspati, who is to be invoked in battles, to be worshipped with reverence, who frequents conflicts, who bestows all our wealth, has overturned like chariots all the malicious enemies who seek to wrong us. 14. Consume with thy sharpest burning bolt the rakshases who have mocked at thee, whose prowess is well proved; manifest that power of thine which shall be deserving of praise; destroy the demons. 15. Bṛihaspati, whose essence is sacred truth, bestow upon us that brilliant wealth which shall excel that of our foe, which appears brilliant, and possesses strength, which shines with power. 16. Do not (abandon) us to the robbers who hold the position of our assailants, persistent enemies, who greedily desire our food; — such a man in his heart contemplates the abandonment of the gods; — they do not, o Bṛihaspati, know the excellence of the sāman. 17. For Tvashṭṛi, who knows all sāman-verses, has generated thee to be above all beings. Brahmaṇaspati is the avenger and punisher of guilt, the slayer of the injurious man in the interest of the upholder of the great ceremonial. 18. When thou, Angiras, didst open up the cow-pen, the mountain yielded to thy glory; with Indra as thine ally, thou, Bṛihaspati, didst let loose the stream of the waters, which had been covered with darkness. 19. Brahmaṇaspati, thou art its controller; take notice of our hymn and prosper our offspring; all that the gods protect is successful. May we, blest with strong men, speak with power at the festival."

R.V. ii. 24, 1. *Semām aviddhi prabhṛitiṁ yaḥ īśishe ayā vidhema navayā mahā girā | yathā no mīḍhvān stavate sakhā tava Bṛihaspate śishadhaḥ sotā no matim* | 2. *Yo nantvāni anamad ni ojasā utādardar manyunā śambarāṇi vi | prāchyāvayad achyutā Brahmaṇaspatir ā chāviśad vasumantaṁ vi parvatam* | 3. *Tad devānāṁ devatamāya kartvam aśrathran dṛilhā avradanta vīḷitā | ud gāḥ ājad abhinad brahmaṇā valam agūhat tamo vi achakshayat svaḥ* | 4 (= Nir. x. 13). *Aśmāsyam avatam Brahmaṇaspatir madhudhāram abhi yam ojasā 'tṛiṇat | tam eva viśve papire svardṛiśo bahu sākaṁ sisichur utsam udriṇam* | . . . . 8. *Ṛitajyena kshipreṇa Brahmaṇaspatir yatra vashṭi pra tad aśnoti dhanvanā | tasya sādhvīr ishavo yābhir asyati nṛichakshaso dṛiśaye karṇayonayaḥ* |

1. "Do thou who rulest receive this our offering [of praise]; let us worship thee with this new and grand song; as thy bountiful friend among us celebrates thee, do thou also, Bṛihaspati, fulfil our desire. 2.

Brahmaṇaspati, who by his power brought low the things which should be overthrown, and by his wrath split open the clouds, has also cast down the things which were unshaken, he has penetrated the mountain which was full of riches. 3. This was an exploit fit for the most godlike of the gods to achieve; firm things were loosened, and strong things yielded to him; he drove forth the cows, by prayer he split Vala, he chased away the darkness, and revealed the sky.[407] 4. All the celestials drank of the stone-covered fountain, yielding a sweet stream, which Brahmaṇaspati split open; they poured out together an abundant supply of water. . . . . 8. Wherever Brahmaṇaspati desires, thither he reaches with his well-stringed, swift-darting bow. Excellent are his arrows wherewith he shoots; they are keen-eyed to behold men, and drawn back to the ear."

iv. 50, 1. *Yas tastambha sahasā vi jmo antān Bṛihaspatis trishadastho raveṇa | tam pratnāsaḥ ṛishayo dīdhyānāḥ puro viprāḥ dadhire mandrajihvam | 4. Bṛihaspatiḥ prathamaṁ jāyamāno maho jyotishaḥ parame vyoman | saptāsyas tuvijāto raveṇa vi saptaraśmir adhamat tamāṁsi | 5. Sa sushṭubhā sa ṛikvatā gaṇena Valaṁ ruroja phaligaṁ raveṇa | Bṛihaspatir usriyāḥ havyasūdaḥ kanikradad vāvaśatīr udājat | 6. Eva pitre viśvadevāya vṛishṇe yajñair vidhema namasā havirbhiḥ | Bṛihaspate suprajāḥ vīravanto vayaṁ syāma patayo rayīnām | 7. Sa id rājā pratijanyāni viśvā śushmeṇa tasthāv abhi vīryeṇa | Bṛihaspatiṁ yaḥ subhṛitam bibharti valgūyati vandate pūrvabhājam |*

"1. Contemplating Bṛihaspati with the pleasant tongue, who occupies three abodes, and by his power and his voice holds apart the ends of the earth, the ancient rishis placed him in their front. . . . . 4.[408] Bṛihaspati, when first born from the great light in the highest heaven, seven-faced, mighty in nature, seven-rayed, blew asunder the darkness with his voice. 5. With the lauding, hymning band he by his voice broke through Vala, the cloud. Bṛihaspati, shouting, drove forth the butter-yielding, loudly-lowing cows. 6. Thus let us worship the vigorous father, who is possessed of all divine attributes, with sacrifices, and reverence, and oblations. May we, Bṛihaspati, have abundant offspring, vigorous sons, and be lords of riches. 7. That king who main-

[407] This and the following verse are translated in p. 73 of the article of Professor Roth, quoted at the commencement of this section.

[408] Verses 4 ff. are translated by Professor Roth in pp. 79 f. of the article quoted at the beginning of this section.

tains Bṛihaspati in abundance, who praises and magnifies him as (a deity) entitled to the first distinction, overcomes all hostile powers by his force and valour."

x. 68, 6. *Yadā Valasya pīyato jasum bhed Bṛihaspatir agnitapobhir arkaiḥ | dadbhir na jihvā parivishṭam ādad āvir nidhīn akṛinod usriyāṇāṁ* | 7. . . . . *āṇḍeva bhittvā śakunasya garbham ud usriyāḥ parvatasya tmanā "jat* | 8 (= Nir. x. 12). *Aśnāpinaddham madhu pary apaśyad matsyaṁ na dīne udani kshiyantam | nish ṭaj jabhāra chamasaṁ na vṛikshād Bṛihaspatir viraveṇa vikṛitya* | 9. *Soshām avindat saḥ svaḥ so Agniṁ so arkeṇa vi babādhe tamāṁsi | Bṛihaspatir govapusho Valasya nir majjānaṁ na parvaṇo jabhāra* |

"When Bṛihaspati clove with fiery gleams the defences of the malignant Vala, as the tongue devours that which has been enveloped by the teeth, he revealed the treasures of the cows. 7. . . . As if splitting open eggs, the productions of a bird, he by his own power drove out the cows from the mountain. 8. He beheld the sweet liquid enveloped by rock, like a fish swimming in shallow water; Bṛihaspati brought it out, like a spoon from a tree, having cloven (Vala) with his shout. 9. He discovered the Dawn, the Sky, Agni; with his gleam he chased away the darkness; Bṛihaspati smote forth, as it were, the marrow from the joints of Vala, who had assumed the form of a bull."

i. 40, 5. *Pra nūnam Brahmaṇaspatir mantraṁ vadati ukthyam | yasminn Indro Varuṇo Mitro Aryamā devāḥ okāṁsi chakrire* | 6. *Tam id vochema vidatheshu śambhuvam mantraṁ devaḥ anehasam* | "5. Brahmaṇaspati now utters a laudatory hymn, in which Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, the gods, have taken up their abode. 6. This spotless hymn, bringing good fortune, may we, o gods, utter on the festivals." [409]

i. 190, 1. *Anarvāṇaṁ vṛishabham mandrajihvam Bṛihaspatiṁ vardhaya navyam arkaiḥ | gāthānyaḥ surucho yasya devāḥ āśṛinvanti navamānasya martāḥ* | 2. *Tam ṛitviyāḥ upa vāchaḥ sachante sargo yo na devayatām asarji* | "1. Magnify Bṛihaspati, the irresistible, the vigorous, the pleasant-tongued, who ought to be praised with hymns, a shining leader of songs to whom both gods and men listen when he utters

[409] In the dissertation quoted above, p. 74, Professor Roth remarks on these verses: "The thunder is his (Brahmaṇaspati's) voice. This voice of thunder, again, as the voice of the superintendent of prayer, is by a beautiful transference brought into connection with the prayer which, spoken on earth, finds, as it were, its echo in the heights of heaven."

praise. 2. To him proceed well-ordered words, like a stream of devout men which has been set in motion."

v. 43, 12. *Ā vedhasam nīlapṛishṭham bṛihantam Bṛihaspatiṁ sadane sādayadhvam | sādadyonim dame ā dīdivāṁsaṁ hiraṇyavarṇam arushaṁ sapema* | "Seat on the sacrificial ground the wise, the dark-backed, the mighty Bṛihaspati. Let us reverence the golden-hued ruddy god who sits on our hearth, who shines in our house."

z. 98, 7. *Devaśrutaṁ vṛishṭivaniṁ rarāṇo Bṛihaspatir vācham asmai ayachhat* | "Bṛihaspati, fulfilling (his desire), gave him (Devāpi) a hymn seeking for rain, which the gods heard."

(2) *Parentage and attributes of the god.*

Brahmaṇaspati, or Bṛihaspati, appears to be described in vii. 97, 8, as the offspring of the two Worlds, who magnified him by their power (*devī devasya rodasī janitrī Bṛihaspatiṁ vavṛidhatur mahitvā*); whilst in ii. 23, 17, he is said to have been generated by Tvashṭṛi (see above). He is called a priest, x. 141, 3 (*brahmāṇaṁ cha Bṛihaspatim*); is associated with the Ṛikvans, or singers (vii. 10, 4; x. 14, 3; compare x. 36, 5; x. 64, 4); is denominated an Āngirasa (iv. 40, 1; vi. 73, 1; x. 47, 6); is the generator, the utterer, the lord, the inspirer, of prayer (ii. 23, 1, 2; i. 40, 5; x. 98, 7), who by prayer accomplishes his designs (ii. 24, 3); and mounting the shining and awful chariot of the ceremonial, proceeds to conquer the enemies of prayer and of the gods (ii. 23, 3 f., 8). He is the guide, patron, and protector of the pious, who are saved by him from all dangers and calamities (ibid. verses 4 ff.); and are blessed by him with wealth and prosperity (ibid. 9 f.). He is styled the father of the gods, ii. 26, 3 (*devānām pitaram*); is said to have blown forth the births of the gods like a blacksmith (see above, p. 48); to be possessed of all divine attributes, *viśvadevya*, or *viśvadeva* (iii. 62, 4; iv. 50, 6); bright, *śuchi* (iii. 62, 5; vii. 97, 7); pure, *śundhyu* (vii. 97, 7); omniform, *viśvarūpa* (iii. 62, 6); possessed of all desirable things, *viśvavāra* (vii. 10, 4; vii. 97, 4); to have a hundred wings, *śatapatra* (vii. 97, 7); to carry a golden spear, *hiraṇyavāśī* (ibid.; compare ii. 24, 8, where a bow and arrows are assigned to him); to be a devourer of enemies, *vṛitrakhāda* (x. 65, 10; comp. vi. 73, 3); a leader of armies along with Indra, etc., *Indraḥ āsāṁ*

netā Bṛihaspatir Dakshiṇā (x. 103, 8), and armed with an iron axe, which Tvashṭṛi sharpens, *śiśīte nūnam paraśuṁ svāyasaṁ yena vṛiśchād etaśo Brahmaṇaspatiḥ* (x. 53, 9); clear-voiced, *śuchikranda* (vii. 97, 5); a prolonger of life, *pratarītā 'si āyushaḥ* (x. 100, 5); a remover of disease, *amīvahā* (i. 18, 2); opulent, *revat*, *vasuvit*; an increaser of the means of subsistence, *pushṭivardhana* (i. 18, 2). Plants are said to spring from him, *yāḥ oshadhīḥ . . . . Bṛihaspatiprasūtāḥ* (x. 97, 15, 19). He is said in one place to be conveyed by easy-going ruddy horses, *taṁ śagmāso arushāso aśvāḥ Bṛihaspatiṁ sahavāho vahanti* (vii. 97, 6).

In one place he is said to have heard the cries of Trita, who had been thrown into a well and was calling on the gods, and to have rescued him from his perilous position, i. 105, 17 (*Tritaḥ kūpe avahito devān havate ūtaye | tat śuśrāva Bṛihaspatiḥ kṛiṇvann aṁhūraṇād uru*).

His exploits in the way of destroying Vala, and carrying off the heavenly kine, or releasing the imprisoned waters of the sky, have been sufficiently explained, in the quotation I have made above from Professor Roth's Essay, as well as in the texts which have been translated. He is further, as we have seen, described as holding asunder the ends of the earth (iv. 50, 1).

(3) *Whether Bṛihaspati and Brahmaṇaspati are identifiable with Agni.*

Brahmaṇaspati and Bṛihaspati are regarded as names of Agni by M. Langlois, in his translation of the Rig-veda, vol. i. p. 249 (note 36), p. 254 (note 83), p. 578 (note 1), and index, vol. iv., under the words.[410] Professor Wilson also, in the introduction to the 1st vol. of his translation, p. xxxvii., writes as follows: "Brahmaṇaspati, also, as far as we can make out his character from the occasional stanzas addressed to him, seems to be identifiable with Agni, with the additional attribute of presiding over prayer. The characteristic properties of this divinity, however, are not very distinctly developed in this portion of the Veda" (see also the notes in pp. 41, 111, 152). In the introduction to his second volume, p. ix. however, Professor Wilson says that, as described in the 2nd ashṭaka of the R.V., Bṛihaspati, "when treated of separately, is identical with Indra, by his attributes of sending rain (p. 199) and wielding the thunderbolt (p.

[410] M. Langlois spells Bṛihaspati, Vṛihaspati.

284); but he is hymned indiscriminately with Brahmaṇaspati, who is styled the lord of the Gaṇas, or companies of divinities, and also, which is in harmony with his former character, chief or most excellent lord of mantras or prayers of the Vedas (p. 262); he also, in some of his attributes, as those of dividing the clouds, and sending rain, and recovering the stolen kine (p. 268) is identical with Indra, although with some inconsisteney he is spoken of as distinct from, although associated with, him (p. 270); but this may be a misconception of the scholiast, etc." Finally, Professor Müller (Transl. of R.V. i. 77) states his opinion that "Brahmaṇaspati and Bṛihaspati are both varieties of Agni, the priest and purohita of gods and men, and as such he is invoked together with the Maruts, etc.," as he had previously remarked that Agni also is. The verse to which this note refers, R.V. i. 38, 13, is as follows: *achha vada tanā girā jarāyai brahmaṇaspatim agnim mitraṁ na darśatam*, which Professor Müller renders thus: "Speak out for ever with thy voice to praise the lord of prayer, Agni, who is like a friend, the bright one."

This identification, in the strict sense, of Brahmaṇaspati with Agni is supported by some texts, but opposed to others. Of the former class are the following:

ii. 1, 3. *Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ satām asi tvaṁ Vishṇur urugāyo namasyaḥ | tvam brahmā rayivid brahmaṇaspate* | "Thou, Agni, art Indra, the most vigorous of the good; thou art the wide-striding and adorable Vishṇu; thou, o Brahmaṇaspati (or lord of prayer), art a priest (*brahmā*), the possessor of wealth, etc." Here, although Agni is also identified with Indra and Vishṇu, as he is with other deities in the following verses, the connection between him and Brahmaṇaspati is shown to be more intimate and real by the fact that both the latter word and Agni are in the vocative. In the next passage also Bṛihaspati, as well as Mātariśvan may be regarded as an epithet of Agni, iii. 26, 2. *Taṁ śubhram Agnim avase havāmahe vaiśvānaram mātariśvāham ukthyam | Bṛihaspatim manusho devatātaye vipraṁ hotāram atithiṁ raghushyadam* | "We call to our succour the bright Agni, the friend of all mankind; Mātariśvan, who is worthy to be hymned; Bṛihaspati, the wise invoker, the guest, swiftly-moving, that he may come to a man's worship of the gods."

The verse above quoted, v. 43, 12, is also alternatively explained of

Agni by Sāyaṇa in his remarks: *athavā iyam Āgneyī | bṛihataḥ parivṛidhasya karmaṇaḥ svāmī iti Bṛihaspatir Agnir uchyate | tathā nīlavarṇa-dhūma-pṛishṭhatva-sadana-sādana-hiraṇyavarṇatvādi-lingair apy Agnir eva Bṛihaspatiḥ* | "Or, Agni is the subject of the verse. By Bṛihaspati, the lord of the grand ceremonial, Agni is denoted. And, further, it is also shown by the marks of having a back of dark-coloured smoke, of being placed on the sacrificial ground, of having a golden hue, etc., that Bṛihaspati is Agni." And in ii. 2, 7, Agni is besought to make Heaven and Earth favourable to the worshipper by prayer, *brahmaṇā* (*prāchī dyāvāpṛithivī brahmaṇā kridhi*). Further, Agni (see above pp. 199 f.), as well as Brahmaṇaspati and Bṛihaspati, is called a priest, and both are designated as Angiras, or Āngirasa.

On the other hand, however, Brahmaṇaspati or Bṛihaspati is elsewhere distinguished from Agni. Thus in x. 68, 9, Bṛihaspati is said to have found out Ushas, the heaven, and Agni, and by a hymn to have chased away the darkness (*saḥ ushām avindat saḥ svaḥ so agnim so arkeṇa vi babādhe tamāṁsi*). In vii. 10, 4, Agni is asked to bring Bṛihaspati along with Indra, Rudra, Aditi, etc. In the following texts, where a number of different gods are invoked or named together, Agni is mentioned separately from Brāhmaṇaspati or Bṛihaspati, iii. 20, 5; iv. 40, 1; v. 51, 12 f.; vii. 41, 1; vii. 44, 1; ix. 5, 11; x. 35, 11; x. 65, 1; x. 130, 4; x. 141, 3.

SECTION XVIII.

YAMA AND THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE.

(1) *References to immortality in the earlier books of the Rig-veda.*

It is in the ninth and tenth books of the Rig-veda that we find the most distinct and prominent references to a future life. It is true that the Ṛibhus, on account of their artistic skill, are said, in some texts in the earlier books, to have been promised, and to have attained, immortality and divine honours (see above p. 226, and R.V. iv. 35, 3, where it is said: *atha aita Vājāḥ amṛitasya panthāṁ gaṇaṁ devānām Ṛibhavaḥ suhastāḥ* | "Then, skilful Vājas, Ṛibhus, ye proceeded on the road of immortality, to the assemblage of the gods;" and verse 8: *ye devāso abhavata sukṛityā śyenāḥ iva id adhi divi nisheda* | *te ratnaṁ dhāta śavaso napātaḥ Sandhanvanāḥ abhavata amṛitāsaḥ* | "Ye who through your skill have become gods, and like falcons are seated in the sky, do ye, children of strength, give us riches; ye, o sons of Sudhanvan, have become immortal."). This, however, is a special case of deification, and would not prove that ordinary mortals were considered to survive after the termination of their earthly existence. There are, however, a few other passages which must be understood as intimating a belief in a future state of happiness. Thus Agni is said in i. 31, 7, to exalt a mortal to immortality (*tvaṁ tam Agne amṛitatve uttame martaṁ dadhāsi*); and to be the guardian of immortality (*adabdho gopāḥ amṛitasya rakshitā*). And the same power is ascribed to Soma in i. 191, 1: *tava praṇītī pitaro naḥ Indo deveshu ratnam abhajanta dhīrāḥ* | "By thy guidance, o Soma, our sage ancestors have obtained riches among the gods;" and again, in verse 18: *apyāyamāno amṛitāya Soma divi śravāṁsi uttamāni dhishva* | "Soma, becoming abundant to (produce) immortality, place (for us) excellent treasures in the sky."[411] Some other passages to the same

[411] Professor Benfey, however, translates differently: "take possession of the highest renown in heaven."

effect are the following: i. 125, 5. *Nākasya pṛishṭhe adhi tishṭhati śrito yo pṛiṇāti sa ha deveshu gachhati* | 6. *Dakshiṇāvatām id imāni chitrā dakshiṇāvatāṁ divi sūryāsaḥ* | *dakshiṇāvanto amṛitam bhajante dakshiṇāvantaḥ pratiranteāyuḥ*[412] | "5. The liberal man abides placed upon the summit of the sky; he goes to the gods. 6. These brilliant things are the portion of those who bestow largesses; there are suns for them in heaven; they attain immortality; they prolong their lives. i. 154, 5. *Tad asya priyam abhi pātho*[413] *aśyāṁ naro yatra devayavo madanti* | *urukramasya sa hi bandhur itthā Vishṇoḥ pade parame madhvaḥ utsaḥ* | "May I attain to that his (Vishṇu's) beloved abode where men devoted to the gods rejoice; for that is the bond of the wide-striding god—a spring of honey in the highest sphere of Vishṇu." i. 179, 6. *Ubhau varṇāv ṛishir ugraḥ puposha satyāḥ deveshu āśisho jagāma* | "The glorious rishi practised both kinds[414]: he realised his aspirations among the gods." In v. 4, 10, the worshipper prays: *prajābhir Agne amṛitvam aśyām* | "May I, Agni, with my offspring, attain immortality."[415] In v. 55, 4, the Maruts are besought to place their worshippers in the condition of immortality (*uto asmān amṛitatve dadhātana*). v. 63, 2: *vṛishṭiṁ vāṁ rādho amṛitatvam īmahe* | "We ask of you twain (Mitra and Varuṇa) rain, wealth, immortality." vii. 57, 6. *Dadāta no amṛitasya prajāyai* | which Professor Roth, *s.v. prajā*, explains: "add us

[412] The same idea is repeated in x. 107, 2 (*uchhā divi dakshiṇāvanto asthur ye aśvadāḥ saha te sūryeṇa* | *hiraṇyadāḥ amṛitatvam bhajante vāsodāḥ soma pra tirante āyuḥ* | "The givers of largesses abide high in the sky; the givers of horses live with the sun; the givers of gold enjoy immortality; the givers of raiment prolong their lives."

[413] The same word which is here employed, *pāthas*, occurs also in iii. 55, 10: *Vishṇur gopāḥ paramam pāti pāthaḥ priyā dhāmāni amṛitā dadhānaḥ* | "Vishṇu, a protector, guards the highest abode, occupying the beloved, imperishable regions." See also i. 162, 2; x. 70, 9, 10. In i. 163, 13, the horse which had been immolated is said to have gone to the highest abode, to the gods (*upa prāgāt paramaṁ sadastham arvāñ achā pitaram mātaraṁ cha* | *adya devān jushṭatamo hi gamyāḥ*). In ii. 23, 8, mention is made of *uttaraṁ sumnam* "the highest happiness," and in ii. 25, 5, of the "happiness of the gods" (*devānāṁ sumne*); but it does not appear whether heaven is meant. In i. 159, 2, Heaven and Earth seem to be declared to provide large immortality for their offspring (*uru prajāyāḥ amṛitam*).

[414] Sāyaṇa explains *abhau varṇau* by "pleasure and austerity" *kāmaṁ cha tapaś cha*).

[415] See, however, Sāyaṇa's glow and Wilson's note, in *loco*, where the immortality referred to is explained as immortality through offspring, and as consisting in an unbroken succession of descendants, the immortality of a mortal (*amṛitatvaṁ santatyavichheda-lakshaṇam* | "*prajām anu prajāyate tad u te martya amṛitam*" *iti hi śrutiḥ*).

to (the number of) the people of eternity, *i.e.* to the blessed." vii. 76, 4. *Te id devānāṁ sadhamādaḥ āsann ṛitāvānaḥ kavayaḥ pūrvyāsaḥ* | "They were the companions of the gods,—those ancient righteous sages." viii. 58, 7. *Ud yad bradhnasya vishṭapaṁ gṛiham Indraś cha ganvahi* | *madhvaḥ pītvā sachevahi triḥ sapta sakhyuḥ pade* | "When we two, Indra and I, go to the region of the sun, to our home, may we, drinking nectar, seek thrice seven in the realm of the friend." Compare viii. 48, 3, quoted above in p. 90, note: We have drunk the Soma; we have become immortal; we have entered into light; we have known the gods."

Vāta is also declared to have a store of immortality in his house (*te gṛihe amṛitasya nidhir hitaḥ*). But this verse occurs in a late hymn (the 186th) of the tenth Maṇḍala. In the same Book, x. 95, 18, the promise is made by the gods to Purūravas, the son of Iḷā, that though he was a mortal, when his offspring should worship them, with oblations, he should enjoy happiness in Svarga, heaven (*iti tvā devāḥ ime āhur Aila yathem etad bhavasi mṛityubandhuḥ* | *prajā te devān havishā yajāti svarge u tvam api mādayāse*).

(2) *References to the Fathers, the souls of departed ancestors, in the earlier books of the Rig-veda.*

The following passages appear to refer to the souls of deceased ancestors conceived of as still existing in another world:

i. 36, 18. *Agninā Turvaśaṁ Yadum parāvataḥ Ugradevaṁ havāmahe* | "Through Agni we call Turvaśa, Yadu, and Ugradeva from afar." iii. 55, 2. *Mó shū no atra juhuranta devāḥ mā pūrve Agne pitaraḥ padajnāḥ* | "Let not the gods injure us here, nor our early Fathers who know the realms." vi. 52, 4. *Avantu mām Ushaso jāyamānāḥ avantu mā sindhavaḥ pinvamānāḥ* | *avantu mā parvatāso dhruvāso avantu mā pitaro devahūtau* | "May the rising Dawn, the swelling rivers, the firm mountains, protect me; may the Fathers protect me in my invocation to the gods." vi. 75, 10. *Brāhmaṇāsaḥ pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ śive no Dyāvāpṛithivī anehasā* | *Pūshā naḥ pātu duritād ṛitāvṛidhaḥ* | "May the Brāhmans, Fathers, drinkers of Soma, may Heaven and Earth be propitious to us. May Pūshan, the promoter of sacred rites, preserve us from calamity." vii. 35, 12. *Sam naḥ satyasya patayo bhavantu*

śaṁ no arvantaḥ śam u santu gāvaḥ | śaṁ naḥ Ṛibhavaḥ sukṛitaḥ suhastāḥ śaṁ no bhavantu pitaro haveshu | "May the lords of truth be propitious to us, and so may the horses and kine; may the skilful Ṛibhus, dexterous of hand, may the Fathers, be propitious to us in our invocations." viii. 48, 13. *Tvaṁ Soma pitṛibhiḥ saṁvidāno anu dyāvāpṛithivī ā tatantha* | "Thou, Soma, in concert with the Fathers, hast extended the Heaven and Earth."

I may also introduce here a few detached texts on the same subject from the ninth and tenth books: ix. 83, 3. *Māyāvino mamire asya māyayā nṛichakshasaḥ pitaro garbham ādadhuḥ* | "By his wondrous power, the skilful have formed, the Fathers, beholders of men, have deposited the germ." x. 68, 11. *Abhi śyāvaṁ na kṛiśanebhir aśvaṁ nakshatrebhiḥ pitaro dyām apiṁśan* | "The Fathers have adorned the sky with stars, as a bay horse is decorated with pearls (?)." x. 88, 15. *Dve srutī aśṛiṇavam pitṛiṇām aham devānām uta martyānām* | "I have heard of two paths for mortals, that of the Fathers, and that of the gods." [416] x. 107, 1. *Mahi jyotiḥ pitṛibhir dattam āgāt* | "The great light given by the Fathers has arrived."

In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, and in the Purāṇas, the Fathers (Pitṛis) are represented as being a distinct order of beings from men, as may be gathered from their being separately created. See the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 23 f., 37, 58, 79 f.

(3) *Hymns relating to Yamá and the Fathers.*

I now come to the passages in the ninth and tenth books to which I first alluded: and, owing to the great interest and importance of the subjects to which they refer, I shall first quote the most essential parts of them at length, and then supply a summary of the conclusions which they assert or involve.

I shall begin with the brief account of Yama's parentage in the seventeenth hymn, already quoted above, p. 227, and the dialogue betwixt him and his twin sister Yamī, in the tenth hymn of the tenth book.

R.V. x. 17, 1. "Tvashṭṛi makes a marriage for his daughter. (Hearing) this, this whole world assembles. The mother of Yama, becoming

[416] See the 1st vol. of this Work, p. 434.

wedded, the wife of the great Vivasvat, disappeared. 2. They concealed the immortal (bride) from mortals. Making (another) of similar form, gave her to Vivasvat. And she bore the Aśvins when that happened. Saraṇyū abandoned the two pairs of twins." [417]

The following hymn contains a dialogue between Yama and his twin sister Yamī, in which, according to Professor Roth, she is to be considered as urging a matrimonial union between them for the continuation of the human species, of which, in the opinion of that writer, they appear to have been regarded as the earliest pair.[418] In verse 4, they are declared to have been the offspring of the Gandharva and his wife.

R.V. x. 10, 1.[419] *O chit sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛityāṁ tiraḥ puru chid arṇavaṁ jaganvān | pitur napātam ā dadhīta vedhāḥ adhi kshami prataraṁ dīdhyānaḥ | 2. Na te sakhā sakhyaṁ vashṭi etat salakshmā yad vishurūpā bhavāti | mahas putrāso asurasya vīrāḥ divo dharttāraḥ urviyā pari khyan | 3. Uśanti gha te amṛitāsaḥ etad ekasya chit tyajasam martyasya | ni te mano manasi dhāyi asme janyuḥ patis tanvam ā viviśyāḥ | 4. Na yat purā chakṛima kad ha nūnam ṛitā vadanto anṛitaṁ rapema |*

[417] After this section was first written I received Professor Max Müller's second series of Lectures on the Science of Language. The learned and ingenious author there discusses at length the meaning of the myths regarding Vivasvat, Saraṇyū, and their offspring (pp. 481 ff., and 508 ff.). He understands Vivasvat to represent the sky, Saraṇyū the dawn, Yama originally the day, and Yamī, his twin sister, the night (p. 509). I shall briefly refer, as I proceed, to some of his further explanations, leaving the reader to consult the work itself for fuller information.

[418] See Professor Roth's remarks on Yama in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 426, and in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 335 f. "They are," he says, "as their names denote, twin brother and sister, and are the first human pair, the originators of the race. As the Hebrew conception closely connected the parents of mankind by making the woman formed from a portion of the body of the man, so by the Indian tradition they are placed in the relationship of twins. This thought is laid by the hymn in question in the mouth of Yamī herself, when she is made to say: 'Even in the womb the Creator made us for man and wife.'" Professor Müller, on the other hand, says (Lect., 2nd ser., p. 510): "There is a curious dialogue between her (Yamī) and her brother, where she (the night) implores her brother (the day) to make her his wife, and where he declines her offer, 'because,' as he says, 'they have called it a sin that a brother should marry his sister.'" Again, p. 521, "There is not a single word in the Veda pointing to *Yama* and *Yamī* as the first couple of mortals, as the Indian Adam and Eve. . . . If Yama had been the first created of men, surely the Vedic poets, in speaking of him, could not have passed this over in silence." See, however, the passage from the A.V. xviii. 3, 13, to be quoted further on.

[419] This hymn is repeated in the A.V. xviii. 1, 1 ff. I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for some improvements in my translation.

Gandharvo apsu apyā cha yoshā sā no nābhiḥ paramaṁ jāmi tan nau | 5. *Garbhe nu nau janitā dampatī kar devas Tvashṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ* | *nakir asya praminanti vratāni veda nāv asya pṛithivī uta dyauḥ* | 6. *Ko asya veda prathamasya ahnaḥ kaḥ īṁ dadarśa kaḥ iha pra vochat* | *bṛihan Mitrasya Varuṇasya dhāma kad u bravaḥ āhano vīchyā nṛīn* | 7. *Yamasya mā Yamyāṁ kāmaḥ āgan samāne yonau sahaśeyyāya* | *jāyā iva patye tanvaṁ ririchyāṁ vi chid vṛiheva*[420] *rathyā iva chakrā* | 8. *Na tishṭhanti na hi mishanti ete devānāṁ spaśaḥ iha ye charanti* | (=Nir. v. 2) *anyena mad āhano yāhi tūyaṁ tena vi vṛiha rathyā iva chakrā* | 9. *Rātrībhir asmai ahabhir daśasyet Sūryasya chakshur muhur un mimīyāt* | *divā pṛithivyā mithunā sabandhū Yamīr Yamasya bibhṛiyād ajāmi* | 10. (=Nir. iv. 20) *Ā gha tā gachann uttarā yugāni yatra jāmayaḥ kṛiṇavann ajāmi* | *upa barbhṛihi vṛishabhāya bāhum anyam ichhasva subhage patim mat* | 11. *Kim bhrātā asad yad anātham bhavāti kim u svasā yan Nirṛitir nigachhāt* | *kāma-mūtā bahu etad rapāmi tanvā me tanvaṁ sam pipṛigdhi* | 12. *Na vai u te tanvā tanvaṁ sam papṛichyām pāpam āhur yaḥ svasāraṁ nigachhāt* | *anyena mat pramudaḥ kalpayasva na te bhrātā subhage vashṭi etat* | 13. (=Nir. vi. 28) *Bato bata asi Yama naiva te mano hṛidayaṁ cha avidāma* | *anyā kila tvāṁ kakshyā iva yuktam pari shvajāte libujeva vṛiksham*[421] | 14. (=Nir. xi. 34) *Anyam u shu tvaṁ Yami anyaḥ u tvām pari shvajāta libujeva vṛiksham* | *tasya vā tvam manaḥ ichha sa vā tava adha kṛiṇushva saṁvidaṁ subhadrām* |

[Yamī says] "O that I might attract a friend to friendly acts. May the sage (Yama?), after traversing a vast ocean, receive a grandson to his father, and look far forward over the earth.[422] 2. (Yama.) Thy friend does not desire this intimacy that (his) kinswoman should become (as) an alien. The heroes, the sons of the great Spirit, the supporters of the sky, look far and wide around (see verse 8). 3. (Yamī.) The immortals desire this of thee, (they desire) a descendant left behind by the one sole mortal. Let thy soul be united to mine. As a husband, penetrate the body of (thy) wife. 4. (Yama.) Shall we (do) now what we have never done before? Shall we who (have been) speakers of righteousness, utter unrighteousness? The

[420] Compare A.V. vi. 90, 1; vi. 127, 3.

[421] Compare A.V. vi. 8, 1.

[422] This verse occurs with variations in the Sāma-veda, i. 340. The sense of it, as well as some others, is obscure. If the sage (*vedhas*) mean Yama, his father may be Vivasvat, or the Gandharva, and the grandson of the latter may be the son whom Yamī was desirous to bear to her twin brother (Yama). Compare the first half of verse 3.

Gandharva in the (aerial) waters, and his aqueous wife[423]—such is our source, such is our high relationship. 5. (Yamī.) The divine Tvashṭṛi, the creator, the vivifier, the shaper of all forms, made as husband and wife, (while we were yet) in the womb.[424] No one can infringe his ordinances. Earth and heaven know this of us. 6. (Yama.) Who knows this first day? Who has seen it? Who can declare it? Vast is the realm of Mitra and Varuṇa. What wilt thou, o wanton woman, say in thy thoughtlessness (?) to men? 7. (Yamī.) The desire of Yama has come upon me, Yamī, to lie with him on the same couch. Let me, as a wife, bare my body to my husband. Let us whirl round like the two wheels of a chariot. 8. (Yama.) These spies of the gods who range throughout this world stand not still, neither do they wink. Depart, quickly, wanton woman, with some other man than me. Whirl round with him like the two wheels of a chariot. 9. (Yamī.) Though she should wait upon him by night and by day, still the eye of the sun would open again. Both in heaven and earth twins are closely united. Let Yamī treat Yama as if she were not his sister. 10. (Yama.) Later ages shall come when kinsmen and kinswomen shall do what is unbecoming their relation. Spread thy arm beneath a male. Desire, o fair one, another husband than me. 11. (Yamī.) How can a man be a brother, when (a woman) is left without a helper? And what is a sister, when misery (is allowed to) come upon her? Overcome by desire, I am thus importunate. Unite thy body with mine. 12. (Yama.) I will not unite my body with thine. They call him a sinner who sexually approaches his sister. Seek thy gratification with some other than me. Fair one, thy brother desires not this.[425] 13. (Yamī.)[426] Thou art weak, alas, o Yama; we perceive not

[423] Compare Müller's Lectures, 2nd. series, p. 483. He takes Gandharva for Vivasvat, and his aqueous wife (*Apyā Yoshā*) for Saraṇyū, in accordance with Sāyaṇa.

[424] In like manner Tvashṭṛi is said, A.V. vi. 78, 3, to have formed a husband and wife for each other. See above, p. 225; also viii. 72, 8.

[425] The Atharva-veda (xviii. 1, 13, 14) expands this verse into two: *na te nāthāṁ Yaṃi atrāham asmi na te tanūṁ tanvā sam paprichyām | anyena mat pramudaḥ kalpayasva na te bhrātā subhage vashṭi etat* | 14. *Na vai u te tanūṁ tanvā sam paprichyām pāpam āhur yaḥ svasāraṁ nigachhāt | asaṁyad etad manaso hṛido me bhrātā svasuḥ śayane yat śayīya* | "I am not in this thy helper, o Yamī; I will not unite my body with thine. Seek thy gratification with some other than me. Fair one, thy brother desires not this. I will not unite my body with thine. They call him a sinner who sexually approaches his sister. This is abhorrent to my soul and heart, that I, a brother, should lie on my sister's bed."

[426] This verse is quoted and explained in Nirukta, vi. 28.

any soul or heart in thee. Another woman shall enlace and embrace thee like a girdle, or as a creeping plant a tree. 14. (Yama.) Thou shalt embrace another man, o Yamī, and another man thee, as a creeping plant a tree. Do thou desire his heart, and he thine. Make then a fortunate alliance." [427]

The next hymn I quote is addressed to Yama.

R.V. x. 14, 1 (= A.V. xviii. 1, 49. Nir. x. 20). *Pareyivāṁsam pravato mahīr anu bahubhyaḥ panthām anupaspaśānam | Vaivasvataṁ saṅgamanaṁ janānāṁ Yamaṁ rājānaṁ havishā duvasya | [A.V. xviii. 3, 13. Yo mamāra prathamo martyānāṁ yaḥ preyāya prathamo lokam etam | Vaivasvataṁ saṅgamanaṁ janānāṁ Yamaṁ rājānaṁ havishā saparyata]* [428] | 2. *Yamo no gātum prathamo viveda naishā gavyūtir apabhartavai u | yatra naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ pareyur enā jajnānāḥ pathyāḥ anu svāḥ | 3. Mātalī Kavyair Yamo Angirobhir Bṛihaspatir Ṛikvabhir vavṛidhānaḥ | Vāṁś cha devāḥ vavṛidhur ye cha devāḥ svāhā anye svadhayā anye madanti | 4. Imaṁ Yama prastaram ā hi sīda Angirobhiḥ pitṛibhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ | ā tvā mantrāḥ kavi-śastāḥ vahantu enā rājan havishā mādayasva | 5. Angirobhir āgahi yajniyebhir Yama Vairupair iha mādayasva | Vivasvantaṁ huve yaḥ pitā te asmin yajne barhishi ā nishadya | 6. Angiraso naḥ pitaro Navagvāḥ Atharvāṇo Bhṛigavaḥ somyāsaḥ | teshāṁ vayaṁ sumatau yajniyānām api bhadre saumanase syāma | 7. Prehi prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhir yatra naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ pareyuḥ | ubhā rājānā svadhayā madantā Yamam paśyāsi Varuṇaṁ cha devam | 8. Sangachhasva pitṛibhiḥ saṁ Yamena ishṭāpūrttena parame vyoman | hitvāya avadyam punar astam ehi sangachhasva tanvā suvarchāḥ | 9. Apeta vīta vi cha sarpatāto asmai etam pitaro lokam akran | ahobhir adbhir aktubhir vyaktaṁ Yamo dadāti avasānam asmai | 10. Ati drava Sārameyau śvānau chaturakshau śabalau sādhunā pathā | atha pitṛīn suvidatrān upehi Yamena ye sadhamādam madanti | 11. Yau te śvānau Yama rakshitārau chaturakshau pathirakshī nṛichakshasau | tābhyām*

[427] It appears from Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskrit MSS. p. 82, that the Narasiṁha Purāṇa, i. 13, contains a dialogue between Yama and Yamī; but I am informed by Dr. Hall, who has looked at the passage, that the conversation does not appear to be on the same subject as that in the hymn before us.

[428] Compare A.V. vi. 28, 3: *Yaḥ prathamaḥ pravatāṁ āsasāda bahubhyaḥ panthām anupaspaśānaḥ | yo asya īśe dvipado yaś chatushpadas tasmai Yamāya namo astu mṛityave* | "Reverence to that Yama, to Death, who first reached the river, spying out a path for many, who is lord of these two-footed and four-footed creatures."

enam pari dehi rājan svasti cha asmai anamīvaṁ cha dhehi | 12. *Urūṇasāv asutṛipā udumbalau Yamasya dūtau charato janān anu* | *tāv asmabhyaṁ dṛiśaye sūryāya punar dātām asum adyeha bhadram* | 13. *Yamāya somam sunuta Yamāya juhuta haviḥ* | *Yamaṁ ha yajño gachhati agnidūto arankṛitaḥ* | 14. *Yamāya ghṛitavad havir juhota pra cha tishṭhata* | *sa no deveshu ā yamad dīrgham āyuḥ pra jīvase* | 15. *Yamāya madhumattamaṁ rājñe havyaṁ juhotana* | *idaṁ namaḥ ṛishibhyaḥ pūrvajebhyaḥ pūrvebhyaḥ pathikṛidbhyaḥ* |

"Worship with an oblation King Yama, son of Vivasvat, the assembler of men, who departed to the mighty streams,[429] and spied out the road for many. [Compare Atharva-veda, xviii. 3, 13: 'Reverence ye with an oblation Yama, the son of Vivasvat, the assembler of men, who was the first of men that died, and the first that departed to this (celestial) world.'] 2. Yama was the first who found for us the way. This home is not to be taken from us. Those who are now born (follow) by their own paths to the place whither our ancient fathers have departed. 3. Mātalī magnified by the Kavyas, Yama by the Angirases, and Bṛihaspati by the Ṛikvans—both those whom the gods magnified, and those who (magnified) the gods—of these some are gladdened by Svāhā, and others by Svadhā. 4. Place thyself, Yama, on this sacrificial seat, in concert with the Angirases and Fathers. Let the texts recited by the sages bring thee hither. Delight thyself, o king, with this oblation. 4. Come with the adorable Angirases; delight thyself here, Yama, with the children of Virūpa.[430] Seated on the grass at this sacrifice, I invoke Vivasvat, who is thy father. 6. (Nir. xi. 19.) May we enjoy the good will and gracious

[429] This is the rendering of the words *pravato mahīr anu*, adopted by Roth in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 138. In support of this sense of mighty (celestial) waters, he refers to R.V. ix. 113, 8 (which I shall quote further on), and to verse 9 of this hymn. In his article on the story of Jemshīd, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 426, he had translated the words, "from the deep to the heights;" and Dr. Haug, in his "Essays on the Sacred Language, etc., of the Parsees," p. 234, similarly renders, "from the depths to the heights." In the Atharva-veda, xviii. 4, 7, however, where the same words occur, *tīrthais taranti pravato mahīr iti yajñakṛitaḥ sukṛito yena yanti* ("They cross by fords the great rivers, [by the road] which the virtuous offerers of sacrifice pass,") they seem more likely to mean the mighty streams. Compare Professor Müller's Lectures, ii. 515.

[430] Virūpa is mentioned in R.V. i. 45, 3; viii. 64, 6; and the Virūpas in iii. 53, 6, and x. 62, 5 f. See the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 246 and note.

benevolence of those adorable beings, the Angirases, our Fathers, the Navagvas, the Atharvans, the Bhṛigus, offerers of soma. 7. Depart thou,[431] depart by the ancient paths (to the place) whither our early fathers have departed. (There) shalt thou see the two kings, Yama and the god Varuṇa, exhilarated by the oblation (*svadhā*), (or, exulting in independent power). 8. Meet with the Fathers, meet with Yama,[432] meet with the [recompense of] the sacrifices thou hast offered[433] in the highest heaven. Throwing off all imperfection again go to thy home.[434] Become united to a body, and clothed in a shining

[431] The following verses (as appears from Professor Müller's Essay on the funeral rites of the Brahmans, Journal of the German Oriental Society, for 1855, p. xi.) are addressed at funerals to the souls of the departed, while their bodies are being consumed on the funeral pile.

[432] The A.V. xviii. 2, 21 is as follows: 21. *Hvayāmi te manasā manaḥ ihemān gṛihān upa jujushānaḥ ehi | sam̃ gachhasva pitṛibhiḥ sam̃ yamena syonās tvā vātāḥ upa vāntu śagmāḥ | 22. Ut tvā vahantu Maruto udavāhāḥ udaprutaḥ | ajena kṛiṇvantu śītam̃ varsheṇokshantu bāl iti | 23. Ud ahvam āyur āyushe kratve dakshāya jīvase | svān gachhatu te mano adhā pitṛīn upa drava* | "With my soul I call thy soul; come with delight to these abodes; meet with the Fathers, meet with Yama; may delightful, pleasant breezes blow upon thee. 22. May the water-bringing, water-shedding Maruts bear thee upward, and creating coolness by their motion, sprinkle thee with rain. 23. . . . . May thy soul go to its own (kindred), and hasten to the Fathers."

[433] The phrase *ishṭāpūrta* is explained by Dr. Haug (Ait. Br. ii. p. 474, note). *Ishṭa*, he says, means "what is sacrificed," and *āpūrtta*, "filled up to." "For all sacrifices go up to heaven, and are stored up there to be taken possession of by the sacrificer on his arrival in heaven." The words before us will therefore mean "rejoin thy sacrifices which were stored up." The Atharva-veda, xviii. 2, 20, expresses the sentiment here referred to by Dr. Haug in these words: *svadhāḥ yās chakṛishe jīvam̃s tās te santu madhuśchutaḥ* | "May the oblations which thou offeredst while alive (now) drop thee honey." And in A.V. xi. 1, 36, it is said: *etaiḥ sukṛitair anu gachema yajnam̃ nāke tishṭhantam adhi saptaraśmau* | "With these good deeds may we follow the sacrifice which abides in the heaven with seven rays." Compare A.V. vi. 122, 4: *yajnam̃ yantam manasā bṛihantam anvārohāmi tapasā sayoniḥ | upahūtāḥ Agne jarasaḥ parastāt tṛitīye nāke sadhamādham madema* | "With my soul I ascend after the great sacrifice as it goes, dwelling together with my austere fervour; may we, Agni, invited, enjoy a festival in the third heaven beyond (the reach of) decay." And A.V. vi. 123, 2: *anvāgantā yajamānaḥ svasti ishṭāpūrtam̃ sma kṛiṇutāvir asmai | 4. Sa pachāmi sa dadāmi sa yaje sa dattād mā yūsham | 5. Viddhi pūrtasya no rāyn sa deva sumanā bhava* | 2. "The sacrificer will follow in peace; show him what he has offered. 4. I cook, I give, I offer oblations; may I not be separated from what I have given. 5. O king, recognise what we have bestowed; be gracious." Compare A.V. iii. 29, 1.

[434] Müller (in the Essay just referred to, p. xiv.) translates this verse thus: "Leave evil there, then return home, and take a form," etc. This rendering appears to make the departed return to this world to resume his body, though in a glorified state,

form.[435] 9. Go ye, depart ye, hasten ye from hence.[436] The Fathers have made for him this place. Yama gives him an abode[437] distinguished by days, and waters, and lights. 10. By an auspicious path do thou hasten past the two four-eyed brindled dogs, the offspring of Saramā. Then approach the benevolent Fathers who dwell in festivity with Yama (compare A.V. xviii. 4, 10). 11. Intrust him,[438] o Yama, to thy two four-eyed, road-guarding, man-observing watch-dogs; and bestow on him prosperity and health. 12. The two brown messengers of Yama, broad of nostril and insatiable, wander about among men.[439] May they give us again to-day the auspicious breath of life, that we may behold the sun. 13. Pour out the soma to Yama, offer him an oblation. To Yama the sacrifice proceeds when heralded by Agni and prepared. 14. Offer to Yama an oblation with butter, and be active. May he grant us to live a long

which does not seem to bring out a good sense. Roth, on the other hand (in Journ. Germ. Or. Society, iv. 428), connects the word *punaḥ* with what precedes, and renders the verse thus: "Enter thy home, laying down again all imperfection," etc.

[435] The A.V. xviii. 2, 24, says: *mā te mano mā 'sor mā 'ngānām mā rasasya te | mā te hāsta tanvaḥ kinchaneha | 25. Mā tvā vṛikshaḥ sam bādhishṭa mā devī pṛithivī mahī | lokam pitṛishu vitvā edhasva Yamarājasu | 26. Yat te angam atihitaṁ parāchair apānaḥ prāṇo yaḥ u vāte paretaḥ | tat te sangatya pitaraḥ sanīḍāḥ ghāsād ghāsam punar ā veśayantu |* "Let not thy soul nor anything of thy spirit (*asu*), or of thy members, or of thy substance, or of thy body, disappear. 25. Let no tree vex thee, nor the great divine earth. Having found an abode among the Fathers, flourish among the subjects of Yama. 26. Whatever member of thine has been removed afar, or breath of thine has departed in the wind, may the combined Fathers reunite them all with thee."

[436] These words, according to Professor Müller, are addressed to evil spirits.

[437] *Avasānam.* Compare A.V. xviii. 2, 37, where Yama is said to recognise those who are his own: *dadāmi asmai avasānam etad yaḥ esha āgād mama ćhed abhūd iha | Yamaś chikitvān pṛiti etad āha mamaisha rāye upa tishṭhatām iha |* "I give this abode to this man who has come hither, if he is mine. Yama, perceiving, says again, 'He is mine, let him come hither to prosperity.'"

[438] See Roth, Journal German Oriental Society, iv. 428, at the foot, and his explanation of *pari dehi*, s.v. *dā* (see also x. 16, 2; and A.V. viii. 2, 20, 22). Müller, on the other hand (p. xiv.), translates: "Surround him, Yama, protecting him from the dogs," etc.

[439] The two dogs of Yama are also mentioned in A.V. viii. 1, 9, where one of them is said to be black (*śyāma*) and the other spotted (*śabala*). In A.V. viii. 2, 11, the messengers of Yama, who wander among men, are spoken of in the plural, without being described as dogs (*Vaivasvatena prahitān Yama-dūtāṁś charato 'pa sedhāmi sarvān*). In A.V. v. 30, 6, they are spoken of as two: *dūtau Yamasya mā 'nugāḥ adhi jīvapurā ihi |* "Do not follow Yama's two messengers; come to the cities of the living." In A.V. viii. 8, 10 f. also the messengers of Death and Yama are mentioned.

life among the gods. 15. Offer a most honied oblation to king Yama. Let this salutation (be presented) to the earliest-born, the ancient rishis, who made for us a path."

Hymn 15 of the same Maṇḍala is addressed to the Fathers, or departed ancestors, who, as we have already seen, are conceived to be living in a state of blessedness in the other world, though in some places, as we shall see, some of them are conceived to have other abodes. I will quote some verses from it, which will show still further their enjoyments, powers, and prerogatives:—

x. 15, 1. *Ud īratām avare ut parāsaḥ ud madhyamāḥ pitaraḥ somyāsaḥ | asuṁ ye īyur avṛikāḥ ṛitajnās te no avantu pitaro haveshu | 2. Idam pitṛibhyo namo astu adya ye pūrvāso ye uparāsaḥ īyuḥ | ye pārthive rajasi ā nishattāḥ ye vā nūnaṁ suvṛijanāsu vikshu | . . . . 5. Upahūtāḥ pitaraḥ somyāso barhishyeshu nidhishu priyeshu | te ā gamantu te iha śruvantu adhi bruvantu te avantu asmān | 6. Āchya jānu dakshiṇato nishadya imaṁ yajnam abhi gṛiṇīta viśve | mā hiṁsishṭa pitaraḥ kena chin no yad vaḥ āgaḥ purushtutā karāma | 7. Āsīnāso aruṇīnām upasthe rayiṁ dhatta dāśushe martyāya | putrebhyaḥ pitaras tasya vasvaḥ pra yachhata te ihorjaṁ dadhāta | 8. Ye naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ somyaso anūhire somapīthaṁ vasishṭhāḥ | tebhir Yamaḥ saṁrarāṇo havīṁshi uśann uśadbhiḥ pratikāmam attu | . . . . 10. Ye satyāso haviradoḥ havishpāḥ Indreṇa devaiḥ sarathaṁ dadhānāḥ | ā Agne yāhi sahasraṁ devavandaiḥ paraiḥ pūrvaiḥ pitṛibhir gharmasadbhiḥ | 11. Agnishvāttāḥ pitaraḥ ā iha gachhata sadaḥ sadaḥ sīdata suprāṇītayaḥ | atta havīṁshi prayatāni barhishi atha rayiṁ sarvavīraṁ dadhātana | . . . . 13. Ye cheha piṭaro ye cha neha yāṁś cha vidma yāṁś cha na pravidma | tvaṁ vettha yati te jātavedaḥ svadhābhir yajnaṁ sukṛitaṁ jushasva | 14. Ye agnidagdhāḥ ye anagnidagdhāḥ madhye divaḥ svadhayā mādayante | tebhiḥ svarāḷ asunītim etāṁ yathāvaśaṁ tanvaṁ kalpayasva |*

"1 (=V. S. 19, 49; Nir. 11, 18). Let the lower, the upper, and the middle Fathers, the offerers of soma, arise. May these Fathers, innocuous, and versed in righteousness, who have attained to (higher) life (*asu*)[440] protect us in the invocations. 2 (=V. S. 19, 68). Let this reverence be to-day paid to the Fathers who departed first, and who (departed) last, who are situated in the terrestrial sphere,[441] or who are

[440] Compare the word *asura*, "Spirit," and *asunīti*, in verse 14, below.

[441] Compare A.V. xviii. 2, 49: *Ye naḥ pituḥ pitaro ye pitāmahāḥ ye āvivišur uru*

now among the powerful races (the gods). . . . . 5 (=V. S. 19, 57). Invited to these favourite oblations placed on the grass, may the Fathers, the offerers of soma, come; may they hear us, may they intercede for us, and preserve us. 6 (=V. S. 19, 62). Bending the knee, and sitting to the south, do ye all accept this sacrifice. Do us no injury, o Fathers, on account of any offence which we, after the manner of men, may commit against you. 7 (=V. S. 19, 63). Sitting upon the ruddy [woollen coverlets], bestow wealth on the mortal who worships you. Fathers, bestow this wealth upon your sons, and now grant them sustenance. 8 (=V. S. 19, 51). May Yama feast according to his desire on the oblations, eager, and sharing his gratification with the eager Vasishṭhas, our ancient ancestors, who presented the soma libation. 10. Come, Agni, with a thousand of those exalted ancient Fathers, adorers of the gods, sitters at the fire, who are true, who are eaters and drinkers of oblations, and who are received into the same chariot with Indra and the gods. 11 (=V. S. 19, 59). Come hither, ye Agnishvātta Fathers; occupy each a seat, ye wise directors; eat the oblations[442] which have been arranged on the grass, and then bestow wealth on us, with all our offspring[443] . . . . 13. Thou knowest, o Jātavedas, how many those Fathers are who are here and who are not here, those whom we know and do not know; accept

antarikṣham | ye ākshiyanti pṛithivīm uta dyāṁ tebhyaḥ pitṛibhyo namasā vidhema | "Let us worship with reverence those Fathers who are the fathers, and those who are the grandfathers, of our father; those who have entered into the atmosphere, or who inhabit the earth or the sky." See also A.V. xviii. 3, 59.

[442] According to the A.V. xviii. 2, 28, evil spirits sometimes come along with the Fathers: *ye dasyavo pitṛishu pravishṭāḥ jnātimukhāḥ ahutādaś charanti | parāpuro nipuro ye bharanti Agnir tān asmāt pra dhamāti yajnāt |* "May Agni blow away from this sacrifice those Dasyus who have no share in the oblations, whether they wear gross or subtile bodies, who come, entering among the Fathers, with the faces of friends." Compare V. S. ii. 30, and commentary.

[443] Compare A.V. vi. 41, 3: *mā no hāsishur ṛishayo daivyāḥ ye tanūpāḥ ye nas tanvas tanūjāḥ | amartyāḥ martyān abhi naḥ sachadhvam āyur dhatta prataraṁ jīvase naḥ |* "Let not the divine rishis, who are the protectors of our bodies, forsake us. Do ye who are immortal, visit us who are mortals; put into us vitality that we may live longer." A.V. viii. 8, 15: *Gandharvāpsarasaḥ sarpān devān puṇyajanān pitṛīn | dṛishṭān adṛishṭān ishṇāmi yathā senām amūṁ hanan |* "I incite the Gandharvas, Apsarases, serpents, gods, those holy men the Fathers, the seen and the unseen, that they may destroy this army." According to the Mahābhārata, Sabhāparvan, 461, there are seven troops of Pitṛis or Fathers, four embodied (*mūrttimantaḥ*) and three bodiless (*aśarīriṇaḥ*).

the sacrifice well offered with the oblations. 14 (=V. S. 19, 60). Do thou, o self-resplendent god[444]—along with those (Fathers) who, whether they have undergone cremation or not, are gladdened by our oblation—grant us this (higher) vitality (*asunīti*),[445] and a body according to our desire."

A funeral hymn addressed to Agni[446] (x. 16) also contains some verses which illustrate the views of the writer regarding a future life:

x. 16, 1. *Mā enam Agne vi daho mā 'bhi śocho ma 'sya tvachaṁ chikshipo mā śarīram | yadā śṛitaṁ kṛiṇavo Jātavedo athem enam pra hinutāt pitṛibhyaḥ | 2. S'ṛitaṁ yadā karasi Jātavedo athem enam pari dattāt pitṛibhyaḥ | yadā gachhāti asunītim etām atha devānām vaśanīr bhavāti | 3. Sūryaṁ chakshur gachhatu vātam ātmā dyāṁ cha gachha pṛithivīṁ cha dharmaṇā | apo vā gachha yadi tatra te hitam oshadhīshu prati tishṭha śarīraiḥ | 4. Ajo bhagas tapasā taṁ tapasva taṁ te śochis tapatu taṁ te archiḥ | yās te śivās tanvo Jātavedas tābhir vahainaṁ sukṛitām u lokam | 5. Ava sṛija punar agne pitṛibhyo yas te āhutaś charati svadhābhiḥ | āyur vasānaḥ upa vetu śeshaḥ sangachhatāṁ tanvā Jātavedaḥ | 6. Yat te kṛishṇaḥ śakunaḥ ātutoda pipīlaḥ sarpaḥ uta vā śvāpadaḥ | Agnis tad viśvam agadaṁ kṛiṇotu Somaś cha yo brāhmaṇān āviveśa |*

"1. Do not, Agni, burn up or consume him (the deceased); do not

[444] As Agni is addressed in the two preceding verses, it might have been supposed that he is referred to in this epithet of self-resplendent (*svarāṭ*), or sovereign ruler, especially as the same function is assigned to him in x. 16, 5, as is assigned to the deity addressed in this verse. But the commentator on the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 19, 60 (where the verse occurs, with most of the others in this hymn, though not in the same order), understands it of Yama; as does also Professor Roth (see s.v. *asunīti*) in the passage of the A.V., where it occurs along with *asunīti*. See next note.

[445] This word also occurs in the second verse of the next, the 16th hymn. In R.V. x. 59, 5, 6, it appears to be employed as the personification of a god or goddess. Professor Müller, Journ. R.A.S. vol. ii. (1866), p. 460, note 2, however, considers that "there is nothing to show that Asunīti is a female deity." "It may be a name for Yama, as Professor Roth supposes; but it may also be a simple invocation, one of the many names of the deity." He himself renders it "guide of life," ibid. In A.V. xviii. 3, 59, it is joined with *svarāṭ*: *ye naḥ pituḥ pitaro ye pitāmahāḥ ye āviviśur uru antarikshaṁ | tebhyaḥ svarāḍ asunītir no adya yathāvaśaṁ tanvaḥ kalpayāti |* "May the monarch (or self-resplendent being) who bestows vitality fashion for the fathers and grandfathers of our father, who have entered the wide atmosphere, and for us today, bodies according to our desire."

[446] According to Professor Müller (Funeral Rites of the Brāhmans, p. xi. f.) some verses from this hymn are repeated after those from hymn 14, while the remains of the departed are being burnt.

dissolve his skin, or his body.[447] When thou has matured[448] him, o Jātavedas, then send him to the Fathers. 2. When thou maturest him, Jātavedas, then consign him to the Fathers. When he shall reach that state of vitality, he shall then fulfil the pleasure of the gods. 3. Let his eye go to the sun,[449] his breath to the wind. Go to the sky, and to the earth, according to (the) nature (of thy several parts); or go to the waters, if that is suitable for thee; enter into the plants with thy members. 4. As for his unborn part, do thou (Agni) kindle it with thy heat; let thy flame and thy lustre kindle it; with those forms of thine which are auspicious convey it to the world of the righteous.[450] 5. Give up again, Agni, to the Fathers, him who

[447] Compare A.V. xviii. 4, 10–13. In the sixty-fourth verse of the same hymn it is said: *yad vo Agnir ajahād ekam angam pitṛilokaṁ gamayan jātavedāḥ | tad vaḥ punar ā pyāyayāmi sāngāḥ svarge pitaro mādayadhvam* | "Whatever limb of you Agni Jātavedas left behind, when conveying you to the world of the Fathers, that I here restore to you. Revel in heaven, ye Fathers, with (all) your members."

[448] Compare A.V. xviii. 4, 12.

[449] In A.V. viii. 2, 3, a man dead, or in danger of dying, is addresed in these words: *vātāt te prāṇam avidaṁ sūryāch chakshur ahaṁ tava | yat te manas tvayi tad dhārayāmi saṁ vitsva angair vada jihvayā ālapan* | "I have obtained thy breath from the wind, thine eye from the sun; I place in thee thy soul (*manas*); have sensation in thy limbs; speak, uttering (words) with thy tongue." Compare A.V. v. 24, 9: *Sūryaś chakshushām adhipatiḥ* | "Sūrya is the superintending lord of the eyes;" and A.V. xi. 8, 31: *Sūryaś chakshur Vātaḥ prāṇam purushasya vi bhejire* | "Sūrya occupied the eye, and Vāta (the wind) the breath of Purusha (or man)." See also A.V. xix. 43, 2, 3. Compare further Plato, Repub. vi. 18, where Socrates says of the eye: Ἀλλ' ἡλιοειδέστατόν γε οἶμαι τῶν περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὀργάνων. "I regard it [the eye] as of all the organs of sensation, possessing the most affinity to the sun." Eur. Suppl. 532 f. Ὅθεν δ' ἕκαστον εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἀφίκετο, ἐνταῦθ' ἀπῆλθε, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα, τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐς γῆν· "But each element of the body has departed to the quarter whence it came, the breath to the aether, the body itself to the earth." A similar idea is expressed in a verse of Goethe, which I had formerly read, and for a copy of which, with the context, I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht. The passage occurs in the introduction to the Farbenlehre (Ed. 1858, vol. xxxvii. p. 5), and is as follows: "Hierbei erinnern wir uns der alten ionischen Schule, welche mit so groszer Bedeutsamkeit immer wiederholte: nur von gleichem werde Gleiches erkannt; wie auch der Worte eines alten Mystikers, die wir in deutschen Reimen folgendermaszen ausdrücken möchten:

Wär' nicht das Auge sonnenhaft,
Wie könnten wir das Licht erblicken?
Lebt' nicht in uns des Gottes eigne Kraft,
Wie könnt' uns Göttliches entzücken?

Jene unmittelbare Verwandtschaft des Lichtes und des Auges wird niemand laügnen, aber" u.s.w.

[450] In AV. xviii. 2, 36, Agni is entreated to burn mildly, and to spend his fury on the

comes offered to thee with oblations. Putting on life, let him approach (his) remains; let him meet with his body, o Jātavedas. 6. Whatever part of thee any black bird, or ant, or serpent, or beast of prey, has torn, may Agni restore to thee all that, and Soma who has entered into the Brāhmans." Compare Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, xviii. 51. *Agnim yunajmi śavasā ghṛitena divyaṁ suparṇam vayasā bṛihantam | tena vayaṁ gamema bradhnasya vishṭapam so ruhāṇāḥ adhi nākam uttamam* | 52. *Imau te pakshāv ajarau patatriṇau yābhyāṁ rakshāṁsi apahaṁsi Agne | tābhyām patema sukṛitām u lokaṁ yatra ṛishayo jagmuḥ prathamajāḥ purāṇāḥ* | 51. "With power and with butter I attach Agni, the celestial bird, mighty in energy: through him may we go to the sphere of the sun, ascending the sky to the highest heaven. 52. Borne by those thine undecaying, flying pinions, wherewith thou, Agni, slayest the Rakshases, may we soar to the world of the righteous, whither the ancient, earliest-born rishis have gone."

In various parts of the A.V. Agni is similarly addressed. Thus in vi. 120, 1. *Yad antarikshaṁ pṛithivīm uta dyām yan mātaram pitaraṁ vā jihiṁsima | ayaṁ tasmād gārhapatyo no Agnir ud in nayāti sukṛitasya*

woods and on the earth (*śaṁ tapa mā 'ti tapo Agne mā tanvaṁ tapa | vaneshu śushmo astu te pṛithivyām astu yad haraḥ*). The Taittrīya Brāhmaṇa has the following passage: iii. 10, 11, 1: *Kaś chid ha vai asmāl lokāt pretya ātmānaṁ veda "ayam aham asmi" iti | kaśchit svaṁ lokaṁ na pratijānāti agnimugdho ha eva dhūma-tāntaḥ svaṁ lokaṁ na pratijānāti | atho yo ha eva etam agniṁ sāvitram veda sa eva asmāl lokāt pretya ātmānaṁ veda "ayam aham asmi" iti | sa svaṁ lokam pratijānāti esha u cha eva enam tat sāvitraḥ svarṇaṁ lokam abhi vahati* | "One man departing from this world knows himself that 'this is I myself.' Another does not recognize his own world. Bewildered by Agni, and overcome by smoke, he does not recognize his own world. Now he who knows this Agni Sāvitra, when he departs from this world knows himself, 'that this is I myself.' He recognizes his own world. This Sāvitra carries him to the heavenly world." A few lines further on it is said that the days and nights suck up in the next world the treasure of the man who does not possess a particular sort of knowledge, whilst he who knows Agni Sāvitra finds his treasure not sucked up (*tāni ha anevaṁvidusho amushmin loke śevadhim dhayanti | .... atha yo ha eva etam agniṁ sāvitraṁ veda tasya ha eva ahorātrāṇi amushmin loke śevadhiṁ na dhayanti*). The Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 6, says of Agni: *Pratnaṁ sadastham anupaśyamānaḥ ā tantum Agnir divyaṁ tatāna | tvaṁ nas tantur uta setur Agne tvam panthāḥ bhavasi ādvayānaḥ | tvayā 'gne prishṭhaṁ vayam āruhema atha devaiḥ sadhamādam madema* | "Agni, exploring the ancient abode, has extended the celestial cord. Thou, Agni, art our cord, and our bridge; thou art the path which conducts to the gods. By thee may we ascend to the summit (of heaven), and there live in joyful fellowship with the gods." The same Brāhmaṇa says in another place, i. 5, 2, 6, that the stars are the houses of the gods, and that whoever knows this possesses houses (*devagṛihāḥ vai nakshatrāṇi | yaḥ evaṁ veda gṛihī eva bhavati*).

lokam | "Whatever injury we have done to air, earth, or sky, to father or mother, may Agni Gārhapatya (delivering) us from that, convey us up to the world of righteousness." xii. 2, 45. *Jīvānām āyuḥ pra tira tvam Agne pitṛīṇāṁ lokam api gachhantu ye mṛitāḥ* | "Do thou, Agni, prolong the lives of living creatures; and may those who are dead go to the world of the Fathers." xviii. 3, 71. *Ārabhasva jātavedas tejasvad haro astu te* | *śarīram asya sanḍaha athainaṁ dhehi sukṛitām u loke* | "Seize him, Agni, let thy heat be powerful; burn his body; then place him in the world of the righteous." xviii. 4, 9. *Pūrvo 'gnis tvā tapatu śam purastād śam paśchāt tapatu gārhapatyaḥ* | *dakshiṇāgnis te tapatu śarma varma uttarato madhyato antarikshād diśo diśo Agne paripāhi ghorāt* | 10. *Yūyam Agne śantamābhis tanūbhir ījānam abhi lokaṁ svargam* | *aśvāḥ bhūtvā pṛishṭivāho vahātha yatra devaiḥ sadhamādam madanti* | "May the eastern fire warm thee propitiously in front (or to the east), and the gārhapatya fire behind (or to the west); may the southern fire warm thee, as thy defender and protector: Agni, preserve from everything dreadful on the north, in the middle, from the air, and from every side. 10. Do ye (the various forms of) Agni, become horses, and carry the sacrificer on your backs in your most gracious forms to heaven, where men hold festival with the gods."

(4) *Summary of the conceptions conveyed in the preceding quotations.*

I shall now extract from these texts and others a summary of the conceptions which they convey.

Yama is the son of Vivasvat (ix. 113, 8; x. 14, 1 [=A.V. xviii. 1, 49]; x. 14, 5; x. 58, 1; x. 60, 10), and of Saraṇyū, the immortal daughter of Tvashṭṛi (x. 17, 1, 2). He is elsewhere said, as Professor Roth considers[451] (see above), to have been one of the original pair of

[451] Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 426; Journal of American Oriental Society, iii. 335; Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 138. As Professor Müller denies (see above, p. 288) that Yama was regarded by the Vedic poets as the first man, he explains as follows (Lectures, 2nd Series, p. 514 ff.) the process by which he came to be transformed into the monarch of the dead: "Let us imagine, then," he says, "as well as we can, that *yama*, twin, was used as the name of the evening, or the setting sun, and we shall be able perhaps to understand how in the end Yama came to be the king of the departed and the god of death. As the East was to the early thinkers the source of life, the West was to them *Nirṛiti*, the *exodus*, the land of

human beings (x. 10, 2), and to have sprung from the Gandharva, a deity of the atmosphere, and his wife (x. 10, 4). In the same hymn (*passim*) he is declared to have resisted the solicitations of his twin-sister Yamī to form a sexual union with her for the continuation ot the species.[452] He was the first of mortals who died, and discovered the way to the other world; he guides other men thither, and assembles them in a home, which is secured to them for ever (x. 14, 1, 2; A.V. vi. 28, 3; xviii. 1, 49, 50; xviii. 3, 13).[453] In one place he is represented as carousing with the gods under a leafy tree, R.V. x.

death. The sun, conceived as setting or dying every day, was the first who had trodden the path of life from East to West—the first to show us the way when our course is run, and our sun sets in the far West.". . . . "That Yama's character is solar might be guessed from his being called the son of Vivasvat. Vivasvat, like Yama, is sometimes considered as sending death. R.V. viii. 67, 20: 'May the shaft of Vivasvat, o Ādityas, the poisoned arrow, not strike us before we are old!"' [And in A.V. xix. 9, 7, it is said: "May Mitra, may Varuṇa, may Vivasvat, may the Ender (death) be favourable to us (*śaṁ no Mitraḥ śaṁ Varuṇaḥ śaṁ Vivasvān śaṁ Antakaḥ*). On the other hand Vivasvat is sometimes spoken of as preserving from Yama. Thus in A.V. xviii. 3, 62, it is said: *Vivasvān no amṛitatve dadhātu paraitu mṛityur amṛitaṁ naḥ aitu | imān rakshatu purnshān ā jarimṇo mo shu eshām asavo Yamaṁ guḥ* | "May Vivasvat place us in a state of immortality. May death pass away, and deathlessness come to us. May he preserve these men from decay. May their spirits not depart to Yama."—J.M.] . . . . "His (Yama's) own seat is called the house of the gods (x. 135, 7); and these words follow immediately on a verse in which it is said: 'the abyss is stretched out in the East, the outgoing is in the West." (In a note the following are referred to as additional passages to be consulted, viz., R.V. i. 116, 2; vii. 33, 9; ix. 68, 3, 5; x. 12, 6; x. 13, 2, 4; x. 53, 3; x. 64, 3; x. 123, 6.) "These indications, though fragmentary, are sufficient to show that the character of Yama, such as we find it in the last book of the Rig-veda, might well have been suggested by the setting sun, personified as the leader of the human race, as himself a mortal, yet as a king, as the ruler of the departed, as worshipped with the fathers, as the first witness of an immortality to be enjoyed by the fathers," etc. I may remark that in the S'atap. Br. xiv. 1, 3, 4, Yama is identified with the sun; but he is, a little further on, xiv. 2, 2, 11, similarly identified with Vāyu.

[452] See Professor Roth's observations on this dialogue in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 335 f.

[453] See Professor Roth's remarks on these passages in the Journals, etc., above referred to. In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 427, he remarks on these hymns: "We here find, not without astonishment, beautiful conceptions on immortality, expressed in unadorned language with child-like conviction. If it were necessary, we might here find the most powerful weapons against the view which has lately been revived, and proclaimed as new, that Persia was the only birthplace of the idea of immortality, and that even the nations of Europe had derived it from that quarter; as if the religious spirit of every gifted race was not able to arrive at it by its own strength."

135, 1[454] (*yasmin vṛikshe supalāśe devaiḥ sampibate Yamaḥ*). He is a king, and dwells in celestial light, in the innermost sanctuary of heaven, ix. 113, 7, 8 (see above, p. 226, and below, where the passage will be quoted at greater length), where the departed behold him associated in blessedness with Varuṇa (x. 14, 7). He grants luminous abodes in heaven to the pious (x. 14, 9), who dwell with him in festive enjoyment (x. 14, 8, 10). In the A.V. xviii. 2, 32, he is said to be superior to Vivasvat, and to be himself surpassed by none (*Yamaḥ paro 'varo Vivasvān tataḥ paraṁ na ati paśyāmi kinchana*).

In the Rig-veda Yama is nowhere represented (as he is in the later Indian mythology)[455] as having anything to do with the future punishment of the wicked. In fact, the hymns of that Veda contain, as far as I am aware, no prominent mention of any such penal retribution; but the passages which appear to recognize the existence of a Tartarus will be quoted further on. Nevertheless, Yama is still to some extent an object of terror. In x. 14, 10–12, he is represented as having two insatiable dogs, with four eyes and wide nostrils, which guard the road to his abode, and which the departed are advised to hurry past with all possible speed. These dogs are said to wander about among men as his messengers (x. 14, 12), no doubt for the purpose of summoning them to the presence of their master, who is in another place, x. 165, 4, identified with death, and is described as sending a bird as the herald of doom (*yasya dūtaḥ prahitaḥ esha etat tasmai Yamāya namo astu*

[454] In A.V. xviii. 4, 3, the Ādityas are said to feast on honey in heaven (*madhu bhakshayanti*).

[455] According to the Purāṇas, "Yama fulfils the office of judge of the dead, as well as sovereign of the damned; all that die appearing before him, and being confronted with Chitragupta, the recorder, by whom their actions have been registered. The virtuous are thence conveyed to Swarga, or Elysium, whilst the wicked are driven to the different regions of Naraka, or Tartarus." (Wilson, Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 216 of Dr. Hall's ed. vol. 2). Chitragupta is described in the following tasteless and extravagant style in the Vṛihannāradīya Purāṇa, quoted in Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodl. Sansk. MSS., p. 10, note: *Pralayāmbuda-nirghosho anjanādri-samaprabhaḥ | vidyut-prabhāyudhair bhīmo dvātriṁśad-bhuja-saṁyutaḥ | yojana-traya-vistāro raktāksho dīrghanāsikaḥ | daṁshṭrā-karāla-vadano ravāpītulya-vilochanaḥ | mṛityu-jvarādibhir yuktaś chitragupto vibhīshaṇaḥ |* "The dreadful Chitragupta, with a voice like that issuing from the clouds at the mundane dissolution, gleaming like a mountain of collyrium, terrible with lightning-like weapons, having thirty-two arms, as big as three yojanas, red-eyed, long-nosed, his face furnished with grinders and projecting teeth, his eyes resembling oblong ponds, bearing death and diseases."

mṛityave, compare A.V. vi. 29, 1 ff.). And in a verse of the A.V. (xviii. 2, 27), death is said to be the messenger of Yama, who conveys the spirits of men to the abode of their forefathers. In another place (R.V. x. 97, 16) deliverance is sought from the bonds of Yama, as well as those of Varuṇa (*munchantu mā śapathyād atho Varuṇyād uta | atho Yamasya paḍbīśāt*, see also A.V. viii. 7, 28). In R.V. i. 38, 5, too, where it is said (*mā vo mṛigo ṇa yavase jaritā bhūd ajoshyaḥ | pathā Yamasya gād upa*) "Let not thy worshipper be disregarded like a wild animal in a pasture, or go along the road of Yama," Yama is equivalent to death. In the following verse (already quoted) of the A.V. vi. 28, 3, also, Yama is identified with Mṛityu (death): "Reverence be to Yama, death, who first reached the river, spying out the road for many, who is lord of these two-footed and four-footed creatures." (This verse coincides in part with R.V. x. 14, 1, quoted above.) Compare also A.V. v. 30, 12; vi. 63, 2.)

When the remains of the deceased have been placed upon the funeral pile, and the process of cremation has begun, Agni, the god of fire, is prayed not to scorch or consume the departed, not to tear asunder his skin or his limbs, but after the flames have done their work, to convey to the Fathers the mortal who has been presented to him as an offering. The eye of the departed is bidden to go to the sun; his breath to the wind; and his different members to the sky, the earth, the waters, or the plants, according to their several affinities. As for his unborn part (*ajo bhāgaḥ*), Agni is supplicated to kindle it with his heat and flame, and, assuming his most auspicious form, to convey it to the world of the righteous (x. 16, 1–5; Vāj. Sanh. xviii. 51 f.).[456] Before, however, this unborn part can complete its course from earth to the third heaven, it has to traverse a vast gulf of darkness.[457] Leaving behind on earth all that is evil and imperfect, and

[456] In the S'atap. Br. xi. 2, 1, 1, a man is said to be thrice born; first from his father and mother, the second time through sacrifice, and the third time when, after death and cremation, he once more emerges into life (*trir ha vai purusho jāyate | etan nu eva mātuś cha adhi pituś cha agre jāyate | atha yaṁ yajnaḥ upanamatisa yad yajate tad dvitīyaṁ jāyate | atha yatra mriyate yatra enam agnāv abhyādadhati sa yat tataḥ saṁbhavati tat tṛitīyaṁ jāyate*).

[457] A.V. ix. 5, 1. *Ā naya etam ā vahabhasva sukṛitāṁ lokam api gachhatu prajānan | tīrivā tamāṁsi bahudhā mahānti ajo nākam ākramatāṁ tṛitīyam* | 3. *Pra pado 'va nenigdhi duścharitaṁ yat chachāra śuddhaiḥ śaphair ā kramatām prajānan | tīrtvā tamāṁsi bahudhā vipaśyann ajo nākam ākramatāṁ tṛitīyam* | From the contents of

proceeding by the paths which the fathers trod (R.V. x. 14, 7), the spirit, invested with a lustre like that of the gods, A.V. xi. 1, 37 (*yena devāḥ jyotishā dyām udāyan brahmaudanam paktvā sukṛitasya lokam | tena geshma sukṛitasya lokaṁ svar ārohanto abhi nākam uttamam*), soars to the realms of eternal light (ix. 113, 7,) in a car, or on wings (A.V. iv. 34, 4), on the undecaying pinions wherewith Agni slays the Rakshases (Vāj. Sanh. xviii. 52), wafted upwards by the Maruts, fanned by soft and gentle breezes, and refrigerated by showers (A.V. xviii. 2, 21 ff.); recovers there its ancient body in a complete (A.V. xviii. 2,

verse 2 (where the *aja* is said to be carried to Indra as his share), and from the mention of "hoofs" in verse 3, I am now led to think that these verses refer to a goat, and not to the unborn spirit (both being denoted by the word *aja*), although some of the expressions seem more properly applicable to the latter than to the former. In any case, however, the verses prove that any being proceeding from earth to heaven has to traverse a region of darkness before he can reach his destination. I translate as follows: "Convey him; carry him; let him, understanding, go to the world of the righteous. Crossing the gloom, in many directions immense, let the goat ascend to the third heaven. . . . . 3. Wash his feet if he has committed wickedness: understanding, let him ascend with cleansed hoofs. Crossing the gloom, gazing in many directions, let the goat ascend the third heaven." Compare R.V. i. 50, 10 (= A.V. vii. 53, 7) quoted above in the Section on Sūrya, p. 160. In the Vāj. Sanh. xxxi. 18, also, the great Purusha, of sun-like brightness (*āditya-varṇa*), is said to dwell above the darkness (*tamasaḥ parastāt*). See also Manu, iv. 242. The commentator, on this latter passage, however, as well as Roth, s.v. *tamas*, understands the phrase *dustaram tamas*, "darkness hard to cross," as referring to hell. Compare the phrases *adhamam tamas* and *andhaṃ tamas*, to be adduced further on. The word *aja* seems to have the sense of "the unborn" in different passages of the R.V., and in A.V. x. 7, 31 (see Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, 2, *aja*); but it may have the sense of "goat" throughout the whole of A.V. ix. 5, though B. and R. adduce verse 7 as one of the places where it means "unborn." That verse, however, may be rendered thus: "The goat is Agni; they call the goat light; they say that a goat is to be given by a living man to the priest. A goat, when given in this world by a believing man, disperses the gloom afar (*Ajo Agnir ajam u jyotir āhur ajaṃ jīvatā brahmaṇe deyam āhuḥ | ajas tamāṃsi apa hanti dūram asmin loke śraddadhānena dattaḥ*)." In the same way it is said, in verse 10: *Ajas trināke tridive tṛiprishṭhe nākasya pṛishṭhe dadivāṃsaṃ dadhāti | panchaudano brahmaṇe dīyamānaḥ* | "The *aja panchaudana*, given to a priest, places him who bestows it in the third heaven, in the third sky, on the third summit, on the top of the heaven," and in verse 21: "This *aja panchaudana* is an illimitable offering." In the A.V. xviii. 2, 48, there are said to be three heavens: "The watery (*udanvatī*) heaven is the lowest, the *pīlumatī* is the intermediate heaven, and the third is the *pradyaus*, in which the Fathers dwell" (*udanvatī dyaur avamā pīlumatīti madhyamā | tṛitīyā ha pradyaur iti yasyām pitaraḥ āsate*). This agrees with the mention of the third heaven in A.V. ix. 5, 1. Three skies (*tisro dyāvaḥ*) are also mentioned in R.V. vii. 101, 4; and in R.V. vii. 104, 11, three earths (*tisraḥ*

24 ff.[458] and glorified form,[459] meets with the forefathers who are living in festivity with Yama, obtains from him, when recognized by him as one of his own (A.V. xviii. 2, 37), a delectable abode (R.V. x. 14, 8–10), and enters upon a more perfect life (R.V. x. 14, 8; x. 15, 14; x. 16, 2, 5), which is crowned with the fulfilment of all desires (ix. 113, 9, 11), is passed in the presence of the gods (x. 14, 14), and employed in the fulfilment of their pleasure (x. 16, 2).

(5) *Further quotations from the hymns on the subject of paradise and future punishment.*

In the following passages of the A.V. an expectation is expressed that the family relations will be maintained in the next world :—

xii. 3, 17: *Svargaṁ lokam abhi no nayāsi saṁ jāyayā saha putraiḥ*

pṛithivīr adho astu viśvāḥ). Professor Roth, *s.v. div.* refers to other passages, among which is R.V. v. 60, 6. *Yad uttame Maruto madhyame vā yad vā avame subhagāso divi stha* | "Whether, fortunate Maruts, ye are in the highest, middle, or lowest, sky." The A.V. iv. 20, 2, says there are three heavens and three earths (*tisro divas tisraḥ pṛithivīḥ*); and A.V. vi. 21, says there are three earths, of which our earth (*bhūmi*) is the highest (or best) (*imāḥ yās tisraḥ pṛithivīs tāsāṁ ha bhūmir uttamā*).

[458] In A.V. ix. 5, 22–26, it is said that the man who bestows an *aja panchaudana*, illuminated by largesses (*dakshiṇā-jyotisham*: compare *hiraṇya-jyotisham*, A.V. x. 9, 6), shall not have his bones broken, or his marrow sucked out, but shall be introduced whole and entire (into heaven): verse 23 (*na tasyāsthīni bhindyāt na majjño nirdhayet* | *sarvam enaṁ samādāya idam idam pra veśayet* | 26. *Svargaṁ lokam aśnute yo 'jam panchaudanaṁ dakshiṇājyotishaṁ dadāti*). These passages, in which the departed are said to recover their bodily organization in all its completeness, form a striking contrast to the representations in the Homeric poems regarding the unsubstantial nature of the ghosts of the departed. The passage of the Odyssey, xi. 488, is well known, in which Achilles tells Ulysses that he would rather be the slave of a poor man on earth than rule over all the departed. I find, however, the following remarks of Professor Weber (Ind. Stud. ii. 206,) on the words *yathā svapne tathā pitṛiloke*, "as in a dream so in the world of the Fathers," Kaṭha Upanishad, vi. 5. "This is evidently a popular conception, according to which the souls of the Fathers, like those in the Grecian Hades, experience no waking, but only a kind of dreamy life. I have as yet found this idea (which at a later period entirely disappears) only in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. 9, 2, 2, where the following explanation of Vāj. Sanh, 20, 16: *yadi jāgrad yadi svapne enāṁsi chakṛima vayam* [if we have committed sins, sleeping or waking] is given; *manushyāḥ vai jāgaritam pitaraḥ suptam* | *manushya-kilvishāch cha enam pitṛikilvishāch munchati* | ['Men are what is awake; the Fathers what is asleep. He frees him from the sins of men, and those of the Fathers.']"

[459] In regard to the celestial body, see Roth, in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. iii., p. 343.

syāma | "Do thou conduct us to heaven; let us be with our wives[460] and children."

vi. 120, 3: *Yatra suhārdaḥ sukṛito madanti vihāya rogaṁ tanvāḥ svāyāḥ | aśloṇāḥ angair ahrutāḥ svarge tatra paśyema pitarau cha putrān* | "In heaven, where our virtuous friends enjoy blessedness, having left behind the infirmities of their bodies, free from lameness or distortion of their limbs, may we behold our parents and our children." (Compare A.V. iii. 28, 5 f.)

ix. 5, 27: *Yā pūrvam patiṁ vittvā athānyaṁ vindate patim | pañchaudanaṁ cha tāv ajaṁ dadāto na vi yoshataḥ* | 28. *Samānaloko bhavati punarbhuvā 'paraḥ patiḥ | yo 'jam pañchaudanaṁ dakshiṇājyotishaṁ dadāti* | "When a woman has had one husband before, and gets another, if they present the aja panchaudana offering, they shall not be separated. 28. A second husband dwells in the same world with his re-wedded wife, if he offers the aja panchaudana, etc."

xviii. 2, 23: *Svān gachhatu te manaḥ adha pitṛīn upa drava* | "Let thy soul (*manas*) go to its own; and hasten to the fathers."

The enjoyments of this future state are said, in R.V. ix. 113, 7 ff., to be conferred by the god Soma, and are described as follows:

7. *Yatra jyotir ajasraṁ yasmin loke svar hitam | tasmin māṁ dhehi pavamāna amṛite loke akshaye Indrāyendo parisrava* | 8. *Yatra rājā Vaivasvato yatrāvarodhanaṁ divaḥ | yatrāmūr yahvatīr āpas tatra mām amṛitaṁ kṛidhi* | 9. *Yatrānukāmaṁ charaṇaṁ trināke tridive divaḥ | lokāḥ yatra jyotishmantas tatra mām amṛitaṁ kṛidhi* | 10. *Yatra kāmāḥ nikāmās cha yatra bradhnasya vishṭapam | svadhā cha yatra tṛiptis cha tatra mām amṛitaṁ kṛidhi* | 11. *Yatrānandāś cha modāś mudaḥ pramudaḥ āsate | kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmās tatra mām amṛitaṁ kṛidhi* |

7. "Place me, o purified (Soma), in that imperishable and unchanging world, where perpetual light and glory are found. 8. Make me immortal (in the realm) where king Vaivasvata (Yama) dwells, where the sanctuary of the sky exists, and those great waters (flow). 9. Make me immortal in the third heaven, in the third sky, where action is unrestrained,[461] and the regions are luminous. 10. Make me

[460] In the later Indian writings the widow who burns herself on her husband's funeral pile is supposed to rejoin him in Svarga. See the texts cited by Colebrooke, Essays, i. 116 f.

[461] "In heaven he acts according to his pleasure" (*kāmachāro 'sya svarge loke bhavati*).—Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 2, 9.

immortal in the world where there are pleasures and enjoyments,—in the sphere of the sun,—where ambrosia and satisfaction are found. 11. Make me immortal in the world where there are joys, and delights, and pleasures, and gratifications; where the objects of desire are attained."

The pleasures here referred to are most probably to be understood as of a sensual kind.[462] Such at least is the prospect held out in the following passage of the Atharva-veda, iv. 34, 2:[463]

A.V. iv. 34, 2. *Anasthāḥ pūtāḥ pavanena śuddhāḥ śuchayaḥ śuchim api yanti lokam | naishāṁ śiśnam pradahati jātavedāḥ svarge loke bahu straiṇam eshām | 3. Vishṭāriṇam odanaṁ ye pachanti nainān avartiḥ sachate kadāchana | āste Yame upa yāti devān saṁ gandharvair madate somyebhiḥ | 4. Vishṭāriṇam odanaṁ ye pachanti nainān Yamaḥ pari mushṇāti retaḥ | rathī ha bhūtvā rathayāne īyate pakshī ha bhūtvā 'ti divaḥ sameti* | "Boneless,[464] pure, cleansed by the wind, shining, they

[462] Roth is, however, of a different opinion. He says (Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc. iii. 343): "The place where these glorified ones are to live is heaven. In order to show that not merely an outer court of the divine dwellings is set apart for them, the highest heaven, the midst or innermost part of heaven, is expressly spoken of as their seat. This is their place of rest; and its divine splendour is not disfigured by any specification of particular beauties or enjoyments, such as those with which other religions have been wont to adorn the mansions of the blest .... There they are happy: the language used to describe their condition is the same with which is denoted the most exalted felicity." He then quotes the verses of ix. 113, 7 ff. already adduced, and adds: "what .... shall be the employment of the blest, in what sphere their activity shall expend itself; to this question ancient Hindu wisdom sought no answer. The words used in verse 11 of hymn ix. 113 to denote the gratifications of paradise, viz: *anandāḥ, modāḥ, pramudaḥ*, are employed in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 6, 5 f., to signify sexual enjoyment on earth (*prajāpatiḥ striyāṁ yaśo mushkayor adadhāt sapam | kāmasya tṛiptim ānandaṁ tasyāgne bhājayeha mā | modaḥ pramodaḥ ānando mushkayor nihitaḥ sapaḥ | sṛiṣṭeva kāmasya tṛipyāni dakshiṇānām pratigrahe*).

[463] Compare S'atap. Br. x. 4, 4, 4. *Yad u ha vai evamvit tapas tapyate ā maithunāt sarvam ha asya tat svargam lokam abhisambhavati* | "When a man, knowing this, practises austere fervour, he retains in heaven all his functions, even to that of sexual intercourse."

[464] Though the connection is merely verbal, I quote here a passage from the Taitt. Sanh. vi. p. 10, of India Office MS., No. 1702: *Brahmavādino vadanti kasmāt satyād anasthikena prajāḥ pravīyante 'sthanvatīr jāyante iti | yad hiraṇyam ghṛite 'vadhāya juhoti tasmād anasthikena prajāḥ pravīyante 'sthanvatīr jāyante* | "Those versed in sacred science ask on what principle it is that creatures are generated by a boneless substance, and yet are born with bones? It is because the sacrificer places gold in the fire when he casts into it his oblation, that creatures propagated by a boneless substance are born with bones."

go to a shining region; Agni[465] does not consume their generative organ; in the celestial sphere they have abundance of sexual gratification.[466] 3. Want never comes upon those who cook the vishṭārin oblation. (Such a man) abides with Yama, goes to the gods, and lives in blessedness with the Gandharvas, the quaffers of soma. 4. Yama does not steal away the generative power of those who cook the vishṭārin oblation. (Such a man) becomes lord of a chariot on which he is borne along; becoming winged, he soars beyond the sky." In that region the faithful are also promised ponds filled with clarified butter, honey, wine, milk, and curds (verse 6).[467]

It is clear, in fact, that in the Vedic age the gods themselves were not regarded as possessing a purely spiritual nature, but as subject to the influence of various sensual appetites. We have formerly seen how constantly they are represented as delighting in the soma-juice, and in the exhilaration which it produced. Yama is described as carousing with the gods (R.V. x. 135, 1), the Ādityas as eating honey (A.V.

[465] This, no doubt, alludes to the fire of the funeral pile.

[466] Compare Mahābhārata, xii. 3657: *Varāpsaraḥ-sahasrāṇi śūram āyodhane hatam | tvaramāṇā 'bhidhāvanti "mama bhartā bhaved" iti* | "Thousands of handsome Apsarases run up in haste to the hero who has been slain in battle (exclaiming) 'be my husband.'" And again, v. 3667: *Abhīrūṇām iṁe lokāḥ bhāsvanto hanta paśyata | pūrṇāḥ gandharvakanyābhiḥ sarvakāma-duho 'kshayāḥ* | "Behold, these shining worlds belong to the fearless, filled with maidens of the Gandharvas, and yielding all kinds of enjoyments." In like manner, the Kaṭha Upanishad, i. 25, refers to the Apsarases: *Ye ye kāmāḥ durlabhāḥ martya-loke sarvān kāmāṁś chhandataḥ prārthayasva | imāḥ rāmāḥ sarathāḥ satūryāḥ na hi īdṛiśāḥ lambhanīyāḥ manushyaiḥ | ābhir mat-prattābhiḥ parichārayasva* | "Ask at thy will, says Yama to Nachiketas, all those pleasures which are difficult to be had in the world of mortals, those fair ones with their cars and instruments of music,— for such as they are not to be obtained by men; receive them from me, and allow thyself to be waited on by them." (The brief germ of this fine Upanishad, I may remark,— though the fact had been before noted by Professor Weber,—is to be found in the Taitt. Br. iii. 11, 8, 1-6). See also the Kaushitakī Upanishad, as translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 398, and Cowell, Bibliotheca Ind. p. 147.

[467] See the S'atap. Br. xiv. 7, 1, 32 ff. (=Bṛih. Ārany. Up. pp. 817 ff.), where it is said that the enjoyments of the Fathers are a hundred times greater than those of a man who lives in perfect prosperity, is the lord of others, and enjoys all human pleasures (*sa yo manushyāṇāṁ rāddhaḥ samṛiddho bhavati anyeshām adhipatiḥ sarvair mānushyakaiḥ kāmaiḥ sampannatamaḥ sa manushyāṇām paramaḥ ānandaḥ* | 33. *Atha ye śatam manushyāṇām ānandāḥ sa pitṛiṇām ekaḥ ānandaḥ*). In the same way, the enjoyments of the Karmadevas, those beings who have attained the rank of gods by their merits, are a hundred times greater than those of the Fathers, and again the enjoyments of the gods by nature (*ājānadevāḥ*) are a hundred times greater than those of the Karmadevas, etc.

xviii. 4, 3), and the Fathers as indulging in festivity or revelry (*sadhamādam madanti*) with Yama (R.V. x. 14, 10: compare A.V. xviii. 4, 10). Indra is said in R.V. iii. 53, 6 (see above, p. 81 f.) to have a handsome wife, and pleasure, in his house. In two verses of the A.V. xiv. 2, 31 f., the young bride is encouraged to ascend the nuptial couch, and become the mother of children, by the consideration that the gods had been the first to enter into the married state and indulge in carnal intercourse with their spouses (*ā roha talpam sumanasyamānā iha prajām janaya patye asmai | 32. Devāḥ agre samapadyanta patnīḥ samaspṛiśanta tanvas tanūbhiḥ*). In A.V. iv. 37, 11 f., the Gandharvas, a class of gods, who are described as hairy, like dogs and monkeys, but as assuming a handsome appearance to seduce the affections of earthly females, are called upon to desist from this unbecoming practice, and not to interfere with mortals, as they had wives of their own, the Apsarases (*priyo dṛiśe iva bhūtvā gandharvaḥ sachate striyam | tam ito nāśayāmasi brahmaṇā vīryāvatā | 12. Jāyāḥ id vo apsarasaḥ gandharvāḥ patayo yūyam | apa dhāvata amartyāḥ martyān mā sachadhvam*). Compare verses 2–4 and 7 of the same hymn and A.V. xiv. 2, 35). If even the gods were imagined by the authors of these hymns to have such a decided element of carnality in their nature, it is scarcely to be supposed that these same poets, or their contemporaries, or immediate predecessors, should have risen to the conception of a purely spiritual heaven as the reward of a virtuous life upon earth.[468]

In one passage of the A.V. iii. 29, 3, immunity from taxation seems to

[468] It may be objected that the texts which I have cited from the A.V. furnish no proof of the meaning of those in the Rig-veda, as the former collection is of later date than the latter. But (1) the hymns of the A.V. are probably not much posterior to those of the ninth and tenth books of the R.V., with which I have been dealing; and (2) the state of opinion reflected in the texts of the A.V. need not be supposed to have originated contemporaneously with its expression in these particular hymns, but was probably handed down from a previous period. We ought not to be too incredulous as to the early existence, in an elementary form, of ideas which appear at first sight to bear the character of a later age. Thus we find in the A.V. x. 8, 43, a reference to three qualities (*guṇas*) as enveloping the lotus with nine gates (*puṇḍarīkaṁ navadvāraṁ tribhir guṇebhir āvṛitam*), and there is perhaps no reason to doubt that here the three *guṇas*, so well known in later cosmogonies, are referred to. *Rajas* and *tamas*, two of these qualities, are mentioned together, A.V. viii. 2, 1 (*rajas tamo mā upagāḥ*). The "name" and "form" (*nāma* and *rūpa*) celebrated by the Vedantists, are also alluded to in A.V. x. 2, 12, and xi. 7, 1 (*uchhishṭe nāma rūpāṁ cha*).

be held out as a boon to be anticipated in the next world. It is there said that the offerer of a black-footed sheep "ascends to the sky where no tribute is paid by the weak to the stronger" (*yo dadāti śitipādam aviṁ lokena sammitam | sa nākam abhyārohati yatra śuklo* [*śulkaḥ ?*] *na kriyate abalena balīyase*), and in verse 5 it is promised that a person of the same description shall "live for ever in the sun and moon" (*pradātā upa jīvati sūrya-māsayor akshitam*).

The virtues for which men are admitted to the realms of the blessed are thus described in hymn 154 of the tenth book of the R.V. 1. *Somaḥ ekebhyaḥ pavate ghṛitam eke upāsate | yebhyo madhu pradhāvati tāṁś chid evāpi gachhatāt* | 2. *Tapasā ye anādhṛishyās tapasā ye svar yayuḥ | tapo ye chakrire mahas tāṁś chid*—| 3. *Ye yudhyante pradhaneshu śūrāso ye tanūtyajaḥ | ye vā sahasradakshiṇās tān*—| 4. *Ye chit pūrve ṛitasāpaḥ ṛitāvānaḥ ṛitāvṛidhaḥ | pitṝn tapasvato Yama tān*—| 5. *Sahasranīthāḥ kavayo ye gopāyanti sūryam | rishīn tapasvato Yama tapojān api gachhatāt* | "Soma is purified for some; others seek after clarified butter. Let him (the deceased) depart to those for whom the honied beverage flows. 2. Let him depart to those who, through rigorous abstraction (*tapas*), are invincible, who, through *tapas*, have gone to heaven; to those who have performed great *tapas*. 3. Let him depart to the combatants in battles, to the heroes who have there sacrificed their lives, or to those who have bestowed thousands of largesses. 4. Let him depart, Yama, to those austere ancient Fathers who have practised and promoted sacred rites. 5. Let him depart, Yama, to those austere rishis, born of rigorous abstraction, to those sages, skilled in a thousand sciences, who guard the sun."[469] (Compare A.V. xix. 43, 1 ff.)

R.V. i. 125, 5, and x. 107, 2, which have been already quoted above, p. 285, also proclaim the rewards of liberality, a virtue which the Brāhmans, who are its object, have always been forward to extol. (Compare also verse 8 of the hymn last referred to.)

The Fathers who have attained to the heavenly state are described as being objects of adoration to their descendants. They are said to be of different classes, upper, intermediate, and lower, or those who inhabit the heaven (or sky), the air, and the earth (R.V. x. 15, 1; A.V. xviii. 2, 49), while in the verse preceding the one last quoted (A.V. xviii. 2,

[469] These verses form part of the funeral liturgy of the Brahmans. See Müller, on the funeral rites of the Brahmans, p. xi.

48), we are told that there are three heavens, of which the Fathers occupy the third or highest. Their different races are mentioned by name, viz., Angirases, Vairūpas, Navagvas, Atharvans, Bhṛigus, Vasishṭhas, etc. (R.V. x. 14, 4–6; x. 15, 8). Though not all known to their worshippers, they are known to Agni (x. 15, 13). Their descendants offer them worship and oblations (x. 15, 2, 9), supplicate their good will (x. 14, 6), deprecate their wrath on account of any offences which may have been committed against them (x. 15, 6), entreat them to hear, intercede for, and protect their votaries (x. 15, 5), and to bestow upon them opulence, long life, and offspring, (x. 15, 7, 11; A.V. xviii. 3, 14: *Parāyata pitaraḥ ā cha yāta ayaṁ vo yajño madhunā samaktaḥ | datto asmabhyaṁ draviṉeha bhadraṁ rayiṁ cha naḥ sarvavīraṁ dadhāta*; xviii. 4, 62: *Āyur asmabhyaṁ dadhataḥ prajāṁ cha rāyaś cha poshair abhi naḥ sachadhvam*). They are represented as thirsting for the libations prepared for them on earth (x. 15, 9); and they are invited to come with Yama, his father Vivasvat, and Agni, and feast with avidity, and to their hearts' content, on the sacrificial food (x. 14, 4, 5; x. 15, 9). They accordingly arrive in thousands, borne on the same car with Indra and the other gods, and range themselves in order on the sacrificial ground (x. 15, 10, 11).[470] Wonderful powers are ascribed to them, as in Agni is prayed (A.V. xviii. 2, 28), to blow away the evil spirits who intrude into their hallowed society in the guise of friends. In R.V. x. 68, 11, it is said that "the Fathers have adorned the sky with stars, as a dark horse with golden ornaments, and have placed darkness in the night, and light in the day" (*abhi śyāvaṁ na kṛiśanebhir aśvaṁ nakshatrebhiḥ pitaro dyām apiṁśan*).

With these ideas compare those entertained by the Romans about the Manes (see Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, *s.v.*), and the opinions of the unreformed Christian Churches about the powers and prerogatives of the saints.

The following texts refer indistinctly to some punishment (whether annihilation or some penal infliction) of the wicked:

R.V. iv. 5, 5: *Abhrātaro na yoshaṇo vyantaḥ patiripo na janayo durevāḥ | pāpāsaḥ santo anṛitāḥ asatyāḥ idam padam ajanata gabhīram |*

[470] Compare, on the offerings to the Pitṛis, Colebrooke's Essay on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus. Mis. Essays, i. 180 ff.

"This deep abyss has been produced (for those who), being sinners, false, untrue, go about like women without brothers, like wicked females hostile to their husbands."

R.V. vii. 104, 3: *Indrāsomā dushkṛito vavre antar anārambhaṇe tamasi pravidhyatam | yathā nātaḥ punar ekaśchanodayad ityādi | 17. Pra yā jigāti khargaleva naktam upa druhā tanvaṁ gūhamānā vavrān anantān ava sā padīshṭa ityādi |* "Indra and Soma, dash those malicious (Rakshases) into the abyss, into bottomless darkness, so that not even one of them may get out," etc. 17. "May that injurious Rākshasī, who goes about at night like an owl, concealing herself, fall into the bottomless abysses."

But these last texts form part of a hymn which refers to evil spirits.

R.V. ix. 73, 8: *Vidvān sa viśvā bhuvanā 'bhi paśyati avajushṭān vidhyati karte avratān |* "Knowing, he (Soma) beholds all worlds; he hurls the hated and irreligious into the abyss" (*karte*).

In x. 152, 4, Indra is prayed to consign to the lower darkness the man who injures his worshipper (*yo asmān abhi dāsati adharaṁ gamayā tamaḥ*: compare A.V. i. 21, 2); and in A.V. viii. 2, 24, the nethermost darkness is mentioned (*na vai tatra mriyante no yanti adhamaṁ tamaḥ*), "They do not die there, nor go to the nethermost darkness." See also A.v. ix. 2, 4, 9, 10, and 17; x. 3, 9; xii. 3, 49; xiii. 1, 32, where similar phrases occur (associated in one place, x. 3, 9, with *asūrttam rajas*, the distant (?) atmosphere); and R.V. x. 103, 12, and A.V. xviii. 3, 3, where the expression *andham tamas*, "blind darkness," is found.[471] But it is not clear that in these passages the words denote a place of punishment. In A.V. v. 30, 11, it is said to a sick man: *udehi mṛityor gambhīrāt kṛishṇāch chit tamasas pari |* "Rise up from deep death, even from the black darkness." In A.V. viii. 1, 10, *tamas* is used by itself, apparently for the state of the dead; and in A.V. viii. 2, 2, "the light of the living" (*jīvatām jyotiḥ*) is mentioned. In the preceding verse, 1, *rajas* and *tamas* are joined: "do not depart to the atmosphere and darkness" (*rajas tamo mopagāḥ mā pra meshṭhāḥ*). In A.V, xii. 4, 36, however, the adjective form of the ordinary word for hell (*nāraka loka*) occurs; and that region is threatened as the future abode of the man whose offence is there specified (*athāhur nārakaṁ lokaṁ nirundhānasya yāchitām*).

[471] Manu, viii. 94, connects *andham tamas* with hell, saying that a lying witness goes to hell in "blind darkness."

In the following passages of the Mahābhārata (xii. 6969 f.) hell and darkness (*tamas*) are identified: *Anṛitaṁ tamaso rūpaṁ tamasā nīyate hy adhaḥ | tamo-grastāḥ na paśyanti prakāśaṁ tamasā vṛitāḥ |* 6970. *Svargaḥ prakāśaḥ ity āhur narakaṁ tamaḥ eva cha |* "Falsehood is the embodiment of darkness (*tamas*): by darkness a man is carried downwards. Those who are seized by darkness, being enveloped in darkness, do not see the light. Heaven they say is light (*prakāśa*), and hell is darkness (*tamas*)."[472]

In one of the passages which have been quoted above (x. 16, 4) the "unborn part" of man is spoken of as being conveyed by Agni to "the world of the righteous." It will be observed that the word here employed is different from *ātman*, the term which at a later period was invariably used to denote the immaterial soul; and that this same word *ātman* occurs in the preceding verse in the sense of breath, as we must infer from the fact of its being bidden to mingle with the wind, the element to which it is akin. In some other passages of the Rig-veda we find the word *manas* employed for the soul, or the living principle which exists after death. Thus in x. 58, 1, it is said: *Yat te Yamaṁ Vaivasvatam mano jāgāma dūrakam | tat te āvarttayāmasi iha kshayāya jīvase |* "Thy soul, which has gone afar to Yama Vaivasvata, we bring back hither to dwell and to live." In the verses which follow, the soul is said to be brought back from a great many other places, the heaven, the earth, the four quarters of the sky, the ocean, the waters, the planets, the sun, the dawn, the past, the future, etc. And again in x. 60, 10, we find the same word employed: *Yamād ahaṁ Vaivasvatāt Subandhor manaḥ ābharam | jīvātave na mṛityave atho arishṭatātayé |* "I have brought the soul of Subandhu that it may live and not die, but be secure." Compare A.V. v. 3, 6, 13; vi. 53, 2; viii. 1, 3; viii. 2, 3; and Vāj. Sanh. iii. 53–56. *Ātman* is, however, used in some parts of the Rig-veda for the animating principle, as where the sun is called the soul of all things moving and stationary (i. 115, 1), or where Soma is called the soul of sacrifice (ix. 2, 10; ix. 6, 8), and of Indra (ix. 85, 3).

[472] Compare Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 6, 40: "Heaven is that which delights the mind; hell is that which gives it pain; hence, vice is called hell; virtue is called heaven" (*manaḥ-prīti-karaḥ svargo narakas tad-viparyayaḥ | naraka-svarga-saṅjñe vai pāpa-puṇye dvijottama*).

(6) *Quotations from later works regarding a future existence.*

I shall now adduce some passages from other Indian works of a later date, such as the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the epic poems, and the Purāṇas, to show how far the opinions which their authors entertained coincide with those representations of a future life which I have extracted from the Rig-, Yajur-, and Atharva-vedas.

In the 9th vol. of the Journal of the German Oriental Society (pp. 237 ff.) Professor Weber has communicated a legend from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, on penal retribution after death, to which he has prefixed some interesting remarks on the history of Indian opinion regarding the vanity of personal existence, and the desire to escape from the perpetual cycle of births to which that opinion conducts. He remarks that, owing to the fragmentary nature of the surviving documents of Indian literature, we are not yet in a position to trace with any distinctness the rise and growth of the doctrine of transmigration; though he considers it to admit of no doubt that the tenet in question was gradually developed in India itself, and not introduced from any foreign country. (See Professor Benfey's remarks on this subject in his Orient und Occident, vol. iii. pp. 169 f.) In the hymns of the Rig-veda, Prof. Weber goes on to observe, there is no trace discoverable of the metempsychosis, or of any disgust with personal existence. On the contrary, they manifest a cheerful enjoyment of life, and the most earnest desire for its prolongation in this world, as well as its continuation in the next. "So too," Professor Weber proceeds, "in the Brāhmaṇas, immortality, or at least longevity, is promised to those who rightly understand and practise the rites of sacrifice, while those who are deficient in this respect depart before their natural term of life (*purā ha āyushaḥ*)[473] to the next world, where they are weighed in a balance (xi. 2, 7, 33)[474] and receive good or evil according to

[473] Compare R.V. x. 37, 6: *bhadraṁ jīvanto jaraṇām aśīmahi*; Śatap. Br. xi. 8, 3, 6: *sarvam āyur eti ā ha eva jarāyai jīvati*; Śatap. Br. x. 4, 3, 1, where the expression *purā jarasaḥ* is found; as it is also in R.V. viii. 56, 20, and A.V. v. 30, 17; x. 2, 30; xi. 3, 56. *Purā ha' āyusho mriyate* occurs in Śatap. Br. ii. 1, 4, 9: *na purā āyushaḥ svakāmī preyāt* in x. 2, 6, 7; and *sarvam āyur eti* in x. 2, 6, 19. See also Taitt. Sanh. iii. 2, 1, 2. Compare Psalm lv. 24: "Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days;" Psalm ciii. 25, and Jeremiah xvii. 11.

[474] The passage (xi. 2, 7, 33) to which Weber has referred runs as follows: *Atha ha eshā eva tulā yad dakshiṇo vedyantaḥ | sa yat sādhu karoti tad antarvedi atha*

their deeds. The more sacrifices any one has offered, the more ethereal is the body he obtains, or, as the Brāhmaṇa expresses it (x. 1, 5, 4),[475] the more rarely does he need to eat. In other passages, again (iv. 6, 1, 1: xi. 1, 8, 6; xii. 8, 3, 31),[476] it is promised as the highest reward, that the pious man shall be born in the next world with his entire body (*sarvatanūr eva sāngaḥ*). Here the high estimation of

yad asādhu tad bahirvedi tasmād dakshiṇaṁ vedyantam adhispriśya iva āśīta | tulāyāṁ ha vai amushmin loke ādadhati | yatarad yaṁsyati tad anveshyati yadi sādhu vā asādhu vā iti | atha yaḥ evaṁ veda asmin ha eva loke tulām ārohati | ati amushmin loke tulādhānam muchyate sādhukṛityā ha eva asya yachhati na pāpakṛityā | "For in the next world they place (his good and evil deeds) in a balance. Whichever of the two shall outweigh (the other), that he shall follow, whether it be good or evil. Now, whosoever knows this places himself in the balance in this world, and is freed from being weighed in the next world; it is by good deeds and not by bad that (his scale) outweighs."

[475] x. 1, 5, 4: *Atha ato yajnavīryāṇām eva | sāyam prātar ha vai amushmin loke agnihotra-hud aśnāti tāvatī ha tasmin yajne ūrg ardhamāse ardhamāse daśapūrṇamāsa-yājī chaturshu chaturshu māseshu chāturmāsya-yājī shaṭsu shaṭsu paśubandha-yājī saṁvatsare saṁvatsare somayājī śate śate saṁvatsareshu agnichit kāmam aśnāti kāmaṁ na | tad ha etad yāvat śatam saṁvatsarās tāvad amṛitam anantam aparyantam | sa yo ha etad evam veda evaṁ ha eva asya etad amṛitam anantam aparyantam bhavati | tasya yad api ishīkayā iva upahanyāt tad eva asya amṛitam anantam aparyantam bhavati |* "Then as regards the powers of the sacrifices. In the next world the offerer of an Agnihotra eats morning and evening. So much nourishment resides in that sacrifice. The performer of the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice eats every fortnight, the performer of the Chāturmāsya every four months, the performer of the Paśubandha every six months, the offerer of the Soma every year, whilst the kindler of fire eats every hundred years, or abstains at his pleasure. This means, that during this period of a hundred years he enjoys an immortal, unending, and unlimited life. He who so knows this enjoys in the same way this immortal, unending, and unlimited existence. Whatever part of him is separated, even as if by a straw, becomes immortal, unending, and unlimited."

[476] iv. 6, 1, 1: *Sa ha sarvatanūr eva yajamāno 'mushmin loke saṁbhavati |* "This sacrificer is born with his whole body (*sarvatanūḥ*) in the next world." xi. 1, 8, 6: *Esha ha vai yajamānasya amushmin loke atmā bhavati yad yajnaḥ | sa ha sarvatanūr eva yajamāno amushmin loke saṁbhavati yaḥ evaṁ vidvān niskrītyā yajate |* "This sacrifice becomes in the next world the soul of the sacrificer. The sacrificer who, knowing this, sacrifices with an expiation, is born with his whole body in the next world." xii. 8, 3, 31: *Pra iva vai esha lokāṁś cha devatāś cha viśati yaḥ sautrāmaṇyā 'bhishichyate | tad etad avāntarām ātmānam upahvayate tathā kṛitsnaḥ eva sarvatanūḥ sāngaḥ saṁbhavati |* "He who is consecrated by the Sautrāmaṇī enters the worlds, and among the gods. He then .... and is born entire, with his whole body and limbs." In the A.V. xi. 3, 32, and 49, it is said: *Esha vai odanaḥ sarvāngaḥ sarvaparuḥ sarvatanūḥ | sarvāngaḥ eva sarvaparuḥ sarvatanūḥ saṁbhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda |* "This *odana* (boiled rice) is complete in its limbs, joints, and body. He who knows this is born complete in limbs, joints, and body."

individual existence culminates, and a purely personal immortality is involved. It is evidently in connection with this that the loss of a dead man's bones is regarded by his friends as disgraceful, as the severest punishment of arrogance (xi. 6, 3, 11; xiv. 6, 9, 28);"[477] since, according to the custom prescribed by the Sūtras, the bones should be collected after cremation.

[The following passage from the same work (x. 4, 3, 9,) is not inconsistent with the above view. According to the story, the gods become immortal without parting with their bodies; and although men were not to enjoy immortality without "shuffling off their mortal coil," a subsequent resumption of their bodies in a glorified state is not thereby excluded: 9. *Sa mṛityur devān abravīd "Atha eva sarve manushyāḥ amṛitāḥ bhavishyanti atha ko mahyam bhāgo bhavishyati" iti | te ha ūchur "na atoḥ 'paraḥ kaśchana saha śarīreṇa amṛito 'sad yadā eva tvam etam bhāgaṁ harāsai | atha vyāvṛitya śarīreṇa amṛito 'sad vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā" iti | yad vai tad abruvan "vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā" iti | eshā ha eva sā vidyā yad Agnir etad u ha eva tat karma yad Agniḥ |* 10. *Te ye evaṁ etad vidur ye vā etat karma kurvate mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti | te sambhavantaḥ eva amṛitatvam abhisambhavanti | atha ye evaṁ na vidur ye vā etat karma na kurvate mṛitvā punaḥ sambhavanti te etasya eva annam punaḥ punar bhavanti |*

"Death said to the gods (who had become immortal by performing certain rites), 'in the very same way all men (also) shall become immortal; then what portion will remain for me?' The gods replied,

[477] xi. 6, 3, 11: *Sa ha uvācha "anatipraśnyām mā devatām atyaprākshīḥ purāitithyai marishyasi na te asthīni chana gṛihān prāpsyanti" iti | sa ha tathaiva mamāra | tasya ha apy anyad manyamānāḥ parimoshiṇo asthīny apajahruḥ | tasmād na upavādī syāt |* "Do not scrutinize too far the deity which ought not to be too far scrutinized. Thou shalt die before such a time; not even thy bones shall reach thy home. So he died; and robbers carried off his bones, taking them for something else. Wherefore let no man be contentious." xiv. 6, 9, 28 (=Bṛihad Āranyaka Upanishad, iii. 9, 26; p. 210 f. of Roer's English translation): *Taṁ tvā aupanishadam purusham pṛichhāmi taṁ ched me na vivakshyasi mūrdhā te vipatishyati" iti | taṁ ha Śākalyo na mene | tasya ha mūrdhā vipapāta | tasya ha apy anyad manyamānāḥ parimoshiṇo asthīny apajahruḥ |* "I ask thee regarding this Purusha of the Upanishads. If thou shalt not explain him to me, thy head shall fall off. Śākalya did not understand this Purusha. So his head fell off; and robbers carried off his bones, taking them for something else." (Compare 1 Kings xiii. 22, and Jeremiah viii. 1, 2). See also the story of Atyaṁhas Āruṇi and Plaksha Dayyāmpāti in Taitt. Br. iii. 10, 9, 3–5.

'Henceforward no other being shall become immortal with his body, when thou shalt have seized that part (the body).[478] Now, every one who is to become immortal through knowledge, or by work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said, 'by knowledge or by work,' means that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni. 10. Those who so know this, or who perform this rite, are born again after death; and by being so born, they attain immortality. Whilst those who do not so know, or who do not perform this rite, are indeed born again after death, but become again and again his (death's) food." See the 4th vol. of this Work, pp. 48 ff., where this passage is given with its context.]

Professor Weber proceeds: "But whereas, in the oldest times, immortality in the abodes of the blessed, where milk and honey flow (xi. 5, 6, 4)[479] is regarded as the reward of virtue or wisdom, whilst the sinner or the fool is, after a short life, doomed to the annihilation of his personal existence, the doctrine of the Brāhmaṇas is that after death all are born again in the next world, where they are recompensed according to their deeds, the good being rewarded, and the wicked punished (vi. 2, 2, 27; x. 6, 3, 1; xi. 7, 2, 23)."[480]

[478] It appears, however, from the Taitt. S. vi. (p. 67*a* of the Indian Office MS.), that men were also conceived of as getting to heaven without dying. *Brahmavādino vadanti "kim tad yajne yajamānaḥ kurute yena jīvan suvargam lokam eti" iti | jīvagraho vai esha yad adābhyo 'nabhishutasya gṛihṇāti | jīvantam eva enam survargam lokam gamayati* | "Men versed in sacred science say 'What does the sacrificer perform in the sacrifice by which he ascends to heaven alive?' This adābhya libation is an offering of the living [Soma, *i.e.* of the plant uncrushed, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. jīvagraha*]; (the priest) offers this without pouring it out; and conveys the worshipper alive to heaven."

[479] xi. 5, 6, 3 f. (See the 3rd vol. of this work, where this passage is cited in the original with its context): "Study of the Vedas is the Brahma-sacrifice. . . . . The man who, knowing this, daily practises the study of the Vedas, conquers thrice as vast a region—and that, too, undecaying—as the region which he conquers who bestows this whole earth filled with wealth. Wherefore study of the Vedas is to be practised. 4. Verses of the Ṛik. are oblations of milk to the gods. He who, knowing this, daily studies the Rig-veda, does in fact satisfy the gods with oblations of milk; and they, when satisfied, satisfy him with prosperity, with breath, with generative power, with completeness in his being, with all excellent possessions. (Compare S'atap. Br. xi. 5, 7, 6, and A.V. iv. 34, 6, 7.)

[480] vi. 2, 2, 27: *Tasmād āhuḥ kṛitaṁ lokam purusho 'bhi jāyate* | "Hence they say that a man is born into the world which he has made." x. 6, 3, 1: *Atha khalu kratumayo 'yam purushaḥ | sa yāvatkratur ayam asmāl lokāt praiti evaṁkratur ha amuṁ lokam pretya abhisambhavati* | "Now truly this man is composed of

[The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, however, also expresses the conception of a higher state than that of desire and gratification, in a passage (x. 5, 4, 15) where it is said: 15. *So 'sya esha sarvasya antam eva ātmā | sa esha sarvāsām apām madhye | sa esha sarvaiḥ kāmaiḥ sampannaḥ | āpo vai sarve kāmāḥ | sa esha akāmaḥ sarvakāmo na hy etaṁ kasyachana kāmaḥ | 16. Tad esha śloko bhavati "vidyayā tad āroha'nti yatra kāmāḥ parāgatāḥ | na tatra dakshiṇāḥ yanti nāvidvāṁsaś 'apasvinaḥ" iti | na ha eva taṁ lokaṁ dakshiṇābhir na tapasā 'nevaṁvid aśnute | evaṁvidāṁ ha eva sa lokaḥ |*

"This soul is the end of all this. It abides in the midst of all the waters. It is supplied with all objects of desire. For the waters are all the objects of desire.[481] This (soul) is free from desire, and (yet) possesses all the objects of desire, for it desires nothing. 15. On this subject there is this verse: 'By knowledge men ascend to that condition in which desires have passed away. Thither gifts do not reach, nor austere devotees who are destitute of knowledge.'[482] For a person who does not possess this knowledge does not attain that world by gifts or by rigorous abstraction. It pertains only to those who have such knowledge."][483]

sacrifice. So many sacrifices as he has performed when he departs from this world, with so many is he born in the other world after his death."

[481] Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 2, 6: *Apsu vai sarve kāmāḥ śritaḥ* | "In the waters all objects of desire are contained."

[482] This verse is quoted in S'ankara's Commentary on the Brahma Sūtras, pp. 911 and 952, of the edit. in Bibl. Ind.

[483] In another passage a curious contrast is drawn between two different kinds of sacrificers, the *ātmayājin* and the *devayājin*, S'atap. Br. xi. 2, 6, 13: *ātmayājī sreyān | devayājī ity ātmayājī iti ha brūyāt | sa ha vai ātmayājī yo veda "idam me anena angaṁ saṁskriyate idaṁ me anena angam upadhīyate" iti | sa yathā 'his tvacho nirmuchyeta evam asmād martyāt śarīrāt pāpmano nirmuchyate sa ṛiṅmayo yajurmayaḥ sāmamayaḥ āhutimayaḥ svargaṁ lokam abhi sambhavati | atha ha sa devayājī yo veda devān eva aham idaṁ yaje devān samarpayāmi iti sa yathā śreyase pāpīyān baliṁ hared vaiśyo vā rājne baliṁ hared evaṁ sa sa ha na tāvantam lokaṁ jayati yāvantam itaraḥ* | "He who sacrifices to himself is superior. A man should say, 'There is a worshipper who sacrifices to the gods,' and 'another who sacrifices to himself.' He who understands that by such and such [a rite] such and such a one of his members is rectified, and that by such and such another rite such and such another of his members is restored,—he is the person who sacrifices to himself; he is freed from this mortal body, from sin (or misery), as a serpent is freed from its worn-out skin, and acquiring the nature of the Ṛik, Yajush, and Sāman, and of Sacrifice, he attains to heaven. 2. On the other hand, he who understands that with such and such an oblation he worships the gods, and offers it up to them, is like an inferior

Professor Weber adds in a note: "According to a very ancient conception, the soul, after being breathed forth from the body, ascends to the abodes of the blessed on the wings of the air, of the wind (Ἑρμείας ψυχοπομπός),[484] having itself been changed into an aerial form. With this is connected the later idea of the resolution of the senses of the dying into fire, sun, moon, wind, and the regions of the sky[485] (x. 3, 3, 8; xiv. 6, 2, 13), and the still more modern and systematic notion of their being resolved into the five elements. In one place (i. 9, 3, 10)[486] I find the idea that the rays of the sun are themselves the pious

who presents tribute to a superior, or as a Vaiśya brings tribute to a king; and he does not conquer for himself so great a world as the other does." Professor Aufrecht inclines to think that there is no such difference between the sense of *ātmayājin* here and in Manu, xii. 91, as is indicated in the Lexicon of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, and that in the passage before us *ātman* must be taken in the Vedantic sense, and the compound explained to mean "he who sacrifices in himself, that is, in his own individuality, as an integral part of the universal soul," quoting Kullūka on Manu, xii. 91, in proof of this sense. He also refers to S'atap. Br. x. 3, 2, 13 (*kiṁ chhandaḥ kā devatā ūnātiriktāni iti | nyūnāksharā chhandaḥ āpo devatā ūnātiriktāni | sā eshā ātmavidyā eva | etanmayo ha etāḥ devatāḥ etam ātmānam abhisambhavati*), which I translate: "What the metre, what deity are the things which are defective or superfluous? The *nyūnāksharā* (metre with deficient syllables) is the metre; the waters are the deity representing the things which are defective or superfluous. This is the knowledge of soul. He who is composed of this attains to these deities, to this soul." Here the knowledge of soul in the Vedantic sense may be referred to. But in the previous passage the *ātmayājin* is represented, not as attaining to soul, but to heaven, a destination which he who has a knowledge of soul in the Vedantic sense no longer desires.

[484] Compare A.V. xviii. 2, 21 f., quoted above.

[485] x. 3, 3, 8: *Sa yadā evaṁvid asmāl lokāt praiti vāchā eva Agnim apyeti chakshushā Ādityam manasā Chandraṁ śrotreṇa Diśaḥ prāṇena Vāyum | sa etānmayaḥ eva bhūtvā etāsām devatānāṁ yāṁ yāṁ kāmayate sā bhūtvā ilayati* | "Whoever departs from this world knowing this goes with his voice to fire (Agni), with his eye to the sun (Āditya; compare R.V. x. 16, 3, quoted above), with his mind (*manas*) to the moon, with his ear to the regions, with his breath (*prāṇa*) to the wind (Vāyu; compare R.V. x. 16, 3). Having attained the nature of these, and become any one of these deities that he desires, he rests." xiv. 6, 2, 13 (=Bṛih. Āraṇy. Up. p. 542 f.): *Yatra asya purushasya mṛitasya agnim vāg apyeti vātam prāṇas chakshur ādityam manaś chandraṁ diśaḥ śrotram pṛithivīṁ śarīram ākāśam ātmā oshadhīr lomāni vanaspatīn kesāḥ apsu lohitaṁ cha retaś cha nidhīyate kva ayaṁ tadā purusho bhavati* | "When the voice of the departed soul goes to fire, his breath to the wind, his eye to the sun, his mind to the moon, his hearing to the regions, his body to the earth, his soul to the æther, the hairs of his body to the plants, the hairs of his head to the trees, his blood and his seminal fluid to the waters,—where then is this spirit?"

[486] i. 9, 3, 10: *Yaḥ esha tapati tasya ye raśmayas te sukṛitaḥ | atha yat param bhāḥ Prajāpatir vā svargo vā lokaḥ* | "The rays of him who shines (the sun) are the pious. The light which is above is Prajāpati, or the heavenly world."

(*sukṛitas*); and in another (vi. 5, 4, 8)[487] the conception that the stars are the lights of the righteous who go to heaven. With this the similar statement in the Indralokāgamana may be compared."

The following are some other passages of the Brāhmaṇas (not cited by Professor Weber) regarding future rewards. In the Śatap. Br. xi. 6, 2, 2, 3, it is said: "He who sacrifices thus obtains perpetual prosperity and renown, and conquers for himself an union[488] with these two gods (*Āditya* and *Agni*), and an abode in the same sphere." (See the original passages with the context in the 1st vol. of this Work, pp. 426 ff.) In the same work (ii. 6, 4, 8) it is said that those who offer particular sacrifices become Agni, Varuṇa, or Indra, and attain to union, and to the same spheres, with those gods respectively (*sa yad vaiśvadevena yajate Agnir eva tarhi bhavaty Agner eva sāyujyaṁ salokatāṁ jayati | atha yad Varuṇapraghāsair yajate Varuṇaḥ eva tarhi bhavati ityādi*). And in the same way the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 10, 11, 6 f., states that the possessors of particular kinds of knowledge attain to union with Āditya (the Sun), and to union, and to the same spheres, with Agni, with Vāyu, with Indra, with Bṛihaspati, with Prajāpati, and with Brahmā. In the same work, iii. 10, 9, 11, mention is made of a certain sage who, through his knowledge, became a golden swan, went to heaven, and attained to union with the sun (*Ahīno ha Āśvatthyaḥ sāvitraṁ vidānchakāra* | 11. *Sa ha haṁso hiraṇmayo bhūtvā svargaṁ lokam iyāya ādityasya sāyujyam*). The Śatap.

[487] vi. 5, 4, 8: *Ye hi janāḥ puṇyakṛitaḥ svargaṁ lokaṁ yanti teshām etāni jyotīṁshi* | "These (the stars) are the lights of the practisers of holy acts who go to heaven." The passage of the Indralokāgamana (Mbh. iii. 1745 ff.), referred to by Professor Weber, is as follows: *Na tatra sūryaḥ somo vā dyotate nacha pāvakaḥ* | 1746. *Svayaiva prabhayā tatra dyotante puṇyalabdhayā* | *tārārūpāṇi yānīha dṛiśyante dyutimanti vai* | 1747. *Dīpavad viprakṛishṭatvāt tanūni sumahānty api* | *tāni tatra prabhāsvanti rūpavanti cha Pāṇḍuvaḥ* | 1748. *Dadarśa sveshu dhishṇyeshu dīpavanti svayā 'rchishā* | *tatra rājarshayaḥ siddhāḥ vīrāścha nihatāḥ yudhi* | 1751. *Ete sukṛitinaḥ pārtha sveshu dhishṇyeshv avasthitāḥ* | 1752. *Yān dṛishṭavān asi vibho tārārūpāṇi bhūtale* | "The sun shines not there (in Indra's heaven), nor the moon, nor fire. There the righteous shine by their own light, acquired by their own virtue. Arjuna beheld there, shining in their own spheres, luminous and beautiful, those bright forms of the stars which, when seen from the earth, appear from distance to be as small as lamps, although they are very vast." "These," as Arjuna's conductor explained to him, "were the righteous occupying their own spheres, whom, when on earth, he had seen in the sky in the form of stars."

[488] The word *sāyujya*, "close union," here used, seems to prepare the way for *laya* and *mukti*, "dissolution," or "absorption," into the supreme spirit.

Br. xi. 4, 4, 1, also speaks of union with Brahmā: *Shaḍ vai Brahmaṇo dvāraḥ Agnir Vāyur Āpaś Chandramāḥ Vidyud Ādityaḥ* | 21. *Sa yaḥ upadagdhena havishā yajate Agninā sa ha Brahmaṇo dvāreṇa pratipadyate* | *so 'gninā Brahmaṇo dvāreṇa pratipadya Brahmaṇaḥ sāyujyaṁ salokatāṁ jayati* | "There are six doors to Brahma, viz., Agni, Vāyu, the Waters, the Moon, Lightning, the Sun. 2. He who sacrifices with a burnt offering, arrives by Agni, as the door to Brahmā; and having so arrived, he attains to a union with Brahmā, and abides in the same sphere with him." In A.V. xix. 7, 1, 1, a Brahmaloka is mentioned. [For the Puranic idea of the world of Brahma, see Wilson's Vishṇu Purana, 4to. ed., p. 48, note 3, and p. 213, note 3 (or, for the first of these passages, Professor Hall's 8vo. ed., vol. i. p. 98), and for the second, vol. ii. p. 228, of the same edition.]

In the Śatap. Br. xi. 5, 6, 9, it is declared that a man who reads the Vedas in a particular manner is "freed from dying again, and attains to a sameness of nature with Brahmā (*Brahmaṇaḥ sātmatām*). Even if he cannot read with much power, let him read one sentence relating to the gods." (See the original passage with the context in the 3rd vol. of this Work, pp. 18 ff.)

The following curious passage is from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 44: *Sa vai esha na kadāchana astam eti na udeti* | *taṁ yad astam eti iti manyante ahnaḥ eva tad antam itvā atha ātmānaṁ viparyasyate rātrīm eva avastāt kurute ahaḥ parastāt* | *atha yad enam prātar udeti iti manyante rātrer eva tad antam itvā atha ātmānam viparyasyate ahar eva avastāt kurute rātrīm parastāt* | *sa vai esha na kadāchana nimrochati* | *na ha vai kadāchana nimrochati etasya ha sāyujyaṁ sarūpatāṁ salokatām aśnute yaḥ evaṁ veda yaḥ evaṁ veda* |

"The Sun neither ever sets or rises. When people think he sets he (only) turns himself round, after reaching the end of the day, and makes night below and day above. Then when people think he rises in the morning he (only) turns himself round after reaching the end of the night, and makes day below and night above. In truth, he never sets. The man who knows this, that the sun never sets, enjoys union and sameness of nature with him, and abides in the same sphere." [489]

[489] See Prof. Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. p. 242. I differ from that scholar in translating *parastāt*, "above," and not "on the other side." Compare Ind. Stud. ix. p. 278. See also Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 8; p. 241 of Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's Translation, vol. ii.

In another passage (ii. 17) the same work declares how far heaven is from earth: *Sahasram anūchyaṁ svargakāmasya | sahasrāśvīne vai itaḥ svargo lokaḥ* | "He who desires heaven should repeat a thousand (verses). For the heavenly world is distant from hence a thousand days' journey on horseback."

In the Śatap. Br. vi. 6, 2, 4, it is said that the door of heaven (*svarga-loka*) is situated in the north-eastern regions (*yad u eva udaṅ prāṁ tishṭhan | etasyāṁ ha diśi svargasya lokasya dvāram*), while that by which the heaven of the Fathers is entered, lies to the south-east (*prāchīṁ cha dakshiṇāṁ cha | etasyāṁ ha diśi pitṛilokasya dvāram*, ibid. xiii. 8, 1, 5).[490]

In the legend on future retribution, quoted by Weber, as above stated, from the same Brāhmaṇa (xi. 6, 1, 1 ff.) it is related that Bhṛigu, the son of Varuṇa, visited, by his father's command, the four points of the compass, where he saw men being cut into pieces and eaten by other men, who, when questioned by Bhṛigu, declared that they were revenging on their victims the treatment which they had received at their hands in the other world (on earth). These victims are allegorically explained in the Brāhmaṇa as representing the trees, animals, plants, and waters employed in sacrifice. But Professor Weber is of opinion that the story is an old popular legend regarding the penal retribution executed by the former sufferers themselves on those who had oppressed them while on earth, and that the narrative had been appropriated by the priests and introduced into the Brāhmaṇa to relieve the monotony of its tedious disquisitions, and explained in the manner I have stated.

I return to Professor Weber's discussion of the doctrine of the Brāhmaṇas regarding a future state.

"The Brāhmaṇas, however," he continues, "are not explicit in regard to the duration of these rewards and punishments; and it is here that we have to seek the origin of the doctrine of transmigration. To men of the mild disposition and reflective spirit of the Indians, it would not appear that reward and punishment could be eternal. They would conceive that it must be possible by atonement and purification to become absolved from the punishment of the sins committed in this

[490] See Weber, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, ix. 243, 308.

short life. And in the same way they could not imagine that the reward of virtues practised during the same brief period could continue for ever. The dogma of transmigration answered plainly to both of these suppositions, though in another respect it could scarcely do so; for where was either a beginning or an end to be sought? The spirit of inquiry sought to escape from this dilemma by systematic refinements (*sonderung*), but only became more hopelessly entangled; and at length it was only extricated by cutting the knot, by succumbing to the influence of the aspiration after complete redemption from the bondage of the world, and of individual existence; so that that destiny, which was in earlier times regarded as the greatest punishment, was now recognized as the highest reward. This mode of cutting the knot is the work of Buddha and Buddhism; and the best proof that the fundamental substance of the Brāhmaṇas is pre-Buddhistic is (apart from all other evidence) to be found in this, that they do not recognize the existence of the dilemma in question, that they know nothing of the contempt of life to which we have alluded, but rather express with directness and naïveté a fresh and genuine love of existence, and a yearning after immortality. It is only some passages of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka and of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, which form an exception to this assertion; and on that account they must be held evidently to belong to the period immediately preceding Buddha's appearance, or even to that which followed it."

It does not quite agree with the conclusion here announced that the passage I have quoted above from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 6, 9, appears to speak of union with Brahma;—unless Brahmā, and not Brahma, is meant, and unless the word *sātmatā* is to be understood in some other sense than the later one of absorption into his essence.

Though Indra, Varuṇa, and other gods are represented in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas as leading a sensual and immoral life,[491] and though the Apsarases, or celestial nymphs, are expressly declared to be courtezans,[492] form the subject of most voluptuous descriptions,[493] and are

[491] See the 4th vol. of this Work, p. 41.

[492] Ibid. p. 394; and Rāmāyaṇa, i. 45, 35 (ed. Schlegel), and i. 46, 2 (Gorresio).

[493] See Mahābhārata, iii. 1821 ff.; Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara Kāṇḍa, xxvi. 16 ff. (Bombay ed.).

represented as being sent by the gods from time to time to seduce austere sages into unchastity, and are promised, as we have already seen, as the companions of warriors in a future life,—yet the pictures drawn of paradise in those works are not always of such a gross character. In the account of the highest stage of heavenly blessedness contained in the Mahābhārata, iii. 15441 ff., there is no promise of any sensual gratification held out. It appears (vv. 15407–15487) that a sage named Mudgala had lived a life of poverty, piety, and self-restraint, offering hospitality to thousands of Brahmans, according to his humble means, with the grain which he gleaned like a pigeon (*kāpotīṁ vṛittim āsthitaḥ*), and which (like the widow of Zarephath's oil) never underwent diminution, or rather increased again when it was required (verse 15413: *brīhidroṇasya tad hy asya dadato 'nnam mahātmanaḥ | śishṭam mātsaryahīnasya vardhaty atithidarśanāt*). At length another holy man, called Durvāsas, famous in Indian tradition for his irascible temper, came to prove Mudgala's powers of endurance; and six times devoured all the food which the hospitable saint possessed. Finding that the temper of his host was altogether unaffected by these trials, Durvāsas expressed the highest admiration of his virtue, and declared that he would go bodily to heaven. As he spoke these words a messenger of the gods arrived in a celestial car, and called upon Mudgala to ascend to a state of complete perfection. The sage, however, desired first to learn the advantages and drawbacks of the heavenly state, and the messenger proceeded to tell him (vv. 15441 ff.) first what kind of people go there, viz., those who have performed austerities or celebrated great sacrifices, the truthful, the orthodox, the righteous, the self-restrained, the meek, the liberal, the brave, etc. These celestial abodes were, he said, shining, glorious, and filled with all delights. There is seen the vast golden mountain Meru, and the holy garden Nandana, etc., where the righteous disport. There hunger, thirst, weariness, cold, heat, fear, are unknown; there is nothing disgusting or disagreeable; the scents are delightful; the sounds are pleasant to the ear and mind; there is no sorrow, nor lamentation, nor decay, nor labour, nor envy, nor jealousy, nor delusion. There the blessed are clothed with glorious bodies, which are produced by their works, and not generated by any father or mother. Their garlands are fragrant and unfading; they ride in aerial cars. Beyond these regions there are, however, others of a

higher character—those to which the rishis, who have been purified by their works, proceed. Still further on are those where the Ṛibhus, who are gods even to the gods, dwell, and where there is no annoyance occasioned by women (*strī-kṛitas tāpaḥ*),[494] or by envy arising from the sight of worldly grandeur. The blessed there do not subsist on oblations, nor do they feed upon ambrosia; they have celestial and not coarse material bodies. These eternal gods of gods do not desire pleasure; they do not change with the revolutions of Kalpas (great mundane ages). How can they then be subject either to decay or death? They experience neither joy, nor pleasure, nor delight, neither happiness nor suffering, neither love nor hatred. That highest state, so difficult to attain, and which is beyond the reach of those who seek after pleasure (*agamyā kāma-gocharaiḥ*), is desired even by the gods. This celestial felicity, the messenger says, is now within Mudgala's reach,—the fruit of his good deeds. The speaker next, according to his promise, explains the drawbacks of the heavenly state. As the fruit of works done on earth is enjoyed in heaven, whilst no other new works are performed there from which new rewards could spring, this enjoyment is cut off from its root, and must therefore come to an end (verse 15468 : *kṛitasya karmaṇas tatra bhujyate yat phalaṁ divi | na chānyat kriyate karma mūla-chhedena bhujyate*). For this world is the place for works, while the other is the place for reward (verse 15475 : *karmabhūmir iyam brahman phalabhūmir asau matā*). This loss of gratifications to which the heart has become devoted, and the dissatisfaction and pain which arise in the minds of those who have sunk to a lower estate, from beholding the more brilliant prosperity of others, is intolerable. To this must be added the consciousness and the bewilderment of those who so descend, and the fear of falling which they experience when their garlands begin to fade. Such are the defects which attach to all existence till it is absorbed in Brahma. But the state of those who have fallen from heaven is not altogether without compensation. As a result of their previous good deeds they are born in a condition of happiness; though, if they are not vigilant, they sink still lower. Having given this explanation, the messenger of the gods invites Mudgala to accompany him to paradise. The saint, however, after consideration, replies that

[494] Compare Plato, Republic, i. 4.

he can have nothing to do with a state of happiness which is vitiated by so great defects, and the termination of which is followed by so great misery. He has therefore no desire for heaven; and will seek only that eternal abode where there is no sorrow, nor distress, nor change. He then asks the celestial messenger what other sphere there is which is free from all defects. The messenger replies, that above the abode of Brahmā is the pure eternal light, the highest sphere of Vishṇu, who is regarded as the supreme Brahma. Thither none can proceed who are devoted to objects of sense, or who are the slaves of dishonesty, avarice, anger, delusion, or malice; but only the unselfish, the humble, those who are indifferent to pain and pleasure, those whose senses are under restraint, and those who practise contemplation and fix their minds on the deity. The sage then dismissed the messenger of the gods, began to practise ascetic virtues, becoming indifferent to praise and blame, regarding clods, stones, and gold as alike. Pure knowledge led to fixed contemplation; and that again imparted strength and complete comprehension, whereby he attained supreme eternal perfection, in the nature of quietude [*nirvāṇa*] (*jnānayogena śuddhena dhyānanityo babhūva ha | dhyānayogād balaṁ labdhvā prāpya buddhim anuttamām | jagāma śāśvatīṁ siddhim parāṁ nirvāṇa-lakshaṇām*).[495]

The difference between the results of meritorious works and of knowledge, so familiar to the religious philosophy of the Hindus, is clearly set forth in the following verses of the Mahābhārata, xii. 8810 ff.:

Karmaṇā badhyate jantur vidyayā tu pramuchyate | tasmāt karma na kurvanti yatayaḥ pāradarśinaḥ | 8811. *Karmaṇā jāyate pretya mūrtimān shoḍaśātmakaḥ | vidyayā jāyate nityam avyaktaṁ hy avyayātmakam |* 8812. *Karma tv eke praśaṁsanti svalpabuddhi-ratāḥ narāḥ | tena te deha-jālāni ramayantaḥ upāsate |* 8813. *Ye sma buddhim parām prāptāḥ dharma-naipuṇa-darśinaḥ | na te karma praśaṁsanti kūpaṁ nadyām pibann iva |* 8814. *Karmaṇaḥ phalam āpnoti sukhaduhkhe bhavābhavau | vidyayā tad avāpnoti yatra gatvā na śochati |* 8815. *Yatra gatvā na mriyate yatra gatvā na jāyate | na punar jāyate yatra yatra gatvā na varttate |* 8816. *Yatra tad Brahma parāmam avyaktam achalaṁ dhruvam | avyākṛitam anāyāsam amṛitaṁ chāviyogi cha |*

[495] See the other passages quoted, *s.v.*, by Böhtlingk and Roth, from Brāhmanical writings where this word is used. Its employment by Buddhists to express the highest destiny of mundane creatures is well known.

"By works a creature is bound; by knowledge he is liberated; wherefore devotees gifted with perfect insight perform no works. Through works a creature is born again after death, with a body (of one or other) of sixteen descriptions; by knowledge he becomes the Eternal, Imperceptible, and Undecaying. Some men of little understanding eulogise works, and so embrace with delight the entanglements of corporeal existence. But those who have reached the highest intelligence, and a perfect comprehension of righteousness, do not commend works, as a person drinking from a river thinks little of a well. The results which a man obtains from works are pleasure and pain, prosperity and adversity; by knowledge he gains that condition in which his griefs are at an end, in which he dies not, in which his birth is not repeated, from which he does not return; in which that supreme Brahma exists imperceptible, unchanging, etc., etc."

(7) *Yama, and a future life,—a metrical sketch.*

To great king Yama homage pay,
Who was the first of men that died,
That crossed the mighty gulf, and spied
For mortals out the heavenward way.

No power can ever close the road
Which he to us laid open then,
By which in long procession men
Ascend to his sublime abode.

By it our fathers all have passed;
And that same path we too shall trace,
And every new succeeding race
Of mortal men, while time shall last.

The god assembles round his throne
A growing throng, the good and wise—
All those whom, scanned with searching eyes,
He recognizes as his own.

Departed mortal,[496] speed from earth
By those old ways thy sires have trod;
Ascend, behold the expectant god
Who calls thee to a higher birth.

First must each several element
That joined to form thy living frame
Flit to the region whence it came,
And with its parent source be blent.

Thine eye shall seek the solar orb,
Thy life-breath to the wind shall fly,
Thy part ethereal to the sky;
Thine earthy part shall earth absorb.

Thine unborn part shall Agni bright
With his benignest rays illume,
And guide it through the trackless gloom
To yonder sphere of life and light.

On his resplendent pinions rise,
Or soar upon a car aloft,
By Wind-gods fanned with breezes soft,
Until thou enterest paradise.

And calmly pass, without alarm,
The four-eyed hounds that guard the road
Which leads to Yama's bright abode:
Their master's friends they dare not harm.

All imperfections leave behind:
Assume thine ancient frame once more,—
Each limb, and sense, thou hadst before,—
From every earthly taint refined,

[496] The dead are thus addressed at funeral ceremonials.

And now with heavenly glory bright,
With life intenser, nobler, blest,
With large capacity to taste
A fuller measure of delight.

Thou there once more each well-known face
Shalt see of those thou lovedst here:
Thy parents, wife, and children dear,
With rapture shalt thou soon embrace.

The Fathers, too, shalt thou behold,
The heroes who in battle died,
The saints and sages, glorified,
The pious, bounteous, kings of old.

The gods whom here in humble wise
Thou worshippedst with doubt and awe,
Shall there the impervious veil withdraw
Which hid their glory from thine eyes.

The good which thou on earth hast wrought,
Each sacrifice, each pious deed,
Shall there receive its ample meed;
No worthy act shall be forgot.

In those fair realms of cloudless day,
Where Yama every joy supplies,
And every longing satisfies,
Thy bliss shall never know decay.

(8) *Nachiḱétas, an ancient theosophic story, metrically rendered from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, and the Kaṭha Upanishad.*

As an illustration of the preceding remarks of Professor Weber (in pp. 314 ff.), on the subject of transmigration, and generally of the later doctrine of the Upanishads on the nature and destiny of the soul, I introduce here a free metrical translation of the story of Nachikétas, as told briefly in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 11, 8, 1 ff., and in a

greatly developed form in the Kaṭha Upanishad. An English translation of this Upanishad, by Dr. Roer, will be found in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv. published in 1853, pp. 99 ff., and a German version in Windischmann's work, entitled "die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschichte," pp. 1706 ff.:

Desiring heaven, a sage of old
With sacrifice the gods adored;
Devoting to the priests his hoard
Of slowly-gathered goods and gold.

His son, young Nachikétas, stood,
And saw the gifts his father brought
To give the priests: "My sire," he thought,
"His vow has not made fully good."

"Thou hast not all, my father, given
Thou hadst to give," he calmly said;
"One offering more must yet be made,
If thou wouldst hope to merit heaven."

"To whom shall I be given, my sire?"
His father deemed the question vain;
Once more he asked, and yet again.
"To Death," his father cried in ire.

He rose to go to Death's abode;
A Voice addressed him from the air,
"Go, seek Death's house, and enter there
What time its lord shall be abroad:

"Three nights within his mansion stay,
But taste not, though a guest, his food;
And when, in hospitable mood
He comes and asks thee, thou shalt say:—

"'I in thy house three nights have past.'
When next he asks, 'What didst thou eat?'
Say, 'First thy children were my meat,
Thy cattle next, thy merits last.'" [497]

The youth that heavenly Voice obeyed,
And dwelt three nights in Death's abode;
When questioned by his host, the god,
He answered as the Voice had said.

Disturbed that thus his youthful guest
Had not been fitly entertained,
The god, to make amends constrained,
The stranger humbly thus addressed:—

"I bow before thee, reverend child;
I pray thee, crave a boon of me."
"My father let me, living, see,"
The boy replied, "and reconciled."

To whom the god—"I grant thy prayer;
But ask a second boon," replied.
"May my good works," the stripling cried,
Of bliss an endless harvest bear."

This, too, according, Death desired
He yet one boon would choose, the last.
"When men away from earth have past,
Then live they still?" the youth inquired.

"To solve this question, dark and grave,
Was even for gods too hard a task:
This boon, I pray thee, cease to ask,
My son," said Death, "another crave."

[497] By these words, according to the Indian commentator, it is intimated that the host who leaves his guest without food for one night, loses his children; that by a similar neglect on the second night, he loses his cattle; and that, finally, he forfeits the reward of his merits in a future life, if the guest is allowed to fast during the third night.

Youth Nachikétas, undeterred,
Rejoined, "The boon I choose, bestow;
Who can like thee the answer know?
No boon with this may be compared."

Death said, "Ask all thine heart's desire;
Sons long-lived, cattle, gold, demand,
Elect a wide domain of land,
And length of days from me require;

"Or seek what earth cannot supply—
The love of witching heavenly brides,
And all celestial joys besides;
But into death forbear to pry."

The youth rejoined, "The force of man
Is frail, and all excess of joys
His feeble organs soon destroys:
Our longest life is but a span.

"Wealth cannot satisfy; all zest
Of pleasure flies before thy face;
Our life depends upon thy grace:
Once more, of boons I crave the best;

"For who, with deathless youth though crowned,
And godlike force, if wise, would deign
To spend an endless life in vain
In carnal joy's disturbing round?"

When thus the stripling had withstood,
Though proffered by a god, the lure
Of sensual bliss, and craved the pure
Delight of transcendental good;

Then Death, who knew the unborn soul
And being's essence, taught the youth
The science of the highest truth,
Through which is reached the final goal:

"Two things for men's regard contend—
The good, the pleasant; he who woos
The good is blest; while they who choose
The pleasant miss the highest end.

"The wise between the two discern,
The pleasant spurn, the good embrace,
But fools the pleasant vainly chase;
To love the good they cannot learn.

"The first take knowledge for their guide;
The last by ignorance are led:
Far, far, diverge the paths they tread,
The chasm that parts their goals is wide.

"The fools who ignorance obey,
Conceive they much have learnt and know,
But roam, unwitting where they go,
As blind men, led by blind men, stray.

"Absorbed in sordid cares or strife,
The men whom earthly passions fire
To no sublimer aims aspire,
Nor dream of any future life.

"Of all the objects men can know,
The highest is the soul, too high
For common mortals to descry,
Whose eyes are dazed by outward show.

"Some men have never learnt this lore,
And some, whom sages seek to teach,
Possess no faculty to reach
That sacred doctrine's inner core.

"O skilled and wonderful, my son,
Is he the soul who gains and knows!
This subtile science only those
Can teach who think the soul as one.

"The sage whose spirit's gaze intense
This God, the Soul (from fleshly eyes
Impenetrably veiled) descries,
No longer dotes on things of sense.

"Derived from no anterior source,
The soul, unborn, exempt from all
The accidents which life befall,
Holds on its everlasting course.

"The smiter thinks that he can slay,
The smitten fears that he is slain:
The thoughts of both alike are vain;
The soul survives the murderous fray.

"Steel cannot cut, nor cleave, nor tear,
Nor fire consume, nor water wet,
Nor winds e'er dry it up, nor yet
Aught else its deathless essence wear.

"A man casts from him on the shelf
His garments old, and newer takes;
So bodies worn the soul forsakes,
And new assumes, unchanged itself.[498]

"The man who learns the soul to be
Minute, yet infinitely vast,
He, by his Maker's grace, at last
Its majesty attains to see.

"It travels far and wide, at rest;
Moves everywhere, although asleep;
Say, who but I the secret deep
Of this mysterious god has guessed?

[498] The ideas in this and the preceding verse are taken from the Bhagavadgītā.

"By reasoning, thought, or many books,
This hidden soul is sought in vain;
That man alone the soul may gain
On whom the soul with favour looks.

"Elected thus, the sage believes
His oneness with the One supreme,
Awakes for ever from the dream
Which uninstructed men deceives;

"And soon from imperfection purged,
And freed from circling life and death,
He calmly yields his vital breath,
And in the sovereign Soul is merged.[499]

[499] In the last two verses I have stated the Vedantic doctrine more explicitly than it is expressed in the Kaṭha Upanishad.

SECTION XXI.

MINOR DIVINITIES.

TRITA ĀPTYA, AHIRBUDHNYA, AND AJA EKAPĀD.

The following account of the deity, Trita, is given in the Lexicon of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.* :—

"Trita is the name of a Vedic god, who appears principally in connection with the Maruts, Vāta or Vāyu, and Indra, and to whom, as to these other deities, combats with demons, Tvāshṭra, Vṛitra, the Serpent, and others are ascribed. He is called Āptya, and his abode is conceived of as remote and hidden: hence arises the custom of wishing that evil may depart to him. He bestows long life. Several passages show the lower and certainly later view of Trita, that he fights with the demons under the guidance and protection of Indra, and thus lead to the conception of a rishi Trita (Nirukta, iv. 6)."

Reference has been already made to Trita (*a*) in p. 117, where Professor Roth's opinion, that he was an ancient god superseded by Indra, is quoted, (*b*) in p. 230, where two texts (R.V. x. 8, 8, and x. 99, 6), relating to his conflicts with the three-headed demon, are cited, and (*c*) in p. 195, where a prayer to Ushas, to drive away sleeplessness to Trita Āptya (R.V. viii. 47, 14 ff.) is adduced.

Some of the other detached verses relating to this divinity (to whom no separate hymn is dedicated) are the following: i. 52, 5; i. 105, 9; i. 163, 2 f.; i. 187, 1; ii. 11, 19 f., etc.

Ahirbudhnya is, according to the Lexicon of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*, *budhnya*, "the Dragon of the deep, who is reckoned among the deities of the middle sphere." The deep in which he resides is the atmospheric ocean.

Aja Ekapād is, according to the same authorities, *s.v.*, "the One-footed Impeller, probably a storm-god; according to the commentators he represents the sun." See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 165. These two gods, like Trita, are merely mentioned in detached verses.

SECTION XX.

THE GODDESSES MENTIONED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS.

Of the goddesses mentioned in the Rig-veda some have been noticed already in former parts of this volume, viz., Pṛithivī (pp. 21 ff.); Aditi, the mother of the Ādityas, and representative of the universe (pp. 35 ff.); Diti, her counterpart (p. 42 f.); Nishṭigrī, the mother (pp. 13 and 79), and Indrāṇī (p. 82), the wife of Indra;[500] Pṛiśni, the mother of the Maruts (p. 147); Ushas (pp. 181 ff.); and Sūryā, the daughter of the Sun, and spouse of the Aśvins, or of Soma (pp. 335 ff.). Various other goddesses are also celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-veda, such as Agnāyī, Varuṇānī, Rodasī, Rākā, Sinīvālī, Śraddhā (Faith), Aramati, and the Apsarases, whose names, however, occur but rarely; and Sarasvatī, with her cognates, who receive considerably greater prominence.

In R.V. i. 22, 11, the goddesses, wives of the heroes (the gods), with uncut wings, are besought to protect and bless the worshipper (*abhi no devīr avasā mahaḥ śarmaṇā nṛipatnīḥ | achhinnapatrāḥ sachantām*). Compare Vāj. S. xi. 61, and Śatap. Br. vi. 5, 4, 8).

(1) *Sarasvatī.*

Sarasvatī is a goddess of some, though not of very great, importance in the Rig-veda. As observed by Yāska (Nirukta, ii. 23) she is celebrated both as a river and as a deity[501] (*tatra Sarasvatī ity etasya nadīvad devatāvach cha nigamāḥ bhavanti*). As an instance of the former

[500] Indrāṇī says, in R.V. x. 86, 9: "This mischievous creature lusts after me, as if I had no husband or sons, and yet I am the wife of Indra, and the mother of a hero," etc. (*avīrām iva mām ayaṁ śarārur abhi manyate | utāham asmi vīriṇī Indrapatnī*). Indrāṇī, as we have seen above, p. 82, is mentioned in the Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7, from which it appears that different goddesses had been competitors for the hand of Indra, and that Indrāṇī has been chosen because she surpassed them all in voluptuous attractions. In the same work, ii. 8, 8, 4, Vāch is said to be the wife of Indra.

[501] See also Sāyaṇa on R.V. i. 3, 12: *Dvividhā hi Sarasvatī vigrahavad-devatā nadī-rūpā cha.*

character, he refers to R.V. vi. 61, 2, which I shall quote further on. She was no doubt primarily a river deity, as her name, "the watery," [502] clearly denotes, and in this capacity she is celebrated in a few separate passages. Allusion is made in the hymns, as well as in the Brāhmaṇas (*Ṛishayo vai Sarasvatyāṁ satram āsata | ityādi* | Ait. Br. ii. 19; Haug, vol. ii. p. 112) to sacrifices being performed on the banks of this river and of the adjoining Dṛishadvatī; [503] and the Sarasvatī in particular seems to have been associated with the reputation for sanctity, which, according to the well-known passage in the Institutes of Manu (ii. 17 f., quoted in the 2nd vol. of this work, p. 416 f.), was ascribed to the whole region, called Brahmāvartta, lying between these two small streams, and situated immediately to the westward of the Jumna. The Sarasvatī thus appears to have been to the early Indians what the Ganges (which is only twice named in the Rig-veda) became to their descendants.[504] Already in R.V. i. 3, 10 (where, however, she is perhaps regarded as the goddess of sacrifice) she is described as "the purifier" (*pāvakā naḥ Sārasvatī*); and in R.V. x. 17, 10 = Vāj. San. 4, 2; A.V. vi. 51, 2 (after Sarasvatī has been mentioned, verses 7–9), the waters are thus celebrated: *Āpo asmān mātaraḥ śundhayantu ghṛitena no ghṛitāpvaḥ punantu | viśvaṁ hi ripram pravahanti devīr ud id ābhyaḥ śuchir ā pūtaḥ emi* | "May the Waters, the mothers, cleanse us, may they (the waters) who purify with butter, purify us with butter; for these goddesses bear away defilement; I come up out of them pure and cleansed." When once the river had acquired a divine character, it was quite natural that she should be regarded as the patroness of the ceremonies which were

[502] *Sarasvatī saraḥ ity udaka-nāma sartes tad-vatī* (Nirukta, ix. 26). The Brahmavaivartta-purana, ii. 5, as referred to in Professor Aufrecht's Cat. p. 23, col. 2, has a legend that the Sarasvatī was changed into a river by an imprecation of the Gangā. In the A.V. vi. 100, 1, three Sarasvatīs are spoken of, but no explanation is given of their difference.

[503] R.V. iii. 23, 4: "I place thee, Agni, on the abode of Iḷā (compare iii. 29, 4), on the most excellent spot of the earth, on the most auspicious of days. Shine, so as to enrich us, in a place of human resort, on the banks of the Dṛishadvatī, the Āpayā, the Sarasvatī" (*ni tvā dadhe vare ā pṛithivyāḥ iḷāyās pade sudinatve ahnām | Dṛishadvatyām mānushe Apayāyāṁ Sarasvatyāṁ revaḍ Agne didīhi*).

[504] It is clear from the passages quoted in the 2nd vol. of this Work, p. 415 ff. that the Sarasvatī continued in later times also to be regarded as a sacred river, but this character was shared by other Indian streams, if not by them all.

celebrated on the margin of her holy waters, and that her direction and blessing should be invoked as essential to their proper performance and success. The connection into which she was thus brought with sacred rites may have led to the further step of imagining her to have an influence on the composition of the hymns which formed so important a part of the proceedings, and of identifying her with Vāch, the goddess of speech. At least, I have no other explanation to offer of this double character and identification.

Sarasvatī is frequently invited to the sacrifices along with several other goddesses, Iḷā, Bhāratī, Mahī, Hotrā, Varūtrī, Dhishaṇā (i. 13, 9; i. 142, 9; i. 188, 8; iii. 4, 8; v. 5, 8; ix. 5, 8; x. 110, 8), who, however, were never, like her, river nymphs, but personifications of some department of religious worship, or sacred science. She is also frequently invoked along with other deities (ii. 30, 8; iii. 54, 13; v. 42, 12; vii. 35, 11; viii. 38, 10; ix. 81, 4; x. 65, 1, 13; x. 141, 5).

In many of the passages[505] where Sarasvatī is celebrated, her original character is, as I have intimated, distinctly preserved. Thus in two places she is mentioned along with rivers, or fertilizing waters: vi. 52, 6 (*Sarasvatī sindhubhiḥ pinvamānā*); x. 30, 12 (*āpo revatīḥ kshayatha hi vasvaḥ kratuṁ cha bhadram bibhṛithāmṛitaṁ cha | rāyaś cha stha svapatyasya patnīḥ Sarasvatī tad gṛiṇate vayo dhāt* | "Ye, opulent waters, command riches; ye possess excellent power and immortality; ye are the mistresses of wealth and progeny; may Sarasvatī bestow this vitality on her worshipper"); and in x. 64, 9; x. 75, 5 f., she is specified along with the other well-known streams which are there named, the Sarayu, the Sindhu, the Gangā, the Yamunā, the Sutudri, etc. In vii. 96, 2, and viii. 21, 18, reference is made to the kings and people living along her banks (*Chitraḥ id rāja rājakāḥ id anyake yake*

[505] Sāyaṇa understands i. 3, 12 (*maho arṇaḥ sarasvatī pra chetayati ketunā | dhiyo viśvāḥ virājati*), of the river, and explains it thus: "The Sarasvati, by her act (of flowing), displays a copious flood." Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (xi. 26), p. 152, translates, "A mighty stream is Sarasvatī; with her light she lightens, illuminates all pious minds." He, however, regards the commencing words as figurative, and not as referring to the river. Benfey renders: "Sarasvatī, by her light, causes the great sea to be known; she shines through all thoughts." He understands the "great sea" as the universe, or as life, which he says is often designated in common Sanskrit also by the word *sāgara*. The conceptions of Sarasvatī as a river, and as the directress of ceremonies, may be blended in the passage.

Sarasvatīm anu). In vi. 61, 10, and vii. 36, 6, she is spoken of as having seven sisters, as one of seven rivers, and as the mother of streams (*saptasvasā | sarasvatī saptathī sindhumātā*). In another place she is said to pour on her fertilizing waters, to surpass all other rivers, and to flow pure from the mountains to the sea, vii. 95, 1 (*pra kshodasā dhāyasā sasre eshā Sarasvatī dharuṇam āyasī pūḥ | prabābadhānā rathyeva yāti viśvāḥ apo mahinā sindhur anyāḥ | 2. Ekā achetat Sarasvatī nadīnāṁ śuchir yātī giribhyaḥ ā samudrāt | rāyaś chetantī bhuvanasya bhūrer ghṛitam payo duduhe nāhushāya*); to be the swiftest of floods (*apasām apastamā*), vi. 61, 13; and in vi. 61, 2 and 8, to tear away, like a digger of the roots of plants, the bases of the mountains on her banks with her impetuous and resounding current (*iyaṁ śushmebhir bisa-khā ivārujat sānu girīṇāṁ tavishebhir ūrmibhiḥ | 8. Yasyāḥ ananto ahrutas tveshaś charishṇur arṇavaḥ | amaś charati roruvat*). In ii. 41, 16, she is called the best of mothers, of rivers, and of goddesses (*ambitame, nadītame, devītame*).

In vii. 96, 4–6, a river god, called Sarasvat, is assigned as a consort to Sarasvatī, who rolls along his fertilizing waters, and is invoked by the worshippers who are seeking for wives and offspring, as well as for plenty and protection (*janīyanto nu agravaḥ putrīyantaḥ sudānavaḥ | Sarasvantaṁ havāmahe | 5. Ye te Sarasvaḥ ūrmayaḥ madhumanto ghṛitaśchutaḥ | tebhir no avitā bhava | 6. Pīpivāṁsaṁ Sarasvataḥ stanaṁ yo viśvadarśataḥ | bhakshīmahi prajām isham*).

In v. 43, 11, Sarasvatī is called upon to descend from the sky, from the great mountain,[506] to the sacrifice (*ā no divo bṛihataḥ parvatād ā sarasvatī yajatā gantu yajnam*); and in vi. 49, 7, where she is called the daughter of the lightning (*pāvīravī kanyā*)[507] and the wife of a hero (*vīra-patnī*),[508] she is supplicated to combine with the spouses of the gods to afford secure protection to the worshipper (*gnābhir achhidraṁ śaraṇam sajoshāḥ durādharshaṁ gṛiṇate śarma yaṁsat*). In these two passages the poet may perhaps be considered as assigning a celestial origin to the river as the offspring of thunder and rain.

[506] Sāyaṇa says that Mādhyamikī Vāch, or the goddess Vāch, who resides in the region intermediate between heaven and earth, is here intended.

[507] See Roth, *s.v.*, and compare x. 65, 13. Professor Müller, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beiträge, etc., iii. 448, assigns to pāvīravī the sense of "thundering."

[508] Sāyaṇa says her husband is Prajāpati. Would it not rather be Sarasvat?

In vi. 61, 11 f., she is said to fill the terrestrial regions and the air (*āpaprushī pārthivāni uru rajo antarikṣham*), and to occupy three abodes (*trisadashthā*), and to have seven parts or be sevenfold (*sapta-dhātu*).

When regarded as a river nymph, Sarasvatī is further described as an iron barrier or fortress, and a support, vii. 95, 1 (quoted above), as bestowing wealth, fatness, and fertility, vii. 95, 2, and is besought to listen to the prayer of her worshippers at their sacrifices, ibid. 4 (*uta syā naḥ Sarasvatī jushāṇā upaśravat subhagā yajne asmin*), to receive their praises, to shelter and protect them like a tree, ibid. 5 (*prati stomaṁ Sarasvati jushasva | tava śarman priyatame dadhānāḥ upa stheyāma śaraṇaṁ na vṛikṣham*), and to grant reputation to the unrenowned, ii. 41, 16 (*aprāśastāḥ iva smasi praśastim amba nas kṛidhi*). In vi. 61, 14, the rishi prays that he may not be removed from her to regions which are strange (*mā tvat kshetrāṇi araṇāni ganma*).

In vi. 61, 1, she is represented as having given to Vadhryaśva a son, Divodāsa, a canceller of his debts (*iyam adadād rabhasam ṛiṇachyutaṁ Divodāsaṁ Vadhryaśvāya dāśushe*).

It is difficult to say whether in any of the passages in which Sarasvatī is invoked, even in those where she appears as the patroness of holy rites, her character as a river goddess is entirely left out of sight. In R.V. x. 17, 8, she is described as coming to the place of sacrifice in the same chariot with the oblations and the forefathers (*Sarasvati yā sarathaṁ yayātha svadhābhir devi pitṛibhir madantī*), and as an object of adoration; but, as in a following verse (the 10th), already quoted, the Waters also are invoked, it would seem that the goddess was there regarded as connected with the river. She is elsewhere represented as unctuous with butter, and as stimulating, directing, and prospering the devotions of the worshippers, i. 3, 10, 11; ii. 3, 8; vi. 61, 4 (*chodayantī sūnṛitānām chetantī sumatīnāṁ yajñaṁ dadhe Sarasvatī | Sarasvatī sādhayantī dhiyaṁ naḥ | pra no devī Sarasvatī . . . . . dhīnām avitrī avatu*). She affords secure protection, conquers enemies (ii. 30, 8; vi. 49, 7), and destroys the revilers of the gods (vi. 61, 3). She is dreadful, moves along a golden path,[509] and is a destroyer of Vṛitra,

[509] *Hiraṇyavarttini.* Sāyaṇa explains *varttini* as chariot, and the compound as meaning "having a golden chariot." The same word occurs again, applied to a river, in viii. 26, 18, where Sāyaṇa makes it mean "having a golden path," *i.e.* golden banks. The words *rudra-varttani*, "whose path is dreadful," and *ghṛita-*

vi. 61, 7 (*ghorā hiraṇyavartaniḥ | vṛitraghnī*). The worshipper seeks to suck prosperity and riches of all description from her prolific breasts,[510] i. 89, 3; i. 164, 49 (*yas te stanaḥ śaśayo yo mayobhūr yena viśvā pushyasi vāryāṇi | yo ratnadhāḥ vasuvid yaḥ sudatraḥ Sarasvati tam iha dhātave kaḥ*); viii. 21, 17; x. 17, 8, 9; ix. 67, 32; she is the receptacle of all the powers of life, and bestows offspring, ii. 41, 17 (*tve viśvā Sarasvati śritā āyūṁshi devyām | . . . . prajāṁ devi didiḍḍhi naḥ*). In x. 184, 2, she is associated with the deities who assist procreation (*garbhaṁ dhehi Sarasvati*). In ii. 1, 11, Agni is identified with her, and several other goddesses.

In R.V. x. 131, 5 (=Vāj. S. x. 34) where the Aśvins are said to have defended Indra, Sarasvatī also is declared to have waited upon him. And in Vāj. S. xix. 12, it is said, "The gods celebrated a healing sacrifice; the Aśvins physicians, and Sarasvatī too a physician, through speech, communicated vigour to Indra" (see above, p. 94, note). The Aśvins and Sarasvatī are also connected with each other in Vāj. S. xix. 12, 15, 18, 34, 80–83, 88–90, 93–95; xx. 56–69, 73–76, 90. In xix. 94, it is said that "Sarasvatī, wife of the Aśvins, holds a well-formed embryo in her womb. Varuṇa, king in the waters, produced Indra for glory, by the aqueous fluid, as if by a sāma verse," xix. 94 (*Sarasvatī yonyāṁ garbham antar Aśvibhyām patnī sukṛitam bibharti | apāṁ rasena Varuṇo na sāmnā Indraṁ śriyai janayann apsu rājā*).

It does not appear that in the R.V. Sarasvatī is identified with Vāch. For some passages of that collection, in which the latter goddess is celebrated, I refer to the 3rd vol. of this Work, pp. 253 ff., and to a later section of this volume.

In the later mythology, as is well known, Sarasvatī was identified with Vāch, and became under different names the spouse of Brahmā, and the goddess of wisdom and eloquence, and is invoked as a Muse. In the Mahābhārata she is called the mother of the Vedas (Śāntiparva, verse 12920), and the same is said of Vāch in the Taitt. Br. ii. 8,

varttani, "whose path is unctuous," are also applied to different deities in the Rig-veda. *Kṛishṇa-varttani*, "he whose path is marked by blackness," is an epithet of Agni, in viii. 23, 19, and the sense of that term is fixed by the use of the synonym *kṛishṇādhvan*. The substantive *varttani* occurs in vii. 18, 16; *vṛijina-varttani*, i. 31, 6.

[510] Compare Ait. Br. iv. 1, at the end, where her two breasts are said to be truth and falsehood.

8, 5,[511] where (and in the preceding par. 4,) she is also said to be the wife of Indra, to contain within herself all worlds, and to have been sought after by the rishis who composed the Vedic hymns (*ṛishayo mantra-kṛitaḥ*), as well as by the gods, through austerity.

In the S'āntiparva, verse 6811, it is related that when the Brahmarshis were performing austerities, prior to the creation of the universe, "a voice derived from Brahmā entered into the ears of them all; the celestial Sarasvatī was then produced from the heavens."[512]

(2) *Āpas, the Waters, and the Rivers.*

A verse (x. 17, 10) has been already cited, in p. 338, in which the purifying virtue of the Waters is extolled; and there is another passage, i. 23, 22 (= x. 9, 8), in which the power of cleansing the worshipper from the sins of violence, cursing, and falsehood is ascribed to them (*idam āpaḥ pra vahata yat kincha duritam mayi | yad vā aham abhidudroha yad vā śepe utānṛitam*). They are said, in two passages, already cited in p. 205, to have given birth to Agni; a few separate hymns, vii. 47; vii. 49; x. 9, are devoted to their honour; and in numerous detached verses they are invoked along with other deities. I cite a hymn in which the Sindhu (Indus) and other rivers are celebrated:—

R.V. x. 75, 1: *Pra su vaḥ āpo mahimānam uttamaṁ kārur vochāti sadane vivasvataḥ | pra sapta sapta tredhā hi chakramuḥ pra sṛitvarīṇām ati Sindhur ojasā | 2. Pra te 'radad Varuṇo yātave pathaḥ Sindho yad vājān abhi adravas tvam | bhumyāḥ adhi pravatā yāti sānunā yad eshām agraṁ jagatām irajyasi | 3. Divi svano yatate bhūmyā upari anantaṁ śushmam ud iyarti bhānunā | abhrād iva prastanayanti vṛishṭayaḥ Sindhur yad eti vṛishabho na roruvat | 4. Abhi tvā Sindho śiśum in na*

[511] In the S'atap. Br. vii. 5, 2, 52, it is said, "Mind is the ocean. From mind, the ocean, the gods, with Vāch for a shovel, dug out the triple science (*i.e.* the three Vedas). Wherefore this verse (śloka) has been uttered" (see the 3rd vol. of this Work, p. 9, etc. In the Bhīshma-p. of the M. Bh. verse 3019, Achyuta (Krishna) is said to have created Sarasvatī and the Vedas from his mind. In the Vana-p. verse 13432, the Gāyatrī is called the mother of the Vedas.

[512] Compare the verse quoted by S'ankara on the Brahma sūtras (see the 3rd vol. of this Work, pp. 16 and 104), from a Smṛiti: "In the beginning a celestial voice, formed of the Vedas, eternal, without beginning or end, was uttered by Svayambhū, from which all activities have proceeded."

mātaraḥ vāśrāḥ arshanti payaseva dhenavaḥ | rājeva yudhvā nayasi tvam it sichau yad āsām agram pravatām inakshasi | 5 (=Nir. ix. 26). *Imam me Gange Yamune Sarasvati S'utudri stomaṁ sachata Parushṇi ā | Asiknyā Marudvṛidhe Vitastayā Ārjīkīye śṛiṇuhi ā Sushomayā* | 6. *Tṛishṭāmayā prathamaṁ yātave sajūḥ Susartvā Rasayā S'vetyā tyā | tvaṁ Sindho Kubhayā Gomatīm Krumum Mehatnvā sarathaṁ yābhir īyase* | 7. *Ṛijītī enī ruśatī mahitvā pari jraṇāṁsi bharate rajāṁsi | adabdhā Sindhur apasām apastamā aśvā na chitrā vapushī iva darśatā* | 8. *Svaśvā Sindhuḥ surathā suvāsāḥ hiraṇyayī sukṛitā vājinīvatī | ūrṇāvatī yuvatiḥ śīlamāvatī utādhi vaste subhagā madhuvṛidham* | 9 (=Nir. vii. 7). *S'ukhaṁ rathaṁ yuyuje Sindhur aśvinam tena vājaṁ sanishad asminn ājau | mahān hi asya mahimā panasyate adabdhasya svayaśaso virapśinaḥ* |

"1. Waters, let the poet declare your transcendant greatness in the abode of the worshipper. Each set of seven [streams] has followed a threefold course. The Sindhu surpasses the other rivers in impetuosity. 2. Varuṇa hollowed out the channels of thy course, o Sindhu, when thou didst rush to thy contests. Thou flowest from [the heights of] the earth over a downward slope, when thou leadest the van of these streams. 3. A sound struggles onward in the sky above the earth. [The current] exerts an infinite force with a flash. Showers thunder as if [falling] from a cloud; when the Sindhu rolls on, it roars like a bull. 4. To thee, o Sindhu, the [other streams] rush, as lowing mother-cows with their milk to their calves. Like a warrior king [in the centre of his army] thou leadest the two wings of thy host when thou strugglest forward to the van of these torrents. 5. Receive favourably this my hymn, o Gangā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, S'utudri, Parushṇi; hear, o Marudvṛidhā, with the Asiknī, and Vitastā, and thou, Arjīkīyā with the Sushomā. 6. Unite first in thy course with the Tṛishṭāmā, the Sasartū, the Rasā, and the S'vetī; thou [meetest] the Gomatī, and the Krumu with the Kubhā, and the Mehatnū, and with them are borne onward as on the same car. 7. Flashing, sparkling, gleaming, in her majesty, the unconquerable, the most abundant of streams, beautiful as a handsome spotted mare, the Sindhu rolls her waters over the levels. 8. Mistress of a chariot, with noble horses, richly dressed, golden, adorned, yielding nutriment, abounding in wool, youthful, rich in plants,[513] gracious, she traverses [a land]

[513] On the word *śīlamāvatī* and the following words of the line in which it occurs,

yielding sweetness [?]. 9. The Sindhu has yoked her pleasant chariot drawn by horses. By it may she grant us vigour in this struggle: for greatly celebrated is the glory of that unconquered, illustrious, and much-lauded [chariot].

In one place, vi. 50, 7, the Waters are said to be remedial and the mothers of all things fixed and moving (*yūyaṁ hi stha bhishajo mātṛitamāḥ viśvasya sthātur jayato janitrīḥ*).

(3) *The Apsarases.*

These goddesses have been already mentioned in the section on Yama, p. 309, and will be further adverted to below.

In the passage of the R.V. vii. 33, 10 ff., quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, p. 320, the Rishi Vasishṭha is said to have sprung from an Apsaras, Urvaśī. In the dictionary of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth the Apsarases are described as female beings of a ghost-like description, whose abode is in the atmosphere. They are the wives of the Gandharvas, have the power of changing their forms, love playing at dice, and impart good luck. According to the A.V. the Apsarases are feared like other ghostly beings, and enchantments are employed against them; especially because they cause madness.

Professor Goldstücker, *s.v.* says: "Originally these divinities seem to have been personifications of the vapours which are attracted by the sun, and form into mist or clouds." (See full details in his article.)

(4) *Agnāyī, Varuṇānī, etc.*

Excepting Pṛithivī, Aditi, and Ushas, most of the other goddesses mentioned in the Rig-veda are, as I have already intimated, p. 337, of very little importance. Agnāyī, Varuṇānī, Aśvinī, and Rodasī,[514] the wives of Agni, Varuṇa, the Aśvins, and Rudra respectively (Nirukta, ix. 33 f.; xi. 50; xii. 46), are only alluded to in a few passages, R.V. i. 22, 12; ii. 32, 8; v. 46, 8; vi. 50, 5; vi. 66, 6; vii. 34, 22. No distinct functions are assigned to them, and they do not occupy posi-

I subjoin Sāyaṇa's note, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Max Müller: x. 75, 8: *śīlamāvatī sirāṇi yayoshadhyā rajjubhūtayā bhadhyante (badhyante ?) sā śīlameti nigadyate kṛishīvalaiḥ | tādṛigoshadhyupetā utāpi cha subhagā sindhur madhuvṛidham madhuvardhakam nirguṇḍyādi adhivaste āchhādayati tasyās tīre nirguṇḍyādīni bahūni santi.*

[514] According to Sāyana (on i. 167, 5) Rodasī is *marut-patnī vidyud vā*, "The wife of the Maruts, or Lightning."

tions at all corresponding to the rank of their husbands, with whom in fact they are never associated. The insignificance of these goddesses forms a striking contrast to the prominent place assumed by the spouses of Śiva and Vishṇu, especially the former, in the later mythology. Nirṛiti is the goddess of destruction.

(5) *Araṇyānī.*

Araṇyānī (Nir. ix. 29, 30) is the goddess of forest solitude. She is celebrated in R.V. x. 146, which I shall translate in a succeeding section.

(6) *Rākā, Sinīvālī, and Gungū.*

Rākā, Sinīvālī, and Gungū (whom Sāyaṇa, on ii. 32, 8, identifies with Kuhū), are three other goddesses mentioned in the R.V. (the first in ii. 32, 4, 5, 8; v. 42, 12; the second in ii. 32, 6 ff.; x. 184, 2; and the third in ii. 32, 8). Sāyaṇa (on ii. 32, 4) says that Rākā is the full moon.[515] She is, however, closely connected with parturition, as she is asked to "sew the work" (apparently the formation of the embryo) "with an unfailing needle, and to bestow a son with abundant wealth," ii. 32, 4 (*sīvyatv apaḥ sūchyā achhidyamānayā dadātu vīraṁ śatadāyam ukthyam*). Sinīvālī and Kuhū are (as we are told by Yāska, Nir. xi. 31) wives of the gods according to the mythologists (*nairuktāḥ*), and the two nights of the new moon (*amāvāsye*) according to the ritualists (*yājnikāḥ*), Sinīvālī being the earlier, and Kuhū the later. Sinīvālī is, however, also connected with parturition, being called *pṛithushṭhukā*, "the broad-loined (or "bushy-haired"), *bahusūvarī*, "the prolific;" *subāhu*, "the handsome-armed;" *svanguri*, "the handsome-fingered, being supplicated for progeny, ii. 32, 6, 7 (*prajāṁ devi dididḍhi naḥ*), and asked to bestow pregnancy, x. 184, 2 (*garbhaṁ dhehi Sinīvāli*); A.V. v. 25, 3; vi. 11, 3. Yāska quotes from the Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 11, a verse regarding Kuhū, whose name does not occur in the Rig-veda. See also the account of Anumati in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*

(7) *S'raddhā.*

Personifications of abstract ideas are not uncommon in the Rig-veda, one hymn of which (x. 151) is addressed to Śraddhā, or religious faith. By her, it is said, verse 1 (=Nir. ix. 31), "the (sacrificial) fire is

[515] On these goddesses see Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 228 ff. and 237.

kindled, and by her the oblation is offered up" (*śraddhayā 'gniḥ samidhyate śraddhayā hūyate haviḥ*). She is asked to prosper the liberal worshippers of the gods (verses 2, 3), and to impart faith; and is said to be an object of adoration in the morning, at noon, and at sunset (verse 5). In the Vāj. Sanhitā, xix. 30, it is said that faith (*śraddhā*) is obtained by gifts, and truth by faith (*dakshiṇā śraddhām āpnoti śraddhayā satyam āpyate*). In xix. 77 of the same work it is declared that "Prajāpati, beholding, made a distinction between the forms of truth and falsehood, connecting disbelief with the latter, and faith or belief with the former" (*dṛishṭvā rūpe vyākarot satyānṛite Prajāpatiḥ | aśraddhām anṛite 'dadhāt śraddhām satye Prajāpatiḥ*). This declaration, that truth is the only proper object of faith, has a far deeper signification than this ancient writer could possibly have assigned to it, viz., that it is the ultimate truth, and not the so-called orthodoxy of any proposition, which can alone entitle it to reception.

S'raddhā is also celebrated in the Taitt. Br., ii. 8, 8, 6 f., where the above hymn of the Rig-veda is repeated; and she is there further said to dwell among the gods, to be the universe (*śraddhā devān adhivaste śraddhā viśvam idaṁ jagat*), and the mother of Kāma. (See the next Section). In the same Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, we are told that through S'raddhā a god obtains his divine character, that the divine S'raddhā is the support of the world, that she has Kāma (or the fulfilment of desire) for her calf, and yields immortality as her milk; that she is the firstborn of the religious ceremonial, and the sustainer of the whole world; and she, who is the supreme mistress of the world, is besought to bestow immortality on her worshippers (*śraddhayā devo devatvaṁ aśnute | S'raddhā pratishṭhā lokasya devī | . . . . Kāmavatsā amṛitaṁ duhānā | S'raddhā devī prathamajā ṛitasya | viśvasya bhartrī jagataḥ pratishṭhā | tāṁ S'raddhāṁ havishā yajāmahe | sā no lokam amṛitaṁ dadhātu īśānā devī bhuvanasyādhipatnī*). In the Śatap. Br., xii. 7, 3, 11, she is called the daughter of Sūrya;[516] an appellation which is repeated in the M. Bh. Śāntiparva, verse 9449,[517] where she

[516] See what is said of the daughter of Sūrya above, in connection with the Aśvins.

[517] In this passage a great deal is said in praise of S'raddhā. The gods, it appears, had decided that the offerings of a niggardly student of the Veda and a liberal usurer were of equal value. But Prajāpati determined that they were wrong (see the same sentiment, in nearly the same words, in Manu, iv. 224 ff.), and that the liberal man's oblation, being purified by his faith, was to be accepted, whilst the other man's, being

is styled the daughter of Vivasvat (S'raddhā Vaivasvatī), as well as of Sūrya and Savitṛi (Sūryasya duhitā and Sāvitrī). (See above, p. 264 f., the story of Soma loving S'raddhā. See also the definition given of Aramati in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*)

(8) *Lakshmī and S'rī.*

Lakshmī is not found in the Rig-veda, in the sense which the word bears in the later mythology, of a goddess personifying good fortune, though the word itself occurs in x. 71, 2,[518] in a kindred signification. In the A.V., however, we have the following hymn, which speaks of a plurality of Lakshmīs, some good and some bad: vii. 115, 1: *Pra patetaḥ pāpi Lakshmi naśyetaḥ prāmutaḥ pata | ayasmayena ankena dvishate tvā sajāmasi | 2. Yā mā Lakshmīḥ patayālūr ajushṭā abhichaskanda vandaneva vṛishsham | anyatrāsmat Savitas tām ito dhāḥ hiraṇyahasto vasu no rarāṇaḥ | 3. Ekaśataṁ Lakshmyo martyasya sākaṁ tanvā janusho 'dhi jātāḥ | tāsām pāpishṭhāḥ nir itaḥ pra hiṇmaḥ śivāḥ asmabhyaṁ jātavedo ni yachha | 4. Etāḥ evā vyākaraṁ khile gāḥ nishṭhitāḥ iva | ramantām puṇyāḥ Lakshmīr yāḥ pāpīs tāḥ anīnaśam |* "Fly away hence, o unlucky (or miserable) Lakshmī, perish hence, fly away from thence: with an iron hook we fasten thee to our enemy. 2. Savitṛi, do thou who art golden-handed, bestowing on us wealth, send away from us to some other quarter the flying and hateful Lakshmī, who mounts upon me as a creeper[519] upon a tree. 3. A hundred Lakshmīs are born together with the body of a mortal at his birth. Of these we

vitiated by his unbelief, was to be rejected. Unbelief, it is added, is the greatest of sins, but faith takes away sin (*devāḥ vittam amanyanta sadṛiśaṁ yūjna-karmaṇi | śrotriyasya kaḍaryasya cadānyasya cha vārdhusheḥ | mīmāṁsitvobhaẏaṁ devāḥ samam annam akalpayan | Prajāpatis tān uvācha "vishamaṁ kritam" ity uta | śraddhā-pūtaṁ vadānyasya hatam aśraddhayetarat | . . . . aśraddhā paramam pāpaṁ śraddhā papapramochanī*). A similar sentiment is expressed in the Vana-parva, 13461 ff.: "The doubter enjoys neither this world nor the next, nor any gratification. Those ancient sages who possess true knowledge have said that faith is a sign of final liberation. . . . . Abandoning fruitless (*lit.* dry) argumentations adhere to the s'ruti and the smṛiti" (*nāyaṁ loko 'sti na paro na sukhaṁ saṁśaẏātmanaḥ | ūchur jñānavido vṛiddhāḥ pratyayo mokshạ-lakshaṇam | śushka-tarkam parityajya āśrayasva śrutiṁ smṛitim*).

[518] In the words *bhadrā eshām lakshmī nihitā adhi vāchi*, "an auspicious fortune is attached to their words."

[519] *Vandanā.* This word does not occur in Wilson's Dictionary, but I find there *vandā* in the sense of a creeping plant.

chase away hence the most unlucky. Do thou, Jātavedas, retain for us those which are fortunate. 4. Thus I divide them like cows standing upon barren ground. May those Lakshmīs which are auspicious rest here. Those which are unlucky I destroy." (The expression *puṇyā Lakshmī* occurs also in A.V. xii. 5, 6.)

In the Vāj. S. xxxi. 22 (*S'rīś cha te Lakshmīś cha patnyau*), S'rī and Lakshmī are said to be the two wives of Āditya, according to the commentator's explanation. In the Śatap. Br. xi. 4, 3, 1, S'rī is described as issuing forth from Prajāpati when he was performing intense austerity, with a view to the creation of living beings. Beholding her then standing resplendent and trembling,[520] the gods were covetous of her, and proposed to Prajāpati that they should be allowed to kill her, and appropriate her gifts. He replied that she was a female, and that males did not generally kill females. They should therefore take from her her gifts without depriving her of life. In consequence, Agni took from her food; Soma, kingly authority; Varuṇa, imperial authority; Mitra, martial energy; Indra, force; Brihaspati, priestly glory; Savitṛi, dominion; Pūshan, splendour; Sarasvatī, nourishment; and Tvashṭṛi, forms. S'rī then complained to Prajāpati that they had taken all these things from her. He told her to demand them back from them by sacrifice (*Prajāpatir vai prajāḥ sṛijamāno 'tapyata | tāsmāt śrāntāt tepānāt S'rīr udakrāmat | sā dīpyamānā bhrājamānā lelāyantī atishṭhat | tāṁ dīpyamānām bhrājamānāṁ lelāyantīm devāḥ abhyadhyāyan | 2. Te Prajāpatim abruvan "hanāma imām ā idam asyāḥ dadāmahai" iti | sa ha uvācha "strī vai eshā yat S'rīḥ | na vai strīyaṁ ghnanti uta tvā asyāḥ jīvantyāḥ eva ādadata" iti | 3. Tasyāḥ Agnir annādyam ādatta Somo rājyaṁ Varuṇaḥ sāmrājyam Mitraḥ kshatram Indro balam Bṛihaspatir brahmavarchasam Savitā rāshṭram Pūshā bhagaṁ Sarasvatī pushṭiṁ Tvashṭā rūpāṇi | 4. Sā Prajāpatim abravīt "ā vai me idam adishata" iti | sa ha uvācha "yajñena enān punar yāchasva" iti*).

[520] *Lelāyantī*. As fixing the sense of this word Professor Aufrecht refers me to S'atap. Br. p. 136; Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Up. p. 737; Muṇḍaka Up. pp. 274, 276; and S'vetās'vatara Up. p. 332.

SECTION XXI.

PROGRESS OF THE VEDIC RELIGION TOWARDS ABSTRACT CONCEPTIONS OF THE DEITY.[521]

In a passage which I have already quoted above (p. 8), Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, informs us (vii. 5) that previous writers of the school to which he himself belonged (the Nairuktas) reduced the deities mentioned in the Vedas to three, viz., "Agni, whose place is on the earth; Vāyu or Indra, whose place in the air; and Sūrya, whose place is in the sky;" and asserted that "these deities severally receive many appellations in consequence of their greatness, or of the diversity of their functions, as the names of *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, and *udgātṛi*, are applied to one and the same person [according to the particular sacrificial office which he happens to be fulfilling]." In the preceding section (vii. 4) Yāska had, however, declared that, in reality, "owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is celebrated as if it were many. The different gods are separate members of the one Soul. And some say that the rishis address their praises according to the multiplicity of natures in the [celestial] existences. And from the universality of their nature the gods are mutually produced from each other, and possess the natures of one another (see R.V. x. 7, 4 f. above, p. 48, and Nir. xi. 23, quoted in the 4th vol. of this Work, p. 11); they are produced from works; they are produced from soul. It is soul that is their chariot, soul their horses, soul their weapon, soul their arrows; soul is a god's all"[522] (*māhātmyād devatāyāḥ ekaḥ ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmano 'nye devāḥ pratyangāni bhavanti | api cha sattvānām prakṛiti-bhūmabhir ṛishayaḥ stuvanti ity āhuḥ | prakṛiti-sārvanāmnyāch cha itaretara-janmāno bhavanti itaretara-prakṛitayaḥ*

[521] In various parts of the translations occurring in this section I received valuable assistance from Professor Aufrecht.

[522] This passage is quoted at length in the 4th vol. of this Work, pp. 131–136.

karmajanmānaḥ ātmajanmānaḥ | ātmā eva eshāṁ ratho bhavaty ātmā aśvāḥ ātmā āyudham ātmā ishavaḥ ātmā sarvaṁ devasya). These, however, are the views of men who lived after the compilation of the Brāhmaṇas, at a period when reflection had long been exercised upon the contents of the hymns, and when speculation had already made considerable advances. In the oldest portions of the hymns themselves we discover few traces of any such abstract conceptions of the Deity. They disclose a much more primitive stage of religious belief. They are, as I have already remarked, the productions of simple men who, under the influence of the most impressive phenomena of nature, saw everywhere the presence and agency of divine powers, who imagined that each of the great provinces of the universe was directed and animated by its own separate deity, and who had not yet risen to a clear idea of one supreme creator and governor of all things (pp. 5 f.). This is shown, not only by the special functions assigned to particular gods, but in many cases by the very names which they bear, corresponding to those of some of the elements or of the celestial luminaries. Thus, according to the belief of the ancient rishis, Agni was the divine being who resides and operates in fire, Sūrya the god who dwells and shines in the sun, and Indra the regent of the atmosphere, who cleaves the clouds with his thunderbolts and dispenses rain. While, however, in most parts of the Rig-veda, we not only find that such gods as Agni, Indra, and Sūrya are considered as distinct from one another, but that various other divinities, more or less akin to these, but thought of as fulfilling functions in some respects distinguishable from theirs (such as Parjanya, Vishṇu, Savitṛi, Pūshan, etc.) are represented as existing along side of them, there are other hymns in which a tendency to identification is perceptible, and traces are found of one uniform power being conceived to underlie the various manifestations of divine energy. Thus in the texts quoted in a former section (pp. 206 ff.), Agni is represented as having a threefold existence, by which may be intended, first, in his familiar form on earth; secondly, as lightning in the atmosphere; and thirdly, as the sun in the heavens. In other passages, where the same god is identified with Vishṇu, Varuṇa, Mitra, etc. (see p. 219), it is not clear whether this identification may not arise from a desire to magnify Agni rather than from any idea of his essential oneness with other deities with whom he is connected (see

also R.V. i. 141, 9; v. 3, 1 f.; v. 13, 6). In another hymn, iv. 42, 3, too, where Indra appears to be represented as the same with Varuṇa (*aham Indro Varuṇaḥ*, etc.; compare the context), the design of the writer may have been to place the former god on a footing of equality with the latter. There are, however, other passages in the earlier books of the Rig-veda which suffice to show that the writers had begun to regard the principal divinities as something more than mere representatives or regents of the different provinces of nature. As I have already shown (pp. 61 ff., 98 ff., 158, 163 f., 214 f.), Varuṇa, Indra, Sūrya, Savitṛi, and Agni are severally described (in strains more suitable to the supreme deity than to subaltern divinities exercising a limited dominion) as having formed and as sustaining heaven and earth, and as the rulers of the universe;[523] and Varuṇa, in particular, according to the striking representation of the hymn preserved in the A.V. (iv. 16) (though this composition may be of a somewhat later date), is invested with the divine prerogatives of omnipresence and omniscience. Although the recognized co-existence of all these deities is inconsistent with the supposition that their worshippers had attained to any clear comprehension of the unity of the godhead, and although the epithets denoting universal dominion, which are lavished upon them all in turn, may be sometimes hyperbolical or complimentary—the expressions of momentary fervour, or designed to magnify a particular deity at the expense of all other rival objects of adoration,—yet these descriptions no doubt indicate enlarged and sublime conceptions of divine power, and an advance towards the idea of one sovereign deity. When once the notion of particular gods had become expanded in the manner just specified, and had risen to an ascription of all divine attributes to the particular object of worship who was present for the time to the mind of the poet, the further step would speedily be taken of speaking of the deity under such new names as Viśvakarman and Prajāpati, appellations which do not designate any limited function connected with any single department of nature, but the more general and abstract notion of divine power operating in the production and government of the universe.

It is, perhaps, in names such as these that we may discover the point

[523] The same functions are ascribed to Vishṇu and to Rudra. See the 4th vol. of this Work, pp. 84 and 338.

of transition from polytheistic to monotheistic ideas. Both these two terms, which ultimately came to designate the deity regarded as the creator, had been originally used as epithets of Indra and Savitṛi, in the following passages:—R.V. iv. 53, 2, "Savitṛi, the supporter of the sky and the lord of creatures" (*divo dharttā bhuvanasya prajāpatiḥ*).[524] viii. 87, 2, "Thou, Indra, art most powerful; thou hast caused the sun to shine; thou art great, the universal architect, and possessest all godlike attributes" (*tvam Indra abhibhūr asi tvaṁ sūryam arochayaḥ | viśvakarmā viśvadevo mahān asi*).[525]

(1) *Texts of a more decidedly monotheistic or pantheistic character.*

I shall now adduce those passages of the Rig-veda in which a monotheistic or a pantheistic tendency is most clearly manifested. Of some of these texts I shall only state the substance, as I have formerly treated of them in detail elsewhere.

The following verse from a long hymn of an abstruse and mystical character (i. 164, 46, as already quoted in p. 219, note), though considered by Yāska (Nir. vii. 18) to have reference to Agni, and by Kātyāyana and Sāyaṇa (who, however, also quotes Yaska's opinion) to have Sūrya in view, may nevertheless be held to convey the more general idea that all the gods, though differently named and represented, are in reality one—πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία: "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni; and (he is) the celestial, well-winged Garutmat. Sages name variously that which is but one: they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan."[526] (See Colebrooke's Essay, i. 26 f.; Weber's Ind. Stud. v. p. iv.)

[524] So, too, Soma is called *prajāpati*, "lord of creatures" (R.V. ix. 5, 9).

[525] So, too, in R.V. x. 170, 4, Sūrya is called *viśvakarman* and *viśvadevyavat*, and Savitṛi is styled *viśvadeva* in v. 82, 7, see above, p. 164. Svayambhū, "the self-existent," occcurs as an epithet of Manyu (personified Wrath) in R.V. x. 83, 4. See below the sub-section on Kāla, Time.

[526] To the same effect is another text, R.V. x. 114, 5: *Suparṇam viprāḥ kavayo vachobhir ekam santam bahudhā kalpayanti* | "The wise in their hymns represent under many forms the well-winged (deity), who is but one." Somewhat in the same way it is said, A.V. xiii. 3, 13 (already quoted in p. 219, note): "Agni becomes in the evening Varuṇa (the god of night), and Mitra, when rising in the morning. Becoming Savitṛi, he moves through the atmosphere, and becoming Indra, he burns along the middle of the sky." In xiii. 4, 1 ff., Savitṛi is identified with a great many other deities. The words *asya devasya . . . . vayāḥ Vishṇoḥ*, in

R.V. i. 89, 10 (quoted above in pp. 43 f.), suggests, on the other hand, a pantheistic sense, as it asserts all things to be the manifestations of one all-pervading principle: "Aditi is the sky, Aditi is the air, Aditi is the mother and father and son. Aditi is all the gods and the five classes of men. Aditi is whatever has been born. Aditi is whatever shall be born."[527] Reference will be again made further on to the hymn in which Aditi is described as one of the great powers to which the creation is due.

In some of the representations of the character and functions of Tvashṭṛi, the divine artizan, who shaped the heaven and earth, we have an approach to the idea of a supreme creator of the universe (see above p. 225).

There is considerable variety in the methods by which the later poets of the R.V. attempt to conceive and express the character of the Supreme Being and his relations to the universe, as will be seen from the following details:—

(2) *Viśvakarman.*

The 81st and 82nd hymns of the tenth book of the Rig-veda are devoted to the celebration of Viśvakarman, the great architect of the universe (see above, p. 32, and the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 4 ff.); so that the word which, as we have seen, had formerly been used as an epithet of Indra, had now become the name of a deity, if not of the Deity. In these hymns Viśvakarman is represented as the one all-seeing god, who has on every side eyes, faces, arms, and feet, who, when producing heaven and earth, blows[528] them forth with his arms

R.V. vii. 40, 5, are interpreted by Sāyaṇa to mean "[The other gods] are branches of this . . . . god Vishṇu;" but the words between brackets are not in the original. In R.V. ii. 35, 8, all other beings are said to be branches of Apāmnapāt (*vayāḥ id anyā bhuvanāni asya*). I observe that in his lectures on the "Science of Language," 2nd series, p. 508, Professor Müller understands the words with which all the verses of R.V. iii. 55, conclude (*mahad devānām asuratvam ekam*) to signify, "The great divinity of the gods is *one*," which might be understood as if they asserted all the gods to be manifestations of one supreme deity. The clause, however, need not mean anything more than that the divine power of the gods is unique.

[527] Compare Æschylus, fragment 443, translated by Professor Müller, "Science of Language," ii. 441: Ζεύς ἐστιν ἀιθὴρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός· Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα χὤτι τ ὦνδ' ὑπέρτερον. The Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, says that the self-existent Brahma is "son, father, and mother."

[528] This image is repeated in R.V. x. 72, and may have been borrowed from R.V. iv. 2, 17.

and wings,—as the father, generator, disposer, who knows all worlds, gives the gods their names, and is beyond the comprehension of mortals. In one of the verses (the 4th) of the first of these hymns, the poet asks: "What was the forest, what was the tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth? Inquire with your minds, ye sages, what was that on which he took his stand when supporting the world?" This verse is repeated in the Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6 (and comes in immediately after the end of R.V. x. 129, which is quoted in the same place). The compiler of the Brāhmaṇa replies to the question which the original poet had left unanswered, by saying: "Brahma was the forest, Brahma was that tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth. Sages, with my mind I declare to you, he took his stand upon Brahma when upholding the world" (see above, p. 32, note 57).

(3) *Hiraṇyagarbha.*

Another name under which the Deity is celebrated in the Rig-veda, with all the attributes of supremacy, is Hiraṇyagarbha. In the 121st hymn of the tenth book this god is said to have arisen (*samavarttata*) in the beginning, the one lord of all beings, who upholds heaven and earth, who gives life and breath, whose command even the gods obey, who is the god over all gods, and the one animating principle (*asu*) of their being. (See the 4th vol. of this Work, pp. 13 ff.)

(4) *Brahmaṇaspati, Daksha, and Aditi.*

In another hymn (R.V. x. 72; already quoted in pp. 48 f.), the creation of the gods is ascribed to Brahmaṇaspati (see also p. 280, above), who blew them forth like a blacksmith;[529] while the earth is said to have sprung from a being called Uttānapad; and Daksha and Aditi were produced from one another by mutual generation. The gods, though formed by Brahmaṇaspati, did not, it is said, come into existence till after Aditi, but appear to have had some share in the formation or development of the world.

The hymn is almost entirely of a mythological character, the only attempt at speculation it contains being the declaration that entity sprang from nonentity. The manner in which the author endeavours,

[529] See pp. 32 and 354.

by the introduction of different names, and the ascription to them of various agencies, to explain the process of creation, forms a striking contrast to the sublime vagueness and sense of mystery which characterize the following composition (R.V. x. 129).[530]

(5) *Nonentity, Entity, and the One,* R.V. X. 129.

1. *Na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīṁ nāsīd rajo no vyoma paro yat | kim āvarīvaḥ kuha kasya śarmann ambhaḥ kim āsīd gahanaṁ gabhīram | 2. Na mṛityur asīd amṛitaṁ na tarhi na rātryāḥ ahnaḥ āsīt praketaḥ | ānīd avātaṁ svadhayā tad ekaṁ tasmād ha anyad na paraḥ kinchanāsa | 3. Tamaḥ āsīt tamasā gūḷham agre apraketaṁ salilaṁ sarvam ā idam | tuchhyena ābhu apihitaṁ yad āsīt tapasas tad mahinā 'jāyataikam | 4. Kāmas tad agre samavarttatādhi manaso retaḥ prathamaṁ yad āsīt | sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛidi pratīshya kavayo manīshā | 5* (=Vāj. Sanh. xxxiii. 74). *Tiraśchīno vitato raśmir eshām adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt | retodhāḥ āsan mahimānaḥ āsan svadhā avastāt prayatiḥ parastāt | 6. Ko addha veda kaḥ iha pra vochat kutaḥ ājātā kutaḥ iyaṁ visṛishṭiḥ | arvāg devāḥ asya visarjanena atha ko veda yataḥ ābabhūva | 7. Iyaṁ visṛishṭir yataḥ ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na | yo asyādhyakshaḥ parame vyoman so anga veda yadi vā na veda |*

"1. There was then neither nonentity nor entity: there was no

[530] This hymn has been already translated by Mr. Colebrooke and Professor Müller, as well as in the 4th vol. of this Work, p. 4. I have now endeavoured to improve my own version, and otherwise to illustrate the sense of the hymn. The following is a metrical rendering of its contents:—

"Then there was neither Aught nor Nought, no air nor sky beyond.
What covered all? Where rested all? In watery gulf profound?
Nor death was then, nor deathlessness, nor change of night and day.
That One breathed calmly, self-sustained; nought else beyond It lay.
Gloom hid in gloom existed first—one sea, eluding view.
That One, a void in chaos wrapt, by inward fervour grew.
Within It first arose desire, the primal germ of mind,
Which nothing with existence links, as sages searching find.
The kindling ray that shot across the dark and drear abyss,—
Was it beneath? or high aloft? What bard can answer this?
There fecundating powers were found, and mighty forces strove,—
A self-supporting mass beneath, and energy above.
Who knows, who ever told, from whence this vast creation rose?
No gods had then been born,—who then can e'er the truth disclose?
Whence sprang this world, and whether framed by hand divine or no,—
It's lord in heaven alone can tell, if even he can show."

atmosphere, nor sky above. What enveloped [all]? Where, in the receptacle of what [was it contained]? Was it water, the profound abyss? 2. Death was not then, nor immortality: there was no distinction of day or night. That One[531] breathed calmly, self-supported; there was nothing different from, or above, it. 3. In the beginning darkness existed, enveloped in darkness. All this was undistinguishable water.[532] That One which lay void, and wrapped in nothingness, was developed by the power of fervour. 4. Desire first arose in It, which was the primal germ of mind; [and which] sages, searching with their intellect, have discovered in their heart to be the bond which connects entity with nonentity. 5. The ray [or cord][533] which stretched across these [worlds], was it below or was it above? There were there impregnating powers and mighty forces, a self-supporting principle beneath, and energy aloft.[534] 6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent[535] to the development of this [universe]; who then knows whence it arose? 7. From what this creation arose, and whether [any one] made it or not,—he who in the highest heaven is its ruler, he verily knows, or [even] he does not know."

I am not in possession of Sāyaṇa's commentary on this hymn; but the scholiast on the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (see also the explanation of verse 4, in commentary on Taitt. Āraṇy. p. 142) in which the hymn is

[531] Compare R.V. i. 164, 6, "What was that One in the form of the unborn which supported these six worlds?" (*vi yas tastambha shaḷ imā rajāṁsi ajasya rūpe kim api svid ekam*). In Vālakhilya, x. 2, it is said: *eka evāgnir bahudhā samiddaḥ ekaḥ sūryo viśvam anu prabhūtaḥ | ekaivoshāḥ sarvam idaṁ vi bhāti ekaṁ vai idam vi babhūva sarvam* ↑ "There is one Agni, kindled in many places; one mighty Sūrya who extends over all things; one Ushas who illuminates this entire world;—this one has been developed into the all."

[532] In the M. Bh. S'āntip. 6812 ff., it is said that from the æther "was produced water, like another darkness in darkness; and from the foam of the water was produced the wind" (*tataḥ salilam utpannaṁ tamasīvāparaṁ tamaḥ | tasmāch cha salilotpīḍād udatishṭhata mārutaḥ*).

[533] Professor Aufrecht has suggested to me that the word *raśmi* may have here the sense of thread, or cord, and not of ray.

[534] Does this receive any illustration from R.V. i. 159, 2 (quoted above, p. 21), which speaks of the "thought (*manas*) of the father" (Dyaus), and of the "mighty independent power (*mahi svatavas*) of the mother" (Earth)?

[535] Compare x. 72, 2, 3, quoted above, p. 48, and x. 97, 1, where certain plants are said to be anterior to the gods, by three yugas (*yāḥ oshadhīḥ pūrvāḥ jātāḥ devebhyas triyugam purā*).

repeated (ii. 8, 9, 3 ff.), explains it in conformity with the philosophical ideas of a later period. From such sources we have no right in general to expect much light on the real meaning of the ancient Vedic poets. The commentator in question, who is obliged to find in the words of the infallible Veda a meaning consistent with the speculations believed to be orthodox in his own age, interprets the first verse as follows, in terms which, indeed, after all, may not be far from correctly expressing its general purport: *Yadā pūrvasṛishṭiḥ pralīnā uttarasṛishṭiś cha na utpannā tadānīm sadasatī dve api nābhūtām | nāmarūpavibhāgānabhivyaktatvena spashṭapratīyamānam jagat "sat-"śabdena uchyate naravishāṇādisamānam śūnyam "asad" ity uchyate | tadubhayam nāsīt | kintu kāchid avyaktāvasthā āsīt | sā cha vispashṭavābhāvād na satī jagadutpādakatvena sadbhāvād nāpy asatī* | "In the interval between the absorption of the previous, and the production of the subsequent, creation, there was neither entity nor nonentity. The world at the time when, by possessing both 'name' and 'form,'[536] it is clearly manifested, is designated by the word 'entity,' while a void which may be compared to such non-existing things as a 'man's horns,' etc., is called 'nonentity.' Neither of these states existed; but there was a certain unapparent condition, which, from the absence of distinctness, was not an 'entity,' while from its being the instrument of the world's production, it was not a 'nonentity.'"

A much older commentary on this verse, probably one of the oldest extant, is the following passage from the Śatap. Br. x. 5, 3, 1: *na iva vai idam agre asad āsīd na iva sad āsīt | āsīd iva vai idam agre na iva āsīt | tad ha tad manaḥ eva āsa | 2. Tasmād etad ṛishiṇā 'bhyanūktam "na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīm" iti | na iva hi sad mano na iva asat | 3. Tad idam manaḥ sṛishṭam āvirabhūshad niruktataram mūrtataram | tad ātmānam anvaichhat | tat tapo 'tapyata | tat prāmūrchhat | tat shaṭtriṁśataṁ sahasrāṇy apaśyad ātmano 'gnīn arkān manomayān manaśchitaḥ ityādi* | "In the beginning this [universe] was not either, as it were, nonexistent, nor, as it were, existent. In the

[536] These Vedāntic terms *name* and *form* occur (as observed in the Section on Yama, p. 309) in the Atharva-veda, x. 2, 12: "Who placed in him (Purusha) name, magnitude, and form?" and in xi. 7, 1: "In the remains of the sacrifice (*uchhishṭa*) name and form, in the remains of the sacrifice the world, is comprehended." The original texts will be found further on in the subsections on Purusha and Uchhishṭa. See Śatap. Br. xi. 2, 3, 1 ff., to be quoted below, in the subsection on Brahma.

beginning this universe was, as it were, and was not, as it were. Then it was only that mind. Wherefore it has been declared by the rishi (in the verse before us), 'There was then neither nonentity nor entity;' for mind was, as it were, neither entity nor nonentity. 2. Then this mind, being developed, wished to become manifested, more revealed, more embodied. It sought after itself; it practised austere fervour. It swooned. It beheld 36,000 of its own fires, suns, formed of mind, placed by mind, etc." Mind then creates voice, voice creates breath, breath creates eye, eye creates ear, ear creates work (or ceremony), and work creates fire.

These ideas of entity and nonentity[537] seem to have been familiar to the later Vedic poets, as in R.V. x. 72 (noticed above, and translated in the section on Aditi, p. 48), we find it thus declared (verses 2, 3), that in the beginning nonentity was the source of entity: "In the earliest age of the gods entity sprang from nonentity; in the first age of the gods entity sprang from nonentity." In the A.V. x. 7, 10 (which will be quoted in the subsection on Skambha), it is said that both nonentity and entity[538] exist within the god Skambha; and in verse 25 of the same hymn: "Powerful indeed are those gods who sprang from nonentity. Men say that that nonentity is one, the highest, member of Skambha."[539] The Taittirīya Upanishad also (Bibliotheca Indica, p. 99) quotes a verse to the effect: "This was at first nonentity. From that sprang entity" (*asad vai idam agre āsīt | tato vai sad ajāyata*).

The author of the Chhāndogya Upanishad probably alludes to some of these texts when he says (vi. 2, 1 f. Bibl. Ind. p. 387 f.): *Sad eva somya idam agre āsīd ekam eva advitīyam | tad ha eke āhur "asad eva*

[537] The Taitt. Aranyaka. i. 11, 1 (Bibl. Ind. p. 84), ascribes the development of existence from nonexistence to the seven rishis, etc. (*asataḥ sad ye tatakshur ṛishayaḥ sapta Atriś cha yat | sarve trayo Agastyaś cha*).

[538] Another verse of the A.V. xvii. 1, 19, says: "Entity is founded (*pratishṭhitam*) on nonentity; what has become (*bhūta*) is founded on entity. What has become is based (*āhitam*) on what is to be, and what is to be is founded on what has become" (*asati sat pratishṭhitaṁ sati bhūtam pratishṭhitaṁ | bhūtaṁ ha bhavye āhitam bhavyam bhūte pratishṭhitam*).

[539] This phrase (see above, p. 51) is also applied to Agni in R.V. x. 5, 7, where it is said that that god, being "a thing both *asat*, nonexistent (*i.e.* unmanifested), and *sat*, existent (*i.e.* in a latent state, or in essence), in the highest heaven, in the creation of Daksha, and in the womb of Aditi (comp. R.V. x. 72, 4 f.), became in a former age

idam agre āsīd ekam eva advitīyaṁ tasmād asataḥ saj jāyeta" | 2. *Kutas tu khalu somya evaṁ syād iti ha uvācha katham asataḥ saj jāyeta iti | sat tv eva somya idam agre āsīd ekam eva advitīyam | tad aikshata bahu syām prajāyeya iti* | "This, o fair youth, was in the beginning existent (or entity) (*sat*), one without a second. Now some say, 'This was in the beginning non-existent (or non-entity) (*asat*), one without a second; wherefore the existent must spring from the non-existent.' 2. But how, o fair youth, he proceeded, can it be so? How can the existent spring from the non-existent? But, o fair youth, this was in the beginning existent, one without a second. That [entity] thought, 'Let me multiply and be produced.'" [540]

There does not appear to be any discrepancy between the statement in R.V. x. 129, 1, "There was then neither nonentity nor entity," and the doctrine of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, for in the second verse of the hymn, also, a being designated as the One is recognized as existing, which may be regarded as answering to the primal entity of the Upanishad; while the original non-existence of anything, whether nonentity or entity, asserted in the first verse, may merely signify, as the commentator on the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa explains, that there was as yet no distinct manifestation of the One. In like manner the A.V. x. 7. 10, 25 (quoted above), does not assert the absolute priority of nonentity, but affirms it to be embraced in, or a member of, the divine being designated as Skambha. The Chhāndogya Upanishad has, however, a greater appearance of being at variance with itself, iii. 19, 1 (*asad evedam agre āsīt tat sad āsīt*), and with the Taittirīya Upanishad, as well as with verses 2 and 3 of the 72nd hymn of the tenth book of the R.V., above cited, which assert that entity sprang from nonentity. If these verses are to be taken literally and absolutely, we must suppose the poet to have conceived the different creative agents whom he names, Brahmaṇaspati, Uttānapad, Daksha, and Aditi, to have sprung out of nothing, or from each other, or to be secondary manifestations of the entity which was the first product of nonentity. If, however, with the commentators, we take "nonentity" to denote merely an undeveloped state, there will be no contradiction.

the first-born of our ceremonial, and is both a bull and a cow." In A.V. xi. 7, 3, it is said that the *uchhishṭha* (remains of the sacrifice) is both *san* and *asan* (masculine).

[540] See English trans. p. 101, which I have not followed.

The first movement in the process of creation as conceived in the hymn (R.V. x. 129) is this: the One, which in the beginning breathed calmly, self-sustained, is developed by the power of *tapas*, by its own inherent heat (as Professor Müller explains, Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 561), or by rigorous and intense abstraction (as Professor Roth understands the word; see his Lexicon, *s.v.*).[541] This development gave occasion

[541] Roth's interpretation is supported by a text in the A.V. x. 7, 38 (see further on in the subsection on Skambha), as well as by numerous passage in the Brāhmaṇas. Thus in S'atap. Br. xi. 5, 8, 1 (quoted in the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 4), Prajāpati, who is described as being the universe, is said to have desired (*akāmayata*) to propagate himself, and to have striven and practised rigorous abstraction (*tapo 'tapyata*). And in the same Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 1 (cited in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 25), the self-existent Brahma himself is similarly related to have practised *tapas*, and when he found that that did not confer infinity, to have offered himself in sacrifice. The gods are also said to have attained heaven and their divine character by *tapas* (see above, p. 15, and the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 20, 21, 24, and 288). Compare also the Taitt. Up. ii. 6, where it is said: *Sa tapo 'tapyata | sa tapas taptvā idaṁ sarvam asṛijata yad idaṁ kincha* | "He (the supreme Soul) desired, 'Let me be multiplied and produced.'" He performed *tapas*, and having done so, he created all this." In his commentary on this passage, S'ankara explains that, in conformity with another Vedic text, knowledge is called *tapas*, and that, as the supreme Soul has no unsatisfied desires, no other sense would be suitable; and that the phrase means "He reflected upon the construction, etc., of the world which was being created" (*tapaḥ iti jnānam uchyate | "yasya jnānamayaṁ tapaḥ" iti śruty-antarād āpta-kāmatvāch cha itarasya asambhavaḥ eva | "sa tapo 'tapyata" tapas taptavān sṛijyamāna-jagad-rachanādi-vishayām ālochanām akarod ātmā ity arthaḥ*). It is true that all these passages from the Brāhmaṇas are of a later date than the hymn, but the R.V. itself, x. 167, 1, says that Indra gained heaven by *tapas* (see above, p. 14), where the word can only mean rigorous abstraction. The word is also found in R.V. ix. 113, 2, where soma-juice is said to be poured out with hallowed words, truth, faith, and *tapas* (*ṛitavākena satyena śraddhayā tapasā sutaḥ*); and in x. 83, 2, 3, where Manyu (wrath personified) is besought to protect, or to slay enemies, along with *tapas*, (*tapasā sajoshāḥ*, or *tapasā yujā*). This view of the word is also supported by Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1: "Let us worship with an oblation that first-born god, by whom this entire universe which exists is surrounded (*paribhūtam*)—the self-existent Brahma, which is the highest *tapas*. He is son, father, mother. *Tapas* was produced as the first object" (*yenedaṁ vis'vam paribhūtaṁ yad asti prathamajaṁ devaṁ havishā vidhema | svayambhu Brahma paramaṁ tapo yat | sa eva putraḥ sa pitā sa mātā | tapo ha yaksham prathamaṁ sambabhūva*). In the Mahābhārata, S'āntiparva, 10836, Prajāpati is said to have created living beings by *tapas*, after having entered on religious observances, or austerities (*vratāni*). *Tapas* is also mentioned as the source from which creatures were produced, A.V. xiii. 1, 10. Compare Bhāgavata Purāna, ii. 9, 6, 7, 19, 23, and iii. 10, 4 ff. *Tapas* is connected with an oblation of boiled milk in a passage of the A.V. iv. 11, 6: *yena devāḥ svar āruruhur hitvā śarīram amṛitasya nābhim | tena geshma sukṛitasya lokaṁ gharmasya vratena tapasā yas'asyavaḥ* | "May we, renowned, attain to the world of righteousness by that ceremony of offering boiled milk, by *tapas*, whereby the

to desire (Kāma) which immediately took possession of the One, and is described as the first germ of mind, and the earliest link[542] between nonentity and entity. The poet then goes on to speak of impregnating powers, and mighty forces, of receptive capacities, and active energies; but confesses himself unable to declare how the universe was produced. The gods themselves having come into existence at a later stage of creation, were not in a position to reveal to their worshippers the earlier part of the process of which they had not been witnesses. The

gods ascended to heaven, the centre of immortality, having left behind their body." But xi. 5, 5, connects *tapas* with heat: "The Brahmachārin, born before Brahma, dwelling (or clothed) in heat, arose through *tapas*" (*pūrvo jāto Brahmaṇo brahmachārī gharmaṁ vasānas tapasodatishṭhat*. In A.V. vii. 61, *tapas* is connected with Agni. In A.V. xvii. 1, 24, *tapas* means the heat of the sun. *Tapas* is mentioned along with *karman* in A.V. xi. 8, 2, and is said to have been produced from it (ibid. v. 6).

[542] The commentator on the Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 5 (p. 928 of Calcutta edition, in Bibl. Ind.) says: *kāmasya sarva-vyavahāra-hetutvaṁ Vājasaneyinaḥ samāmananti atho khalv āhuḥ "kāmamayaḥ evāyam puruṣhaḥ" iti | Vyāso 'pi smarati "kāma-bandhanam evedaṁ nānyad astīha bandhanam" iti | asmad-anubhave 'pi tathā dṛiśyate | sarvo hi purushaḥ prathamaṁ kinchit kāmayitvā tadartham prayata-mānaḥ sukhaṁ duḥkhaṁ vā labheta* | "The Vājasaneyins record that desire is the cause of all action, and say: 'this Purusha is himself actuated by desire' (Bṛihadār. Up. p. 854). And Vyāsa too declares in his smṛiti, 'That which binds this world is desire; it has no other bond.' The same thing, too, is seen within our own observation; for it is only after a man has first desired something that he will strive after it, and so experience pleasure or pain." In numerous passages of the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads (as in those quoted in the last note), we are told that the first step in the creation was that Prajāpati or Brahma "desired" (*akāmayata*). In his remarks on the passage of the Taittirīya Upanishad, quoted in the last note, S'ankara considers it necessary to explain that the supreme Soul is not subject to the dominion of desire, as if, like men, he had any wish unfulfilled, or were subject to the influence of any desirable objects external to himself, or were dependent on other things as instruments of attaining any such external objects; but on the contrary, is independent of all other things, and himself, with a view to the interests of living beings, originated his desires which possess the characteristics of truth and knowledge (or true knowledge), and from being a part of himself, are perfectly pure (*kāmayitṛitvād asmad-ādi-vad anāptakāmaṁ chet | na | svātantryāt | yathā 'nyān paravaśīkṛitya kāmādi-doshāḥ pravarttayanti na tathā Brahmaṇaḥ pravarttakāḥ kāmāḥ | kathaṁ tarhi satya-jnāna-lakshaṇāḥ svātmabhūtatvād viśuddhāḥ | na tat Brahma pravarttyate | teshāṁ tu tat-pravarttakam Brahma prāṇi-karmapekshayā | tasmāt svātantryaṁ kāmeshu Brahmaṇaḥ | ato na anāptakāmam Brahma sādhanāntarānapekshatvāch cha | kincha yathā 'nyeshām anātmabhūtāḥ dharmādi-nimittāpekshāḥ kāmāḥ svātma-vyatirikta-kārya-karaṇa-sādhanāntarāpekshāchcha* [*-āś cha?*] *na tathā Brahmaṇo nimittādy-apekshatvam*). I shall below treat further of Kāma, as a deity, and of his correspondence with the Greek Ἔρως, as one of the first principles of creation.

very gods being at fault, no one on earth is able to say what was the origin of the world, and whether it had any creator or not. Even its ruler in the highest heaven may not be in possession of the great secret.

Such a confession of ignorance on the part of a Vedic rishi could not, however, be taken in its obvious and literal sense by those who held the Veda to have been derived from an omniscient and infallible source. And in consequence the commentator on the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is obliged to explain it away in the following fashion:—

Atra kechid āgamam upekshya sva-sva-buddhi-balād anyathā 'nyathā utprekshante | tathā hi paramāṇavo mūlakāraṇam iti Kāṇāda-Gautamādayo manyante | svatantram achetanam pradhānaṁ jagato mūlakāraṇam iti Kapila-prabhṛitayaḥ | śūnyādito jagad-utpattir iti Mādhyamikāḥ | jagato kāraṇam eva nāśti svabhāvātaḥ eva avatishṭhate iti Lokāyatikāḥ | te sarve 'pi bhrāntāḥ eva | "ko addha veda" jagat-kāraṇaṁ ko nāma purushaḥ sākshād avagachhati | anavagatya cha "kaḥ iha pravochat" svayam adṛishṭvā ko nāma jagat-kāraṇam īdṛig iti vaktuṁ śaknoti | ko 'yam atra vaktavyāṁśaḥ iti chet | uchyate | iyaṁ vividhā sṛishṭiḥ "kutaḥ ājātā" ta(ka?)smād upādāna-kāraṇāt sarvataḥ utpannā punarapi kuto nimittād utpannā iti tad idam upādānaṁ nimittaṁ cha vaktavyaṁ tach cha vaktum aśakyam | kuto 'śaktir iti chet | uchyate | kiṁ devāḥ etad brūyuḥ kuto 'nyaḥ kaśchid manushyaḥ | na tāvad devāḥ vaktuṁ śaktāḥ te hy asya jagato vividhasṛishṭer "arvāg" eva vidyante na tu sṛishṭeḥ pūrvaṁ te santi | yadā devānām api īdṛiśī gatis tadānīṁ "yataḥ" jagad "ābabhūva" tat kāraṇaṁ vaktum anyaḥ "ko" vā "veda" | devāś cha manushyāś cha sṛishṭeḥ prāg anavasthānād na tāvat pratyakshena paśyanti tadānīṁ svayam eva abhāvād nāpy anumātuṁ śaktās tad-yogyayor hetudṛishṭāntayor abhāvāt | tasmād atigambhīram idam paramārtha-tattvaṁ vaidika-samadhigamyam ity abhiprāyaḥ | .... iyaṁ dṛiśyamānā bhūta-bhautika-rūpā vividhā sṛishṭir yataḥ upādānakāraṇād "ābabhūva" sarvataḥ utpannā tad upādānakāraṇaṁ yadi vā kinchit svarūpaṁ dhṛitvā 'vatishṭhate yadi vā tasya svarūpam eva nāsti tam imaṁ nirṇayaṁ yaḥ Parameśvaro 'sya jagato "'dhyakshaḥ" svāmī "so anga veda" sa eva veda yadi vā so 'pi na veda | īśitṛīśitavyādi-laukika-vyavahāra-dṛishṭyā "so anga veda" ity uktam | yatra tv asya sarvam ātmā eva abhūt kena kam paśyed ityādi-sarva-vyavahārātīta-paramārtha-dṛishṭyā "yadi vā na veda" ity uktam | ato manushyādishu tad-vedana-śankā 'pi dūrāpetā |

"There are certain persons who contemn revelation, and propound different theories of creation by their own reason. Thus the followers of Kaṇāda and Gautama, etc., consider atoms to be the ultimate cause of the world. Kapila and others say that an independent and unconscious Pradhāna is the cause. The Mādhyamikas declare that the world rose out of a void, etc. The Lokāyatikas say that the universe has no cause at all, but exists naturally. All these speculators are in error. Our hymn asks what mortal knows by actual observation the cause of the world? and not having himself had ocular proof, how can any one say it was so and so? The points to be declared are the material and instrumental causes of the universe, and these cannot be told. The reason of this impossibility is next set forth. Can the gods give the required information? Or, if not, how can any man?' The gods cannot tell, for they did not precede, but are subsequent to, the creation. Since the gods are in this predicament, who else can know? The purport is, that as neither gods nor men existed before the creation, and cannot therefore have witnessed it, and as they are at the same time unable to conclude anything regarding it, from the absence of any adequate reason or illustrative instance, this great mystery can only be understood by those versed in the Vedas....The last verse of the hymn declares that the ruler of the universe knows, or that even he does not know, from what material cause this visible world arose, and whether that material cause exists in any definite form or not. That is to say, the declaration that 'he knows' is made from the stand-point of that popular conception which distinguishes betweeen the ruler of the universe and the creatures over whom he rules; while the proposition that 'he does not know' is asserted on the ground of that highest principle which, transcending all popular conceptions, affirms the identity of all things with the supreme Soul, which cannot see any other existence as distinct from itself. [The sense of this last clause is, that the supreme Soul can know nothing of any object being created external to itself, since no such object exists]. "*A fortiori*, the supposition that such beings as men could possess this knowledge is excluded."

It would, however, be absurd to imagine that the simple author of the hymn entertained any such transcendental notions as these. He makes no pretensions to infallibility, but honestly acknowledges the

perplexity which he felt in speculating on the great problem of the origin of the universe.[543]

As a further illustration, both of the more ancient and the later ideas of the Indians regarding the creation of the world, and the manner in which the supreme Spirit, previously quiescent, was moved to activity, I add another passage from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 9, 1, with some of the commentator's remarks. The text of the Brāhmaṇa runs thus:[544] "This [universe] was not originally anything. There was neither heaven, nor earth, nor atmosphere. That being nonexistent (*asat*), resolved, 'Let me be.' That became fervent (or practised rigorous abstraction, *atapyata*). From that fervour (or abstraction) smoke was produced. That became again fervent. From that fervour fire was produced. That became again fervent. From that fervour light was produced." And so on,—flame, rays, blazes, etc., being generated by a repetition of the same process. (It may perhaps be considered that the manner in which the word *tapas* is used in this passage is favourable to the idea that in R.V. x. 129, 3, it signifies heat rather than rigorous abstraction.)

Ibid. ii. 2, 9, 10: *Asato 'dhi mano 'sṛijyata | manaḥ Prajāpatim asṛijata | Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata* | "From the nonexistent mind (*manas*) was created. Mind created Prajāpati. Prajāpati created offspring."

The commentator's explanation of the first part of this passage is in substance as follows: "Before the creation no portion existed of the world which we now see. Let such a state of nonexistence be supposed. It conceived the thought, 'Let me attain the condition of existence.' Accordingly, this state of things is distinctly asserted in the Upanishad (the Taittirīya, see above, p. 359): 'This was originally nonexistent. From it existence was produced.' Here, by the word 'nonexistent,' a state of void (or absolute nullity), like that expressed in the phrase 'a hare's horns,' is not intended; but simply a state in which name and form were not manifested. Hence the Vājasaneyins repeat the text: 'This was then undeveloped; let it be developed through name and form.' Earth, the waters, etc., are

[543] Similar perplexity is elsewhere expressed on other subjects by the authors of the hymns. See the 3rd vol. of this Work, pp. 279 f.

[544] The words of the original will be found in the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 27 f.

'name.' Hardness and fluidity, etc., are 'form.'" The words "undeveloped" and "developed" are then defined, and Manu, i. 5, is quoted in proof. The supposition that the passage before us can be intended to denote a void is next contravened by adducing the text of the Chhāndogya Upanishad above quoted, where that theory is referred to and contradicted. "In the Aitareya Upanishad (at the beginning) it is declared: 'Soul alone was in the beginning this [universe]. Nothing else was active.' Hence the negation in our text, 'This [universe] was not originally anything,' refers to the world, consisting of name and form, framed by the Supreme Spirit, and is not to be understood absolutely. Designated by the word 'nonexistent' (*asat*), because devoid of name and form, but still (really) existing (*sat*), the principle [called] the Supreme Spirit, impelled by the works of the creatures absorbed in It, conceived a thought in the way of a reflection, 'Let me be manifested as existent in the shape of name and form.' As a man in a deep sleep awakes that he may enjoy the fruit of his works, so the thought of causing all living creatures to enjoy the fruit of their works arose in the Supreme Spirit. Possessed by such a thought, that principle [called] the Supreme Spirit, practised rigorous abstraction (*tapas*) as a means of creating name and form. Here *tapas* does not mean any such thing as the kṛichchhra or chāndrāyaṇa penances, or the like; but denotes consideration regarding the particular objects which were to be created. Wherefore writers of the Atharva-veda school record the text: 'He who is omniscient, all-understanding, whose *tapas* consists of knowledge.' From the fact that this *tapas* has nothing of the character of any penance, it may be properly regarded as denoting the reflection of a being who, though unembodied, is yet omnipotent," etc., etc. "From the supreme God, being such as has been described, in conformity with his volition, a certain smoke was produced," etc., etc.

(*Yad idaṁ sthāvara-jangama-rūpaṁ bhūlokādirūpaṁ cha jagad idānīṁ dṛiśyate tat kimapi sṛishṭeḥ pūrvaṁ naiva āsīt | tat tādṛiśam asad-rūpam eva varttamānāṁ syāt | sad-rūpatām prāpnuyām ity etādṛiśam mano 'kuruta | tathā cha upanishadi pūrvam asad-rūpam paśchāt sad-rūpatotpattiś cha viṣpashṭam āmnāyate "asad vai idam agre asīt tato vai sad ajāyata" iti | atra "asat-"śabdena na śaśa-vishāṇādi-samānaṁ śūnyatvaṁ vivakshitaṁ kiṁ tarhy anabhivyakta-nāma-rūpatvam | ataḥ eva*

Vājasaneyinaḥ samāmananti "tad ha idaṁ tarhy avyākṛitam āsīt | tad nāma-rūpābhyām eva vyākriyeta" iti | bhūmir āpaḥ ityādikaṁ nāma kāṭhinya-dravādikaṁ rūpam | . . . . Aitareyinas tv adhīyate "ātmā vai idam ekaḥ eva agre āsīd na anyat kinchana mishad" iti | tasmād "naiva kinchana āsīd" ity ayaṁ nishedhaḥ Paramātma-nirmita-nāma-rūpātmaka-jagad-vishayo na tu kṛitsna-vishayaḥ | nāma-rūpa-rahitatvena "asat"-śabda-vāchyaṁ sad eva svasthitam Paramātma-tattvaṁ svātmany antarhita-prāṇi-karmapreritam sad nāma-rūpākāreṇa āvirbhaveyam iti paryālochana-rūpam mano 'kuruta | yathā gāḍha-nidrām prāptasya purushasya karma-phala-bhogāya prabodhaḥ utpadyate tathā sarvān prāṇinaḥ sva-sva-karma-phalam bhojayitum īdṛiśo vichāraḥ Paramātmanaḥ prādurabhūt | tathāvidha-vichāra-yuktaṁ tat Paramātma-tattva-rūpaṁ nāma-rūpa-sṛishti-sādhana-rūpaṁ tapo 'kuruta | na atra tapaḥ kṛichchhra-chāndrāyaṇādi-rūpam | kintu srashṭavya-padārtha-viśesha-vishayam paryālochanam | ataḥ eva Ātharvaṇikāḥ āmananti "yaḥ sarvajnaḥ sarvavid yasya jnānamayaṁ tapaḥ" iti | kṛichchhrādi-rūpatvābhāvād aśarīrasya api sarva-śakti-yuktasya paryālochanam upapannam | . . . . tādṛiśāt tasmāt Parameśvarāt sva-sankalpānusāreṇa kaśchid dhūmaḥ udapadyata |)

(6) *Purusha.*

Another important, but in many places obscure, hymn of the Rig-veda, in which the unity of the Godhead is recognized, though in a pantheistic sense, is the 90th of the tenth book, the celebrated Purusha Sūkta,[545] which is as follows:

1. *Sahasraśīrshāḥ Purushaḥ sahasrākshaḥ sahasrapāt | sa bhūmiṁ viśvato vṛitvā aty atishṭhad daśāngulam | 2. Purushaḥ evedaṁ sarvaṁ yad bhūtaṁ yach cha bhavyam | utāmṛitatvasyeśāno yad annenātirohati |* 3. *Etāvān asya mahimā ato jyāyāṁś cha Pūrushaḥ | pādo 'sya viśvā*

[545] Translations of this hymn (which is also given with slight variations in Vāj. S. 13, 1–16, and A.V. 19, 6, and 7, 5, 4) will be found in Mr. Colebrooke's Miscel. Ess. i. 167 (see also the note in p. 309 of the same volume), as also in the 1st vol. of this Work, 9 ff; (into French) in the Preface to Burnouf's Bhāgavata Purāṇa, vol. i. pp. cxxxi. ff. (where see the notes); and (into German) in Professor Weber's Ind. Stud. ix. 5 ff. I have now endeavoured to supply some further illustrations of the ideas in the hymn. I have passed over several obscurities on which I have been unable to throw any light. The first two verses are given in the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, iii. 14, 15, where the commentary may be consulted.

bhūtāni tripād asyāmṛitaṁ divi | 4. *Tripād ūrddhvaḥ ud ait Purushaḥ pādo 'syehābhavat punaḥ* | *tato vishvaṅ vyakrāmat sāśanānaśane abhi* | 5. *Tasmād Virāḷ ajāyata Virājo adhi Pūrushaḥ* | *sa jāto aty arichyata paśchād bhūmim atho puraḥ* | 6. *Yat Purusheṇa havishā devāḥ yajnam atanvata* | *vasanto asyāsīd ājyaṁ grīshmaḥ idhmaḥ śarad haviḥ* | 7. *Taṁ yajnam barhishi praukshan Purushaṁ jātam agrataḥ* | *tena devāḥ ayajanta sādhyāḥ ṛishayaś cha ye* | 8. *Tasmād yajnāt sarvahutaḥ sambhṛitam pṛishadājyam* | *paśūṁs tāṁś chakre vāyavyān āranyān grāmyāś che ye* | 9. *Tasmād yajnāt sarvahutaḥ richaḥ sāmāni jajnire* | *chhandāṁsi jajnire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata* | 10. *Tasmād aśvāḥ ajāyanta ye ke cha ubhayādataḥ* | *gāvo ha jajnire tasmāt tasmāj jātāḥ ajāvayaḥ* | 11. *Yat Purushaṁ vi adadhuḥ katidhā vi akalpayan* | *mukhaṁ kim asya kau bāhū kā ūrū pādau uchyete* | 12. *Brāhmaṇo 'sya mukham āsīd bāhū rājanyaḥ kṛitaḥ* | *ūrū tad asya yad vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṁ śūdro ajāyata* | 13. *Chandramāḥ manaso jātaś chakshoḥ Sūryo ajāyata* | *mukhād Indraś cha Agniś cha prāṇād Vāyur ajāyata* | 14. *Nābhyāḥ āsīd antarikshaṁ śīrshṇo dyauḥ samavartata* | *padbhyām bhūmir disaḥ śrotrāt tathā lokān akalpayan* | 15. *Saptāsyāsan paridhayas triḥ sapta samidhaḥ kṛitāḥ* | *devāḥ yad yajnaṁ tanvānāḥ abadhnan Purusham paśum* | 16. *Yajnena yajnam ayajanta devās tāni dharmāṇi prathamāni āsan* | *te ha nākam mahimānaḥ sachanta yatra pūrve śādhyāḥ santi devāḥ* |

"1. Purusha has a thousand heads (a thousand arms, A.V.), a thousand eyes, and a thousand feet. On every side enveloping the earth, he transcended [it] by a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha himself is this whole[516] [universe], whatever has been, and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since through food he expands.[517] 3. Such is his greatness; and Purusha is superior to this. All existing things are a quarter[518] of him, and that which is immortal

[516] Compare S'atap. Br. iv. 2, 2, 1: *Sarvaṁ hy ayam ātmā;* "for this soul is everything."

[517] The sense of the last clause is obscure. It may also mean, according to the commentators on the Vāj. S. and the S'vetās'v. Upan. "(he is also the lord of) that which grows by food." According to the paraphrase in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (see below), it means, "seeing he has transcended mortal nutriment." The parallel passage of the A.V. (19, 6, 4) reads, "he is also the lord of immortality, since he became united with another (*yad anyenābhavat saha*).

[518] Compare A.V. x. 8, 7, and 13: "7. With the half he produced the whole world; but what became of that which was the [other] half of him? (*ardhena viśvam bhuvanaṁ jajāna yad asya ardhaṁ kva tad babhūva*). 13. Prajāpati moves within

in the sky is three quarters of him. 4. With three quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him again was produced here below. He then became diffused everywhere among things animate and inanimate. 5. From him Virāj was born, and from Virāj, Purusha.[549] As

the womb; though unseen, he is born in many forms. With the half he produced the whole world; but the [other] half of him, what sign is there of it?" Compare also A.V. x. 7, 8, 9, which, as well as portions of A.V. x. 8, will be found quoted and translated further on, in the subsection on Skambha.

[549] The commentator on the Vāj. San. (where, as I have said, this hymn is also found) explains this reciprocal generation of Virāj from Purusha, and again of Purusha from Virāj, by saying, in conformity with Vedantic principles, that Virāj in the form of the mundane egg sprang from Ādi-Purusha (primeval Purusha), who then entered into this egg, which he animates as its vital soul or divine principle (*tataḥ | tasmād ādipurushād Virāṭ brahmāṇḍa-deho 'jāyata | . . . . tam eva deham adhikaraṇaṁ kṛitvā Purushas taddehābhimānī ekaḥ eva pumān ajāyata | sarva-vedānta-vedyaḥ Paramātmā sva-māyayā Virāḍ-deham brahmāṇḍa-rūpaṁ sṛishṭvā tatrā jīvarūpeṇa praviśya brahmāṇḍābhimānī devatātmā jīvo 'bhavad ity arthaḥ*). According to Manu, i. 8–11 (see the 1st vol. of this Work, pp. 35 f.) the supreme Deity first created the waters, in which he placed an egg, from which again he himself was born as Brahmā, also called Nārāyaṇa. This male (Purusha), created by the eternal, imperceptible, first Cause, is, as verse 11 repeats, called Brahmā. Brahmā by his own thought split the egg (verse 12). After various other details regarding the creation, the writer goes on to say (verse 32) that Brahmā divided his own body into two halves, of which one became a male (Purusha), and the other a female, in whom he produced Virāj. This male (Purusha) Virāj again creates Manu himself (verse 33). We here see that the word male, or Purusha, is applied by Manu to three beings—viz., first, to Brahmā (verse 11); second, to the male formed by Brahmā from the half of his own body (verse 32); and thirdly, to Virāj, whom Brahmā, or his male half, produced from the female who was made out of the other half of his body (see also Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 105, note, in Dr. Hall's edition). Another explanation of the verse is, however, to be obtained by comparing the similar passage in R.V. x. 72, 4: "Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha" (quoted above, p. 48), together with the observation of Yāska (Nirukta, xi. 23, also quoted above in page 50), that this startling declaration may be explicable on the ground that these two deities had the same origin, or, in conformity with a characteristic of their divine nature, may have been produced from each other, and have derived their substance from each other. (See also Nirukta, vii. 4, quoted above, p. 350, where the author repeats the same idea regarding the nature of the gods). Compare also A.V. xiii. 4, 29 ff., where Indra is said to be produced from a great many different phenomena or elements, and they reciprocally from him (*sa vai ahno ajāyata tasmād ahar ajāyata*). The Śatap. Br. (xiii. 6, 1, 2) understands Virāj in the passage before us to signify not any male power, but the metre of that name: "The Virāj has forty syllables. Hence he (Purusha) obtains the Virāj, according to the text, 'From him sprang Virāj, and from Virāj Purusha.'" This is that Virāj. From this Virāj, therefore, it is that he begets Purusha the sacrifice." Virāj occurs again in the R.V. ix. 96, 18, and x. 130, 5, as feminine and as the name of a metre. It is also found in x. 159, 3, and x. 166, 1, as well as in i. 188, 5, where it is an

soon as born he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before.[550] 6. When the gods offered up Purusha as a sacrifice, the spring was its clarified butter, summer its fuel, and autumn the [accompanying]

adjective. In the A.V. it is of frequent occurrence, and sometimes is an epithet, and sometimes denotes the metre of that name. Thus in ix. 2, 5 (compare Vāj. Sanh. 17, 3, and S'atap. Br. ix. 2, 1, 19), it is said, "That daughter of thine, o Kāma, is called the Cow, she whom sages denominate Vāch Virāj" (see below, the subsection on Kāma, and Ind. Stud. ix. 478; compare R.V. viii. 90, 16: *vachovidaṁ Vācham .... devīṁ devebhyaḥ pary eyushīṁ gām* | "The goddess Vāch .... the cow, who has come from the gods"). Again in viii. 9, 1: *vatsau Virājaḥ salilād udaitām* | 2. *Vatsaḥ kāmadugho Virājaḥ* | .... 7. *Virājam āhur brahmaṇaḥ pitaraṁ tāṁ no vi dhehi yatidhā sakhibhyaḥ* | 8. *Yām prachyutām anu yajñāḥ prachyavante upatishṭhante upatishṭhamānām* | *yasyāḥ vrate prasave yaksham ejati sā Virāḍ ṛishayaḥ parame vyoman* | 9. *Aprāṇā eti prāṇena prāṇatīnāṁ Virāṭ Svarājam abhyeti paśchāt* | "The two calves of Virāj rose out of the water. 2 .... The desire-bestowing calf of Virāj." It is shortly afterwards (verse 7) strangely said that Virāj, though spoken of in the feminine gender, is the "father of brahman," whether that mean the deity or devotion. "They say that Virāj is the father of devotion. Bring her to us thy friends in as many forms (as thou canst). 8. She whom, when she advances, sacrifices follow, and stand still when she stands; she, by whose will and energy the living being moves, is Virāj in the highest heaven. 9. Without breath, she moves by the breath of breathing females. Virāj follows after Svarāj," etc. The calf of Virāj is mentioned again in xiii. 1, 33. In viii. 10, 1, it is said of her: *Virāḍ vai idam agre āsīt tasyāḥ jātāyāḥ sarvam abibhed "iyam eva idam bhavishyati" iti* | 2. *Sā udakrāmat sā gārhapatye vyakrāmat* | *gṛihamedhī gṛihapatir bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda* | "Virāj was formerly all this [universe]. Everything was afraid of her when she was born, lest she herself should become this. 2. She ascended. She entered the Gārhapatya fire. He who knows this becomes master of a house," etc. And in ix. 10, 24, we read: *Virāḍ vāg virāṭ pṛithivī virāḍ antarikshaṁ virāṭ prajāpatiḥ* | *virāṇ mṛityuḥ sādhyānām adhirājo babhūva*, etc. "Virāj is Vāch, is the earth, and the air, is Prajāpati, is Death, the ruler of the Sādhyas," etc. S'atap. Br. xiii. 2, 5, 3: *Prajāpatir Virājam asṛijat sā 'smāt sṛishṭā pārāchy ait* | *sā 'śvam medhyam prāviśat* | "Prajāpati created Virāj. She being produced from him went away and entered into the sacrificial horse." In reading these passages we should bear in mind the great power attributed by the Vedic writers to hymns and metres. See Weber's Ind. Stud. viii. 8–12; and vol. iii. of this Work, pp. 275 ff. On the virtues of the Virāj in particular, see Weber, as above, pp. 56 ff. In the following texts the word may be a masculine name or an epithet: A.V. xi. 5, 16. "The āchārya is a brahmachārin; the brahmachārin is Prajāpati. Prajāpati shines (*vi rājati*). He became the resplendent, powerful Indra." So also in iv. 11, 7; xiii. 3, 5; xi. 5, 7; and viii. 5, 10, where Virāj precedes or follows the words Prajāpati and Parameshṭhin. In xi. 4, 12, Virāj is identified with Prāṇa. In the Bṛihad Ār. Up. Virāj is called the wife of Purusha. (See p. 217 of Dr. Röer's translation. In R.V. x. 159, 3 (*atho me duhitā virāṭ*), and x. 166, 1 (*virājam gopatim gavām*), the word seems to be an epithet.

[550] In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ii. 6, 15 ff., the preceding verses of our hymn are paraphrased as follows: *sarvam Purushaḥ evedam bhūtam bhavyam bhavach cha yat* | *tenedam āvṛitaṁ viśvaṁ vitastim adhitishṭhati* | 16. *Svadhishṭhyam pratapan Prāṇo*

oblation. 7. This victim, Purusha born in the beginning, they immolated on the sacrificial grass; with him as their offering, the gods, Sādhyas, and Rishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal oblation were produced curds and clarified butter. He (Purusha) formed those aerial creatures, and the animals, both wild and tame. 9. From that universal sacrifice sprang the hymns called Ṛich and Sāman, the metres, and the Yajush. 10. From it were produced horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth, cows, goats, and sheep. 11. When they divided Purusha, into how many parts did they distribute him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were called his thighs and feet? 12. The Brāhman was his mouth;[551] the Rājanya became his arms; the Vaiśya was his thighs; the Śūdra sprang from his feet. 13. The moon was produced from his soul; the sun from his eye; Indra and Agni from his mouth; and Vāyu from his breath. 14. From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head arose the sky; from his feet came the earth; from his ear the four quarters: so they formed the worlds. 15. When the gods, in performing their sacrifice,

vahiś cha pratapaty asau | evaṁ Virājam pratapaṁs tapaty antar vahiḥ pumān | 17. So 'mṛitasyābhayasyeśo martyam annaṁ yad atyagāt | mahimaisho tato brahman Purushasya duratyayaḥ | 18. Pādeshu sarva-bhūtāni Puṁsaḥ sthitipado viduḥ | amṛitaṁ kshemam abhayaṁ trimūrdhno 'dhāyi mūrdhasu | 19. Pādās trayo vahiś chāsann aprajānāṁ ye āśramāḥ | antas trilokyās tv aparo gṛihamedho 'vṛihad-vrataḥ | 20. Śṛitī vichakrame vishvañ sāśanānaśane ubhe | yad avidyā cha vidyā cha Purushas tūbhayāśrayaḥ | 21. Yasmād aṇḍaṁ Virāḍ jajñe bhūtendriya-guṇātmakaḥ | tad-dravyam atyagād viśvaṁ gobhiḥ sūryaḥ ivātapan | 15. "Purusha himself is all this which has been, shall be, and is. By him this universe is enveloped, and yet he occupies but a span. 16. That Prāṇa [explained by the commentator as the sun], while kindling his own sphere, kindles also that which is without it. So, too, Purusha, while kindling Virāj, kindles whatever is within and without him. 17. He is the lord of immortality and security, since he has transcended mortal nutriment. Hence, O Brahman, this greatness of Purusha is unsurpassable. 18. The wise know all things to exist in the feet [or quarters] of Purusha, who has the worlds for feet [or quarters]: immortality, blessedness, and security, abide in the heads of the three-headed. 19. Three quarters, viz., the abodes of ascetics, are beyond the three worlds; while the remaining quarter, the abode of householders who have not adopted a life of celibacy, is within them. 20. Purusha has traversed both the two separate paths, that of enjoyment and abstinence, that is, of ignorance and knowledge; for he is the receptacle of both. 21. From him was produced an egg, consisting of the elements and senses and three qualities. Purusha penetrated through its entire substance, as the sun warms with his rays." There is a good deal about Purusha in the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad. See pp. 217, 220–228, 233, 250, 252, 267, of Dr. Roer's English translation.

[551] Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa Upanishad, ii. 9, quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 10, note.

bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven pieces of wood laid for him round the fire, and thrice seven pieces of fuel employed. 16. With sacrifice the gods worshipped the Sacrifice. These were the first institutions. These great beings attained to the heaven where the gods, the ancient Sādhyas, reside." [552]

There are two other hymns of the Ṛig-veda besides the Purusha Sūkta in which the Deity is represented as either the agent, the object, or the subject of sacrifice. In x. 81, 5, Viśvakarman is said to sacrifice himself, or to himself; and in verse 6, to offer up heaven and earth. And in x. 130 (where, in verse 2, Pumān may be equivalent to Purusha), it is said (verse 3) either that the gods sacrificed to the [supreme] god, or that they offered him up.[553]

In the Nirukta, x. 26,[554] a legend, having reference to R.V. x. 81, is quoted to the effect that Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, first of all offered up all worlds in a *sarvamedha*, and ended by sacrificing himself. And in the Śatap. Br. xiii. 7, 1, 1, the same thing is related of the self-existent Brahma himself, who, finding that he could not by austere fervour attain to the infinitude which he desired, re-

[552] This verse is = i. 164, 50, where see Sāyaṇa's interpretation and Mahīdhara's on Vāj. S. 31, 16; also Nir. 12, 41.

[553] The rendering in these passages depends on the exact sense assigned to the word *yaj*. See the 4th vol. of this Work, pp. 7–9. The Taitt. Sanh. Asht, vi. p. 41 of India Office MS., says: *Yajnena vai Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata* | "Prajāpati created living beings by sacrifice." In the Taitt. Br. 3, 9, 22, 1, it is said: "The gods slaughtered father Prajāpati as a victim. They then fasted, saying: 'In the morning we shall offer sacrifice.'" *Prajāpatiṁ vai devāḥ pitaram paśum bhūtam medhāya ālabhanta | tam ālabhya upāvasan | prātar yashṭāshmahe iti.*

[554] Vol. iv. of this work, p. 7; see also p. 309; and Mahābhārata Śāntip., verse 241: *viśvarūpo Mahādevūḥ sarvamedhe mahāmakhe | juhāva sarva-bhūtāni tathaivātmānam ātmanā* | "The omniform Mahādeva sacrificed all creatures in a great all-oblation, and then offered himself by himself." In the Śatap. Br. xi. 1, 8, 2, it is said that "Prajāpati gave himself to the gods, and became their sacrifice. For sacrifice is the food of the gods. He then created sacrifice as his own image (or counterpart). Hence they say that 'Prajāpati is sacrifice;' for he created it as his own image" (*tebhyaḥ Prajāpatir ātmānam pradadau | Yajno ha eshām āsa | Yajno hi devānām annam* | 3. *Sa devebhyaḥ ātmānam pradāya atha etam ātmanaḥ pratimām asṛijata yad yajnam | tāsmād āhuḥ "Prajāpatir yajnaḥ" iti | ātmano hy etam pratimām asṛijata*). In the M. Bh. Śāntip. 9616, also, it is said that Prajāpati formed the sacrificial victims, and sacrifice itself, and with it worshipped the gods. The Śatap. Br. says, elsewhere, xiv. 3, 2, 1, "This which is sacrifice is the soul of all beings and of all gods" (*sarveshāṁ vai esha bhūtānāṁ sarveshāṁ devānām ātmā yad yajnaḥ*).

solved to offer up himself in created things, and created things in himself, and having done this, attained to pre-eminence, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion (see the 4th vol. of this work, p. 25). It is evident that the author of this passage had not attained to that clear conception of the self-sufficiency and omnipotence of a self-existent Being which later Indian writers acquired.[555]

In the hymn before us the gods are distinctly said (in verses 6, 7, and 15) to have offered up Purusha himself as a victim. And in the Bhāgavata Purāna, ii. 6, 21-26,[556] which is a paraphrase of this passage, Brahmā is made to say that he derived the materials of sacrifice from Purusha's members, and immolated that being, the lord himself.

It is not very easy to seize the precise idea which is expressed in the latter part of this singular hymn, the Purusha Sūkta. It was evidently produced at a period when the ceremonial of sacrifice had become largly developed, when great virtue was supposed to reside in its proper celebration, and when a mystical meaning had come to be attached to the various materials and instruments of the ritual as well as to the different members of the victim. Penetrated with a sense of the sanctity and efficacy of the rite, and familiar with all its details, the priestly poet, to whom we owe the hymn, has thought it no profanity to represent the supreme Purusha himself as forming the victim, whose immolation by the agency of the gods gave birth, by its transcendent power, to the visible universe and all its inhabitants.[557]

The two following verses in the Vājasaneyi Sanhita refer to Purusha:

xxxi. 18 (= Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, iii. 8): *vedāham etam Purusham mahāntam āditya-varṇam tamasaḥ parastāt | tam eva viditvā 'ti mṛityum eti nānyaḥ panthāḥ vidyate ayanāya* | "I know this great Purusha, resplendent as the sun, above the darkness. It is by knowing him

[555] The word *svayambhū* does not, however, always signify self-existence in the absolute sense. Thus Kaśyapa is in A.V. xix. 53, 10, called *svayambhū*, and is yet said to have sprung from *Kāla* (time). (See the subsection on Kāla, further on.)

[556] See the 4th vol. of this Work, p. 9.

[557] Dr. Haug, when treating of the importance attached to sacrifice by the Brahmans, remarks (Pref. to Ait. Ar. p. 73): "The creation of the world itself was even regarded as the fruit of a sacrifice performed by the Supreme Being." If the learned author here refers to the Purusha Sūkta it would have been more exact to say that the creation was regarded as the fruit of an immolation of the Supreme Being. But his remark may be justified by the other passages I have cited.

that a man overpasses death. There is no other road to go."[558] (The Purusha Sūkta occupies verses 1–16 of the same section in which this verse is found.)

xxxii. 2: *sarve nimeshāḥ jajnire vidyutaḥ Purushād adhi | nainam ūrdhvaṁ na tiryancham na madhye parijagrabhat* | "All winkings of the eye have sprung from Purusha, the resplendent. No one has embraced him either above, or below, or in the middle."[559]

The A.V. contains a long hymn (x. 2) on the subject of Purusha, which does not throw much light on the conception of his character, but contains a number of curious ideas. The Deity being conceived and described in this hymn as the Man, or Male (Purusha)—the great archetype and impersonation of that active energy of which men are the feeble representatives upon earth—the poet has been led to imagine the object of his adoration as invested with a visible form, and with members analogous to those of the human frame; and he then goes on to speculate on the agency by which the different portions of Purusha's body could have been constructed, and the source from which he could have derived the various attributes through which he formed the universe, and ordained the conditions under which its several departments exist. The minute questions regarding the members of Purusha with which the hymn opens may have been suggested to the author by an observation of the curious structure of the human body, and by the wonder which that observation had occasioned. Throughout the hymn Purusha is not represented as a self-existent, self-sufficient Being, but as dependent on other gods for his various powers and attributes. The details are too tedious, and in some places too obscure, to admit of my giving them in full, but I shall state the substance, and adduce the most important parts more or less in extenso. The hymn begins thus:—

[558] Compare A.V. vii. 53, 7: "Ascending from the darkness to the highest heaven we have reached the sun, a god among the gods, the uppermost light" (*ud vayaṁ tamasas pari rohanto nākam uttamam | devaṁ devatrā sūryam aganma jyotir uttamam* [compare R.V. i. 50, 10, quoted above in p. 160).

[559] The following verse, given in the Nirukta, ii. 3, is from the S'vetās'vatara Upanishad, iii. 9: "This entire universe is filled by that Purusha to whom there is nothing superior, from whom there is nothing different, than whom no one is more minute or more vast, and who alone, fixed like a tree, abides in the sky" (*yasmāt paraṁ nāparam asti kinchid yasmād nāṇīyo ṇa jyāyo 'sti kaśchit | vṛikshaḥ iva stabdho divi tishṭhaty ekas tenedam pūrṇam Purusheṇa sarvam*).

1. *Kena pārshṇī ābhṛite Purushasya kena māṁsaṁ samblhṛitaṁ kena gulphau | kenāngulī peśanīḥ kena khāni . . . . | 2. Kasmān nu gulphāv adharāv akṛiṇvann ashṭhīvantāv uttarau Pūrushasya | . . . . 4. Kati devāḥ katame te āsan ye uro grīvāś chikyuḥ Pūrushasya | kati stanau vyadadhuḥ kaḥ kaphauḍau kati skandhān kati pṛishṭīr achinvan | 6. Kaḥ sapta khāni vi tatarda śīrshaṇi karṇāv imau nāsike chakshaṇī mukham | . . . . 9. Priyāpriyāṇi bahulā svapnaṁ sambādha-tandryaḥ | ānandān ugro nandāṁś cha kasmād vahati Pūrushaḥ | ārtir avartir nirṛitiḥ kuto nu Purushe 'matiḥ | rādhiḥ samridhiḥ | . . . . 12. Ko asmin rūpam adadhāt ko mahmānaṁ cha nāma cha | gātuṁ ko asmin ko ketuṁ kaś charitrāṇi Pūrushe | 13. Ko asmin prāṇam avayat ko apānaṁ vyānam u | samānam asmin ko devo adhi śiśrāya Pūrushe | 14. Ko asmin yajnam adadhād eko devo adhi Pūrushe | ko asmin satyaṁ ko 'nṛitaṁ kuto mṛityuḥ kuto 'mṛitam | 15. Ko asmai vāsaḥ paryadhāt ko asyāyur akalpayat | balaṁ ko asmai prāyachhat ko asyākalpayaj javam | 16. Kenāpo anvatanuta kenāhar akarod ruche | ushasaṁ kena anvaindha kena sāyambhavaṁ dadhe | 17. Ko asmin reto nyadadhāt tantur ātāyatām iti | medhāṁ ko asminn adhyauhat . . . . | 18. Kena imām bhūmim aurnot kena paryabhavad divam | kenābhi mahnā parvatān kena karmāṇi Pūrushaḥ | 24. Keneyam bhūmir vihitā kena dyaur uttarā hitā | kenedam ūrdhvaṁ tiryak cha antarikshaṁ vyacho hitam | 25. Brahmaṇā bhūmir vihitā Brahma dyaur uttarā hitā | Brahmedam ūrdhvaṁ tiryak cha antarikshaṁ vyacho hitam | . . . . 28. Ūrdhvo nu sṛishṭās tiryaṅ nu sṛishṭāḥ sarvāḥ diśaḥ Purushaḥ ā babhūva | puraṁ yo Brahmaṇo veda yasyāḥ Purushaḥ uchyate | 29. Yo vai tām Brahmaṇo veda amṛitenāvṛitām puram | tasmai Brahma cha brāhmāś cha chakshuḥ prāṇam prajāṁ daduḥ | 30. Na vai taṁ chakshur jahāti na prāṇo jarasaḥ purā | puraṁ yo Brahmaṇo veda yasyāḥ Purushaḥ uchyate | 31. Ashṭāchakrā navadvārā devānām pūr ayodhyā | tasyāṁ hiraṇyayaḥ kośaḥ svargaḥ jyotishāvṛitaḥ | 32. Tasmin hiraṇyaye kośe tryare tripratishṭhite | tasmin yad yaksham ātmanvat tad vai brahma-vido viduḥ | 38. Prabhrājamānāṁ hariṇīm yaśasā samparīvṛitām | puraṁ hiraṇyayīm Brahma āviveśāparājitām |*

"1. By whom were the heels of Purusha produced? By whom was his flesh brought together? By whom were his ancles, by whom were his fingers and his muscles, made? By whom the apertures of his body? . . . 2. From what did they construct his ancles below and

his knees above?" After similar question about his legs, thighs, trunk, etc., the author proceeds: "4. How many and who were the gods who joined together the chest and the neck of Purusha? How many formed his breasts, who his elbows? (?) How many connected his shoulders and ribs? . . . . 6. Who opened the seven apertures in his head, these ears, nostrils, eyes, and mouth? . . . ." "Whence," asks the poet (verse 9), "does the glorious Purusha bring many things pleasant and unpleasant, sleep, fear, fatigue, and various kinds of enjoyments? 10. How do suffering, distress, evil, as well as success and opulence, exist in Purusha? . . . . 12. Who assigned to him form,[560] magnitude, name,[560] motion, and consciousness, (13) and what god put into him the different vital airs? 14. What one god placed in him sacrifice, truth, and falsehood? Whence come death and immortality? 15. Who clothed him with a garment? Who created his life? Who gave him strength and speed? 16. Through whom did he spread out the waters, cause the day to shine, kindle the dawn, bring on the twilight? 17. Who placed in him seed, that the thread (of being) might be continued? Who imparted to him understanding? . . . . 18. Through whom did he envelope the earth, surround (or transcend) the sky, surpass by his greatness the mountains and all created things? 24. By whom was this earth made, and the sky placed above? By whom was this expanse of atmosphere raised aloft and stretched across? 25. The earth was made by Brahma, and Brahma is placed above as the sky. Brahma is the expanse of atmosphere, raised aloft and stretched across. 28. Purusha, who is on high, has pervaded all the regions which are extended aloft and across (quoted with variations in Taitt. Ār. i. 27, 3, p. 168). He who knows the city (*pur*) of Brahma from which *Purusha* is named, (29) who knows that city of Brahma, invested with immortality; to him Brahma and Brahma's sons have given sight,

[560] Here, as above noticed (p. 166, note), we have the *nāma* and *rūpa* of the Vedantists. Compare Taitt. Brāh. ii. 2, 7, 1: *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | tāḥ sṛishṭāḥ samashkṛishyan* (in p. 444 'the word is printed *samaślishyan*) | *tāḥ rūpeṇa anuprāviśat | tasmād āhuḥ "rūpaṁ vai Prajāpatir" iti | tāḥ nāmnā 'nuprāviśat | tasmād āhur "nāma vai Prajāpatir" iti* | "Prajāpati created living beings. They, however, were in a shapeless state. He entered into them with form. Hence, men say 'Prajāpati is form.' He entered into them with name. Hence, men say 'Prajāpati is name.'" Compare the same Brāhmaṇa, iii. 10, 5, 1, and iii. 12, 7, 5. See M. Langlois' note on the word *nāma* in R.V. x. 73, 8, vol. iv. p. 493 of his translation of the Rig-veda.

and breath, and progeny. 30. Neither sight nor breath abandons before [the term of natural] decay the man who knows the city of Brahma, from which Purusha is named. 31. Within that impregnable city of the gods (compare *puram devānām amṛitam hiraṇyam*, A.V. v. 28, 11; and Mahābhārata, xiv. 987 ff.), which has eight circles (compare A.V. xi. 4, 22) and nine gates, there exists a golden receptacle, celestial, invested with light. 32. Those acquainted with Brahma (divine science, or the Deity) know that living being which resides in this golden receptacle with three spokes, and triple supports.[561] 33. Brahma has entered into the impregnable golden city, resplendent, bright, invested with renown."

In the Śatap. Br. xiii. 6, 1, 1 (see vol. iv. of this Work, p. 25), the word Nārāyaṇa is coupled with Purusha, and it is said that this being desired to surpass all beings, and become himself the entire universe, and that he accomplished his object by celebrating the Purushamedha sacrifice. Purusha Nārāyaṇa is again mentioned in the same Brāhmaṇa (xii. 3, 4, 1) as receiving instruction from Prajāpati: *Purushaṁ ha Nārāyaṇam Prajāpatir uvācha "yajasva yajasva" iti | sa ha uvācha "'yajasva yajasva' iti vāva tvam mām āttha | trir ayakshi | Vasavaḥ prātaḥ-savanena aguḥ Rudrāḥ mādhyandinena savanena Ādityās tṛitīya-savanena atha mama yajña-vāstv eva yajña-vāstāv eva aham āsa" iti | sa ha uvācha "yajasva eva | ahaṁ vai te tad vakshyāmi yathā te ukthāni maṇir iva sūtre otāni bhavishyanti sūtram iva vā maṇāv" iti* | "Prajāpati said to Purusha Nārāyaṇa, 'Sacrifice, sacrifice.' He replied, 'Thou sayest to me, Sacrifice, sacrifice. I have sacrificed thrice. By the morning oblation the Vasus came, by the mid-day oblation the Rudras came, and by the third oblation the Ādityas came to my place of sacrifice, where I was.' Prajāpati rejoined, 'Sacrifice; I will tell thee how thy hymns shall be strung like a gem on a thread, or as a thread in a gem.'"

[561] One line of A.V. x. 8, 43 (quoted in the next subsection), is identical with one line of this verse, though the other line is different. The whole runs thus: "The knowers of *brahma* know that living being which resides in the lotus with nine gates, invested with the three qualities" (*tribhir guṇebhir āvṛitam*). Roth, *s.v. guṇa*, translates the last three words by "triply enveloped," and refers in support of this sense to verses 29 and 32 of the hymn before us, and to Chhāndogya Upanishad, viii. 1, 1. It is possible, however, that there may be here a first reference to the three *guṇas* afterwards so celebrated in Indian philosophical speculation.

(7) *Skambha and Brahma.*

In the following hymn of the A.V. (x. 7) the Supreme Deity appears to be celebrated under the appellation of Skambha (or Support).[562] Though it is rather tedious, I shall translate it nearly in full, as these ancient guesses after truth no doubt contain the germ of some of the later speculations on the same topics. In the first part (verses 1–6, 10–12) Skambha is considered (like Púrusha, with whom he seems to be identified, verse 15) as a vast embodied being, co-extensive with the universe, and comprehending, in his several members, not only the different parts of the material world, but a variety of abstract conceptions, such as austere fervour (*tapas*), faith, truth, and the divisions of time. He is distinct from, and superior to, Prajāpati, who founds the worlds upon him (verses 7, 8, 17). The thirty-three gods are comprehended in him (verses 13, 22, and 27), and arose out of nonentity, which forms his highest member, and, as well as entity, is embraced within him (verses 10, 25). The gods who form part of him, as branches of a tree (verse 38), do him homage, and bring him tribute (verse 39). He is identified with Indra (in verses 29 and 30); and perhaps also with the highest Brahma, who is mentioned in verses 32–34, 36, and in the first verse of the next hymn, x. 8, 1. In verse 36, however, this Brahma is represented as being born (or, perhaps, developed) from toil and *tapas*, whilst in x. 8, 1, the attributes of the Supreme Deity are assigned to him. In compositions of this age, however, we are not to expect very accurate or rigorous thinking, or perfect consistency:—

1. *Kasminn ange tapo asyādhi tishṭhati kasminn ange ṛitam asya adhy āhitam | kva vratañ kva śraddhā 'sya tishṭhati kasminn ange satyam asya pratishṭhitam | 2. Kasmād angād dīpyate agnir asya kasmād angāt pavate mātariśvā | kasmād angād vi mimīte 'dhi chandramāḥ mahaḥ Skambhasya mimāno angam | 3. Kasminn ange tishṭhati bhūmir asya kasminn ange tishṭhati antarikshaṃ | kasminn ange tishṭhati āhitā dyauḥ kasminn ange tishṭhati uttaraṃ divaḥ | 4. Kva prepsan dīpyate ūrdhvo agniḥ kva prepsan pavate mātariśvā | yatra prepsantīr abhi yanti āvṛitaḥ*

[562] This word occurs in R.V. viii. 41, 10: *sa dhāma pūrvyaṃ mame yaḥ skambhena vi rodasī ajo na dyāṃ adhārayat* | "He formed the first abode, he who with a prop (*skambha*) held apart the two worlds, like the unborn."

Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ | 5. Kva ardhamāsāḥ kva yanti māsāḥ saṁvatsareṇa saha saṁvidānāḥ | yatra yanti ṛitavo yatra ārtavāḥ Skambham tam brūhi—| 6. Kva prepsantī yuvatī virūpe ahorātre dravataḥ saṁvidāne | yatra prepsantīr abhiyanti āpaḥ Skambham—| 7. Yasmin stabdhvā Prajāpatir lokān sarvān adhārayat | Skambham—| 8. Yat paramam avamaṁ yach cha madhyamam Prajāpatiḥ sasṛije viśvarūpam | kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra yan na prāviśat kiyat tad babhūva | 9. Kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa bhūtaṁ kiyad bhavishyad anu āśaye 'sya | ekaṁ yad angam akṛinot sahasradhā kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra | 10. Yatra lokāṁś cha kośāṁś cha apo brahma janāḥ viduḥ | asach cha yatra sachchāntaḥ Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ | 11. Yatra tapaḥ parākramya vrataṁ dhārayaty uttaram | ṛitaṁ cha yatra śraddhā cha āpo brahma samāhitā Skambham—| 12. Yasmin bhūmir antarikshaṁ dyaur yasminn adhyāhitā | yatrāgniś chandramāḥ sūryo vātas tishṭhanti ārpitā Skambham—| 13. Yasya trayastriṁśad devāḥ ange sarve samāhitāḥ | Skambham—| 14. Yatra ṛishayaḥ prathamajāḥ ṛichaḥ sāma yajur mahī | ekarshir yasminn ārpitaḥ Skambham—| 15. Yatrāmṛitaṁ cha mṛityuś cha Purushe 'dhi samāhite | samudro yasya nādyaḥ Purushe 'dhi samāhitā Skambham—| 16. Yasya chatasraḥ pradiśo nādyas tishṭhanti prathamāḥ | yajno yatra parākrāntaḥ Skambham—| 17. Ye Purushe Brahma vidus te viduḥ Parameshṭhinam | yo veda Parameshṭhinaṁ yaś cha veda Prajāpatim | jyeṣṭhaṁ ye brāhmaṇaṁ vidus te Skambham anu saṁviduḥ | 18. Yasya śiro Vaiśvānaraś chakshur Angiraso 'bhavan | angāni yasya Yātavaḥ Skambham—| 19. Yasya brahma mukham āhur jihvām madhukaśām uta | virājam ūdho yasyāhuḥ Skambham—| 20. Yasmād ṛicho apātakshan yajur yasmād apākashan | sāmāni yasya lomāni atharvāṅgiraso mukham | Skambham—| 21. Asachchhākhām pratishṭhantīm paramam iva janāḥ viduḥ | uto san manyante 'vare ye te śākhām upāsate | 22. Yatrādityāś cha Rudrāś cha Vasavaś cha samāhitāḥ | bhūtaṁ cha yatra bhavyaṁ cha sarve lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ | Skambham—| 23. Yasya trayastriṁśad devāḥ nidhiṁ rakshanti sarvadā | nidhiṁ tam adya ko veda yaṁ devāḥ abhirakshathā | 24. Yatra devāḥ brahmavido Brahma jyeshṭham upāsate | yo vai tān vidyāt pratyakshaṁ sa brahmā veditā syāt | 25. Bṛihanto nāma te devāḥ ye 'sataḥ parijajnire | ekaṁ tad angaṁ Skambhasya asad āhuḥ paro janāḥ | 26. Yatra Skambhaḥ prajanayan purāṇaṁ vyavartayat | ekaṁ tad angaṁ Skambhasya purāṇam anu

saṁviduḥ | 27. *Yasya trayastriṁśad devāḥ ange gātrā vi bhejire* | *tān vai trayastriṁśad devān eke brahmavido viduḥ* | 28. *Hiraṇyagarbham paramam anatyudyaṁ janāḥ viduḥ* | *Skambhas tad agre prāsinchad hiraṇyaṁ loke antarā* | 29. *Skambhe lokāḥ Skambhe tapaḥ Skambhe 'dhy ṛitam āhitam* | *Skambha tvā veda pratyaksham Indre sarvaṁ samāhitam* | 30. *Indre lokāḥ Indre tapaḥ Indre 'dhy ṛitam āhitam* | *Indram* (*Indra?*) *tvā veda pratyakshaṁ Skambhe sarvam pratishṭhitam* | 31. *Nāmnā nāma johavīti purā sūryāt puroshasaḥ* | *yad ajaḥ prathamaṁ sambabhūva sa ha tat svarājyam iyāya yasmān nānyat param asti bhūtam* | 32. *Yasya bhūmiḥ pramā antariksham utodaram* | *divaṁ yaś chakre mūrdhānaṁ tasmai jyeshṭhāya Brahmaṇe namaḥ* | 33. *Yasya Sūryaś chakshuś chandramāś cha punar navaḥ* | *Agniṁ yaś chakre āsyaṁ tasmai*—| 34. *Yasya vātaḥ prāṇāpānam chakshur Angiraso 'bhavan* | *diśo yaś chakre prajnānīs tasmai jyesṭhāya Brahmaṇe namaḥ* | 35. *Skambho dadhāra dyāvā-pṛithivī ubhe ime Skambho dadhāra urv antariksham* | *Skambho dadhārā pradiśaḥ shaḍ urvīḥ Skambhaḥ idaṁ viśvam bhuvanam ā viveśa* | 36. *Yaḥ śramāt tapaso jāto lokān sarvān samānaśe* | *Somaṁ yaś chakre kevalaṁ tasmai jyeshṭhāya Brahmaṇe namaḥ* | 37. *Kathaṁ vāto nelayati kathaṁ na ramate manaḥ* | *kim āpaḥ satyam prepsantīr nelayanti kadāchana* | 38. *Mahad yaksham bhuvanasya madhye tapasi krāntaṁ salilasya pṛishṭhe* | *tasmin śrayante ye u ke cha devāḥ vṛikshasya skandhaḥ paritaḥ iva śākhāḥ* | 39. *Yasmai hastābhyām pādābhyām vāchā śrotreṇa chakshushā* | *yasmai devāḥ sadā balim prayachhanti vimite 'mitam* | *Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva sa* | 40. *Apa tasya hataṁ tamo vyāvṛittaḥ sa pāpmanā* | *sarvāṇi tasmin jyotīṁshi yāni trīṇi Prajāpatau* | 41. *Yo vetasaṁ hiraṇyayaṁ tishṭhantaṁ salile veda* | *sa vai guhyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ* |

"1. In what member of his does austere fervour stand? In which is the ceremonial contained? In what parts do religious observance and faith abide? In what member is truth established? 2. From what member does Agni blaze? From which does Mātariśvan (the wind) blow? From which does the moon pursue her course, traversing the mighty body of Skambha? 3. In what member does the earth reside? In which the atmosphere? In which is the sky placed, and in which the space above the sky? 4. Whither tending, does the upward fire blaze? Whither tending, does the wind blow? Tell who is that Skambha to whom the paths tend, and into whom

they enter. 5. Whither tending, do the half-months and the months, in concert with the year, proceed? Tell who is that Skambha to whom the seasons and other divisions of the year advance. 6. Whither tending, do the two young females of diverse aspects, the day and the night, hasten in unison? Tell who is that Skambha to whom the waters tend and go? 7. Who is that Skambha on whom Prajāpati has supported and established all the worlds? 8. How far did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest, and middle universe, comprehending all forms, which Prajāpati created? And how much of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha penetrate into the past? and how much of the future is contained in his receptacle? How far did Skambha penetrate into that one member which he separated into a thousand parts? 10. Tell who is that Skambha in whom men recognize the worlds and receptacles, the waters and divine thought [as existing], and within whom are non-entity and entity; (11) in whom austere fervour (*tapas*), energizing, maintains its highest action (*vratá*), in whom the ceremonial, faith, the waters, and divine science are comprehended; (12) in whom earth, atmosphere, sky, fire, moon, sun, and wind are placed; (13) in whose body all the thirty-three gods are contained;[563] (14) in whom the earliest Rishis, the Rik, the Sāman, the Yajush, the earth, and the one Rishi reside; (15) that Purusha, in whom immortality and death are comprehended; who has the ocean within him as his veins; (16) that Skambha, of whom the four regions are the primeval arteries, and in whom sacrifice displays its energy. 17. They who know the divine essence (*brahma*) in Purusha, know Parameshṭhin.[564] He who knows Parameshṭhin, and he who knows Prajāpati — they who know the highest divine mystery (*brāhmaṇa*)[565] know in consequence Skambha. 18. Tell who is that Skambha of whom Vaiśvānara (Agni) is the head, the Angirases the eye, and the Yātus (demons) are the limbs; (19) of whom they say divine knowledge (*brahma*) is the mouth, the Madhukaśá[566] the tongue, and the Virāj the udder; (20) from whom they

[563] See Dr. Haug's Essay on the sacred language of the Parsees, p. 233.

[564] Son of Prajāpati according to S'atap. Br. xi. 1, 6, 14, 16; gives sacrifice to Prajāpati, Taitt. S. i. 6, 9, 2. See Comm. there, p. 914.

[565] See verses 20, 33, and 37 of A.V. x. 8, to be quoted below.

[566] I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for an explanation of this word, and an indication of some passages in which it is mentioned. In R.V. i. 22, 3, and i. 157, 4,

hewed off the Rik verses, and cut off the Yajus; of whom the Sāma verses are the hairs, and the Atharvāngirases (*i.e.* the Atharva-veda) the mouth.[567] 21. Men regard the branch of nonentity,[568] which is prominent, as if it were paramount; and inferior men, as many as worship thy branch, regard it as an entity. 22. Tell who is that Skambha in whom the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus are contained, on whom the past, the future, and all worlds are supported; (23) whose treasure the thirty-three gods continually guard. Who now knows the treasure which ye guard, o gods? 24. Where the gods, the knowers of sacred science (*brahma*), worship the highest divine essence (*brahma*);—the priest (*brahmā*) who knows these [gods] face to face will be a sage. 25. Mighty indeed are those gods who have sprung from nonentity. Men say that that nonentity is one, the highest, member of Skambha (compare v. 10, above). 26. Where Skambha generating, brought the Ancient (*purāṇa*) into existence, they consider that that Ancient is one member of Skambha, (27) in whose members the thirty-three gods found their several bodies. Some

the Aśvins are said to have a honied whip, *kaśā madhumatī*, with which they are besought to sprinkle the worshippers, or their sacrifice. The Maruts are also said, in R.V. i. 37, 3, and i. 168, 4, to have whips, though they are not said to be honied. In the Nighaṇṭu, however, the sense of speech is ascribed to *Kaśā*; and a mystical signification is also assigned to the word *madhu*, honey, which Dadhyanch is said, R.V. i. 116, 12, and i. 117, 22, to have made known to the Aśvins. This is explained by Sāyaṇa on these two passages as meaning that he gave them a Brāhmaṇa revealing the Madhuvidyā; and Mahīdhara, on Vāj. S. 7, 11, understands the *kaśā madhumatī* as referring to this mystic lore. This Madhukaśā is celebrated at considerable length in A.V. ix. 1, where it is said that she "sprang from the sky, the earth, the air, the sea, fire, and wind," and that "all creatures, worshipping her who dwells in immortality, rejoice in their hearts" (*divas pṛithivyāḥ antarikshāt samudrād agner vātād madhukaśā vi jajne | tāṁ chāyitvā amṛitaṁ vasānāṁ hṛidbhih prajāḥ prati nandanti sarvāḥ*). In verses 3, 10, she is said to be the "brilliant grand-daughter of the Maruts" (*Marutām ugrā naptiḥ*), and in verse 4, to be the "mother of the Ādityas, the daughter of the Vasus, the life of creatures, and the centre of immortality" (*mātā "dityānāṁ duhitā Vasūnām prāṇaḥ prajānām amṛitasya nābhiḥ*).

[567] Compare A.V. ix. 6, 1: "He who clearly knows Brahma, of whom the materials of sacrifice are the joints, the Rik-verses are the backbone, the Sāma-verses the hairs, the Yajus is said to be the heart, and the oblation the covering" (*yo vidyād Brahma parūṁshi yasya sambhārāḥ ṛicho yasya anūkyam | sāmāni yasya lomāni yajur hṛidayam uchyate paristaraṇam id haviḥ*).

[568] The sense of this verse is obscure, and it does not seem to be very closely connected either with what precedes or with what follows. I have adopted partly the rendering suggested by Professor Aufrecht.

possessors of sacred knowledge know those thirty-three gods. 28. Men know Hiraṇyagarbha [569] to be supreme and ineffable. Skambha in the beginning shed forth that gold (*hiraṇya*, out of which Hiraṇyagarbha arose) in the midst of the world. 29. In Skambha are contained the worlds, austere fervour, and the ceremonial. Skambha, I clearly know thee to be contained entire in Indra. 30. In Indra are contained the worlds, austere fervour, and the ceremonial. Indra, I clearly know thee to be contained entire in Skambha. 31. (The worshipper) repeatedly invokes the [god who bears the one] name by the name [of the other god] before the sun, before the dawn.[570] When the Unborn first sprang into being, he attained to that independent dominion, than that which nothing higher has ever been. 32. Reverence be to that greatest Brahma, of whom the earth is the basis, the atmosphere the belly, who made the sky his head, (33) of whom the sun and the ever-renewed moon are the eye; who made Agni his mouth, (34) of whom the wind formed two of the vital airs, and the Angirases the eye, who made the regions his organs of sense.[571] 35. Skambha established both these [worlds], earth and sky, the wide atmosphere, and the six vast regions; Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 36. Reverence to that greatest Brahma who, born from toil and austere fervour (*tapas*), penetrated all the worlds, who made soma for himself alone.[572] 37. How is it that the wind does not rest? How is not the soul quiescent? Why do not the waters, seeking after truth, ever repose? 38. The great being [is] absorbed in austere fervour in the midst of the world, on the surface of the waters. To him all the gods are joined, as the branches around the trunk of a tree. 39. Say who is that Skambha to whom the gods, with hands, feet, voice, ear, eye, present continually an unlimited tribute.[573] 40. By him darkness is dispelled; he is free from evil; in him are all the three luminaries which reside in Prajāpati. 41. He

[569] See above, p. 355.

[570] The meaning of this, as suggested by Professor Aufrecht, is, that by invoking Indra, the worshipper really worships Skambha.

[571] Compare Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, vol. v. p. 1616, *s.v. prajnāna*.

[572] Such is the sense according to Roth, s.v. *kevala*.

[573] Compare A.V. x. 8, 15 .... "the great being in the midst of the world: to him the rulers of realms bring tribute" (*mahad yaksham bhuvanasya madhye tasmai baliṁ rāshṭrabhṛito bharanti*).

who knows the golden reed standing in the waters is the mysterious Prajāpati." [574]

I have been favoured with the following note on the subject of A.V. x. 7, by Professor Goldstücker, whom I consulted as to the sense of verse 21 and the idea conveyed by the word Skambha, which forms the subject of the hymn:—

"The sense of *skambha* is, in my opinion, the same as that given in your Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. pp. 17, 18—*skambh* and *stambh* being merely phonetic varieties of the same dhātu — and *skambha*, therefore, the same as *stambha*. It is the 'fulcrum,' and in the Atharva-veda hymns, x. 7 and 8, seems to mean the fulcrum of the whole world, in all its physical, religious, and other aspects. The object of the hymn being to inquire what this fulcrum is, from the answer given to the various questions it seems to follow that it is there imagined to be the primitive deity, or the *primitive* Veda, the word *brahman* in the neuter implying both. From this *primitive* Veda, not visibly but really (*sat*) existing, not only all the gods, worlds, religious rites, etc. (verses 1, 2 ff., 19 ff.) were derived, but also the existing three Vedas (v. 14) and the Atharvan were 'fashioned' (verse 20). This *skambha* is, therefore, also *jyeshṭham brahma* (verses 24, 32, 33, 34, 36,—8, 1), and it has a corresponding preæval *jyeṣṭham brāhmaṇam* (verse 17). Hence, while he who knows the (existing) Veda, has also a knowledge of Brahmā,—he who knows Brahmā and also Prajāpati, and (hence) possesses a knowledge of the preæval Brāhmaṇa portion (of the preæval Veda), may *infer* (*anu*) from such knowledge a knowledge of the Skambha or that of the preæval Veda itself (verse 17). This preæval Veda is the 'treasure' which is kept by the gods only (verse 23); hence, the Atharva-veda priest (brahmā), who has a knowledge of those god-guardians of the preæval Veda, has *the* knowledge (or, he who has such a knowledge, is a (true) Atharva-veda priest, verse 24). From this, then, it would likewise follow that the existing

[574] In the R.V. x. 95, 4, 5 (compare Nirukta, iii. 21) and S'atap. Br. xi. 5, 1, 1, the word *vaitasa* has the sense of *membrum virile*. Are we to understand the word *vetasa* (reed) in the same sense here, as denoting a Linga? The words *vetaso hiraṇyayaḥ* are also found in R.V. iv. 58, 5: "I beLold the streams of butter (*ghṛita*); in the midst of them is the golden reed (*hiraṇyayo vetasaḥ*)," which the commentator interprets as meaning *ap-sambhavo 'gnir vaidyutaḥ*, the "fire of the lightning produced in the aerial waters."

three Vedas are merely portions of the præval Veda, whence they were derived, or, to adhere to the metaphor, branches of that tree-fulcrum (compare verse 38); and, moreover, that while *skambha* is *the* reality, these branch vedas are not *the* reality, though those who do not understand the Skambha, may take them for such (verse 21). 'Some people think that the *existing* branch (*i.e.* the existing Vedas—compare verse 20), which is not *the* reality (*asat*), is, as it were (*iva*), the highest (*paramam*) Veda; on the other hand, those (people) inferior (to the former), who believe that it is *the* reality (*sat*), worship thy branch (*i.e.* those later Vedas).' Here the word *iva*, in my opinion, implies that the *janāḥ* of the first half verse have still a doubt, and, therefore, do not identify both the præval and the existing Vedas; whereas, those people introduced with *uto* (*uta-u*) are more ignorant in assuming for certain such an identity, and therefore proceed to a practical worship of those Vedas."

I quote in addition some verses from the hymn next in order, A.V. x. 8:—

Yo bhūtaṁ cha bhavyaṁ cha sarvaṁ yaś chādhitishṭhati | svar yasya cha kevalaṁ tasmai jyeshṭhāya Brahmaṇe namaḥ | 2. Skambheneme vishṭabhite dyauś cha bhūmiś cha tishṭhataḥ | Skambhaḥ idaṁ sarvam ātmanvad yat prāṇad nimishach cha yat . . . . | 11. Yad ejati patati yach cha tishṭhati prāṇad aprāṇad nimishach cha yad bhuvat | tad dadhāra pṛithivīm viśvarūpaṁ tat sambhūya bhavaty ekam eva | 12. Anantaṁ vitatam purutrā anantam antavach cha ā samante | te nākapālaś charati vichinvan vidvān bhūtam uta bhavyam asya | 13. Prajāpatiś charati garbhe antar adṛiśyamāno bahudhā vi jāyate | ardhena viśvam bhuvanaṁ jajāna yad asya ardhaṁ katamaḥ sa ketuḥ . . . . | 16. Yataḥ Sūryaḥ udeti astaṁ yatra cha gachhati | tad eva manye 'haṁ jyeshṭhaṁ tad u nātyeti kinchana . . . . | 20. Yo vai te vidyād araṇī yābhyāṁ nirmathyate vasu | sa vidvān jyeshṭham manyeta sa vidyād brāhmaṇam mahat . . . . | 34. Yatra devāścha manushyāścha arāḥ nābhāv iva śritāḥ | apāṁ tvā pushpam pṛichhāmi yatra tan māyayā hitam . . . . 37. Yo vidyāt sūtraṁ vitataṁ yasminn otāḥ prajāḥ imāḥ | sūtraṁ sūtrasya yo vidyāt sa vidyād brāhmaṇam mahat | 38. Vedāhaṁ sūtraṁ vitataṁ yasminn otāḥ prajāḥ imāḥ | sūtraṁ sūtrasyāhaṁ veda atho yad brāhmaṇaṁ mahat . . . . | 43. Puṇḍarīkaṁ navadvāraṁ tribhir guṇebhir āvṛitam | tasmin yad yakṣham ātmanvat tad vai brahmavido viduḥ | 44. Akāmo dhīro amṛitaḥ

svayambhūḥ rasena tripto na kutaśchanonaḥ | tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛityor ātmānaṁ dhīram ajaraṁ yuvānam |

"1. Reverence to that greatest Brahma who presides over the past, the future, the universe, and whose alone is the sky. 2. These two [worlds], the sky and the earth, exist, supported by Skambha. Skambha is all this which has soul, which breathes, which winks . . . . 11. That which moves, flies, stands, which has existed breathing, not breathing, and winking; that omniform (entity) has established the earth; that, combined, is one only. 12. The infinite extended on many sides, the infinite and the finite all around,—these two the ruler of the sky proceeds discriminating, knowing the past and the future of this (universe). 13. (=Vāj. San. 31, 19) Prajāpati moves within the womb. Though unseen, he is born in many forms. With the half [of himself] he produced the whole world. What trace is there of the [other] half of him? . . . . 16. I regard as the greatest That whence the sun rises, and That where he sets; That is not surpassed by anything . . . . 20. He who knows the two pieces of firewood from which wealth is rubbed out, he, so knowing, will understand that which is the greatest; he will know the great divine mystery (*brāhmaṇa*) . . . . 34. I ask thee regarding that flower of the waters, in which gods and men are fixed as spokes in the nave of a wheel,—where that was placed by [divine] skill (*māyā*) . . . . 37. He who knows that extended thread on which these creatures are strung, who knows the thread of the thread,—he knows that great divine mystery (*brāhmaṇa*). 38. I know that extended thread on which these creatures are strung. I know the thread of the thread, and hence, too, that which is the great divine mystery . . . . 43. The possessors of divine science (*brahma*) know that being within the lotus with nine gates, which is enveloped by the three qualities (*guṇas*).[575] 44. Knowing that soul (*ātman*) calm, undecaying, young, free from desire, immortal, self-existent, satisfied with the essence, deficient in nothing, a man is not afraid of death."

Some verses in the two preceding hymns speak of the highest, or greatest, Brahma, in whatever sense that term is to be understood.

I am unable to state whether Brahma in the sense of the supreme

[575] See note in p. 377.

Deity occurs elsewhere in the Atharva-veda, unless it be in the following passage (xi. 8, 30 ff.): *yāḥ āpo yās cha devatāḥ yā Virāḍ Brahmaṇā saha | śarīram Brahma prāviśat śarīre 'dhi Prajāpatiḥ* | 31. *Sūryaś chakshur vātaḥ prāṇam purushasya vi bhejire | athāsyetaram ātmānaṁ devāḥ prāyachhann Agnaye* | 32. *Tasmād vai vidvān purusham idam Brahmeti manyate | sarvēṣ hi asmin devatāḥ gāvo goshṭhe ivāsate* | "The waters, the gods, Virāj (*feminine*) with Brahma [entered into man]. Brahma entered his body; Prajāpati [presides] over his body. 31. Sūrya occupied the eye, and Vāta the breath of the man. Then the gods gave his other soul to Agni. 32. Wherefore one who knows the man thinks, 'this is Brahma;' for all the gods are in him, as cows in a cowhouse."

In the Vāj. San. xxiii. 47, we find the following words: *kiṁ svit Sūrya-samaṁ jyotiḥ kiṁ samudra-samaṁ saraḥ* | .... 48. *Brahma Sūrya-samaṁ jyotir dyauḥ samudra-samaṁ saraḥ* | "What light is equal to the sun? What lake is equal to the sea?" To which the following verse gives the answer: "Brahma (neuter) is a light equal to the sun. The sky is a lake equal to the sea." The commentator explains Brahma in this passage as standing either for the three Vedas or the supreme Brahma.

In Śatap. Br. x. 6, 5, 9, it is stated in a genealogy of teachers that "Tura Kāvasheya sprang from Prajāpati, and Prajāpati from Brahma, who is self-existent" (*Turaḥ Kāvasheyaḥ Prajāpateḥ Prajāpatir Brahmaṇaḥ | Brahma svayambhu*). In another passage, already quoted, from the same work (xiii. 7, 1, 1) Brahma (in the neuter), the self-existent, is described as performing *tapas*, and as sacrificing himself. Ibid. x. 4, 19, a verse is quoted from some hymn which begins, "I celebrate the one great imperishable Brahma who was and is to be" ("*Bhūtam bhavishyat prastaumi mahad Brahmaikam aksharam*").

Again, in the same work, xi. 3, 3, 1, the same being is represented as giving over other creatures, except the Brahmachārin, or religious student, to death (*Brahma vai mṛityave prajāḥ prāyachhat | tasmai brahmachāriṇam eva na prāyachhat*). And in xi. 2, 3, 1 ff., there is another text, which is interesting not merely as introducing Brahma, but as containing what is probably one of the oldest extant expositions of the conception of *nāma* and *rūpa* (name and form) as comprehending the whole of the phenomenal universe. These two words, as is well

known, became at a later period technical terms of the Vedānta philosophy. The passage runs as follows :—

Brahma vai idam agre āsīt | tad devān asṛijata |tad devān sṛishṭvā eshu lokeshu vyārohayad asminn eva loke Agniṁ Vāyum antarikshe divy eva Sūryam | 2. Atha ye ataḥ ūrdhvāḥ lokāś tad yāḥ ataḥ ūrdhvāḥ devatās teshu tāḥ devatāḥ vyārohayat saḥ | yathā ha eva ime āvirlokāḥ imāś cha devatāḥ evam u ha eva te āvirlokās tāścha devatāḥ yeshu tāḥ devatāḥ vyārohayat | 3. Atha Brahma eva parārdham agachhat | tat parārdhaṁ gatvā aikshata "kathaṁ nv imān lokān pratyaveyām" iti | tad dvābhyām eva pratyavaid rūpeṇa chaiva nāmnā cha saḥ | yasya kasya cha nāma asti tan nāma | yasya u api nāma nāsti yad veda rūpeṇa "idam rūpam" iti tad rūpam | etāvad vai idaṁ yāvad rūpaṁ chaiva nāma cha | 4. Te ha ete Brahmaṇo mahatī abhve | sa yo ha ete Brahmaṇo mahatī abhve veda mahad ha eva abhvam bhavati | 5. Te ha ete Brahmaṇo mahatī yakshe | sa yo ha ete Brahmaṇo mahatī yakshe veda mahad ha eva yaksham bhavati | tayor anyataraj jyāyo rūpam eva | yad hy api nāma rūpam eva tat | sa yo hy etayor jyāyo veda jyāyān ha tasmād bhavati yasmāj jyāyān bubhūshati | martyāḥ ha vai agre devāḥ āsuḥ | sa yadā eva te Brahmaṇā āpur atha amṛitāḥ āsuḥ | sa yam manasaḥ āghārayati | mano vai rūpam | manasā hi veda "idaṁ rūpam" iti | tena rūpam āpnoti | atha yaṁ vāchaḥ āghārayati | vāg vai nāma | vāchā hi nāma gṛihṇāti | tena u nāma āpnoti | etāvad vai idaṁ sarvaṁ yāvad rūpaṁ chaiva nāma cha | tat sarvam āpnoti | sarvaṁ vai akshayyam | etena u ha asya akshayyaṁ sukṛitam bhavaty akshayyo lokaḥ |

"1. In the beginning Brahma was this [universe]. He created gods. Having created gods, he placed them in these worlds, viz., in this world Agni, in the atmosphere Vāyu, and in the sky Sūrya ; (2) and in the worlds which were yet higher he placed the gods who are still higher. Such as are these visible worlds and these gods,—even such were those (higher) visible worlds in which he placed those (higher) gods, and such were those gods themselves. 3. Then Brahma proceeded to the higher sphere (parārddha—explained by the commentator to mean the Satya-loka, the most excellent, and the limit, of all the worlds). Having gone to that higher sphere, he considered 'How now can I pervade all these worlds?' He then pervaded them with two things—with form and with name. Whatever has a name, that is name. And then that which has no name—that which he knows by its form, that 'such is

its form'—that is form. This [universe] is so much as is (*i.e.* is co-extensive with) form and name. 4. These are the two great magnitudes (*abhve*) of Brahma. He who knows these two great magnitudes of Brahma becomes himself a great magnitude. 5. These are the two great manifestations of Brahma. He who knows these two great manifestations of Brahma becomes himself a great manifestation. Of these two one is the greater. viz., form; for whatever is name is also form. He who knows the greater of these two becomes greater than him than whom he wishes to become greater. 6. The gods were originally mortal, but when they were pervaded by Brahma they became immortal. By that which he sends forth from his mind (mind is form; for by mind he knows, 'This is form')—by that, I say, he obtains form. And by that which he sends out from his voice (voice is name; for by voice he seizes name)—by that, I say, he obtains name. This universe is so much as is (*i.e.* is co-extensive with) form and name. All that he obtains. Now that all is undecaying. Hence he obtains undecaying merit, and an undecaying world."

Compare with this the passages of the Bṛihad Āraṇyaka Upanishad, which will be found at pp. 75 ff. and 165 ff. of Dr. Roer's translation (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. ii. part 3), and the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, iii. 2, 8, p. 164 of English version.

Brahma is also mentioned in the following texts of the Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 8, 9 :—

Brahma devān ajanayat | Brahma viśvam idaṁ jagat | Brahmaṇaḥ kshattraṁ nirmitam | Brahma brāhmaṇaḥ ātmanā | antar asminn ime lokāḥ | 10. Antar viśvam idaṁ jagat | Brahmaiva bhūtānāṁ jyeshṭham | tena ko 'rhati sparddhitum | Brahman devās trayastriṁśat | Brahmann Indra-prajāpatī | Brahman ha viśvā bhūtāni | nāvīvāntaḥ samāhitā |

"Brahma generated the gods. Brahma [generated] this entire world. From Brahma[576] the Kshattriya is formed. Brahma in his essence is the Brāhman.[577] Within him are all these worlds. 10. Within him is this entire universe. It is Brahma who is the greatest of beings. Who

[576] Here there is an allusion to the other sense of *brahma* as devotion, the peculiar function of the Brahman caste.

[577] "For," says the commentator, "in the Brahman's body the supreme Brahma is manifested."

can vie with him? In Brahma the thirty-three gods,—in Brahma, Indra and Prajāpati,—in Brahma all beings are contained, as in a ship."

Again, it is said (iii. 12, 3, 1, quoted above, p. 361, note): "Let us worship with oblations the first-born god, by whom the entire universe which exists is surrounded,—the self-existent Brahma, who is the supreme austere fervour (*tapas*). It is he who is son, he who is father, he who is mother. Tapas came into existence the first object." Brahma is also mentioned in iii. 12, 9, 7 (where, however, he is described as coming into existence): *viśvasṛijaḥ prathamāḥ satram āsata | sahasrasamam prasute nayantaḥ | tato ha jajne bhuvanasya gopāḥ | hiraṇmayaḥ śakunir Brahma nāma | yena sūryas tapati tejaseddhaḥ . . . . | na avedavid manute tam bṛihatam* | "The earliest creators of the universe were engaged in a sacrifice for a thousand years . . . . Thence sprang the protector of the world, the golden bird called Brahma, by whom the sun glows, kindled with flame . . . . No one ignorant of the Veda comprehends that great being." Compare Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6 (quoted above, p. 355), in which Brahma is said to be the forest and the tree out of which the worlds were constructed, and as the basis on which the creator took his stand when upholding the universe.

(8) *Prajāpati.*

As I have observed above (p. 353), the word prajāpati, "lord of creatures," was originally employed as an epithet of Savitṛi and Soma, as it also was of Hiraṇyagarbha (R.V. v. 121, 10). It afterwards, however, came to denote a separate deity, who appears in three places of the Rig-veda, x. 85, 43 (*ā naḥ prajāṁ janayatu Prajāpatiḥ*); x. 169, 4; x. 184, 1 (*ā sinchatu Prajāpatiḥ*), as the bestower of progeny and cattle. This god is also mentioned in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, in a verse (xxxi. 19) which comes in after one in which the great Purusha is celebrated (see above, p. 373). The verse is as follows: *Prajāpatiś charati garbhe antar ajāyamāno bahudhā vijāyate | tasya yonim paripaśyanti dhīrās tasmin ha tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā* | "Prajāpati moves within the womb. Though he does not become born, he is yet born in many shapes. The wise behold his womb. In him all the worlds stand."[578] Another verse of the V. S. in which he

[578] The first half of this verse, as we have seen, is also found in the A.V. x. 8, 13,

is referred to is this (xxxii. 5): "*Yasmâj jâtaṁ na purâ kinchanaiva yaḥ âbabhûva bhuvanâni viśvâ | Prajâpatiḥ prajayâ saṁrarâṇas trîṇi jyotîṁshi sachate sa shoḍaśî* | "He before whom nothing was born, who pervades all worlds, Prajâpati, rejoicing with his offspring, is joined with the three luminaries, as the sixteenth."

Prajâpati is frequently alluded to in the Atharva-veda. Several of these passages have been already cited above, as x. 7, 7, 17, 40, 41; x. 8, 13. Some of the others which I have observed are the following: In xi. 3, 52, he is said to have formed thirty-three worlds out of the oblation of boiled rice (*etasmâd vai odanât trayastriṁśataṁ lokân niramimîta Prajâpatiḥ*). In xi. 4, 12, he is identified with *Prâṇa*, or breath (*prâṇam âhuḥ Prajâpatim*). In xi. 5, 7, he is said, along with Parameshṭhin, to have been generated by the Brahmachârin, or religious student. In xi. 7, 3, he is declared to exist in the *Uchhishṭa*, or remnant of the sacrifice. And in xix. 53, 8, 10, he is said to have been produced by *Kâla*, or Time. Most of these passages will be quoted at length further on. It will be seen that in this Veda he is not generally regarded as the supreme or primal deity.

On the subject of Prajâpati, I have elsewhere (in vols. iii. 4; iv. 19–24, and 47–51) brought together a considerable number of passages from the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, of which I shall here only repeat the substance, adding any further references which I may have noticed as occurring elsewhere. Prajâpati is sometimes identified with the universe, and described (in the same way as Brahma, or entity, or non-entity are in other places) as having alone existed in the beginning, as the source out of which the creation was evolved, Śatap. Br. ii. 2, 4, 1; vii. 5, 2, 6;[579] xi. 5, 8, 1. (See vol. i. p. 24; vol. iii. p. 4; vol. iv. p. 24.) The same is the case in some other texts adduced by Professor Weber in his Ind. Stud. ix. 477 f., where, however, Vâch is associated with Prajâpati "as his companion in concert with whom, and through

with the different reading of *adṛiśyamânaḥ*, "not being seen," for *ajâyamânaḥ*, "not being born." The second line runs thus in the A.V.: "With the half he produced the whole world. But what trace is there of his [other] half?"

[579] Śatap. Br. vii. 5, 2, 6: *Prajâpatir vai idam agre âsîd ekaḥ eva | so 'kâmayata "annaṁ sṛijeya prajâyeya" iti sa prâṇebhyaḥ eva adhi paśûṁ niramimîta manasaḥ purushaṁ chakshusho 'śvam prâṇâd gâṁ śrotrâd aviṁ vâcho 'jam | tad yad enân prâṇebhyo 'dhi niramimîta tasmâd âhuḥ "prâṇâḥ paśavaḥ" iti | mano vai prâṇânâm prathamam | tad yad manasaḥ purushaṁ niramimîta tasmâd âhuḥ "purushaḥ pra-*

whom, he completes his work of creation." [580] Thus it is said in the Kāṭhaka, xii. 5 (and xxvii. 1): *Prajāpatir vai idam āsīt | tasya Vāg dvitīyā āsīt | tām mithunaṁ samabhavat | sā garbham adhatta | sā asmād apākrāmat | sā imāḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | sā Prajāpatim eva punaḥ prāvishat* | "Prajāpati was this universe. Vāch was a second to him. He associated sexually with her; she became pregnant; she departed from him; she produced these creatures; she again entered into Prajāpati." Again, in the Panchaviṁśa Br. xx. 14, 2, we are told: "*Prajāpatir vai idam ekaḥ āsīt | tasya vāg eva svam āsīd vāg dvitīyā | sa aikshata 'imām eva Vāchaṁ visṛijai' | iyaṁ vai idam sarvam vibhavantī eshyati'" iti | sa vāchaṁ vyasṛijata | sā idaṁ sarvaṁ vibhavantī ait | sā ūrdhvā udātanod yathā apāṁ dhārā santatā evam* | "Prajāpati alone was this universe. He had Vāch too as his own, as a second to him. He considered 'Let me send forth this Vāch. She will traverse and pervade all this.' He sent her forth: she traversed and pervaded all this: she extended aloft, diffused like a stream of water." In other texts of the Śatap. Br., however, Prajāpati is not represented as the source of creation, but only as one of the subsequent and subordinate agents, created by the gods, vi. 1, 1, 5 (vol. iv. of this work, p. 19 f.), or as springing out of an egg generated by the primeval waters, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff. (vol. iv. 21 f.). He is elsewhere said to have offered sacrifice in order to produce the creation, ii. 4, 4, 1 (vol. iv. 24), and to have been himself half mortal and half immortal, x. 1, 3, 2; x. 1, 4, 1 (vol. iv. p. 47); mortal in his body, but immortal in his breath, and to have performed *tapas* for a thousand years, to get rid of sin or suffering, *pāpman*, x. 4, 4, 1 (vol. iv. 51).

thamaḥ paśūnāṁ vīryavattamaḥ" iti | mano vai sarve prāṇāḥ | manasi hi sarve prāṇāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ | tad yad manasaḥ purushaṁ niramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "purushaḥ sarve paśavaḥ" iti purushyasya hy eva ete sarve bhavanti | "Prajāpati alone was at first this [universe]. He desired, "May I create food, and become reproduced.' He fashioned animals from his breaths, a man from his soul, a horse from his eye, a cow from his breath, a sheep from his ear, a goat from his voice. Inasmuch as he created these (animals) from his breaths, they say that 'the breaths are the animals.' The soul (*manas*) is the first of the breaths; and since he fashioned man from his soul, they say that 'man is the first and strongest of animals.' The soul is all the breaths, for they are all supported in it. Since then he fashioned man from his soul, they say, 'man is all the animals,' for they are all his."

[580] I observe that Professor Weber speaks here of the waters (*āpaḥ*), the non-existent (*asat*), and Brahman as each denoting primeval matter (Urmaterie).

Prajāpati may thus be said to have two characters, which, however, are not not kept distinct in the Brāhmaṇa. On the one hand, he is the result of one of the efforts of the Indian intellect to conceive and express the idea of deity in the abstract, as the great first cause of all things; while, on the other hand, he is sometimes described as only a secondary and subordinate divinity, and even treated as only one of the thirty-three deities (as in Śatap. Br. xi. 6, 3, 5. See above, p. 11; and Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* Prajāpati). In the Brāhmaṇa itself (xiv. 1, 2, 18) we have the following text, which expresses two different aspects under which the god was regarded, though, perhaps, these are not identical with the two points of view which I have stated:—*Prajāpatir vai esho yajno bhavati | ubhayaṁ vai etat Prajāpatir niruktaś cha aniruktaścha parimitaś cha aparimitaś cha | tad yad yajushā karoti yad eva asya niruktam parimitaṁ rūpaṁ tad asya tena saṁskaroti | atha yat tūshṇīṁ yad eva asya aniruktam aparimitaṁ rūpam tad asya tena saṁskaroti* | "Prajāpati is this sacrifice. Prajāpati is both of these two things, declared and undeclared, limited and unlimited. Whatever he (the priest) does with the Yajus text, with that he consecrates that form of Prajāpati which is declared and limited. And what he (the priest) does silently, with that he consecrates the form of Prajāpati, which is undeclared and unlimited." Compare the Maitrī Upanishad, vi. 3 (p. 83 of Professor Cowell's ed.): *dve vāva Brahmaṇo rūpe mūrtaṁ cha amūrtaṁ cha | yan mūrtaṁ tad asatyam | yad amūrtaṁ tat satyam* | "There are two forms of Brahma, the embodied and the unembodied. The former is unreal, the latter real."

(9) *Prāṇa.*

A great variety of other deities, of the most heterogeneous character, are celebrated in the Atharva-veda as the possessors of divine power. Though scarcely to be regarded as instances of an abstract conception of the deity, the representations of these gods may be adduced here as illustrations of the later stages of the luxuriant and multiform Vedic mythology and speculation. One of these deities is Prāṇa, life or breath, to whom a hymn (xi. 4) is dedicated, of which the following is a specimen. In some verses he seems to be identified with Parjanya (see above, pp. 140 f.):—

1. *Prāṇāya namo yasya sarvam idaṁ vaśe | yo bhūtaḥ sarvasyeśvaro yasmin sarvam pratishṭhitam* | 2. *Namas te Prāṇa krandāya namas te stanayitnave | namas te Prāṇa vidyute namas te Prāṇa varshate* | 3. *Yat Prāṇaḥ stanayitnunā abhikrandati oshadhīḥ* (compare A.V. viii. 7, 21) | *pravīyante garbhān dadhate atho bahvīr vi jāyante* | 4. *Yat Prāṇaḥ ṛitāv āgate abhikrandati oshadhīḥ | sarvaṁ tadā pramodate yat kincha bhūmyām adhi* | 5. *Yadā Prāṇo abhyavarshād varsheṇa pṛithivīm mahīm | paśavas tat pra modante "maho vai no bhavishyati"* | 6. *Abhivrishṭāḥ oshadhayaḥ Prāṇena samavādiran | "āyur vai naḥ prātītaraḥ sarvāḥ naḥ surabhīr akaḥ"* | 7. *Namas te astu āyate namo 'stu parāyate | namas te Prāṇa tishṭhate āsīnāyota te namaḥ* | 9. *Yā te Prāṇa priyā tanūr yā te Prāṇa preyasī | atho yad bheshajaṁ tava tasya no dhehi jīvase* | 10. *Prāṇaḥ prajāḥ anu vaste pitā putram iva priyam | Prāṇo ha sarvasyeśvaro yach cha prāṇati yach cha naḥ* | 11. *Prāṇo mṛityuḥ Prāṇas takmā Prāṇaṁ devāḥ upāsate | Prāṇo ha satyavādinam uttame loke ā dadhat* | 12. *Prāṇo Virāṭ Prāṇo Deshṭrī Prāṇaṁ sarve upāsate | Prāṇo ha sūryaś chandramāḥ Prāṇam ahuḥ Prajāpatim* | . . . . 15. *Prāṇam āhur Mātariśvānaṁ Vāto ha Prāṇaḥ uchyate | Prāṇe ha bhūtam bhavyaṁ cha Prāṇe sarvam pratishṭhitam* | 16. *Ātharvaṇīr āṅgirasīr daivīr manushyajāḥ uta | oshadhayaḥ prajāyante yadā tvam Prāṇa jinvasi* | . . . . 18. *Yas te Prāṇa idaṁ veda yasmiṁś chāsi pratishṭhitaḥ | sarve tasmai baliṁ harān amushmin loke uttame* | 19. *Yathā Prāṇa balihṛitas tubhyaṁ sarvāḥ prajāḥ imāḥ | eva tasmai baliṁ harān yas tvā śṛiṇavat suśravaḥ* |

"Reverence to Prāṇa, to whom this universe is subject, who has become the lord of all, on whom all is supported. 2. Reverence, Prāṇa, to thy shout, to thy thunder, to thy lightning, and to thyself when thou rainest. 3. When Prāṇa calls aloud to the plants with thunder, they are impregnated, they conceive, they produce abundantly. 4. When the season has arrived, and Prāṇa calls aloud to the plants, then everything rejoices, which is upon the earth (compare R.V. v. 83, 10, above, p. 140). 5. When Prāṇa has watered the great earth with rain, then the beasts rejoice, and [think] that they shall have strength. 6. When watered by Prāṇa, the plants burst forth [saying], 'Thou hast prolonged our life, thou hast made us all fragrant.' 7. Reverence to thee, Prāṇa, coming, and to thee going, and to thee standing, and to thee sitting . . . . 9. Communicate to us thy dear form, thy dearest,

with thy healing power, that we may live. 10. Prāṇa clothes the creatures, as a father his dear son. Prāṇa is the lord of all, both of what breathes and what does not breathe. 11. Prāṇa is death, Prāṇa is fever. The gods worship Prāṇa. Prāṇa places the truth-speaker in the highest world. 12. Prāṇa is Virāj, Prāṇa is Deshṭrī. All worship Prāṇa. Prāṇa is sun and moon. They call Prajāpati Prāṇa . . . . 15. They call Mātariśvan Prāṇa; the Wind is called Prāṇa. The past, the future, everything is supported upon Prāṇa. 16. The plants of Atharvan, of Angiras, of the gods, and of men, grow when thou, Prāṇa, quickenest . . . . 18. Whoever, o Prāṇa, knows this [truth] regarding thee, and on what thou art supported—all will offer him tribute in that highest world. 19. As, o Prāṇa, all these creatures offer thee tribute, so shall they offer tribute in that highest world to him who hears thee with willing ears.' "

(10) *Rohita.*

Rohita, probably a form of the Fire and of the Sun (though he is also distinguished, in the hymn I am about to quote, from both these gods), is another deity who is highly celebrated in the Atharva-veda, where one hymn (xiii. 1) and parts of others are appropriated to his honour. The following are some of the verses in which his power is described, xiii. 1, 6:—

6. *Rohito dyāvā-pṛithivī jajāna tatra tantum Parameshṭhī tatāna | tatra śiśriye Ajaḥ Ekapādo aḍriṁhad dyāvā-pṛithivī balena | 7. Rohito dyāvā-pṛithivī aḍriṁhat tena svaḥ stabhitaṁ tena nākaḥ | tenāntarikshaṁ vimitā rājamsi tena devāḥ amṛitatvam avindan | 13. Rohito yajnasya janitā mukhaṁ cha Rohitāya vāchā śrotreṇa manasā juhomi | Rohitaṁ devāḥ yanti sumanasyamānāḥ | . . . . 14. Rohito yajnaṁ vyadadhād Viśvakarmaṇe tasmāt tejāṁsi upa mā imāny āguḥ | . . . . 25. Yo Rohito vṛishabhas tigmaśringaḥ pari Agnim pari Sūryam babhūva | yo vishṭabhnāti pṛithivīṁ divaṁ cha tasmād devāḥ adhi śrishṭiḥ śrijante | 26. Rohito divam āruhad mahataḥ pari arṇavāt | sarvāḥ ruroha Rohito ruhaḥ | 37. Rohite dyāvā-pṛithivī adhi śrite vasujiti gojiti | . . . . 55. Sa yajnaḥ prathamo bhūto bhavyo ajāyata | tasmād ha jajne idaṁ sarvaṁ yat kincha idaṁ virochate Rohiteṇa ṛishiṇā "bhṛitam |*

"Rohita produced heaven and earth: there Parameshṭhin stretched

the cord. There Aja Ekapāda was sustained. He established heaven and earth by his force. 7. Rohita established heaven and earth; by him the sky was supported, by him the heaven. By him the atmosphere, by him the regions were meted out. Through him the gods obtained immortality. 13. Rohita is the generator, and the mouth of sacrifice. To Rohita I offer my oblation with voice, ear, and mind. To Rohita the gods resort with gladness .... 14. Rohita offered a sacrifice to Viśvakarman. From it these fires have reached me..... 25. The gods frame creations out of that Rohita who is a sharp-horned bull, who surpasses Agni and Sūrya, who props up the earth and the sky. 26. Rohita ascended the sky from the great ocean; he ascended all ascents.[581] 37. In Rohita, who is the conqueror of wealth and cows .... the heaven and earth are sustained .... 55. He first became the sacrifice, both past and future. From him sprang all this whatever there is which shines, developed by Rohita, the rishi."

In the second hymn of the same book, in which the sun is celebrated, Rohita is also named in the following verses:—

39. *Rohitaḥ kālo abhavad Rohito 'gre Prajāpatiḥ | Rohito yajnānām mukhaṁ Rohitah svar ābharat | 40. Rohito loko abhavad Rohito 'tyatapad divam | Rohito raśmibhir bhūmiṁ samudram anu saṁ charat | 41. Sarvāḥ diśaḥ samacharad Rohito 'dhipatir divaḥ | divaṁ samudram ād bhūmiṁ sarvam bhūtaṁ vi rakshati |*

"39. Rohita became Time; Rohita formerly became Prajāpati. Rohita is the mouth of sacrifices. Rohita produced the sky. 40. Rohita became the world; Rohita shone beyond the sky; Rohita traversed the earth and ocean with his rays. 41. Rohita traversed all the regions. Rohita is the ruler of the sky. He preserves heaven, ocean, and earth—whatever exists."

And yet the gods are said to have generated Rohita (A.V. xiii. 3, 23: *yad Rohitam ajanayanta devāḥ*).

(11). *Uchhishṭa.*

In the hymn which follows divine power is ascribed to the remains of the sacrifice (Uchhishṭa):

A.V. xi. 7, 1: *Uchhishṭe nāma rūpaṁ cha uchhishṭe lokaḥ āhitaḥ |*

[581] Here, as well as in verses 8 and 9, there is a play on the connection of Rohita with the root, *ruh*, to "ascend," or "grow."

uchhishṭe Indraś cha Agniś cha viśvam antaḥ samāhitam | 2. *Uchhishṭe dyāvā-pṛithivī viśvam bhūtaṁ samāhitam* | *āpaḥ samudraḥ Uchhishṭe chandramāḥ vātaḥ āhitāḥ* | 3. *Sann Uchhishṭe asaṁś chobhau mṛityur vājaḥ Prajāpatiḥ* | . . . . 4. . . . *Brahma viśvasṛijo daśa* | *nābhim iva sarvataś chakram Uchhishṭe devatāḥ śritāḥ* | . . . . 14. *Nava bhūmīḥ samudrāḥ Uchhishṭe 'dhi śritāḥ divaḥ* | *ā suryo bhāti Uchhishṭe ahorātre api tan mayi* | 15. *Upahavyaṁ Vishūvantam ye cha yajñāḥ guhā hitāḥ* | *bibhartti bhartā viśvasya Uchhishṭo janituḥ pitā* | 16. *Pitā janitur Uchhishṭo asoḥ pautraḥ pitāmahaḥ* | *sa kshiyati viśvasya īśāno vṛishā bhūmyām atighnyaḥ* | 17. *Ṛitaṁ satyaṁ tapo rāshṭraṁ śramo dharmaś cha karma cha* | *bhutām bhavishyad Uchhishṭe vīryam lakshmīr balam bale* | . . . . 20. *Ardhamāsāś cha māsāścha ārtavāḥ ṛitubhiḥ saha* | *Uchhishṭe ghoshaṇīr āpaḥ stanayitnuḥ śrutir mahī* | *śarkarāḥ sikatāḥ aśmānaḥ oshadhayo vīrudhas triṇā* | 21. *Abhrāṇi vidyuto varsham Uchhishṭe saṁśritā śritā* | . . . . 23. *Yach cha prāṇati prāṇena yach cha paśyati chakshushā* | *Uchhishṭāj jajnire sarve divi devāḥ diviśritaḥ* | 24. *Ṛichaḥ sāmāni chhandāṁsi purāṇaṁ yajushā saha* | *Uchhishṭāj*—| 25. *Prānāpānau chakshuḥ śrotram akshitiś cha kshitiś cha yā* | *Uchhishṭāj*—| 26. *Ānandāḥ modāḥ pramudo abhīmoda-mudaś cha ye* | *Uchhishṭāj*—| 27. *Devāḥ pitaro manushyāḥ gandharvāpraraśaś cha ye* | *Uchhishṭāj* |

"In the Uchhishṭa (remains of the sacrifice) are contained name, form,[582] the world, Indra and Agni, the universe, (2) heaven and earth, all that exists, the waters, the sea, the moon, and the wind. 3. In the Uchhishṭa are both the existent and the non-existent (*san, asaṁś cha*, masculine), death, food (or strength), Prajāpati .... 4. Brahma, the ten creators of all things,[583] the gods, are fixed on all sides to the Uchhishṭa as [the spokes] of a wheel to the nave." So, too, the Rik, Sāman, Yajus, the hymns, the different sorts of sacrifices, and parts of the ceremonial, etc., are comprehended in it (verses 5–13). "14. Nine earths, oceans, skies, are contained in the Uchhishṭa. The sun shines in the Uchhishṭa, and in me the Uchhishṭa are day and night. 15. The Uchhishṭa (*masculine*), the sustainer of the universe, the father of the generator, upholds the Upahavya, the Vishūvat, and

[582] See verse 12 of the hymn to Purusha, A.V. x. 2, above.

[583] Are these the ten Maharshis mentioned by Manu, i. 34 f.? In A V. xi. 1, 1, 3, mention is made of the seven Rishis, the makers of all things (*bhūta-kṛitaḥ*). See also A.V. xii. 1, 39; and the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 37 and 41, notes.

the sacrifices which are secretly presented. 16. The Uchhishṭa, the father of the generator, the grandson of spirit (*asu*), the primeval parent, the lord of the universe, the bull, dwells triumphant (?) on the earth. 17. Ceremonial, truth, rigorous abstraction, dominion, effort, righteousness and works, past, future, strength, prosperity, force, reside in the Uchhishṭa, which is force (compare x. 7, 1, above). 20. In the Uchhishṭa are embraced the resounding waters, thunder, the great śruti, pebbles, sand, stones, plants, grass, (21) clouds, lightnings, rain. 23. From the Uchhishṭa sprang whatever breathes and sees, with all the celestial gods, (24) the Ṛich and Sāman verses, metres, Purāṇas, and Yajus, two of the vital airs (*prāṇa* and *apāna*), the eye, the ear, imperishableness, perishableness, (26) pleasures, enjoyments, (27) the Fathers, men, Gandharvas, and Apsarases." (Compare A.V. xi. 3, 21.)

(12) *Sacrificial Implements, etc., etc.*

Similar divine powers are ascribed to different sacrificial ladles in A.V. xviii. 4, 5 : "The *Juhū* has established the sky, the Upabhṛit the atmosphere, and the Dhruvā the stable earth" (*Juhūr dadhāra dyām upabhṛid antarikṣham dhruvā dadhāra pṛithivīm pratishṭhām*). In R.V. vi. 51, 8, it is said of namas, "adoration," that it has supported the earth and the sky, and rules the gods" (*namo dadhāra pṛithivīm uta dyām | namo devebhyo namaḥ īśe eshām*). See also A.V. iv. 35, 3–6, where the odana oblation is said to support heaven and earth, etc.; A.V. xix. 32, 9, where a similar power is ascribed to the sacrificial grass; and A.V. x. 10, 4, 26, 30, 34, where wonderful attributes are predicated of the Vaśā (cow).

(13) *Anumati.*

In a hymn to Anumati (according to Professor Roth the goddess of good will, as well as of procreation), A.V. vii. 20, she is thus identified with all things (verse 6): "Anumati was all this [universe], whatever stands or walks, and everything that moves. May we, o goddess, enjoy thy benevolence; for thou, Anumati, dost favour us" (*anumatiḥ sarvam idam babhūva yat tiṣṭhati charati yad u cha viśvam ejati | tasyās te devi sumatau syāma Anumate anu hi manṣase naḥ*).

(14) *The Ox, or Kettle.*

In A.V. iv. 11, 1, a divine power is ascribed to the "Ox," which, however, Professor Aufrecht thinks can only be regarded as a metaphorical ox, as it has an udder (verse 4), and gives milk; and he supposes a kettle with four legs, the *Gharma*, to be intended. As that vessel was used for boiling milk and other materials for sacrificial purposes, the allusions in this hymn to milk become intelligible; and possibly the four-legged kettle may, by its form, have suggested the figure of an ox.

1. *Anaḍvān dadhāra pṛithivīm uta dyām anaḍvān dadhāra uru antarikṣham | anaḍvān dadhāra pradiśaḥ shaḍ urvīr anaḍvān viśvam bhuvanam ā viveśa | 2. Anaḍvān Indro sa paśubhyo vi chashṭe trayān śakro vi mimīte adhvanaḥ | bhūtam bhavishyad bhuvanā duhānaḥ sarvā devānāṁ charati vratāni | 3. Indro jāto manushyeshu antar gharmas taptaś charati śośuchānaḥ | . . . . 5. Yasya neśe yajnapatir na yajno na asya dātā īśe na pratigrahītā | yo viśvajid viśvabhṛid viśvakarmā gharmaṁ no brūta katamaś chatushpāt |*

"The ox has established the earth and the sky; the ox has established the broad atmosphere; the ox has established the six vast regions; the ox has pervaded the entire universe. 2. The ox is Indra. He watches over the beasts. As Śakra (or mighty) he measures the threefold paths. Milking out the worlds, whatever has been or shall be, he performs all the functions of the gods. 3. Being born as Indra among men, the kindled and glowing kettle works . . . . 5. That which neither the lord of the sacrifice nor the sacrifice rules, which neither the giver nor the receiver rules, which is all-conquering, all-supporting, and all-working,—declare to us the kettle, what quadruped it is."

(15) *The Brahmachārin.*

The hymn to be next quoted ascribes very astonishing powers to the Brahmachārin, or religious student. Some parts of it are obscure, but the translation I give, though imperfect, will convey some idea of the contents:—

A.V. xi. 5, 1: *Brahmachārī ishnaṁś charati rodasī ubhe tasmin devāḥ sammanaso bhavanti | sa dadhāra pṛithivīṁ divaṁ cha sa āchāryaṁ tapasā pipartti | 2. Brahmachāriṇam pitaro devajanāḥ pṛithag devāḥ*

anusaṁyanti sarve | gandharvāḥ enam anvāyan trayastriṁśat triśatāḥ shaṭsahasrāḥ | sarvān sa devān tapasā piparti | 3. Āchāryaḥ upanayamāno brahmachāriṇaṁ kṛiṇute garbhe antaḥ | taṁ rātrīs tisraḥ udare bibharti taṁ jātaṁ drashṭum abhisaṁyanti devāḥ | 4. Iyaṁ samit pṛithivī dyaur dvitīyā utāntarikshaṁ samidhā pṛiṇāti | brahmachārī samidhā mekhalayā śramena lokāṁs tapasā piparti | 5. Pūrvo jāto Brahmaṇo brahmachārī gharmaṁ vasānas tapasodatishṭhat | tasmāj jātam brāhmaṇam Brahma jyeshṭhaṁ devāś cha sarve amṛitena sākam | 6. Brahmachārī eti samidhā samiddhaḥ kārshṇaṁ vasāno dīkshito dirghaśmaśruḥ | sa sadyaḥ eti pūrvasmād uttaraṁ samudraṁ lokān sangṛibhya muhur ācharikrat | 7. Brahmachārī janayan brahma apo lokam Prajāpatim Parameshṭhinaṁ Virājam | garbho bhūtvā amṛitasya yonāv Indro ha bhūtvā asurāṁs tatarda | 8. Āchāryas tataksha nabhasī ubhe ime urvī gambhīre pṛithivīṁ divam cha | te rakshati tapasā brahmachārī tasmin devāḥ sammanaso bhavanti | 9. Imām bhūmim pṛithivīm brahmachārī bhikshām ā jabhāra prathamo divaṁ cha | te kṛitvā samidhāv upāste tayor ārpitā bhuvanāni viśvā | 10. Arvāg anyaḥ paro anyo divaspṛishṭhād guhā nidhī nihitau brāhmaṇasya | tau rakshati tapasā brahmachārī tat kevalaṁ kṛiṇute brahma vidvān | 16. Āchāryo brahmachārī brahmachārī Prajāpatiḥ | Prajāpatir vi rājati virāḍ Indro 'bhavad vaśī | 17. Brahmacharyeṇa tapasā rājā rāshṭraṁ vi rakshati | āchāryo brahmacharyeṇa brahmachāriṇam ichhate | 18. Brahmacharyeṇa kanyā yuvānaṁ vindate patim | anaḍvān bramacharyeṇa aśvo ghāsaṁ jigīshati | 19. Brahmacharyeṇa tapasā devāḥ mṛityum apāghnata | Indro ha brahmacharyeṇa devebhyaḥ svar ābharat | 20. Oshadhayo bhūtabhavyam ahorātre vanaspatiḥ | saṁvatsaraḥ saha ṛitubhis te jātāḥ brahmachāriṇaḥ | 21. Pārthivāḥ divyāḥ paśavaḥ āraṇyāḥ grāmyāś cha ye | apakshāḥ pakshiṇaś cha ye te jātāḥ brahmachārinaḥ | 22. Pṛithak sarve prājāpatyāḥ prāṇān ātmasu bibhrati | tān sarvān brahma rakshati brahmachāriṇi ābhṛitam . . . . 26. Tāni kalpayad brahmachārī salilasya pṛishṭhe tapo 'tishṭhat tapyamānaḥ samudre |

"The Brahmachārin works, quickening both worlds. The gods are joyful in him. He has established the earth and the sky. He satisfies his āchārya (religious teacher) by tapas. 2. The Fathers, the heavenly hosts, all the gods separately, follow after him, with the 6333 Gandharvas. He satisfies all the gods by tapas. 3. The āchārya, adopting him as a disciple, makes him a Brahmachārin even in the womb,

and supports him in the belly for three nights. When he is born the gods assemble to see him. 4. This piece of fuel is the earth (compare verse 9), the second is the sky, and he satisfies the air with fuel.[584] The brahmachārin satisfies the worlds with fuel, with a girdle, with exertion, with tapas. 5. Born before Brahma, the Brahmachārin arose through tapas, clothed with heat. From him was produced divine knowledge (brāhmaṇa), the highest Brahma,[585] and all the gods, together with immortality. 6. The Brahmachārin advances, lighted up by fuel, clothed in a black antelope's skin, consecrated, long-bearded. He moves straightway from the eastern to the northern ocean, compressing the worlds, and again expanding them. 7. The Brahmachārin, generating divine science, the waters, the world, Prajāpati, Parameshṭhin, Virāj, having become an embryo in the womb of immortality, having become Indra, crushed the Asuras. 8. The Āchārya has constructed both these spheres, broad and deep, the earth and the sky. The Brahmachārin preserves them by tapas. In him the gods are joyful. 9. It was the Brahmachārin who first produced this broad earth and the sky as an alms. Making them two pieces of fuel (compare verse 4), he worships. In them all creatures are contained. 10. The two receptacles of divine knowledge are secretly deposited, the one on this side, the other beyond the surface of the sky. The Brahmachārin guards them by tapas. Wise, he appropriates that divine knowledge as his exclusive portion . . . . 16. The Brahmachārin is the Āchārya, the Brahmachārin is Prajāpati; Prajāpati shines (*vi rājati*); the shining (Virāj) became Indra, the powerful. 17. Through self-restraint and tapas a king protects his dominions. Through self-restraint an Āchārya seeks after a Brahmachārin. 18. By self-restraint a damsel obtains a young man as her husband. By self-restraint an ox and a horse seek to gain fodder. 19. By self-restraint and tapas the gods destroyed death. By self-restraint Indra acquired heaven

[584] See Āśvalāyana's Gṛihya Sūtras, ed. Stenzler, pp. 12 ff., where the initiation of the Brahmachārin, or religious student, is described. Part of the ceremony is that he throws fuel (*samidh*) on the fire, which he invokes with texts. This ritual is probably alluded to in the hymn before us. The Brahmachārin is also mentioned in R.V. x. 109, 5, where he said to be one member of the gods (*sa devānām bhavati ekam angam*).

[585] The words *brahma jyeshṭham*, employed in A.V. x. 7, 32 ff., and x. 8, 1, appear to designate a personal being (see above). The same may be the case here.

from [or for] the gods. 20. Plants, whatever has been, whatever shall be, day and night, trees, the year, with the seasons, have been produced from the Brahmachārin. 21. Terrestrial and celestial beings, beasts, both wild and tame, creatures without wings and winged, have been produced from the Brahmachārin. 22. All creatures which have sprung from Prajāpati have breath separately in themselves; all of these are preserved by divine knowledge (*brahma*), which is produced in the Brahmachārin . . . . 26. These things the Brahmachārin formed; on the surface of the water he stood performing tapas[586] in the sea."

The Taitt. Br. iii. 10, 11, 3, tells a story illustrative of the great virtue ascribed to brahmacharyya, or religious self-restraint:—

Bharadvājo ha tribhir āyurbhir brahmacharyam uvāsa | taṁ ha jīrṇiṁ sthaviraṁ śayānam Indraḥ upavrajya uvācha "Bharadvāja yat te chaturtham āyur dadyāṁ kim etena kuryāḥ" iti | "brahmacharyam eva enena chareyam" iti ha uvācha | taṁ ha girirūpān avijnātān iva darśayānchakāra | teshāṁ ha ekaikasmād mushṭim ādade | sa ha uvācha "Bharadvāja" ity āmantrya "vedāḥ vai ete | anantāḥ vai vedāḥ | etad vai etais tribhir āyurbhir anvavochathāḥ | atha te itarad ananūktam eva | ehi imaṁ viddhi | ayaṁ vai sarvavidyā" iti |

"Bharadvāja practised brahmacharyya during three lives. Indra, approaching him when he was lying decayed and old, said: 'Bharadvāja, if I give thee a fourth life, what wilt thou do with it?' He answered: 'I will use it only to practise brahmacharyya.' He showed him three objects, as it were unknown, in the shape of mountains. From each of these he took a handful. He said, addressing him: 'Bharadvāja, these are the Vedas; the Vedas are infinite. This is what thou hast recited during these three lives. But other things have remained undeclared by thee. Now learn this (Agni Sāvitra). This is universal knowledge.'"

(16) *Kāma.*

We have already seen above, that in R.V. x. 129, 4, desire is said to have been the first movement that arose in the One after it had come into life through the power of fervour or abstraction. This Kāma, or desire, not of sexual enjoyment, but of good in general, is celebrated in the following curious hymn (A.V. ix. 2) as a great power

[586] Compare A.V. x. 7, 38, quoted above.

superior to all the gods; and is supplicated for deliverance from enemies. Desire, as the first step towards its own fulfilment, must be considered as here identified with successful desire, or with some deity regarded as the inspirer and accomplisher of the wishes of his votaries:—[587]

1. *Sapatna-hanam ṛishabham ghṛitena Kāmaṁ śikshāmi havishā ājyena | nīchaiḥ sapatnān mama pādaya tvam abhishṭuto mahatā vīryeṇa | 2. Yad me manaso na priyaṁ na chakshusho yan me babhasti*[588] *nābhinandati | tad dushshvapynam pratimunchāmi sapatne Kāmaṁ stutvā ud aham bhideyam | 3. Dushshapnyaṁ Kāma duritaṁ cha Kāma apra-*

[587] In A.V. iii. 29, 7, some light is thrown upon the process by which Kāma came to be regarded as a deity. We there read: "Who hath given this, and to whom? Kāma has given it to Kāma (*i.e.* the inspirer, or fulfiller, of desire, has given it to desire). Kāma is the giver (*i.e.* the inspirer, or fulfiller, of desire); Kāma is the receiver. Kāma has entered into the ocean. Through Kāma I receive thee, Kāma, this is thine" (*kaḥ idaṁ kasmai adāt kāmaḥ kāmāya adāt | kāmo dātā kāmaḥ pratigrahītā kāmaḥ samudram ā viveśa | kāmena tvā pratigṛihṇāmi kāma etat te*). This verse is, I find, quoted by Mr. Colebrooke, Mis. Ess. i. 210, as a text forming part of the Indian marriage ritual. See also Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 5, 5f. The allusion here made to Kāma entering the ocean recalls the fact that Agni is often said to be produced from or exist in the waters (R.V. x. 2, 7; x. 51, 3; x. 91, 6; A.V. i. 33, 1; iii. 21, 1). And in A.V. iii. 21, 4, Kāma is distinctly identified with Agni: "The god (Agni), who is omnivorous, whom they call Kāma, whom they call the giver and the receiver, who is wise, strong, pre-eminent, unconquerable;—to these Agnis let this oblation be offered" (*yo devo viśvād yam u kāmam ahur yaṁ dātaram pratigrihṇantam āhuḥ | yo dhīraḥ śakraḥ paribhūr adābhyas tebhyo agnibhyo hutam astv etat*). See also S.V. ii. 1060 (=A.V. vi. 36, 3; Vāj. Sanh. xii. 117) *agniḥ priyeshu dhāmasu kāmo bhūtasya bhavyasya | saṁrāḍ eko virājati* | "Agni, Kāma, the one monarch of things past and future, shines in his dear abodes." See also Taitt. Sanh. ii. 2, 3, 1. *Agnaye Kāmāya* "To Agni Kāma, etc." See also the passages cited by Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. v. 225, f. In some parts of the hymn before us, (A.V. ix. 2) the same identification of Kāma with Agni appears to be made. Thus in v. 1, Kāma, and in v. 8, Kāma and other gods, are said to be worshipped with butter, an oblation especially appropriate to Agni. In vv. 4 and 9, Agni is called upon to burn the dwellings of the worshipper's enemies, whom Kāma had just been besought to destroy. Again, in v. 25, the auspicious bodies, or manifestations (*tanvaḥ*) of Kāma are referred to just as those of Agni are in other hymns (as, R.V. x. 16, 4: A.V. xviii. 4, 10; comp. Vāj. S. xvi. 2). On the other hand, however, Agni is specified separately from Kāma in v. 6; and in v. 24, Kama is represented as superior to Agni, as well as to Vāta, Sūrya, and Chandramas (the moon). In v. 9, Indra and Agni are mentioned along with Kāma, though the verb with which these gods are connected is in the dual. But although in these verses Agni and Kāma are distinguished from each other, Kāma may be there looked upon as a superior form of the other deity.

[588] Compare Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v. bhas.*

jastām asvagatām avartim | ugraḥ īśānaḥ prati muncha tasmin yo asmabhyam aṁhūraṇā chikitsāt | 4. Nudasva Kāma praṇudasva Kāma avarttim yantu mama ye sapatnāḥ | teshāṁ nuttānām adhamā tamāṁsi Agne vāstūni nirdaha tvam | 5. Sā te Kāma duhitā dhenur uchyate yām āhur Vāchaṁ kavayo Virājam | tayā sapatnān pari vriṅdhi ye mama pari enān prāṇaḥ paśavo jīvanaṁ vṛiṇaktu | . . . . 7. Viśve devāḥ mama nātham bhavantu sarve devāḥ havam ā yantu me imam | 8. Idam ājyad ghṛitavaj jushāṇāḥ Kāma-jyeshṭhāḥ iha mādayadhvam | kṛiṇvanto mahyam asapatnam eva | 9. Indrāgnī Kāma sarathaṁ hi bhūtvā nīchaiḥ sapatnān mama pādayāthaḥ | teshām pannānām adhamā tamāṁsi Agne vāstūni anu nirdaha tvam | 10. Jahi tvaṁ Kāma mama ye sapaṭnāḥ andhā tamāṁsi ava pādayainān | nirindriyāḥ arasāḥ santu sarve mā te jīvishuḥ katamach chanāhaḥ | 11. Avadhīt Kāmo mama ye sapatnāḥ uruṁ lokam akarad mahyam edhatum | mahyaṁ namantām pradiśaś chatasro mahyaṁ shaḍ urvīr ghṛitam ā vahantu | 12. Te adharānchaḥ pra plavantāṁ chhinnā naur iva bandhanāt | na sāyaka-praṇuttānām punar asti nivartanam | . . . . 16. Yat te Kāma śarma trivarūtham udbhu brahma varma vitatam anativyādhyaṁ kṛitam | tena sapatnān—| 17. Yena devāḥ asurān prāṇudanta yenendro dasyūn adhamaṁ tamo ninaya | tena tvaṁ Kāma mama ye sapatnās tān asmāl lokāt pra ṇudasva dūram | 19. Kāmo jajne prathamo nainaṁ devāḥ āpuḥ pitaro na martyāḥ | tatas tvam asi jyāyān viśvahā mahāṁs tasmai te Kāma namaḥ it kṛiṇomi | 20. Yāvatī dyāvā-pṛithivī varimṇā yāvad āpaḥ sishyadur yāvad Agniḥ | tataḥ—| 21. Yāvatīr diśaḥ pradiśo vishūchīr yāvatīr āśāḥ abhichakshaṇāḥ divaḥ | tataḥ—| 22. Yāvatīr bhṛingāḥ jatvaḥ kurūravo yāvatīr vaghāḥ vṛikshasarpyo babhūvuḥ | tataḥ—| 23. Jyāyān nimishato 'shi tishṭhato jyāyān samudrād asi Kāma Manyo—| 24. Na vai Vātaś chana Kāmam āpnoti nāgniḥ sūryo nota chandramāḥ | tataḥ—| 25. Yās te śivās tanvaḥ Kāma bhadrāḥ yābhiḥ satyam bhavati yad vṛiṇīshe | tābhis tvam asmān abhisaṁviśasva anyatra pāpīr apa veśaya dhiyaḥ |

"1. With oblations of butter I worship Kāma, [589] the mighty slayer of enemies. Do thou, when laúded, beat down my foes by thy great might. 2. The sleeplessness which is displeasing to my mind and eye,

[589] In the Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 8, 8, S'raddhā, or faith, is said to be the mother of Kāma (*śraddhāṁ kāmasya mātaram*). This, however, the commentator explains as signifying merely that she is the means of obtaining all desired rewards, since no action takes place unless men have faith (*sā iyam ichhā viśvāsa-vyatirekena kasyāpi vyavahārasya abhāvād "Kāmasya mātaram" kāmyamānaphalasya utpādikām*).

which harasses and does not delight me, that sleeplessness I let loose upon my enemy. Having praised Kāma, may I rend him. 3. Kāma, do thou, a fierce lord, let loose sleeplessness, misfortune, childlessness, homelessness, and want, upon him who designs us evil. 4. Send them away, Kāma, drive them away; may they fall into misery, those who are my enemies. When they have been hurled into the nethermost darkness, do thou, Agni, burn up their dwellings. 5. That daughter of thine, Kāma, is named the Cow, which sages call Vāch Virāj. By her drive away my enemies. May breath, cattle, life, forsake them. . . . 7. May all the gods be my defence; may all the gods attend upon this my invocation. 8. Ye [gods], of whom Kāma is the highest, accepting this oblation of butter, be joyful in this place, granting me deliverance from my enemies. 9. Indra, Agni, and Kāma, mounted on the same chariot, hurl ye down my foes; when they have fallen into the nethermost darkness, do thou, Agni, burn up their dwellings. 10. Kāma, slay my enemies; cast them down into thick (literally, blind) darkness. Let them all become destitute of power and vigour, and not live a single day. 11. Kāma has slain my enemies, has made for me wide room and prosperity. May the four regions bow down to me, and the six worlds bring fatness. 12 (=A.V. iii. 6, 7). Let them (my enemies) float downwards like a boat severed from its moorings. There is no return for those who have been put to flight by our arrows . . . . 16. With that triple and effectual protection of thine, o Kāma, that spell (*brahma*), which has been extended [in front of us as] armour, and made impenetrable, do thou drive away, etc. (as in v. 5). 17. Do thou, Kāma, drive my enemies far from this world by that [same weapon, or amulet] wherewith the gods repelled the Asuras, and Indra hurled the Dasyus into the nethermost darkness.[590] (Verse 18 is nearly a repetition of verse 17.) 19. Kāma was born the

[590] In A.V. viii. 5, 3, mention is made of a jewel or amulet, "by which Indra slew Vṛittra, overcame the Asuras, and conquered heaven and earth, and the four regions" (*anenendro maṇinā vṛittram ahann anenāsurān parābhāvayad manīshī*). And in A.V. viii. 8, 5 ff. we are told of another instrument of offence belonging to Indra, in addition to the thunderbolt, arrows, and hook, described in the R V. (see above, p. 87 f.) viz., a net. 5. "The air was his net; and the great regions the rods for extending the net. Enclosing within it the host of the Dasyus, S'akra overwhelmed it. 7. Great is the net of thee who art great, O heroic Indra! . . . . Within it enclosing them, S'akra slew a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, a hundred millions of Dasyus, with his army."

first. Him neither gods, nor Fathers, nor men, have equalled. Thou art superior to these, and for ever great. To thee, Kāma, I offer reverence. 20. Wide as are the heaven and earth in extent; far as the waters have swept; far as Agni [has blazed];—thou art yet superior to these (as in verse 19). 21. Great as are the regions and the several intermediate regions, the celestial tracts, and the vistas of the sky,—thou art yet superior, etc. 22. As many bees, bats, reptiles, vaghās (?), and tree-serpents as there are, thou art yet superior, etc. 23. Thou art superior to all that winks, or stands,—superior to the sea, O Kāma, Manyu. Thou art superior, etc. 24. Even Vāta (the Wind) does not vie with Kāma, nor does Agni, nor Sūrya, nor Chandramas (the Moon). Thou art superior, etc. 25. With those auspicious and gracious forms of thine, o Kāma, through which that which thou choosest becomes real,—with them do thou enter into us, and send malevolent thoughts away somewhere else."

A.V. xix. 52, is another hymn addressed to the same deity.

It is well known that Greek mythology connected Eros, the god of love, with the creation of the universe, somewhat in the same way as Kāma is associated with it in R.V. x. 129, 4 (see above, p. 357). Thus Plato says in the Symposium (sec. 6):

Γονῆς γὰρ Ἔρωτος οὔτ' εἰσὶν οὔτε λέγονται ὑπ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἰδιώτου οὔτε ποιητοῦ, ἀλλ' Ἡσίοδος πρῶτον μὲν χάος φησὶ γενέσθαι,

"αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί,
ἠδ' Ἔρος."

Φησὶ μετὰ τὸ χάος δύο τούτω γενέσθαι, γῆν τε καὶ Ἔρωτα. Παρμενίδης δὲ τὴν γένεσιν λέγει, "πρώτιστον μὲν Ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο παντων." Ἡσίοδῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀκουσίλεως ὁμολογεῖ. οὕτω πολλαχόθεν ὁμολογεῖται ὁ Ἔρως ἐν τοῖς πρεσβύτατοις εἶναι.

"Eros neither had any parents, nor is he said by any unlearned man or by any poet to have had any. But Hesiod declares that chaos first arose, and 'then the broad-bosomed earth, ever the firm abode of all things, and Eros.' He says that, after chaos, these two things were produced, the earth and Eros. Parmenidēs, too, speaks thus of the creation, 'He devised Eros the first of all the gods.' And Acusilaus also agreed with Hesiod. From so many quarters is Eros admitted to

be one of the oldest deities." (See the article Eros in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, and the authorities there referred to.)

In another hymn of the A.V. (iii. 25), Kāma, like the Eros of the Greeks, and Cupid of the Latins, is described as the god of sexual love. The commencement of it is as follows:

Uttudas tvā· uttudatu mā dhṛithāḥ śayane sve | ishuḥ Kāmasya yā bhīmā tayā vidhyāmi tvā hṛidi | 2. Ādhīparṇām Kāma-śalyām ishuṁ sankalpa-kulmalām | tāṁ susannatāṁ kṛitvā Kāmo vidhyatu tvā hṛidi | 3. Yā plīkānaṁ śoshayati Kāmasyeshuḥ susannatā | . . . . tayā vidhyāmi tvā hṛidi |

"1. May the disquieter disquiet thee. Do not rest upon thy bed. With the terrible arrow of Kāma I pierce thee in the heart. 2. May Kāma, having well directed the arrow which is winged with pain, barbed with longing, and has desire for its shaft, pierce thee in the heart. 3. With the well-aimed arrow of Kāma, which dries up the spleen, ... I pierce thee in the heart." [591]

(17) *Kāla, or Time.*

In the next two remarkable hymns we find an altogether new doctrine, as Time is there described as the source and ruler of all things:—

A.V. xix. 54:[592] 1. *Kālo aśvo vahati saptaraśmiḥ sahasrāksho ajaro bhūriretāḥ | tam ā rohanti kavayo vipaśchitas tasya chakrā bhuvanāni viśvā | 2. Sapta chakrā vahati Kālaḥ esha saptāsya nābhīr amṛitaṁ nu akshaḥ | sa imā viśvā bhuvanāni arvāṅ Kālaḥ sa īyate prathamo nu devaḥ | 3. Pūrṇaḥ kumbho adhi Kāle āhitas taṁ vai paśyamo bahudhā nu santam | sa imā viśvā bhuvanāni pratyaṅ Kālaṁ tam āhuḥ parame vyoman | 4. Sa eva sam bhuvanāni ābharat sa eva sam bhuvanāni paryait | pitā sann abhavat putraḥ eshāṁ tasmād vai nānyat param asti tejaḥ | 5. Kāl' 'mum divam ajanayat Kālaḥ imāḥ pṛithivīr uta | Kālena bhūtam bhavyaṁ cha ishitaṁ ha vi tishṭhate | 6. Kālo bhūmim asṛijata Kāle tapati sūryaḥ | Kāle ha viśvā bhūtāni Kāle chakshur vi paśyati | 7. Kāle manaḥ Kāle prāṇaḥ Kāle nāma samāhitam | Kālena sarvāḥ*

[591] This hymn is translated by Professor Weber in his Indische Studien, v. 224 ff., from whose version I have derived assistance.

[592] A great deal is said about the potency of Kāla, or Time, in the S'ānti-parva of the Mahābhārata, vv. 8106, 8112, 8125 ff., 8139–8144, 8758, 9877 f., 10060.

nandanti āgatena prajāḥ imāḥ | 8. *Kāle tapaḥ Kāle jyeshṭhaṁ Kāle Brahma samāhitam* | *Kālo ha sarvasyeśvaro yaḥ pitā "sīt Prajāpateḥ* | 9. *Teneshitaṁ tena jātaṁ tad u tasmin pratishṭhitam* | *Kālo ha Brahma bhūtvā bibharti Parameshṭhinam* | 10. *Kālaḥ prajāḥ asṛijata Kālo agre Prajāpatim* | *Svayambhūḥ Kaśyapaḥ Kālāt tapaḥ Kālād ajāyata* |

"1. Time carries [us] forward, a steed, with seven rays, a thousand eyes, undecaying, full of fecundity. On him intelligent sages mount; his wheels are all the worlds. 2. This Time moves on seven wheels; he has seven naves; immortality is his axle. He is at present all these worlds. Time hastens onward, the first god. 3. A full jar is contained in Time. We behold him existing in many forms. He is all these worlds in the future. They call him Time in the highest heaven. 4. It is he who drew forth the worlds, and encompassed them. Being the father, he became their son. There is no other power superior to him. 5. Time generated the sky and these earths. Set in motion by Time, the past and the future subsist. 6. Time created the earth; by Time the sun burns; through Time all beings [exist]; through Time the eye sees. 7. Mind, breath, name, are embraced in Time. All these creatures rejoice when Time arrives. 8. In Time rigorous abstraction, in Time the highest, in Time divine knowledge, is comprehended. Time is lord of all things, he who was the father of Prajāpati. 9. That [universe] has been set in motion by him, produced by him, and is supported on him. Time, becoming divine energy, supports Parameshṭhin. 10. Time produced creatures; Time in the beginning [formed] Prajāpati. The self-born[593] Kaśyapa sprang from Time, and from Time [sprang] rigorous abstraction (tapas)."

A.V. xix. 54, 1. *Kālād āpaḥ samabhavan Kālād brahma tapo diśaḥ* | *Kālenodeti Sūryo Kāle ni viśate punaḥ* | 2. *Kālena vātaḥ pavate Kālena*

[593] The word which I have rendered "self-born" is *svayambhū*. This term must in certain cases be rendered by "self-existent," as in Manu i. 6, 11, where it is applied to the undeveloped primeval Deity, the creator of Brahmā. In other places, however, Brahmā himself, the derived creator, is called *svayambhū*, as in M. Bh. S'antip. v. 7569, though he had previously (in v. 7530) been declared to have been born in a lotus sprung from the navel of Sankarshaṇa, the first-born offspring (v. 7527) of Vishṇu. The same epithet is applied to Brahmā in the Bhāg. Pur. iii. 8, 15. But in fact, *Svayambhū* is well known to be one of the synonyms of Brahmā, though that god is nowhere represented as an underived, self-existent being. This word must therefore be regarded as not necessarily meaning anything more than one who comes into existence in an extraordinary and supernatural manner.

Pṛithivī mahī | Dyaur mahī Kāle āhitā | 3. Kāle ha bhūtam bhavyaṁ cha mantro ajanayat purā | Kālād ṛichaḥ samabhavan yajuḥ Kālād ajāyata | 4. Kāle yajñaṁ samairayan devebhyo bhāgam akshitam | Kāle gandharvāpsarasaḥ Kāle lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ | 5. Kāle 'yam angirāḥ divo atharvā chādhi tishṭhataḥ | imaṁ cha lokam paramaṁ cha lokam puṇyāṁś cha lokān vidhṛitīś cha puṇyāḥ | 6. Sarvān lokān abhijitya brahmaṇā Kālaḥ sa īyate paramo nu devaḥ |

"1. From Time the waters were produced, together with divine knowledge, tapas, and the regions. Through Time the sun rises and again sets. 2. Through Time the wind blows; through time the earth is vast. The great sky is embraced in Time. 3. Through Time the hymn formerly produced both the past and the future. From Time sprang the Rik verses. The Yajus was produced from Time. 4. Through Time they created the sacrifice, an imperishable portion for the gods. On Time the Gandharvas and Apsarases, on Time the worlds are supported. 5, 6. Through Time this Angiras and Atharvan rule over the sky. Having through divine knowledge conquered both this world, and the highest world, and the holy worlds, and the holy ordinances, yea all worlds, Time moves onward as the supreme god."

Rohita is identified with Kāla, A.V. xiii. 2, 39.

The conception of Kāla in these hymns is one which, if taken in its unmodified shape, would have been esteemed heretical in later times.[594] Thus, among the several forms of speculation which are mentioned at the commencement of the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, for the purpose, no doubt, of being condemned as erroneous, is one which regards Kāla, or Time, as the origin of all things. The line in which these different systems are mentioned is as follows: *kālaḥ svabhāvo niyatir yadṛichchhā bhūtāni yoniḥ purushaḥ.* It is the verse referred to in the following note of Professor Wilson, in vol. i. p. 19 of his Vishṇu Purāṇa (Dr. Hall's ed.): "The commentator on the Moksha Dharma (a part of the Śānti-parva of the M. Bh.) cites a passage from the Vedas, which he under-

[594] The M. Bh., however, Anuśāsana-parva, verses 51–56, makes Mṛityu, or death, declare that all nature, all creatures, the world itself, all actions, cessations and changes, derive their essential character from Time, while the gods themselves, including Vishṇu, are, time after time, created and destroyed by the same power (*sarve kālena sṛijyante hriyante cha punaḥ punaḥ*).

stands to allude to the different theories of the cause of creation (then follows the line just quoted); time, inherent nature, consequence of acts, self-will, elementary atoms, matter and spirit, asserted severally by the astrologers, the Buddhists, the Mīmānsakas, the logicians, the Sānkhyas, and the Vedāntins." [595]

The Maitrī Upanishad also celebrates Kāla, vi. 14 f., declaring that the sun is its source (*sūryo yoniḥ kālasya*). We find there the following verse: *kālāt sravanti bhūtāni kālād vṛiddhim prayānti cha | kāle chāstaṁ niyachhanti kālo mūrtir amūrtimān |* "By Time creatures waste, by Time they increase; in Time they set: Time is a formless form." The writer proceeds: *Dve vāva Brahmaṇo rūpe Kālaś cha Akālaś cha | atha yaḥ prag Ādityāt so 'kālo 'kālaḥ | atha yaḥ Ādityādyaḥ sa Kālaḥ sakālaḥ |* "There are two forms of Brahma, Time and No-time. That which is before the sun is No-time, devoid of parts; and that which is subsequent to the sun is Time, with parts."

Manu (i. 24) declares Kāla (Time) to have been one of the things created by Brahmā. But though not admitted as itself the origin of all things, Kāla is, nevertheless, recognized by the author of the Vishṇu Puraṇa as one of the forms of the Supreme Being. See pp. 18, 19, and 25, of Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's Vishṇu Puraṇa, and the note in p. 19, already referred to, where Professor Wilson says, "Time is not usually enumerated in the Puraṇas as an element of the 'first cause;' but the Padma Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata agree with the Vishṇu in including it. It appears to have been regarded, at an earlier date, as an independent cause." See the Bhag. Pur. iii. 5, 34–37; iii. 8, 11 ff.; iii. 10, 10–13; iii. 11, 1 ff.; iii. 12, 1 ff. We thus find the authors of the Purāṇas interweaving with their own cosmogonies all the older elements of speculation which they discovered in the Vedas; and, by blending heretical materials with others which were more orthodox, contriving to neutralize the heterodoxy of the former.

(18) *General remarks on the preceding passages.*

A few general observations are suggested by a consideration of the principal passages which have been quoted in this section.

[595] "Κρόνος was also," adds Prof. Wilson, "one of the first generated agents in creation, according to the Orphic theogony."

I. The conceptions of the godhead expressed in these texts are of a wavering and undetermined character. It is clear that the authors had not attained to a distinct and logical comprehension of the characteristics which they ascribed to the objects of their adoration. On the one hand, the attributes of infinity, omnipotence, omnipresence, are ascribed to different beings, or to the same being under the various names of Purusha, Skambha, Brahma, Hiraṇyagarbha, etc. (R.V. x. 90, 1 ff.; x. 121, 1 ff. A.V. x. 7, 10, 13, 31–33; x. 8, 1). And yet in other places these same qualities are represented as subject to limitations, and these divine beings themselves are said to expand by food, to be produced from other beings (as Purusha from Virāj), to be sacrificed, to be produced from tapas, or to perform tapas (R.V. x. 90, 2, 4, 7. A.V. x. 2, 12 ff., 26; x. 7, 31, 36, 38).

II. In these passages divine power is variously conceived, sometimes as the property of one supreme person, as Purusha, Skambha, etc.; while in other places it is attached (1) to some abstraction, as Kāma (Desire), Kāla (Time), or (2) to some personification of energies residing in living beings, as Prāṇa (Life or Breath), or (3) of the materials (Uchhishṭa) or the implements (juhū, upabhṛit, etc.) of sacrifice, or is ascribed (4) to the vehicles of adoration, to hymns and metres, such as the Virāj, which is said (A.V. viii. 10 1) to have been identical with the world, or (5) to the guardian of sacred science, and future minister of religious rites, the Brahmachārin. It need occasion no surprise that the young priest should be regarded as invested with such transcendent attributes, when even the sacrifices which he was being trained to celebrate, the hymns and metres in which he invoked the gods, and the very sacrificial vessels he handled were conceived to possess a supernatural potency.

We find here a singular variety in the elements of thought and feeling which have concurred to give birth to this crude congeries of ideas, in which the real centre of divine power is obscured, while a multitude of inferior objects are magnified into unreal proportions, and invested with a fictitious sanctity. But these extraordinary representations reveal to us in the Indians of the Vedic age a conception of the universe which was at once (*a*) mystical or sacramental, (*b*) polytheistic, and (*c*) pantheistic; (*a*) everything connected with religious rites being imagined to have in it a spiritual as well as a physical potency; (*b*) all

parts of nature being separately regarded as invested with divine power; and yet (*c*) as constituent parts of one great whole.

(19) *Whether polytheism or monotheism was the earliest form of the Aryan religion: opinions of Messrs. Pictet, Pfleiderer, Scherer, Réville, and Roth on this subject.*

I shall add some remarks on the relation of the Vedic polytheism to the earlier religion, which we may suppose to have prevailed among the primitive Aryans.

M. Adolphe Pictet, in his work "Les Origines Indo-Européennes," vol. ii., has lately discussed the question whether that religion was from the first a polytheism, embracing the principal powers of nature, as comparative philology shows it to have been about the time of the separation of the different branches of the race, or whether it had been originally monotheistic.

He thinks that as a polytheism, such as we find existing at the dawn of Aryan history, could only have been developed gradually, it must have been preceded by a more simple system (p. 651). This inference he supports by the remark that the names of most of the gods in the Aryan mythology correspond with those of the great objects of nature, designated by some of their most characteristic attributes. But as these natural objects have derived their appellations from their physical qualities alone, they could not originally, at the time when they received their names, have been regarded as divinities. If nature-worship had prevailed among the Aryans from the commencement, some trace of this fact must have been preserved in their language, which, however, manifests nothing but the most complete realism as regards the epithets applied to natural phenomena. As it thus appears that the great objects of nature could not have been regarded as divine at the time when the language was formed, the Aryans could not originally have been polytheistic. It is not, however, to be imagined that a race so highly gifted should, even at this early period, have been destitute of all religious sentiments and beliefs. But if not polytheists, they must have been monotheists. This conclusion M. Pictet corroborates by referring to the most ancient names of the deity, such as *Deva*, etc., which he regards as in their origin unconnected

with natural objects or phenomena. This primitive monotheism of the Aryans he supposes to have arisen from the necessity which they instinctively felt to refer the production of the world to one first Cause, which they would naturally place, not on earth, their own familiar abode, but in the mysterious and inaccessible heavens. This supreme being would thus be called *Déva*, or the celestial; and as the heaven which he inhabited was one, so would He himself also be conceived of as an Unity. This primitive monotheism, however, could not have been very clearly defined, but must have remained a vague, obscure, and rudimentary conception. It would not otherwise be easy to understand how it should have degenerated into polytheism. But as the idea of God remained veiled in this mysterious obscurity, it became necessary for the worshippers to seek for some divinities intermediate between Him and themselves, through whom they might approach Him; and to explain the multiplicity of phenomena (which they were not as yet sufficiently enlightened to derive from the uniform action of one central will), by regarding them as regulated by a plurality of divine agents. At first, however, the polytheism would be simple, and the subordinate deities composing the pantheon would be considered as the ministers of the one supreme deity. Such may have been the state of things when the different branches of the Aryans separated. The polytheistic idea, however, when once it had begun to work, would tend constantly to multiply the number of divinities, as we see it has already done in the Vedic age. So great, however, is the power exercised over the human mind by the principle of unity, that the idea of one Supreme Being, though obscured, is never lost, but is always breaking forth like a light from the clouds in which it is enveloped. The traces of monotheism which are found in the Rig-veda may, perhaps, M. Pictet thinks, be reminiscences of the more ancient religion described above, though the pantheistic ideas observable, whether in the myths or in the speculations of the same hymn-collection, are the results of a new tendency peculiar to the Indian intellect. While, however, the Indians thus eventually fell into pantheism, the Iranians had, at an earlier period, embraced a reformed system, not dualistic, as is commonly supposed, but monotheistic; and the religious separation which then took place between the two tribes may have had its origin in a reaction of one section of the nation

against the growing polytheism, and a recurrence to the principles of the old monotheism, of which the remembrance had not been altogether lost (pp. 708 ff.).

I scarcely think that M. Pictet's theory regarding the character of the primitive religion of the Aryans is borne out by the arguments which he adduces in its support.

1. It may be quite true that the complicated polytheism which we find in the hymns of the Rig-veda, or even the narrower system which we may suppose to have existed at the separation of the Indian and Iranian tribes, could only have been the slowly-developed product of many centuries; but this does not prove that a simpler form of nature-worship, embracing a plurality of gods, might not have existed among the ancestors of these tribes from the beginning of their history. I can see no reason for the conclusion that monotheism must necessarily have been the starting-point of the system.

2. Again, the fact that the great objects of external nature, the sky, the earth, the sun, were designated in the oldest Aryan language by names descriptive merely of their physical characteristics, supposing it to be admitted, would not suffice to establish M. Pictet's inference that no divine character was attributed to those objects at the time when they were named. Though we suppose that the sky (*dyu* or *div*) derived its appellation from its luminous appearance, the earth (*pṛithivī* or *mahī*) from its breadth or vastness, and the sun (*sūrya* or *savitṛi*) from its brightness (Pictet, ii. 667) and fecundating power, it does not follow that, though familiarly called by these names, they were not at the same time regarded as living powers, invested with divine attributes. How strong soever may have been the religious feelings of the primitive Aryans, however lively their sense of the supernatural, and however forcibly we may therefore imagine them to have been impelled to deify the grand natural objects by which they were surrounded and overawed, it is obvious that the physical impressions made by those objects on their senses would be yet more powerful (in proportion as they were more frequent and more obtrusive); and that consequently the sky, earth, sun, etc., even though regarded as deities, would naturally be called by names denoting their external characteristics, rather than by other appellations descriptive of the divine attributes they were supposed to possess.

If an etymological argument of this sort were to be considered as settling the question, we might in like manner insist that, because the word Varuṇa means (or is supposed to mean) the enveloper, it must therefore in the beginning have designated the sky alone (as the corresponding word οὐρανός afterwards did in Greek), and could not have been the name of a divinity. But this conclusion, however it may appear to be confirmed by Greek usage, receives no support from the most ancient Indian literature, in which the word is never employed for sky.

In such inquiries, moreover, it is unsafe to build too much on etymologies, many of which are in themselves extremely uncertain.

I will quote some remarks bearing upon this subject from Dr. Otto Pfleiderer's book, "Die Religion, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte," ii. 45 ff. (Leipzig, 1869), received while this work was passing through the press: "We thus see that in this original form of piety" (the conception of heaven and earth as the principal divinities), "there already exist general powers, to which the devout spirit is directed, powers which, in consequence of their relative infinitude, were well calculated to present and render comprehensible, to the childlike spirit, the idea of absolute infinity. It is on this account that purely moral emotions were possible in this original form of religion, and connected with that divine worship, although we are not, therefore, in any way led to assume that men had any thought of a divine being distinguished from heaven and earth, in the form, for instance, of a creative god, enthroned in the heavens. From the fact that, in our own case, the idea of a God can be only awakened and symbolized by, but never identified with, the visible infinity of heaven and earth, we can draw no conclusion as to the original period of humanity: for to the childlike contemplation of the earliest races, the heaven and earth were not, what they are for us, for the educated understanding, a system of finite causes standing in a relation of orderly reciprocal action to each other; but living beings, endowed with soul, acting, after the manner of men, with knowledge and will, to whom consequently men could quite properly pray with the firm belief that they would be heard, and their wishes granted. Such a primeval childlike naïf prayer we find in the Vedas: 'Father Heaven, gracious mother Earth, brother Fire, ye shining ones, have compassion on us' (see above, p. 22, note 32).

The Athenians prayed at a still later time: 'Rain, rain, O dear Zeus, down upon the cultivated lands and fields of the Athenians,' on which Max Müller strikingly remarks that this prayer is clearly addressed to the (sensible atmospheric) sky, though the mere addition of 'dear' in 'O dear Zeus,' is sufficient to change the sky into a personal being. The same is the case with a primeval Chinese prayer: 'O blue Heaven, look down upon the proud, and have compassion on the wretched.' The contents of this prayer presuppose a spiritual being, which, however, is by the adjunct 'blue' easily identified with the visible vault of heaven. Max Müller (Science of Language, ii. 413 ff.) here raises the question whether the identity of the word for heaven and for god is to be explained (1) by supposing that the word at first merely expressed the conception of the sensible object heaven, and that the appellative noun so fixed was transferred to the idea, which arose afterwards, of God, as a being enthroned in the highest heaven, as one of the possible names of this as yet nameless being; or (2) by supposing that the conception of heaven and that of God existed separately from the first in the human consciousness, and were only in consequence of their resemblance (the tertium comparationis: clearness, elevation, infinity) both expressed by the same word with the signification of shining. In both these modes of explanation the relation between god and heaven appears to be considered in a fashion too external, and too much resulting from reflection. We must therefore rather conceive it thus: Called into being by the sensuous impression of the shining, lofty, boundless heaven, the sense of the Divine Being was stirred into activity in the human spirit, and whilst the imagination, which moulded speech, expressed that sensuous impression by the word heaven, it at the same time and in the same indivisible act expressed the devout movement of the spirit by the same word, as the name of the (highest) god. The distinction which we now make between these two things, and which is the main cause of the difficulty we experience in understanding mythology, had not begun to be made by the imagination of the earliest men, who, when they pronounced the word 'heaven,' applied it in thought to a living, animated, and active being, and when they uttered the word 'God,' applied it to the visible, clear, blue heaven."

On the subject before us I will also quote some remarks by two

recent French writers. The first of these is M. Edmond Scherer, an acute theologian and accomplished critic, who, in a review of M. Pictet's work, thus expresses himself:—

"M. Pictet distinguishes in the religion of the Aryans two elements, contrary in appearance, (1) a monotheism pure and elevated, which conceives the Deity as a being distinct from the world; (2) a polytheism resulting from the personification of natural objects, and which, by attributing life to these objects, creates an entire mythology. This apparent contradiction M. Pictet explains by a development. He thinks the human mind must have proceeded from the simple to the complex, from unity to diversity; that polytheism has arisen from the need of seeking other beings intermediate between the Supreme Being and man, and that it has thus been able to establish itself without destroying altogether the first or monotheistic idea. We are thus brought back to the problem with which M. Renan has dealt in his studies on the Semitic races, although with this difference, that M. Renan opposed the Semitic, as the genius of monotheism, to the Arya, as the genius of polytheism. Perhaps in both cases the difficulty arises from regarding as absolute an opposition which is merely relative. There never has been, and doubtless there never will be, either a pure polytheism or a pure monotheism. Thus religions can only be defined or characterised by the predominance of the one of the two elements over the other; and their history consists less in successive phases, in their passing from one form to the other, than in the coexistence and the struggle of two principles answering to two requirements of the human soul which are equally imperious."—(Mélanges d'Histoire Religieuse, pp. 35 f.)

On the same subject another distinguished theologian of the critical school, M. Albert Réville, writes as follows in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" (Feb., 1864, p. 721 f.):—

"If we had before us positive facts attesting that the march of the human mind has been such (as M. Pictet describes), we should only have to surrender, and admit, contrary to all probability *à priori*, that man, while still sunk in the most profound ignorance, was better able to grasp religious truths than he was at the epoch when he began to reflect and to know. But have these facts any existence? So long as none can be alleged which have a demonstrative force, ought we not to

hold to the hypothesis, confirmed by so many analogies, of a gradual elevation of religion (as of all the other spheres in which the human mind moves), from the simplest elements to the most sublime conceptions?" Again: "It is evident, and fully admitted by M. Pictet, that our ancestors were polytheists before their separation; but at that period this polytheism was not of yesterday. It had already had a history; and it is a matter of course that, in the historical development of a polytheistic religion, there must have been, as it were, guesses, germs, presentiments of monotheism. From the moment when a plurality of divine beings is recognised, a community of divine nature between them all is also admitted. In this way arise such epithets as 'luminous,' 'adorable,' 'living,' 'mighty,' which in course of time become substantives, like our word 'Dieu' itself. The sky, personified, and become an object of adoration, speedily usurps the characteristics of a supreme Deity, elevated above all others, and master of an irresistible weapon, the thunderbolt. Thus in most mythologies the sky is what it is in that of the Greeks, the Jupiter, the sovereign father of gods and men. In short, it is clear that the human mind, in proportion as it observes and reflects, rises more and more towards monotheism, in obedience to that imperious law, hidden in the depths of its being, which leads it to the logical pursuit of unity. But this movement is very slow, greatly retarded by the force of tradition and habit, and we ought not to place at the beginning that which can only be found at the very end of the process."

I shall conclude with an extract from Professor R. Roth's Essay on the "Highest gods of the Aryan races," (Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 76 f.), in which that able writer, while holding that the religion of those tribes in its earlier stages contained a more spiritual element, which was eventually preserved in a modified form by the Zoroastrian creed, recognizes, as also embraced in that elder religion, a system of nature-worship which afterwards became the most prominent element in the Indian mythology. We must, therefore, regard Roth also as opposed to M. Pictet's theory of a primitive monotheism. The greater part of this passage has been already given in a former section, pp. 117 f.; but it is advisable that the larger portion of it should be repeated here, with the addition of the introductory paragraph, from the bearing of the whole upon the present discussion.

"But that which still further enhances the interest of this inquiry, and is of especial importance in reference to the primitive period, is the peculiar character attaching to the conception of the Ādityas. The names of these deities (with a certain reservation in regard to that of Varuṇa) embrace no ideas drawn from physical nature, but express certain relations of moral and social life. Mitra, 'the friend,' Aryaman, Bhaga, Anśa, the gods who 'favour,' 'bless,' 'sympathize,' and Daksha, 'the intelligent,' are pure spirits, in whom the noblest relations of human intercourse are mirrored, and so appear (*i.e.* the relations appear) as emanations of the divine life, and as objects of immediate divine protection. But if the earliest Aryan antiquity thus beheld in its highest gods, not the most prominent manifestations of physical nature, but the conditions of moral life and society, and consequently esteemed these moral blessings more highly than anything connected with the wants and enjoyments of sense, we must ascribe to that age a high spiritual capacity, whatever may have been its deficiency in the constituents of external civilization.

"These considerations throw some light on the principles and character of the two Aryan religions which have sprung from one and the same source. The religion of Ormuzd holds fast, while it shapes, after its own peculiar fashion, the supersensuous element called into existence by the higher order of gods belonging to the common ancient creed, and eventually rejects almost entirely the deities representing the powers of nature, which, as well as those of the former class, it had inherited from the earliest period. The Vedic creed, on the other hand, is preparing to concede the highest rank to the latter class (the representatives of the powers of nature), to transfer to them an ever increasing honour and dignity, to draw down the divine life into nature, and bring it ever closer to man. The proof of this is especially to be found in the myth regarding Indra, a god who, in the earlier period of Aryan religious history, either had no existence, or was confined to an obscure province. The Zend legend attributes to another deity the function which forms the essence of the later myth regarding Indra. This god Trita, however, disappears from the Indian mythology in the course of the Vedic age, and Indra succeeds him. And not only so, but towards the end of this period Indra begins to push aside even Varuṇa himself, the highest god of the ancient creed,

from the position which is shown, partly by historical testimonies, and partly by the very conception of his character, to belong to him, and becomes, if not the supreme god, at least the national god, whom his encomiasts strive to elevate above the ancient Varuṇa." . . . . "Thus the course of the movement is, that an ancient supreme deity, originally common to the Aryans (*i.e.* the ancestors of the Persians and Indians), and perhaps also to the entire Indo-Germanic race, Varuṇa-Ormuzd-Uranos, is thrown back into the darkness, and in his room Indra, a peculiarly Indian, and a national god, is introduced. With Varuṇa disappears at the same time the old character of the people, while with Indra a new character, foreign to the primitive Indo-Germanic nature, is in an equal measure brought in. Viewed in its internal essence, this modification in the religious conceptions of the Aryans consists in an ever-increasing tendency to attenuate the supersensuous, mysterious side of their creed, till at length the gods who were originally the highest and the most spiritual have become unmeaning representatives of nature, and Varuṇa is nothing more than the ruler of the sea, while the Ādityas are the mere regents of the sun's course.

"When the higher and more spiritual elements in the Indian creed had thus become so greatly reduced, it was inevitable that a reaction should ensue," etc.

Although, towards the close of the preceding passage, Professor Roth speaks of an "ancient supreme deity" (*ein alter . . . . oberster Gott*) as "originally common to the Aryans," it is evident from the entire context that he does not regard this deity as their only object of adoration, since he recognizes the existence of a plurality of gods. In the previous part of his dissertation, too, Roth speaks (p. 70) of the close relation in the Vedic era between Varuṇa and another god, Mitra,—a relation which he holds to have subsisted from an earlier period. And at p. 74, he refers to the activity and dignity of Varuṇa being shared by the other Ādityas, though no separate provinces can be assigned to them, while he is the first of the number, and represents in himself the powers of the whole class. If this description apply to the ancient Aryan religion, it cannot be properly said to have been monotheistic, though one deity may have been more prominent than the rest.

SECTION XXII.

MISCELLANEOUS HYMNS FROM THE RIG- AND ATHARVA-VEDAS.[596]

The hymns of the Rig-veda are, as is well known, almost entirely of a religious character, designed, or at least, adapted, for recitation at the worship of the various popular deities, or at some of the ceremonials connected with various important events in the domestic or public life of the ancient Indians. Among these, however, are interspersed a few of a different description, which, from the wide celebrity they had acquired, were carefully preserved by the descendants of their authors, or by other interested persons, and have been incorporated in the great collection of sacred songs. Some of these productions, like the colloquy of Yama and Yamī (translated above in pp. 282 ff.), the very obscure conversation between the hero Purūravas and the Apsaras Urvaśī (R.V. x. 95),[597] and the Vrishākapi hymn (R.V. x. 86), derived their importance from the interlocutors being personages regarded as divine, or ranked among the ancestors of the human race. Others, like the 72nd, the 90th, and the 129th hymns of the 10th Book (also quoted above in pp. 48 f., 367 ff., and 356 f.) were venerated from the nature of the topics which they handled, or the depth or gravity of the speculations which they contain. Others, again, such as the hymns referred to by Professor Roth, in his dissertation "on the historical matter contained in the Rig-veda,"[598] would possess an

[596] I have again to acknowledge the valuable aid which I have received from Professor Aufrecht in rendering some of the more difficult parts of the hymns translated in this section.

[597] Professor Max Müller's Essay on Comparative Mythology, in the Oxford Essays for 1856, reprinted in his "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. ii., contains a translation of this myth, as narrated in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa, however, only quotes and illustrates the easiest verses of the hymn (R.V. x. 95), making no reference to its most obscure and difficult portions. Some of the verses not cited in the Brāhmaṇa are explained by Professor Müller. See also Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 153 ff. and 230.

[598] Sur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, p. 87.

interest for the descendants of the contending priestly races to whose rivalries they made allusion, and might even be valued for the purposes of imprecation to which they could be applied.[599] And those compositions which celebrate the liberality of different princes to their domestic priests would naturally be handed down with care by the successors of those favoured individuals.

In the following Section I shall adduce some other hymns, both from the Rig- and the Atharva-vedas, which are only in part of a religious character, and possess a greater general interest than the bulk of those with which they are associated, from the references which they make to human character, dispositions, feelings, passions, and circumstances; from the light which they throw on the progress of sacerdotal pretensions, or from some other feature of their contents. In some of these hymns it will be seen that a considerable amount of shrewdness and worldly wisdom is expressed in a sententious form.

(1) *Hymn to Araṇyāṇī*, R.V. x. 146.

The first hymn which I shall adduce, addressed to the goddess of forest solitude, is distinguished by the poetical feeling which pervades it, and the natural manner in which the emotions arising from the situation there described are depicted, though some of the allusions which it contains are difficult to explain or comprehend. It is repeated in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 5, 5, 6 f., and interpreted by the Commentator on that work. (See also Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 132).

1. *Araṇyāni Araṇyāni asau yā preva naśyasi | kathā grāmaṁ na gachhasi na tvā bhīr iva vindati | 2. Vṛishāravāya vadate yad upāvati chichchikaḥ | āghāṭibhir iva dhāvayann Araṇyānir mahīyate | 3. Uta gāvaḥ ivādanti uta veśmeva dṛiśyate | uto Araṇyāniḥ sāyaṁ śakaṭīr iva sarjati | 4. Gām angaisha ā hvayati dārv angaisho apāvadhīt | vasann Araṇyānyāṁ sāyam akrukshad iti manyate | 5. Na vai Araṇyānir hanti anyaś chen nābhigachhati | svādoḥ phalasya jagdhvāya yathākāmaṁ nipadyate | 6. Anjanagandhāṁ surabhim bahvannām akṛishīvalām | prāham mṛigāṇām mātaram Araṇyānim asaṁsisham |*

[599] See the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 327 and 143.

1. "Araṇyānī, Araṇyānī, thou who seemest to lose thyself there, why dost thou not ask [the way to] the village? Does not terror seize thee (at thy solitude)? 2. When the chichchika (a bird) answers to the roar of bulls when it is uttered, flying about as if with cymbals, then Araṇyānī rejoices. 3. And the cows seem to eat, and the house appears to be seen, and at evening Araṇyānī seems to discharge the carts. 4. One man calls to his cow, another fells a tree; a man dwelling in the forest (in Araṇyānī) fancies that she [or some one] has screamed. 5. Araṇyānī is not [herself] murderous, if no one else (a tiger, etc.) assails; but, after eating of sweet fruit, a man rests there at his pleasure. 6. I laud Araṇyānī, the mother of wild beasts, the unctuous-scented, the fragrant, who yields abundance of food, though she has no hinds to till her."

The following is a free metrical version of the first, fifth, and sixth verses of this hymn:—

1. Thou seemest, goddess, here to stray
Forlorn among these trackless woods,
These dark and dreary solitudes.
Why dost thou not inquire the way
That leads to cheerful human haunts?
Is there nought here thy courage daunts?

5. Herself this goddess does not slay,
Although she nurtures murderous beasts:
On luscious fruits the traveller feasts,
Supplied by her, and goes his way.

6. Rich-scented, fragrant, full of flowers,
Her realm with various food is filled;
For though by hinds she is not tilled,
She drinks in sap from heavenly showers.

The next hymn which I shall quote refers to the great variety by which the aims and pursuits of different men are characterized. It is distinguished by a vein of naïf observation, not unmingled with satire; and is curious as disclosing to us the occupations pursued by the

poet's father and mother, though it makes no reference to the class to which they belonged.

(2) *Rig-veda*, IX. 112.

1. *Nānānāṁ vai u no dhiyo vi vratāni janānām | takshā rishṭaṁ rutam bhishag brahmā sunvantam ichhati Indrāya Indo parisrava | 2. Jaratībhir oshadhībhir parṇebhiḥ śakunānām | kārmāro aśmabhir dyubhir hiraṇyavantam ichhati—| 3. Kārur ahaṁ tato bhishag upalaprakshiṇī nanā | nānādhiyo vasūyavo anu gāḥ iva tasthima—| 4. Aśvo volhā sukhaṁ rathaṁ hasanām upamantriṇaḥ | śepo romanvantau bhedau vār in maṇḍūkaḥ ichhati—|*

"1. We different men have all our various imaginations and designs. The carpenter seeks something that is broken, the doctor a patient, the priest some one who will offer libations. O Indu (Soma), flow forth for Indra.[600] 2. With dried-up sticks, with birds' feathers, with metals, and fire [?] the artizan continually seeks after a man with plenty of gold. O Indu, etc., etc. 3. (=Nirukta, vi. 6) I am a poet, my father is a doctor, and my mother is a grinder of corn. With our different views, seeking to get gain, we run after [our respective objects] as after cattle.[601] O Indu, etc. 4. The draught horse desires an easy-going carriage; merry companions a laugh; the female sex the male; and frogs a pond. O Indu," etc.

I add a free metrical rendering of these verses:—

Men's tastes and trades are multifarious,
And so their ends and aims are various.
The smith seeks something cracked to mend;
The leech would fain have sick to tend.
The priest desires a devotee,
From whom he may extract his fee.

[600] This last clause, which is repeated at the end of each of the verses, and transforms the hymn into an address to Soma, is perhaps a later addition to an older song; as it seems to have no connection with the other parts of the verses to which it is attached.

[601] The three preceding verses are translated by Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 74.

Each craftsman makes and vends his ware,
And hopes the rich man's gold to share.
My sire 's a leech; and I a bard;
Corn grinds my mother, toiling hard.
All craving wealth, we each pursue,
By different means, the end in view,
Like people running after cows,
Which too far off have strayed to browse.
The draught-horse seeks an easy yoke,
The merry dearly like a joke,
Of lovers youthful belles are fond,
And thirsty frogs desire a pond.

(3) *Rig-veda*, x. 34.

The next hymn, which may possibly be the production of one who lays before us the sad results of his own bitter experience, describes with great vividness, graphic power, and truth of observation, the seductions and miseries of gambling, which we see were as acutely felt by their victims in those early ages as they are in these later times.

1 (=Nirukta, ix. 8). *Prāvepāḥ mā bṛihato mādayanti pravātejāḥ iriṇe varvṛitānāḥ | somasya iva Maujavatasya bhaksho vibhīdako jāgrivir mahyam achhān | 2. Na mā mimetha na jihīḷe eshā śivā sakhibhyaḥ uta mahyam āsīt | akshasya aham ekaparasya hetor anuvratām apa jāyām arodham | 3. Dveshṭi śvaśrūr apa jāyā ruṇaddhi na nāthito vindate mardhitāram | aśvasya iva jarato vasnyasya nāhaṁ vindāmi kitavasya bhogam | 4. Anye jāyām pari mṛiśanti asya yasya agṛidhad vedane vājī akshaḥ | pitā mātā bhrātaraḥ enam āhur na jānīmo nayata baddham etam | 5. Yad ādīdhye na davishāṇi ebhiḥ parāyadbhyo ava hīye sakhibhyaḥ | nyuptāś cha babhravo vācham akrata emi id eshāṁ nishkṛitaṁ jāriṇī iva | 6. Sabhām eti kitavaḥ pṛichhamāno jeshyāmi iti tanvā śūśujānaḥ | akshāso asya vi tiranti kāmam pratidīvne dadhatāḥ ā kṛitāni | 7. Akshāsaḥ id ankuśino nitodino nikṛitvānas tapanās tāpayishṇavaḥ | kumāradeshṇāḥ jayataḥ punarhaṇo madhvā sampṛiktāḥ kitavasya barhaṇā | 8. Tripanchāśaḥ krīḷati vrātaḥ eshāṁ devaḥ iva savitā satyadharmā | ugrasya chid manyave na namante rājā chid ebhyo namaḥ it kṛiṇoti | 9. Nīchā vartante upari sphuranti ahastāso hastavantaṁ*

sahante | divyāḥ angārāḥ iriṇe nyuptāḥ śītāḥ santo hṛidayaṁ nir dahanti | 10. Jāyā tapyate kitavasya hīnā mātā putrasya charataḥ kva svit | ṛiṇāvā bibhyad dhanam ichhamāno anyeshām astam upa naktam eti | 11. Striyaṁ dṛishṭvāya kitavaṁ tatāpa anyeshāṁ jāyāṁ sukṛitaṁ cha yonim | pūrvāhṇe aśvān yuyuje hi babhrūn so agner ante vṛishalaḥ papāda | 12. Yo vaḥ senānīr mahato gaṇasya rājā vrātasya prathamo babhūva | tasmai kṛiṇomi na dhanā ruṇadhmi daśāham prāchīs tad ṛitaṁ vadāmi | 13. Akshair mā dīvyaḥ kṛishim it kṛishasva vitte ramasva bahu manyamānaḥ | tatra gāvaḥ kitava tava jāyā tad me vi chashṭe Savitā 'yam aryaḥ | 14. Mitraṁ kṛiṇudhvaṁ khalu mṛilata no mā no ghoreṇa charatābhi dhṛishṇu | ni vo nu manyur viśatām arātir anyo babhrūṇām prasitau nu astu |

"1. The tumbling, air-born [products] of the great Vibhīdaka tree (*i.e.* the dice) delight me as they continue to roll on the dice-board. The exciting dice seem to me like a draught of the soma-plant growing on mount Mūjavat. 2. She (the gamester's own wife) never quarrelled with or despised me. She was kind to me, and to my friends. But I, for the sake of the partial dice, have spurned my devoted spouse. 3. My mother-in-law detests me; my wife rejects me. In his need [the gamester] finds no comforter. I cannot discover what is the enjoyment of the gambler any more than I can perceive what is the happiness of a worn-out hack horse. 4. Others pay court to the wife of the man whose wealth is coveted by the impetuous dice. His father, mother, brothers, cry out, 'We know nothing of him; take him away bound.' 5. When I resolve not to be tormented by them, because I am abandoned by my friends who withdraw from me,—yet as soon as the brown dice, when they are thrown, make a rattling sound, I hasten to their rendezvous, like a woman to her paramour.[602] 6. The gamester comes to the assembly, glowing in body, and asking himself, 'shall I win?' The dice inflame his desire, by making over his winnings to his opponent. 7. Hooking, piercing, deceitful, vexatious, delighting to torment, the dice dispense transient gifts, and again ruin the winner; they appear to the gambler covered with honey. 8. Their troop of fifty-three disports itself [disposing men's destinies] like the god Savitṛi, whose ordinances never fail. They bow not before

[602] These words are quoted in Nirukta, xii. 7.

the wrath even of the fiercest. The king himself makes obeisance to them. 9. They roll downward; they bound upward. Having no hands, they overcome him who has. These celestial coals, when thrown on the diceboard, scorch the heart, though cold themselves. 10. The destitute wife of the gamester is distressed, and so too is the mother of a son who goes she knows not whither. In debt and seeking after money, the gambler approaches with trepidation the houses of other people at night. 11. It vexes the gamester to see his own wife, and then to observe the wives and happy homes of others. In the morning he yokes the brown horses (the dice); by the time when the fire goes out he has sunk into a degraded wretch. 12. He who is the general of your band, the first king of your troop,—to him I stretch forth [my] ten [fingers] toward the east [in reverence]:[603] I do not reject wealth, but I declare that which is right (when I say): 13. Never play with dice: practice husbandry; rejoice in thy property, esteeming it sufficient. 'There, o gamester, are thy cows; [this is] thy wife;'—so the adorable Savitṛi addresses me. 14. Be friendly [o dice]; be auspicious to us; do not bewitch us powerfully with your enchantment. Let your wrath and hostility abate. Let others be subject to the fetters of the brown ones (the dice)."

The following is an attempt freely to reproduce, in verse, the spirit of this composition:—

These dice that roll upon the board,
To me intense delight afford.
Sweet Soma-juice has not more power
To lure me in an evil hour.
To strife and wrangling disinclined,
My gentle wife was always kind:
But I, absorbed in maddening play,
Have chased this tender spouse away.
She now, in turn, my person spurns;
Her mother's wrath against me burns:
Distressed and vexed, in vain I plead,
For none will help me in my need.

[603] Compare A.V. v. 28, 11, and Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 64.

As wretched as a worn-out hack's,
The gamester's life all joyance lacks.
His means by play away are worn,
While gallants court his wife forlorn.
His father, mother, brothers shout,
"The madman bind, and drag him out."
At times, the scorn of every friend,
I try my foolish ways to mend,
Resolve no more my means to waste
On this infatuated taste:
But all in vain:—when, coming near,
The rattle of the dice I hear,
I rush, attracted by their charms,
Like lady to her lover's arms.
As to his game the gambler hies,
Once more his hopes of winning rise;
And loss but more his ardour fires;
To try his luck he never tires.
The dice their victims hook and tear,
Disturbing, torturing, false though fair.
The transient gains they yield to-day
Are all to morrow swept away.
These sportive dice, a potent band,
The destinies of men command.
They laugh to scorn the fierce man's frown;
Before them doughty kings bow down.
They downward roll, they upward bound,
And, handless, men with hands confound.
They scorch the heart like brands, these dice,
Although themselves as cold as ice.
The gambler's hapless wife is sad;
His mother mourns her wayward lad.
In want, at night he seeks relief
By graceless shifts, a trembling thief.
He groans to see his wretched wife,
And then the happy wives and life
Of others, free from care and strife.

His bad career, with morning light
Begun, in ruin ends by night.
To him, the chief who leads your bands,
Ye Dice, I lift my suppliant hands;
"I hail thy gifts when thou art kind,
But crave thy leave to speak my mind.
Forgive me, king of all the dice,
If thus I give my friend advice:
'Abandon play, and till the soil,
For this shall better pay thy toil.
Well-pleased with what thou hast, forbear
To crave of wealth an ampler share.'"
"Thy wife, thy kine,—in these rejoice,"
Thus cries a god with warning voice.
Be gracious, Dice, we now implore;
Bewitch us with your spells no more.
From us withdraw, to us be kind,
And others with your fetters bind.

That the passion for gambling prevailed very extensively at the time when the hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-vedas were composed is clear from various other allusions to the practice which we find there. Thus in R.V. vii. 86, 6, dice are mentioned along with wine, anger, thoughtlessness, etc., as causes of sin (see above, p. 66). The following verses from the Atharva-veda prove the same point:—

A.V. vii. 50, 1. *Yathā vṛiksham aśanir viśvāhā hanti aprati | evāham adya kitavān akshair badhyāsam aprati | 2. Turāṇām aturāṇām viśām avarjushīṇām | samaitu viśvato bhago antarhastaṁ kṛitam mama |*

"1. As the lightning every day strikes the tree irresistibly, so may I to-day irresistibly smite the gamesters with the dice. 2. May the wealth of the rich and of the poor unresistingly be collected from every side into my hand as winnings."

vii. 109, 1. *Idam ugrāya babhrave namo yo aksheshu tanūvaśī | ghṛitena kaliṁ śikshāmi sa no mṛiḍāti īdṛiśe | 2. Ghṛitam Apsarābhyo vaha tvam Agne pāṁsūn akshebhyaḥ sikatāḥ apaś cha | yathābhāgaṁ havyadātiṁ jushāṇāḥ madanti devāḥ ubhayāni havyā | 3. Apsarasaḥ sadhamādam madanti havirdhānam antarā sūryaṁ cha | tāḥ me hastau saṁsṛijantu ghṛitena sapatnam me kitavaṁ randhayantu | 4. Ādinavam*

pratidīvne ghṛitena asmān abhi kshara | vṛiksham ivāśanyā jahi yo asmān pratidīvyati |

"1. This reverence be paid to the brown [die], who is ruler among the dice. With butter I worship the Kali; may he thus be auspicious to us. 2. Bring, o Agni, butter to the Apsarases, but dust, sand, and water to the dice. Seeking oblations according to their several shares, the gods delight in both offerings. 3. The Apsarases hold a festival between the oblation and the sun. May they anoint my hands with butter, and overwhelm the gamester who is my opponent. 4. Dispense bad luck to our adversary, but moisten us with butter. Strike, as lightning does a tree, the man who plays against us."

vi. 118, 1. *Yad hastābhyāṁ chakṛima kilbishāṇi akshāṇāṁ gaṇam upalipsamānāḥ | Ugrampaśye Ugrajitau tad adyāpsarasāv anu dattām ṛiṇaṁ naḥ |*

"1. Whatever sins we have committed with our hands, seeking to obtain the host of dice,—remit to us to-day that debt, ye Apsarases Ugrampaśyā and Ugrajit."

iv. 38, 1. *Udbhindatīṁ sanjayantīm apsarām sādhudevinīm | glahe kṛitāni kṛiṇvānām apsarāṁ tām iha huve | 2. Vichinvatīm ākirantīm apsarām sādhudevinīm | glahe kṛitāni gṛihṇānām apsarām—| 3. Yā āyaiḥ pariṇrityati ādadānā kṛitaṁ glahāt | sā naḥ kṛitāni śīshatī prahām āpnotu māyayā | sā naḥ payasvatī aitu mā no jaishur idam dhanam | 4. Yāḥ akśheshu pramodante śuchaṁ krodhaṁ cha bibhrati | ānandinīm pramodinīm apsarāṁ tām iha huve |*

"1. I invoke hither the skilfully-playing Apsaras who cuts up and conquers, and gets gains in the game of dice. 2. I invoke hither the skilfully-playing Apsaras who collects and scatters, and receives gains in the game of dice. 3. May she who dances about with the dice, when she wins by gaming, grant gain to us, and obtain success through her skill. May she come to us with abundance of food. Let them not conquer this money of ours. 4. I invoke hither the joyful and exulting Apsaras — those [goddesses] who delight in dice, and who cherish grief and anger."

It will be seen from these verses that the Apsarases are intimately connected with gambling. In A.V. ii. 2, 4, they are said to be "fond of dice," and soul-bewitching" (*akshakāmāḥ manomuhaḥ*).

The next two hymns which I proceed to quote are in praise of

generosity. The first of them celebrates liberality to the destitute in general; the second eulogizes the same virtue when exhibited in giving presents to priests.

(4) *Rig-veda*, x. 117.

1. *Na vai u devāḥ kshudham id vadhaṁ dadur utāśitam upa gachhanti mṛityavaḥ | uto rayiḥ pṛiṇato nopa dasyati utāpṛiṇan mardḥitāraṁ na vindate | 2. Yaḥ ādhrāya chakamānāya pitvo annavān san raphitāya upajagmushe | sthiram manaḥ kṛiṇute sevate purā uto chit sa mardḥitāraṁ na vindate | 3. Sa id bhojo yo gṛihave dadāti annakāmāya charate kṛiśāya | aram asmai bhavati yāmahūtā utāparīshu kṛiṇute sakhāyam | 4. Na sa sakhā yo na dadāti sakhye sachābhuve sachamānāya pitvaḥ | apa asmāt preyād na tad oko asti pṛiṇantam anyam araṇaṁ chid ichhet | 5. Pṛiṇīyād in nādhamānāya tavyān drāghīyāṁsam anu paśyeta panthām | o hi vartante rathyā iva chakrā anyam anyam upa tiṣṭhhanta rāyaḥ | 6. Mogham annaṁ vindate aprachetāḥ satyam bravīmi vadhaḥ it sa tasya | na aryamaṇam pushyati no sakhāyaṁ kevalāgho bhavati kevalādī | 7. Kṛishann it phālaḥ āśitaṁ kṛiṇoti yann adhvānam apa vṛinkte charitraiḥ | vadan brahmā avadato vanīyan pṛiṇann āpir apṛiṇantam abhi syāt | 8. Ekapād bhūyo dvipado vichakrame dvipāt tripādam abhi eti paśchāt | chatushpād eti dvipadām abhisvare sampaśyan panktīr upatiṣṭhamānaḥ | 9. Samau chid hastau na samaṁ vivishṭaḥ sammatarā chid na samaṁ duhāte | yamayoś chid na samā vīryāṇi jnātī chit santau na samam pṛiṇītaḥ |*

"1. The gods have not ordained hunger to be our destruction. Even those who are full-fed are overtaken by various forms of death (*lit.* deaths). The prosperity of the liberal man never decays; while the illiberal finds no comforter. 2. He who, himself well provided with sustenance, hardens his heart against the poor man who approaches him, starving, and who has long courted him, desirous of food, such a man meets with none to cheer him. 3. He is the bountiful man who gives to the lean beggar who comes to him craving food. Success attends that man in the sacrifice, and he secures for himself a friend in the future. 4. He is no friend who bestows nothing on his friend who waits upon him, seeking for sustenance. Let every one depart from such a man; his house is no home,—and look out for some one else who is liberal, even though he be a stranger. 5. Let the

powerful man be generous to the suppliant; let him look down the long path [of futurity]. For, oh, riches revolve like the wheels of a chariot: they come, now to one, now to another.[604] 6. In vain the fool obtains food: I tell the truth; it becomes his destruction (comp. v. 1). He nourishes neither his friend nor his companion. He who keeps his food to himself has his sin to himself. 7. The ploughshare furrowing the ground brings men plenty. A man moving onward with his feet accomplishes his journey. A priest who speaks is more acceptable than one who is silent. A kinsman who is beneficent excels one who is stingy. 8. A one-footed being advances faster than a two-footed. The two-footed comes after the three-footed. The four-footed follows in the rear of the two-footed, and moves on observing his steps. 9. The two hands, though alike, do not perform an equal amount of work. Two cows with the same mother do not yield the same quantity of milk. Two men, though twins, have not the same strength. And two others, though kinsmen, are not equally liberal."

The following is a free metrical rendering of some of these verses:—

The gods have not ordained that we
  Should die of want; the lean and weak
  Are not death's only prey; the sleek
Themselves must soon his victims be.

The man endowed with ample pelf
  Who steels his heart, in selfish mood,
  Against the poor who sue for food
Shall no consoler find himself.

[604] It is curious to find in so ancient a composition this now trite comparison of the changes of fortune to the revolutions of a wheel. The same idea occurs in the Mahābhārata, iii. 15489: "After happiness, suffering, and after suffering, happiness, visit a man in succession, as the spokes of a wheel [revolve round] the nave" (*sukhasyānantaraṁ duḥkhaṁ duḥkhasyānantaraṁ sukham | paryāyeṇopasarpante naraṁ nemim arāḥ iva*). Compare Śatap. Br. x. 2, 6, 19: *pānāt pipāsā śriyai pāpmā* (poverty from prosperity) *jyotishas tamo 'mṛitād mṛityur ni ha vai asmād etāni sarvāṇi varttante.* | "To drinking succeeds thirst, to prosperity wretchedness, to light darkness, and to immortality death: so that all these things constantly revolve in a circle." According to Herodotus, i. 207, Crœsus said to Cyrus: "If thou knowest that even thou art human, and rulest over mortals, learn first this lesson, that in the affairs of men there is a wheel which, by its revolution, renders it impossible for the same persons always to enjoy prosperity."

No friend is he who coldly spurns
  Away his needy friend forlorn:
  He, thus repulsed, in wrath and scorn
To some more liberal stranger turns.

Relieve the poor while yet ye may;
  Down future time's long vista look,
  And try to read that darkling book;
Your riches soon may flit away.

Ye cannot trust their fickle grace;
  As chariot wheels, in ceaseless round,
  Now upward turn, now touch the ground,
So riches ever change their place.

The man whose friend receives no share
  In all his good, himself destroys:
  Who thus alone his food enjoys
His sin alone shall also bear.

(5). *Rig-veda*, x. 107.

1. *Āvir abhūd mahi māghonam eshām viśvam jīvaṁ tamaso nir amochi | mahi jyotiḥ pitṛibhir duttam āgād uruḥ panthāḥ dakshiṇāyāḥ adarśi | 2. Uchchā divi dakshināvanto asthur ye aśvadāḥ saha te sūryeṇa | hiraṇyadāḥ amṛitatvam bhajante vāsodāḥ Soma pratirante āyuḥ | 3. Daivī pūrttir dakshiṇā devayajyā na kavāribhyo na hi te pṛiṇanti | atha narāḥ prayata-dakshiṇāso avadya-bhiyā bahavaḥ pṛiṇanti | . . . . 5. Dakshiṇāvān prathamo hūtaḥ eti dakshiṇāvān grāmaṇīr agram eti | tam eva manye nṛipatiṁ janānāṁ yaḥ prathamo dakshiṇām ārivāya | 6. Tam eva ṛishiṁ tam u brahmāṇam āhur yajnanyaṁ sāmagām ukthaśasam | sa śukrasya tanvo veda tisro yaḥ prathamo dakshiṇayā rarādha | 7. Dakshiṇā 'śvaṁ dakshiṇā gāṁ dadāti dakshiṇā chandram uta yad hiraṇyam | dakshiṇā 'nnaṁ vanute yo naḥ ātmā dakshiṇāṁ varma kṛinute vijāṇan | 8. Na bhojāḥ mamrur na nyartham īyur na rishyanti na vyathante ha bhojāḥ | idaṁ yad viśvam bhuvanaṁ svaścha etat sarvaṁ dakshiṇā ebhyo dadāti | 9. Bhojāḥ jigyuḥ surabhiṁ yonim agre bhojāḥ jigyur vadhvaṁ yā suvāsāḥ | bhojāḥ jigyur anāhpeyaṁ sūrāyāḥ bhojāḥ jigyur ye ahūtāḥ prayanti | 10. Bhojāya aśvaṁ sam mṛijanti āśum bhojāya āste kanyā*

śumbhamānā | bhojasya idam pushkaraṇīva veśma parishkṛitaṁ devamānā iva chitram | 11. Bhojam aśvāḥ sushṭhuvāho vahanti suvṛid ratho varttate dakshiṇāyāḥ | bhojaṁ devāso avata bhareshu bhojaḥ śatrūn samanīkeshu jetā |

"1. The great liberality of these men has been manifested. The whole living [world] has been liberated from darkness. The great light given by the Fathers[605] has arrived. The broad path of Largess has been beheld. 2. The givers of gifts abide aloft in the sky; the bestowers of horses live with the Sun; the givers of gold attain immortality; the bestowers of raiment prolong their lives. 3. A gift is a satisfaction of the gods, an offering to the deities, and [proceeds] not from the illiberal; they bestow nothing; and many men who bestow largesses are bountiful merely through fear of reproach . . . . . 5. The giver of gifts, invited, advances first: he walks in the front as leader.[606] I regard as the king of men him who first presented a gift. 6. They call him a rishi, a priest, a reverend chanter of hymns and reciter of verses,—he knows the three forms of the resplendent (Agni),—the man who was the first to crown [his religious service] with a gift. 7. Largess bestows a cow, a horse, and gleaming gold. Largess bestows food, which is our life. The wise man makes largess-giving his breastplate. 8. Bountiful men neither die nor fall into calamity; they suffer neither wrong nor pain. Their liberality confers on them this whole world as well as heaven. 9. The bountiful conquer for themselves first, a pleasant abode, a well-dressed wife, and a draught of wine; they conquer those who walk before them, uninvited. 10. A fleet horse is trained for the generous man; he obtains a brilliant damsel for his portion; this house of his resembles a lotus-pond, beautiful, embellished like the palaces of the gods. 11. The liberal man is borne along by rapid horses. The car of largess rolls forward on easy wheels. Preserve, ye gods, the bountiful man in battle. He overcomes his enemies in the fight."

[605] Compare R.V. x. 68, 11. "The Fathers have adorned the sky with stars . . . . and placed darkness in the night, and light in the day" (see above, p. 287).

[606] Compare R.V. iv. 50, 8 f. where the prosperity and honour which attend a prince who retains and cherishes a domestic priest are described. See Professor Wilson's translation, and note on v. 9, in p. 214; and Roth's Art. on Brahma and the Brāhmans, Journ. Germ. Or. Society, i. 77 ff. See also the hymn from the A.V. iii. 19, quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, p. 283.

Verses 8 ff. may be thus freely rendered :—

The liberal does not mourn or die ;
No pain or care his life annoys;
This world is his with all its joys,
And future bliss beyond the sky.

He owns a princely palace bright,
And dwells in godlike pomp and pride;
A richly decked and winning bride
Sits fair and blooming by his side,
And fills his heart with love's delight.

With plenteous stores of corn and wine
Supplied, a merry life he leads;
Swift o'er the plain his chariot speeds,
Whirled on by prancing, snorting, steeds;
He smites his foes by aid divine.

The hymn which I cite next has been already translated by Professor Max Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 494 f., where he thus remarks on it: "The 103rd hymn of the 7th Mandala, which is called a panegyric of the frogs, is clearly a satire on the priests; and it is curious to observe that the same animal should have been chosen by the Vedic satirist to represent the priests, which, by the earliest satirist of Greece, was selected as the representative of the Homeric heroes."

(6) *Rig-veda*, VII. 103.

1. *Saṁvatsaram śaśayānāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ vrata-chāriṇaḥ | vācham Parjanya-jīvitām pra maṇḍūkāḥ avādishuḥ | 2. Divyāḥ āpo abhi yad enam āyan dṛitiṁ na śushkaṁ sarasī śayānam | gavām aha na māyur vatsinīnām maṇḍūkānāṁ vagnur atra sam eti | 3. Yad īm enān uśato abhy avarshīt tridivyāvataḥ prāvṛishi āgatāyām | akhkhalīkṛitya pitaraṁ na putro anyo anyam upa vadantam eti | 4. Anyo anyam anu gṛibhṇāti enor apāṁ visarge yad amandishātām | maṇḍūko yad abhivṛishṭaḥ kanishkan pṛiśniḥ sampṛinkte haritena vācham | 5. Yad eshām anyo anyasya vāchaṁ śāktasyeva vadati śikshamāṇaḥ | sarvaṁ tad eshām samṛidheva parva yad suvāco vadathana adhi apsu | 6. Gomāyur eko ajamāyur ekaḥ pṛiśnir eko haritaḥ ekaḥ eshām | samānaṁ nāma bibhṛito virūpāḥ purutra*

vācham pipiśur vadantaḥ | 7. Brāhmaṇāso atirātre na some saro na pūrṇam abhito vadantaḥ | saṁvatsarasya tad ahaḥ pari shṭha yan maṇḍūkāḥ prāvṛishīṇam babhūva | 8. Brāhmaṇāsaḥ somino vācham akrata brahma kṛiṇvantaḥ parivatsarīṇam | adhvaryavo gharmiṇaḥ sishvidānāḥ āvir bhavanti guhyāḥ na ke chit | 9. Devahitiṁ jugupur dvādaśasya ṛituṁ naro na pra minanti ete | saṁvatsare prāvṛishi āgatāyāṁ taptāḥ gharmāḥ aśnuvate visargam | 10. Gomāyur adād ajamāyur adāt pṛiśnir adād harito no vasūni | gavām maṇḍūkāḥ dadataḥ śatāni sahasrasāve pratirante āyaḥ |

"1. These vow-fulfilling Brāhmans, the frogs, after lying quiet for a year, have now uttered their voice, stimulated by Parjanya (the rain-god). 2. When the waters from the sky fell upon them, as they lay like a dry skin[607] in the (dried-up) pond, the voice of the frogs rises in concert, like the lowing of cows which have calves. 3. When, on the arrival of the autumn, rain fell upon them, when they were ardently desiring it and parched with thirst, the one croaking approaches, like a son his father, another who is calling out. 4. One of them seizes the other, when they are delighted with the discharge of the waters; when the speckled frog, soaked, and leaping upwards, joins his voice to that of the green one. 5. When the one repeats the sounds of the other, as a pupil the words of his teacher, your every limb seems in full vigour, as ye make a loud noise upon the waters. 6. One lows like a cow, another bleats like a goat; one of them is speckled, another green. Having a common name, they vary in appearance, and modulate their voices diversely as they croak. 7. Like Brāhmans at the Atirātra somarite, like (priests) talking round a full bowl, ye frogs surround the pond on this day of the year which is the day of autumn. 8. The soma-offering Brāhmans raise their voices, performing their annual devotions; these adhvaryus, sweating with their hot oblations [or their kettles] issue forth like persons who have been hidden. 9. They have observed the divine ordinances of the year; these creatures do not disregard the season; when autumn has arrived these heated kettles obtain their release. 10. The frog who lows, and the one who bleats, the speckled and the brown, have bestowed on us riches:

[607] Prof. Müller renders *dṛiti* by "fish." I prefer the more common signification of "skin."

giving us hundreds of cows, the frogs prolong our lives in the season of a thousand shoots."

I have attempted to give the substance of this hymn very freely in the following verses :—

As Brâhmans, who a vow fulfil,
The frogs had now a year been still.
Like dried and shrivelled skins they lay,
Faint, parched with heat for many a day,
Expecting, long in vain, the showers
Withheld by Air's malignant powers.
But autumn comes; Parjanya rains
In copious streams, and floods the plains.
Clouds veil the sun, the air is cool,
The ponds, long empty, now are full.
There float the frogs, their bodies soak;
Afar is heard their merry croak.
Well drenched, they jump aloft in glee,
And join in noisy colloquy.
They leap upon each others' backs,
And each to t' other cries co-ax.
As teachers first call out a word,
Then boys repeat what they have heard,
Just so the frogs croak out once more
What other frogs had croaked before.
Sounds diverse issue from their throats,
Some low like cows, some bleat like goats,
Though one in name, of various sheen,
For one is brown, another green.
As Brâhmans at a Soma-rite
Around the bowl in talk unite,
This day the frogs their pond surround,
And make the air with noise resound.
These priests, the frogs, their voices raise,
And sing their annual hymn of praise.
As priests who sweated o'er a pot
Soon quit the fire they find too hot,

The frogs, so long oppressed by heat,
Emerge in haste from their retreat.
From rules divine they never swerve,
But all the seasons' laws observe.
When autumn comes, their sufferings cease,
From scorching heat they find release.
The frogs that bleat, and those that low,
Brown, green, on men all wealth bestow.
The kine that on our pastures graze,
We owe to them, with length of days.

It is possibly an echo of this production that we find in a description of autumn in the Harivaṁśa, v. 8803, where the poet compares the noise made by a frog, after his rest of sixteen half months, along with his wives, to the recitation of the Rig-veda by a Brāhman surrounded by his pupils (*plavangamaḥ shoḍasa-pakṭhaśāyī*[608] *virauti goshṭhaḥ saha kāminībhiḥ | ṛicho dvijātiḥ priya-satya-dharmā yathā svaśishyaiḥ parivāryamāṇaḥ*). On this verse the late M. Langlois somewhat naïvely remarks as follows, in a note to his French translation of the Hariv. vol. ii. p. 132 : Dans nos moeurs rien n' égalerait l' impertinence d'une comparaison dans laquelle une grenouille serait assimilée à un respectable ecclésiastique. Les Indiens, à ce qu' il paraît, ne voyaient dans telle espèce de rapprochement aucune teinte d' impiété."

The next hymn breathes a social spirit, and a disposition to profit by the improving influences of the company of cultivated men, combined, however, with a vainglorious desire to shine at their expence.

(7). *Atharva-veda*, VII. 12.

1. *Sabhā cha mā samitiś cha avatām Prajāpater duhitarau samvidāne | yenāsangachhai upa mā sa śikshāt chāru vadāni pitaraḥ saṅgateshu | 2.*

[608] There seems to be no doubt that this word refers to the frog's eight months quiescence since the close of the preceding rainy season. M. Langlois, who had before him the reading *shoḍaśa-paksha-śāryyī*, was naturally puzzled by it, and renders it, "La grenouille, dont les flancs sont comme sillonnés par les seize côtes," and he adds a note to the following effect: "Il me semble que, par cette épithète un peu obscure, l' intention de l' auteur est de dépeindre les seize côtes de la grenouille, devenues plus apparentes à la suite des chaleurs de l'été qui ont du l' affaiblir."

Vidma te sabhe nāma narishṭā nāma vai asi | ye te ke cha sabhāsadas te me santu savāchasaḥ | 3. Eshām ahaṁ samāsīnānāṁ varcho vijñānam ādade | asyāḥ sarvasyāḥ saṁsado mām Indra bhaginaṁ kṛiṇu | 4. Yad vo manaḥ parāgataṁ yad baddham iha veha vā | tad vaḥ āvartayāmasi mayi vo ramatām manaḥ |

"1. May Assembly and Meeting, the two daughters of Prajāpati, concurrently preserve me. May every one whom I meet resort to me; may I speak agreeably, o fathers, in the assemblies. 2. Assembly, we know thy name; thy name is conversation. Let all the members of the company converse with me. 3. I appropriate the glory and the knowledge of these men who are seated here. Indra, make me the most distinguished in all this assembly. 4. If your thoughts have turned elsewhere, or are enchained here or there, we cause them to return: let them delight in me."

The hymn of which I next give the first four verses contains a prayer, or incantation, for concord in a family.

(8). *Atharva-veda*, III. 30.

1. *Sahṛidayaṁ sāmmanasyam avidveshaṁ kṛiṇomi vaḥ | anyo anyam abhi haryata vatsaṁ jātam ivāghnyā | 2. Anuvrataḥ pituḥ putro mātrā bhavatu sammanāḥ | jāyā patye madhumatīm vāchaṁ vadatu śantivān | 3. Mā bhrātā bhrātaraṁ dvikshad mā svasāram uta svasā | samyanchaḥ savratāḥ bhūtvā vāchaṁ vadata bhadrayā | 4. Yena devāḥ na viyanti no cha vidvishate mithaḥ | tat kṛiṇmo brahma vo gṛihe saṇjñānam purushebhyaḥ |*

"1. I impart to you concord, with unity of hearts and freedom from hatred: delight one in another, as a cow at the birth of a calf. 2. May the son be obedient to his father, and of one mind with his mother: may the wife, at peace with[609] her husband, speak to him honied words. 3. Let not brother hate brother, nor sister sister: concordant and united in will speak to one another, with kind words. 4. We perform in your house an incantation, creating concord among its in-

[609] I am unable to give an explanation of the word *śantivān*, which, though masculine in form, seems to agree with *jāyā*.

mates, and one through which the gods will not desert you, nor mutual hatred exist."[610]

The four hymns of the Atharva-veda which follow contain incantations designed to save persons suffering under dangerous diseases, and on the point of death, from death; or rather perhaps to try to recall their spirits after their separation from the body. They supply various illustrations of the conceptions entertained by the Indians of the period when they were composed, regarding the vital principle, the relations of the different senses to the several elements, the deities by whom men's tenure of life was regulated, the power of incantations to arrest the approach of doom, and other kindred particulars. Some of the ideas which we shall meet here have already occurred in the section on Yama.

(9). *Atharva-veda*, v. 30.

1. *Āvatas te āvataḥ parāvatas te āvataḥ | ihaiva bhava mā nu gāḥ mā pūrvān anu gāḥ pitrīn asum badhnāmi te dṛiḍham | 2. Yat tvā 'bhicheruḥ purushaḥ svo yad araṇo janaḥ | unmochana-pramochane ubhe vāchā vadāmi te | 3. Yad dudrohitha śepishe striyai puṁse achittyā | unmo—| 4. Yad enaso mātṛikṛitāt śeshe pitṛikṛitāt cha yat | unmo—| 5. Yat te mātā yat te pitā jāmir bhrātā cha sarjataḥ | pratyak sevasva bheshajaṁ jaradashṭiṁ kṛiṇomi tvā | 6. Ihaidhi purusha sarveṇa manasā saha | dūtau Yamasya mā 'nugāḥ adhi jīvapurā ihi | 7. Anuhūtaḥ punar ehi vidvān udayanam pathaḥ | ārohaṇam ākramaṇaṁ jīvato jīvato 'yanam | 8. Mā bibher na marishyasi jaradashṭiṁ kṛiṇomi tvā | niravocham ahaṁ yakshmam angebhyo 'ngajvaraṁ tava | 9. Angabhedo angajvaro yaś cha te hṛidayāmayaḥ | yakshmaḥ śyenaḥ iva prāpaptad vāchā sādhaḥ parastarām | 10. Ṛishī Bodhapratībodhāv asvapno yaś cha jāgriviḥ | tau te prāṇasya goptārau divā naktaṁ cha jāgṛitām | 11. Ayam Agnir upasadyaḥ iha sūryaḥ udetu te | udehi mṛityor gambhīrāt kṛishṇāt chit tamasas pari | 12. Namo Yamāya namo astu mṛityave namaḥ pitṛibhyaḥ uta ye nayanti | utpāraṇasya yo veda tam agnim puro dadhe asmai arishṭatātaye | 13.*

[610] Three hymns of the Atharva-veda, viz. iii. 19; v. 18, and v. 19, together with two verses (the 8th and 9th) of v. 17, which formed part of this section, as it originally appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, pp. 33 ff., are omitted here, as they have subsequently been quoted in the first volume of this work, 2nd Edition, pp. 280-287.

Aitu prāṇaḥ aitu manaḥ aitu chakshur atho balam | śarīram asya saṁ vidāṁ tat padbhyām prati tishṭhatu | 14. Prāṇenāgne chakshushā saṁ sṛijemaṁ samīraya tanvā sam balena | vettha amṛitasya mā nu gāt mā nu bhūmigriho 'bhuvat | 15. Mā te prāṇaḥ upadasat mo apāno 'pi dhāyi te | sūryas tvā 'dhipatir mṛityor udāyachhatu raśmibhiḥ | 16. Iyam antar vadati jihvā baddhā panishpadā | tvayā yakshmaṁ niravochaṁ śataṁ ropīś cha takmanaḥ | 17. Ayaṁ lokaḥ priyatamo devānām aparājitaḥ | yasmai tvam iha mṛityave dishṭaḥ purusha jajnishe | sa cha tvā 'nu hvayāmasi mā purā jaraso mṛithāḥ |

"1. From thy vicinity, from thy vicinity, from a distance, from thy vicinity [I call] to thee: remain here; do not follow, do not follow, the early Fathers. I firmly hold back thy breath. 2. Whatever incantations any kinsman or stranger has uttered against thee, —with my voice I declare thy release and deliverance from them all. 3. Whatever hurt thou hast done, or curse thou hast spoken, in thy folly, against woman or man, with my voice, etc. 4. If thou liest there in consequence of any sin committed by thy mother, or thy father,[611] with my voice, etc. 5. Receive the medicine which thy father, mother, sister and brother offer to thee. I make thee long-lived. 6. Remain here, o man, with thy entire soul; do not follow the two messengers of Yama;[612] come to the abodes of the living. 7. Return when called, knowing the outlet of the path, the ascent, the advance, the road of every living man. 8. Fear not; thou shalt not die; I make thee long-lived. I have charmed out of thy members the consumption by which they are wasted. 9. The consumption

[611] Compare a curious passage from the Taittirīya Brāhmana iii. 7, 12, 3 f., already quoted in p. 66: "May Agni deliver me from any sin which my mother may have committed when I was in her womb, or which my father may have committed. May my parents have received no injury from me, when I, a son, in sucking, squeezed my mother and father in my delight." Compare also R.V. vii. 86, 5, quoted above in the same page, as well as the following texts: R.V. vi. 51, 7, *Mā vaḥ eno anyakṛitam bhujema mā tat karma yat chayadhve* | "May we not suffer [the penalty of] sin committed by others, or do that which you will punish, o Vasus!" vii, 52, 2, *Mā vo bhujema anyajātam eno mā tā karma vasavo yat chayadhve* | of nearly identical sense with the preceding text. x. 37, 1[8]. *Yad no devāś chakṛima jihvayā guru manaso vā prayutī devaheḷanam | arāvā yo no abhi duchhunāyate tasmin tad eno vasavo ni dhetana* | "If we have committed against you any grievous offence, o gods, with our tongues, or through thoughtlessness, transfer (the guilt of) that sin to the enemy who regards us with malice."

[612] See the section on Yama, p. 294.

which racks and wastes thy limbs, and sickens thy heart, has flown away to a distance like a hawk, overcome by my word. 10. The two sages, Alert and Watchful, the sleepless and the vigilant, these the guardians of thy life, are awake both day and night. 11. May this adorable Agni rise here to thee as a sun. Rise up from deep death,[613] yea, even from black darkness.[614] 12. Reverence to Yama, reverence to Death, reverence to the Fathers, and to those who guide us. I place in front of this [sick] man, for his security, Agni, who knows how to carry him across. 13. Let his breath, let his soul, let his sight come, and then his strength; let his body acquire sensation, and stand firm upon its feet. 14. Provide him, Agni, with breath, and with sight; restore him, furnished with a body, and with strength.[615] Thou hast the knowledge of immortality; let him not depart, or become a dweller in a house of clay. 15. Let not thy inhaled breath cease; let not thy exhaled breath vanish. Let the sun, the lord, raise thee up from death by his rays. 16. This tongue speaks within, bound, convulsive. By thee I have charmed away the consumption, and the hundred torments of the fever. 17. This world is the dearest, unconquered by the gods. To whatever death thou wast destined when thou wast born, o man,—we call after thee, do not die before thou art worn out by old age."

(10) *Atharva-veda*, VII. 53.

1. *Amutrabhūyād adhi yad Yamasya Bṛihaspate abhiśaster amunchaḥ* | *pratyauhatām Aśvinā mṛityum asmad devānām Agne bhishajā śachībhiḥ* | 2. *Saṁ kramatăm mā jihītaṁ śarīram prāṇāpānau te sayujāv iha stām* | *śataṁ jīva śaraḍo vardhamāno Agnis te gopāḥ adhipāḥ vasishṭhaḥ* | 3. *Āyur yat te atihitam parāchair apāṇaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ā tāv itām* | *Agnis tad āhār nirṛiter upasthāt tad ātmani punar āveśayāmi te* | 4. *Mā imam prāṇo hāsīd mo apāno avahāya parā gāt* | *sapta ṛiskibhyaḥ enam paridadāmi te enaṁ svasti jarase vahantu* | 5. *Praviśatam prāṇāpānāv anaḍvāhāv iva vrajam* | *ayaṁ jarimṇaḥ śevadhir arishṭaḥ iha vardhatām* | 6. *Ā te prāṇaṁ suvāmasi parā yakshmaṁ suvāmi te* | *āyur no viśvato*

[613] Compare the ἀπὸς ὀλεθρος of Homer.

[614] Already quoted in the section on Yama, p. 312.

[615] Compare the section just referred to, p. 297 ff.

dadhad ayam Agnir varenyaḥ | 7. Ud vayaṁ tamasas pari rohanto nākam uttamam | devaṁ devatrā sūryam aganma jyotir uttamam |

"1. Bṛihaspati, thou hast delivered us from dwelling in the realm of Yama, from the curse. The Aśvins,—they who, o Agni, are the two physicians of the gods,—they have repelled death from us by their powers. 2. Continue associated, ye two breaths, inspired and expired; forsake not his body: may they, united, remain with thee here. Live prosperously a hundred autumns. Agni is thy brilliant protector and lord. 3. May thy life, which has been dissipated afar, may thy breaths, come back to thee again. Agni has snatched it from the lap of Nirṛiti (Destruction): and I introduce it again into thyself. 4. Let not his inspiration abandon him, nor his expiration quit him and depart. I commit him to the seven Rishis; may they carry him on in health to old age. 5. Enter into him, ye two breaths, like two steers forcing their way into a cow-pen. May this man flourish here, an unmolested depositary of old age. 6. We restore thy breath. I drive away consumption from thee. May this excellent Agni sustain our life on every side. 7. Ascending from the darkness to the uppermost heaven, we have reached, among the gods, the god Sūrya, the highest luminary."

(11) *Atharva-veda*, VIII. 1.

1. *Antakāya mṛityave namaḥ prāṇāḥ apānāḥ iha te ramantām | ihāyam astu purushaḥ sahāsunā sūryasya bhāge amṛitasya loke | 2. Ud enam Bhago agrabhīd ud enaṁ Somo aṁśumān | ud enam Maruto devāḥ ud Indrāgnī svastaye | 3. Iha te asur iha prāṇaḥ ihāyur iha te manaḥ | ut tvā Nirṛityāḥ pāśebhyo daivyā vāchā bharāmasi | 4. Utkrāma ataḥ purusha mā 'va patthāḥ mṛityoḥ paḍbīśam avamunchamānaḥ | mā chhitthāḥ asmāl lokād agneḥ sūryasya sandṛiśeḥ | 5. Tubhyaṁ vātaḥ pavatām mātariśvā tubhyaṁ varshantu amṛitāni āpaḥ | sūryas te tanve śaṁ tapāti tvām mṛityur dayatām mā pra meshṭhāḥ | 6. Udyānaṁ te puruṣha nāvayānam jīvātuṁ te dakshatātiṁ kṛiṇomi | ā hi rohemam amṛitaṁ sukhaṁ ratham atha jivrir vidatham ā vadāsi | 7. Mā te manas tatra gād mā tiro bhūd mā jīvebhyaḥ pra mado mā 'nugāḥ pitṛīn | viśve devāḥ abhi rakshantu tveha | 8. Mā gatānām ā dīdhīthāḥ ye nayanti parāvatam | ā roha tamaso jyotir ehy ā te hastau rabhāmahe | 9. S'yāmaś*

cha tvā mā śabalaś cha preshitau Yamasya yau pathirakshī śvānau | arvāñ ehi mā vi dīdhyo mā 'tra tishṭha parāñmanāḥ | 10. *Mā etam panthām anu gāḥ bhīmaḥ esha yena pūrvaṁ na īyatha tam bravīmi | tamaḥ etat purusha mā pra patthāḥ bhayam parastād abhayaṁ te arvāk* | 11. *Rakshantu tvā agnayo ye apsu antā rakshatu tvā manushyāḥ yam indhate | vaiśvānaro rakshatu jātavedāḥ divyas tvá mā dhāg vidyutā saha* | 12. *Mā tvā kravyād abhi maṁsta ārāt saṁkasukāt charaṇ | rakshatu tvā Dyauḥ rakshatu Pṛithivī sūryaś cha tvā rakshatāṁ chandramāś cha | antarikshaṁ rakshatu devahetyāḥ* | 13. *Bodhaś cha tvā Pratībodhaś cha rakshatām | Asvapnaś cha tvā Anavadrāṇaś cha rakshatām | Gopāyaṁś cha tvā Jāgriviś cha* | 14. *Te tvā rakshantu te tvā gopāyantu tebhyo namas tebhyaḥ svāhā* | 15. *Jīvebhyas tvā samude Vāyur Indro Dhātā dadhātu Savitā trāyamāṇaḥ | mā tvā prāṇo balaṁ hāsīd asuṁ te 'nu hvayāmasi* | 16. *Mā tvā jambhaḥ saṁhanur mā tamo vidad mā jihvā barhiḥ pramayuḥ kathā syāḥ | ut tvā Ādityāḥ Vasavo bharantu ud Indrāgnī svastaye* | 17. *Ut tvā Dyaur 'ut Pṛithivī ut Prajāpatir agrabhīt | ut tvā mṛityor oshadhayo somarājñīr apīparan* | 18. *Ayaṁ devāḥ ihaivāstu ayam mā 'mutra gād itaḥ | imaṁ sahaśravīryeṇa mṛityor utpārayāmasi* | 19. *Ut tvā mṛityor apīparaṁ saṁ dhamantu vayodhasaḥ | mā tvā vyastakeśyo mā tvā agharudo rudan* | 20. *Āhārsham avidaṁ tvā punar āgāḥ punarṇavaḥ | sarvāngaḥ sarvaṁ te chakshuḥ sarvam āyuś cha te 'vidam* | 21. *Vyavāt te jyotir abhūd apa tvat tamo akramīt | apa tvad mṛityuṁ nirṛitim apa yakshmaṁ ni dadhmasi* |

"1. Reverence to Death the Ender! May thy inhaled and exhaled breaths gladly rest here. May this man remain here united with his spirit in the domain of the sun, in the world of deathlessness. 2. Bhaga and Soma with his filaments, the divine Maruts, Indra, and Agni, have raised him up to health. Here is thy spirit, here thy breath, here thy life, here thy soul. We rescue thee from the bonds of Nirṛiti by a divine utterance. 4. Rise up hence, o man. Casting off the fetters of death, do not sink downward. Do not depart from this world, from the sight of Agni and the Sun., 5. May the Wind, Mātariśvan, blow for thee; may the waters shower immortality (or ambrosia) on thee; may the Sun shine healingly upon thy body; may Death pity thee; do not die. 6. Thou must ascend, o man, and not descend; I give thee life and perceptive power. Mount this pleasant and imperishable car, then, when aged, thou shalt declare a festival. 7. Let not thy soul

go away thither, let it not disappear; do not wander away from the living; do not follow the Fathers. May all the gods preserve thee. 8. Do not long after the departed, who conduct men afar. Ascend from the darkness; come into the light. We lay hold of thy hands. 9. Let not the two dogs sent by Yama,[616] the black and the brindled [seize thee]. Come hither; do not hesitate; do not remain here with averted mind. 10. Do not follow this path; it is terrible; I speak of that by which thou hast not hitherto gone. This, o man, is darkness; do not enter it. Beyond, thou hast fear; on this side, thou hast security. 11. May the fires which are in the waters preserve thee; may the fire which men kindle preserve thee; may Jātavedas Vaiśvānara (the fire, which is common to all men) preserve thee; let not the celestial fire, together with the lightning, consume thee. 12. Let not the flesh-devouring fire[617] seek to harm thee; go far from that wicked one. May the sky, the earth, the sun, and moon, preserve thee; may the air protect thee from the bolt of the gods. 13. May Wakeful and Watchful, may Sleepless and Wakeful preserve thee. May Guardian and Vigilant protect thee. 14. May they protect and guard thee. To them be reverence. 15. May Vāyu, Indra, Dhātṛi, and Savitṛi the deliverer, restore thee to converse with the living. Let not breath and strength abandon thee; we call back thy spirit. 16. Let not any destructive demon, let not darkness find thee .... May the Ādityas and Vasus, with Indra and Agni, raise thee up to health. 17. The sky, the earth, Prajāpati have rescued thee. The plants with Soma their king, have delivered thee from death. 18. Let this man remain here, o gods; let him not depart hence to the other world. We rescue him from death with a charm of boundless efficacy. 19. I have delivered thee from death; may the vigorous breathe upon thee.[618] Let not the she-devils with dishevelled hair, or those that howl dreadfully, yell at thee. 20. I have snatched thee; I have caught thee; thou hast returned renewed, and perfect in thy members: I have obtained thy entire eye, and thy entire life. 21.

[616] See A.V. v. 30, 6, above.

[617] There are three kinds of fire, the *kravyād*, or funeral (here referred to), which devours dead bodies, the culinary (*śamād*), and the sacrificial. See the Vāj. S. i. 17, and the commentary there, and above, p. 217, note.

[618] See the 4th verse of the next hymn.

[Life] has breathed upon thee. Light has come to thee. Darkness has departed from thee. We remove from thee death, Nirṛiti and consumption."

(12) *Atharva-veda*, VIII. 2.

1. *Ārabhasva imām amṛitasya śrushṭim achhidyamānā jaradashṭir astu te | asuṁ te āyuḥ punar ā bharāmi rajas tamo mopagāḥ mā pra meshṭhāḥ |* 2. *Jīvatāṁ jyotir abhyehi arvāṅ ā tvā harāmi śataśāradāya | avamunchan mṛityupāśān aśastiṁ drāghīyaḥ āyuḥ prataraṁ te dadhāmi |* 3. *Vātāt te prāṇam avidaṁ sūryāch chakshur ahaṁ tava | yat te manas tvayi tad dhārayāmi saṁ vitsva angair vada jihvayā "lapan |* 4. *Prāṇena tvā dvipadāṁ chatushpadām agnim iva jātam abhi saṁ dhamāmi | namas te mṛityo chakshushe namaḥ prāṇāya te 'karam |* 5. *Ayaṁ jīvatu mā mṛita imaṁ samīrayāmasi | kṛiṇomi asmai bheshajam mṛityo mā purushaṁ vadhīḥ |* 6. *Jīvalaṁ naghārishāṁ jīvantīm oshadhīm aham | trāyamāṇāṁ sahamānāṁ sahasvatīm iha huve asmai arishṭatātaye |* 7. *Adhi brūhi mā "rabhathāḥ sṛijemaṁ tavaiva san sarvahāyāḥ ihāstu | Bhavāśarvau mṛiḍataṁ śarma yachhatam apasidhya duritaṁ dhattam āyuḥ |* 8. *Asmai mṛityo adhi brūhi imaṁ dayasva ud ito 'yam etu | arishṭaḥ sarvāngaḥ suśruj jarasā śatahāyanaḥ ātmanā bhujam aśnutām |* 9. *Devānāṁ hetiḥ pari tvā vṛiṇaktu pārayāmi tvā rajasaḥ ut tvā mṛityor apīparam | ārād agniṁ kravyādaṁ nirūhan jīvātave te paridhiṁ dadhāmi |* 10. *Yat te niyānaṁ rajasam mṛityo anavadharshyam | pathaḥ imaṁ tasmād rakshanto brahmāsmai varma kṛiṇmasi |* 11. *Kṛiṇomi te prāṇāpanau jarām mṛityum dīrgham āyuḥ svasti | Vaivasvatena prahitān yamadūtāṁś charato 'pa sedhāmi sarvān |* 12. *Ārād arātim nirṛitim paro grāhiṁ kravyādaḥ piśāchān | raksho yat sarvaṁ durbhūtaṁ tat tamaḥ ivāpa hanmasi |* 13. *Agnes te prāṇam amṛitād āyushmato vanve jātavedasaḥ | yathā na rishyāḥ amṛitaḥ sajūr asas tat te kṛiṇomi tad u te samṛidhyatām |* 14. *Śive te stāṁ Dyāvāpṛithivī asantāpe abhiśriyau | śaṁ te sūryaḥ ā tapatu śaṁ vāto vātu te hṛide | Śivāḥ ābhi ksharantu tvā āpo divyāḥ payasvatīḥ |* 15. *Śivās te santv oshadhayaḥ ut tvā "hārsham adharasyāḥ uttarāṁ pṛithivīm abhi | tatra tvā "dityau rakshatām Sūryāchandramasāv ubhā |* 16. *Yat te vāsaḥ paridhānaṁ yāṁ nīviṁ kṛiṇushe tvam | śivaṁ te tanve tat kṛiṇmaḥ saṁsparśe 'rūkshṇam astu te |* 17. *Yat kshureṇa marchayatā sutejasā vaptā vapasi keśaśmaśru | śumbhan mukham mā naḥ āyuḥ pra moshīḥ |* 18. *Śivau te stāṁ*

vrīhi-yavāv abalasāv adomadhau | etau yakshmaṁ vi bādhete etau munchato aṁhasaḥ | 19. Yad āśnāsi yat pibasi dhānyaṁ kṛishyāḥ payaḥ | yad ādyaṁ yad anādyaṁ sarvaṁ te annam avishaṁ kṛiṇomi | 20. Ahne cha tvā rātraye cha ubhābhyām pari dadmasi | arāyebhgo jighatsubhyaḥ imam me pari rakshata | 21. S'atáṁ te ayutaṁ hāyanān dve yuge trīṇi chatvāri kṛiṇmaḥ | Indrāgnī viśve devās te anumanyantām ahṛiṇīyamānāḥ | 22. S'arade tvā hemanṭāya vasantāya grīshmāya pari dadmasi | varshāṇi tubhyaṁ syonāni yeshu vardhante oshadhīḥ | 23. Mṛityur īśe dvipadām mṛityur īśe chatushpadām | tasmāt tvām mṛityor gopater udbharāmi sa mā bibheḥ | 24. So 'ṛishṭa na marishyasi na marishyasi mā bibheḥ | na vai tatra mriyante no yanti adhamaṁ tamaḥ | 25. Sarvo vai tatra jīvati gaur aśvaḥ purushaḥ paśuḥ | yatredam brahma kriyate paridhir jīvanāya kam | 26. Pari tvā pātu samānebhyo abhichārāt sabandhubhyaḥ | amamrir bhava amṛito atijīvo mā te hāsishur asavaḥ śarīram | 27. Ye mṛityavaḥ ekaśataṁ yāḥ nāshṭrāḥ atitāryāḥ | munchantu tasmāt tvāṁ devāḥ agner vaiśvanarād adhi | 28. Agneḥ śarīram asi pārayishṇuḥ rakshohā 'si sapatnahā | atho amīva-chātanaḥ pūtudrur nāma bheshajam |

"1. Seize this boon of immortality; may long life, which cannot be cut off, be thine. I restore to thee breath and life; do not depart to the mist (*rajas*) or to darkness (*tamas*); do not die. 2. Come hither to the light of the living; I rescue thee that thou mayest survive a hundred autumns. Loosing the bands of death and imprecation, I lengthen out thy existence. 3. I have recovered thy breath from the wind, thine eye from the sun.[619] I place in thee thy soul. Receive sensation in thy limbs. Speak, articulating with thy tongue. 4. I blow upon thee with the breath of bipeds, and of quadrupeds, as on Agni when he is born (*i.e.* on fire when kindled). I have paid reverence, o Death, to thine eye, and to thy breath. 5. Let this man live and not die. We restore him. I make for him a remedy. Death, do not kill the man. 6. I invoke for his safety a vivifying . . . . , living, delivering, strong, and powerful plant. 7. Befriend him; do not seize him; let him go; though he is thine only, let him abide here with all his strength; o Bhava and Sarva, be gracious; grant deliverance; remove evil and confer life. 8. Befriend him, Death, pity him; let him

[619] See above in the section on Yama, p. 298.

arise. Unharmed, with all his limbs, hearing perfectly, till his time of decay, let him obtain enjoyment during a life of a hundred years. 9. May the shaft of the gods pass thee by; I bring thee across from the mist (see v. 1); I have rescued thee from death. Removing far away the flesh devouring Agni, I draw round thee a circle (see R.V. x. 18, 4) that thou mayest live. 10. Preserving him from that misty egress of thine, o Death, which no one may escape by menaces, we make prayer a protection for him. 11. I give thee thy breaths, death at thy full age,[620] long life and health. I drive away all the messengers of Yama, who roam about, sent by the son of Vivasvat. 12. We remove afar Evil, Nirṛiti, Grāhi, and flesh-devouring Piśāchas, and hurl all wicked Rakshases, as it were into darkness. 13. I ask thy life from the immortal, living, Agni, Jātavedas. I procure that thou mayest suffer no injury, that thou mayest also be immortal. May this be the fortunate result. 14. May heaven and earth in unison be auspicious and innocuous to thee. May the sun shine and the wind blow pleasantly to thy heart. May the celestial streaming waters drop down upon thee favourably. 15. May the plants be auspicious to thee. I have raised thee from the lower to the upper earth. There may both the sons of Aditi, the Sun and the Moon,[621] preserve thee. 16. Whatever garment for clothing, or whatever girdle thou makest for thyself, we cause it to be agreeable to thy body; may it be soft to thy touch. 17. When, as a barber, thou shavest our hair and beard with a sharp and cleansing razor, while cleansing our face, do not rob us of our life. 18. Let the rice and barley be auspicious to thee, causing no consumption or other ailment. These two (grains) destroy consumption, and deliver from calamity. 19. Whatever thou eatest or drinkest, the grain derived from husbandry, or liquid, whatever is or is not to be eaten—all that food I render for thee free from poison. 20. We commit thee to both the Day and the Night; preserve him for me from the goblins who seek to devour him. 21. We allot to thee a hundred, ten thousand, years, two, three, four, ages (yugas).[622] May Indra and Agni, may all

[620] Compare A.V. xix. 24, 4, 5, 8.

[621] The Moon is not in the Vedas generally reckoned among the Ādityas. See above, p. 54 f.

[622] It would be difficult to say how great a duration is here denoted by this word; but it must be one of great length, if the long periods of years, which are mentioned just before, may be taken as any indication. See the first vol. of this work, pp. 45 f.

the gods regard thee favourably, without hostility. 22. We commit thee to autumn, winter, spring, summer. May the rains be pleasant to thee, in which the plants grow up. 23. Death rules over bipeds; death rules over quadrupeds. From that Death the ruler I rescue thee; do not fear. 24. Thou, who art uninjured, shalt not die; thou shalt not die; do not fear. They do not die there; they do not go to the nethermost darkness, (25) every thing lives there, cow, horse, man, beast, in the place where this prayer is used, the bulwark of life. 26. May it preserve thee from curse from thy equals and friends. Be undying, immortal, long-lived; let not thy breaths abandon thy body. 27. May the gods deliver thee from those hundred deaths, from those dangers which are surpassable, and from that Agni Vaiśvānara (fire of the funeral pile?). 28. Thou, the medicament named Pūtudru (Butea frondosa), art the body of Agni, the deliverer, the slayer of Rakshases, and of rivals, and thou art the chaser away of diseases."

SECTION XXIII.

BRIEF NOTES ON SOCIETY AND LIFE IN THE VEDIC AGE, AS REPRESENTED IN THE HYMNS.

In the Introductions to the first three Volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda (vol. i. pp. xl ff.; vol. ii. pp. xv ff.; vol. iii. xiv ff.), Professor Wilson has adduced from the hymns a variety of facts illustrative of the social and political condition of the people of India, and of the advance which they had made in civilization at the period when those hymns were composed. I propose in this section to bring forward such further particulars, connected with the same subjects, as I have noticed in the hymns, without excluding the topics already elucidated by Professor Wilson.

It is not only the facts which are directly stated or implied, in regard to the various subjects of inquiry, which may be understood as supplying the requisite information. References of a corresponding character made to the gods, their dwellings, dress, ornaments, chariots, weapons, etc., may (as in such a stage of religious progress, more especially, men frame their gods after their own image magnified and idealized) be taken as applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to their worshippers.

(1.) *Country occupied by the Vedic people, their villages and cities.*

The country originally occupied in India by the Vedic people was the tract watered by the seven rivers, the modern Panjāb; but they gradually extended themselves to the eastward and southward; and in R.V. iv. 36, 18 reference is made to two enemies living beyond (*i.e.* no doubt east of) the Sarayu (*uta tyā sadyaḥ āryā Sarayor Indra pārataḥ Arṇachitrarathā 'vadhīḥ*). For details I refer to the second volume of this work, pp. 373 ff. This country was no doubt in part cultivated, as we shall see that frequent references are made to agriculture. But

probably large tracts were covered by forests, which are sometimes referred to. See the references to Agni consuming the woods, above (p. 212); and the hymn to Araṇyānī, quoted in p. 422.

As in our own day, in the north-west provinces of India and the Panjab, the houses, in places remote from the hills, and where the soil is alluvial, without any supply of stone, were no doubt constructed of mud.[623] Villages (*grāma*) are mentioned in R.V. i. 114, 1 (*viśvam pushṭam asmin grāme anāturam* | "may everything in this village be fat and healthy"); i. 44, 10 (*asi grāmeshu avitā* | "Thou (Agni) art the protector in (our) villages"); i. 149, 4 (*gāvaḥ iva grāmam* | "as cattle come to a village"); and x. 146, 1 quoted above.

Cities or fortified places (*pur*) are also constantly mentioned. In one place it is said that Indra demolished a hundred cities of stone in favour of the liberal Divodāsa, iv. 30, 20, that (*śatam aśmanmayīnām purām Indro vi āsyat* | *Divodāsāya dāśushe*). Even if we should suppose this was a mythological reference to the aerial cities of the Asuras (comp. x. 67, 3), it might be received as evidence that they had as their prototypes stone-built cities on the earth, a circumstance in itself by no means improbable in tracts of country bordering on the hills, where stone is abundant. Iron cities or fortifications (*puraḥ āyasīḥ*) are mentioned in R.V. i. 58, 8; ii. 20, 8; iv. 27, 1; vii. 3, 7; vii. 15, 14; vii. 95, 1; viii. 89, 8; x. 101, 8, where the reference is either figurative or purely fanciful and mythological. Cities with a hundred enclosures or fortifications (*śatabhujī*) are referred to in i. 166, 8; vii. 15, 14; and although they are only alluded to as figurative expressions of the means of protection afforded by the gods, they no doubt suggest the idea of forts, consisting apparently of a series of concentric walls, as actually existing in the country at the time.

(2) *Religious worship.*

Let the reader try to conceive himself as living 3000 years ago or upwards in the province of India which has been above described. At that period the Indo-Aryans had for some time been settled in that

[623] Bricks (*ishṭakā*) are frequently mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas as used for the construction of *vedis*, or altars, but they may have been unbaked.

region, and had begun to consider it as their home, though they were still molested by the barbarous tribes of another stock, and of a ruder religion, who had been previously in possession of the country, and naturally looked upon the intruders with dislike and dread. Conscious of their own superiority, and strong in their faith in the protection of their ancestral gods, the Aryans regarded these aboriginal tribes and their savage rites and character with abhorrence not unmingled with apprehension. We shall therefore suppose one of the small outlying village settlements of the Aryans to be situated on the edge of a forest, part of which has been cut down, cleared, and cultivated. The population has already multiplied to a considerable extent, and (as we shall see further on) a division of labour has been long established. The more thoughtful and contemplative class has now devoted itself to the worship of the gods; the more enterprizing and warlike members of the community have assumed authority over the rest; the great mass of the people follow the occupations of trade and husbandry; while a gradually increasing number of the adjoining barbarians is becoming incorporated in the growing society as slaves or handicraftsmen of the lowest description.

Returning home in the evening through the forest, a member of one of the priestly families, who is at the same time of a poetical temperament, experiences emotions such as are sketched in the hymn to Araṇyānī, which is quoted above in p. 422. Anxious to propitiate the favour of the gods, and to worship them all with the customary ceremonies, he is frequently found watching during the night (not without apprehension of attack from the aboriginal tribes lurking in the adjoining thickets, or from the howling goblins with which his imagination peoples the surrounding darkness), and looking for the signs by which he supposes the earliest appearance of the deities who usher in the day to be indicated. The hymns which are addressed to these divinities, the two Aśvins and to Ushas (the Dawn), at least those which salute the arrival of the latter, do not spring from devotion alone, but are the product of a deep poetical feeling, and a delicate imaginative power. The Aśvins are the first to appear, the time of their manifestation being (as we have seen, p. 234) defined as that between midnight and the earliest manifestation of light; and their supposed advent is hailed with suitable hymns. Then, as the first

streaks of the ruddy dawn become visible in the east, the poet breaks out into an enthusiastic burst of devotion to the lovely goddess Ushas, who every morning renews her youth. Preparation is now made for the birth of the sacred Agni, who springs into life as soon as the physical instruments of his generation are brought into contact, is then duly lauded by his votary, and is imagined immediately to proceed as a messenger to summon the gods to whom sacrifice is to be offered by their worshipper. Soon after Sūrya (the sun) shoots up above the horizon, darting his rays across the firmament, and illuminating everything with his splendour; and receives, under a variety of forms or epithets, the adoration of the delighted poet. In the hot season, when the ground has been parched by long drought, and all eyes are turned to the gathering clouds in the hope that they will soon discharge their watery treasures, Parjanya, the raingod, is besought to send rain; and Indra, the regent of the firmament, and the storm-gods, the Maruts, are supplicated to fulfil the functions which the imagination of their worshippers has assigned to them, of combating the malignant demons of the atmosphere, and compelling them to yield up the waters which they keep shut up in the clouds. The other gods, or a select number of them, are then invoked. Along with the recitation of hymns and prayers, various sorts of oblations are offered up at different periods of the day, to the several deities.

(3) *Did the Vedic Indians make images of their gods?*

Professor Müller (Chips from a German Workshop, i. 38) answers this question in the negative. "The religion of the Veda," he says, "knows of no idols. The worship of idols in India is a secondary formation, a later degradation of the more primitive worship of ideal gods." On the other hand, Dr. Bollensen finds in the hymns clear references to images of the gods (Journal of the German Oriental Society, xxii. 587 ff.). He writes, "From the common appellation of the gods as divo naras, 'men of the sky,' or simply naras (lares?), 'men,' and from the epithet nṛipeśas,[624] 'having the form of men,' R.V. iii. 4, 5, we may conclude that the Indians did not merely in

[624] Professor Roth *s.v.* says that according to Sāyaṇa the word means "having the form of men," but perhaps signifies "formed, or adorned by men."

imagination assign human forms to their gods, but also represented them in a sensible manner. Thus in R.V. ii. 33, 9, a painted image of Rudra is described: *sthirebhir angaiḥ pururūpaḥ ugraḥ babhruś śukrebhiḥ pipiśe hiraṇyaiḥ* | 'With strong limbs, many-formed, awful, brown, he is painted with shining golden colours.' R.V. i. 25, 13 (where it is said of Varuṇa, that, 'wearing a golden coat of mail, he veils himself in his radiance; spies sit round him') appears also to refer to a sensible representation." . . . . "Still clearer appears the reference to representations in the form of an image in v. 52, 15: *nū manvānaḥ eshāṁ devān aścha* (the editions of Professor Müller and Aufrecht both read *achhā*) | 'I now pray to the gods of these (Maruts).' Here it seems that the Maruts are distinguished from their gods, *i.e.* from their images." . . . . "Besides the common expression vapus, tanu, rūpa ['body' and 'form'], there is in the oldest language one which properly denotes an image of the gods, viz., sandṛiś." Much more is added in support of the same view. It is perhaps premature to attempt to decide on the validity of these proofs till it is seen what can be urged on the opposite side.

(4) *Kings and principalities.*

Kings are frequently mentioned in the hymns, i. 40, 8; i. 126, 1; iii. 43, 5; v. 37, 4; x. 33, 4, etc. In i. 85, 8, the Maruts are said to be of awful aspect, like kings (*rājānāḥ iva tvesha-sandṛiśaḥ*). The country occupied by the Aryas was no doubt peopled by various tribes[625] and divided into numerous principalities. In R.V. i. 126, 1, a king called Bhāvya is celebrated, who dwelt on the banks of the Sindhu, or Indus (*amandān stomān prabhare manīshā Sindhāv adhi kshiyato Bhāvyasya* | *yo me sahasram amimīta savān atūrto rājā śravaḥ ichhamānaḥ*). In viii. 21, 18, Chitra and other chiefs are alluded to as living near the Sarasvatī (*Chitraḥ id rājā rājakāḥ anyake yake Sarasvatīm anu*). Ten kings are alluded to as having fought against Sudās, vii. 33, 3; vii. 83, 6 ff. (see the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 319, 323 f.). Numerous names of kings occur in the Rig-veda. The meetings, whether friendly or hostile, of princes are alluded to, x. 97, 6 (*rājānaḥ samitāv iva*). In vii. 18, 2, Indra is represented as living in the

[625] See Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, pp. 131 ff.

society of his wives like a king, or dwelling amid lights, as a king among his wives, as Sāyaṇa explains: (*rājeva hi janībhiḥ ksheshi eva ava dyubhiḥ*), which appears to indicate the existence of royal polygamy. In x. 40, 3, the Aśvins are said to come to the libations like two kings' sons (*rājaputreva savanā 'va gachhataḥ*). When Mitra and Varuṇa are represented in ii. 41, 5; v. 62, 6, and vii. 88, 5 (see above, p. 60), as occupying a great palace with a thousand pillars and a thousand gates, we may suppose that this is but an exaggerated description of a royal residence, such as the poets had seen.[626] And in the same way we may imagine that the description of Varuṇa in i. 25, 10, 13 (above, p. 59), as sitting in his house, arrayed in golden mail or raiment, surrounded by his messengers and exercising sovereignty, was suggested by the ceremonial of a contemporary Rājā's court. It appears from R.V. iv. 50, 8 (quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, p. 247), that it was regarded as eminently beneficial for a king to entertain a family priest: and in point of fact we find that the liberality of different princes to the rishis or priests by whom they were attended is celebrated in numerous passages (see the 1st vol. of this work, p. 259, and my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian society in the Vedic age," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1866, pp. 272 ff., where the names of numerous royal patrons are specified). The amount and variety of the presents lavished by these kings upon their spiritual advisers, consisting of cows, sometimes amounting to thousands (v. 30, 12 ff.), horses, chariots, lumps of gold (vi. 47, 23), dresses (*daśāsvān daśa kośān daśa vastrā 'dhibhojanā | daśo hiranyapiṇḍān Divodāsād asānisham | daśa rathān prashṭimataḥ śataṁ gāḥ atharvabhyaḥ Aśvathaḥ Pāyave dadāt*), and elegantly-adorned female slaves (viii. 46, 33, *adha syā yoshaṇā mahī pratīchī Vaśam Aśvyam | adhirukmā vi nīyate*), even although we should suppose,—as we probably must,—that there is a great amount of exaggeration in the passages referred to, viz., i. 126, 1 ff.; v. 27, 2; v. 30, 12 ff.; v. 33, 8 ff.; v. 61, 10; vi. 27, 8; vi. 47, 22 ff.; vi. 63, 9 f.; vii. 18, 22 ff.; viii. 3, 21 ff.; viii. 4, 19 ff.; viii. 5, 37 ff.; viii. 6, 46 ff.; viii. 19, 36 f.; viii. 21, 17 f.; viii. 24, 29 f.; viii. 46, 21 ff.; viii. 54, 10 ff.; viii. 57, 14; x. 33, 4 ff.; x.

[626] A.V. iii. 12, and ix. 3 contain prayers for the stability of a house at the time of its construction.

62, 6 ff.; x. 93, 14 f., is still a proof that very considerable wealth was possessed by these princes. One chieftain, Kaśu, son of Chedi, is even said to have given to the rishi ten kings, brilliant as gold, viii. 5, 38 (*yo me hiraṇya-sandṛiśo daśa rājno amaṁhata*).

Towards the close of the Rig-veda two hymns occur (x. 173 and 174) in which blessings are invoked on a king. I shall quote the first, x. 173:—

1. *Ā tvā 'hārsham antar edhi dhruvaḥ tishṭhāvichāchalih* | *viśas tvā sarvāḥ vānchantu mā tvad rāshṭram adhi bhraśat* | 2. *Ihaivaidhi māpa chyoshṭhāḥ parvataḥ ivāchāchalih* | *Indraḥ iveha dhruvas tishṭha iha rāshṭram u dhāraya* | 3. *Imam Indro adīdharad dhruvaṁ dhruveṇa havishā* | *tasmai Somo adhi bravat tasmai u Brahmaṇaspatiḥ* | 4. *Dhruvā dyaur dhruvā pṛithivī dhruvāsaḥ parvatāḥ ime* | *dhruvaṁ viśvam idaṁ jagad dhruvo rājā viśām ayam* | 5. *Dhruvaṁ te rājā Varuṇo dhruvaṁ devo Bṛihaspatiḥ* | *dhruvaṁ te Indraś cha Agniś cha rāshṭraṁ dhārayatāṁ dhruvam* | 6. *Dhruvaṁ dhruveṇa havishā abhi Somam mṛiśāmasi* | *atho te Indraḥ kevalīr viśo balihṛitas karat* |

"I have brought thee forward; remain in the midst; continue firm and immovable; may all thy subjects desire thee! may thy dominion not fall away from thee! 2. Remain here; do not fall; continue immovable as a mountain; abide here as firm as Indra; support here the realm. 3. Indra with a firm oblation has held him firm; may Soma, may Brahmaṇaspati, take his part. 4. Firm is the sky, firm the earth, firm these hills, firm is the whole world, and this prince is a firmly-established king over his subjects. 5. May king Varuṇa, may the divine Bṛihaspati, may Indra and Agni firmly maintain thy rule! 6. We urge the firm Soma with a firm oblation. And now may Indra make thy subjects devoted to thee alone, and bringers of tribute."

Mention is also made of rulers or governors under the title of pūrpati, lord of a city or fortified place (i. 173, 10), and grāmaṇī ruler of a village, or tribe, or band of men. The latter word occurs in x. 62, 11: *sahasradāḥ grāmaṇīr ma rishan manuḥ sūryeṇāsya yātamānā etu dakshiṇā* | "Let not this man (Sāvarṇi), the leader of the people, suffer calamity: let his largess extend to the sun;"[627] and in x. 107, 5, *dakshiṇāvān grāmaṇīr agram eti* | "The bestower of largesses walks in the front as a leader" (see above, p. 434).

[627] See the context in my paper on the priests in the Vedic age, Jour. R.A.S. for 1866, p. 276.

(5) *Different ranks in society,—rich and poor.*

As may be concluded from the facts already stated, we find in the hymns a distinct reference to rich and poor as existing in the community. See R.V. x. 117, quoted above in page 431, where the existence of both classes is distinctly recognized, and liberality on the part of the wealthy is recommended. In x. 107, 10, the house of the donor of largesses is compared to a lotus pond, and is said to be embellished like a palace of the gods (above, p. 434, and compare x. 135, 7). In viii. 4, 9, the man who is a friend of Indra is said to have horses, chariots, cows; to be handsome, to enjoy vigorous vitality, and to come resplendent into the assembly (*aśvī rathī surūpaḥ id gomāṇ id Indra te sakhā | śvātrabhājā vayasā sachate sadā chandro yāti sabhām upa*).

(6) *Domestic relations and life and morals.*

There are in the hymns distinct traces of the existence of polygamy, though it was no doubt the exception, and monogamy the rule. In some places the husband appears to be described as having only one wife, if we may judge from the fact that the latter is mentioned in the singular. Thus in i. 124, 7, Ushas is said to display her form, as if smiling, as a loving and well-dressed wife does to her husband (*jāyā iva patye uśatī suvāsāḥ Ushāḥ hasrā iva ni riṇīte apsaḥ*; compare iv. 3, 2, and x. 71, 4). And in i. 105, 2, it is said *ā jāyā yuvate patim* | "The wife embraces her husband." In other places a plurality of wives is more or less distinctly intimated. Thus in i. 62, 11: *patiṁ na patnīr uśatīr uśantam spṛiśanti tvā śavasāvan manīshāḥ* | "Our hymns touch thee, o strong god, as loving wives a loving husband;" i. 71, 1: *upa pra jinvann uśatīr uśantam patiṁ na nityaṁ janayaḥ saṇīḷāḥ | svasāraḥ* | "The loving sisters [*i.e.* fingers] have stirred up the loving [Agni], as wives dwelling together their own husbands;"[628] i. 105, 8 (=x. 33, 2): *sam mā tapanti abhitaḥ sapatnīr iva parśavaḥ* | "My ribs" (or, according to the Nirukta and Sāyaṇa, the sides of the well) "press painfully on me all around, like rival wives (literally,

[628] I should observe that both Sāyaṇa and Professor Benfey construe the epithet *saṇīḷāḥ* "dwelling together, or in one house" with *svasāraḥ* "the sisters," and not with *janayaḥ* "wives."

co-wives);" i. 186, 7: *tam īṁ giro janayo na patnīḥ surabhishṭamaṁ narāṁ nasanta* | "Hymns haste to him the most pleasing of heroes, as women who are wives;" vii. 26, 3: *janīr iva patir ekaḥ samāno ni mamṛije puraḥ Indraḥ su sarvāḥ* | "Indra took to him all the cities, as (one) common husband his wives;" x. 43, 1: *pari shvajante janayo yathā patim* | "[The hymns] embrace [Indra] as wives a husband." The Śatap. Br. ix 1, 4, 6, distinctly avows the principle of polygamy, and states the origin of the practice after its own fashion: *Puṁse pūrvasmai juhoti atha strībhyaḥ | pumāṁsaṁ tad-vīryeṇa atyādadhāti | ekasmai iva puṁse juhoti bahvībhyaḥ iva strībhyaḥ | tasmād apy ekasya puṁso bahvyo jāyāḥ bhavanti | ubhābhyāṁ vashaṭkāreṇa cha svāhākareṇa cha puṁse juhoti svāhākareṇa eva strībhyaḥ | pumāṁsam eva tad-vīryeṇa atyādadhāti* | "He sacrifices to the man first, then to the women. He exalts the man in consequence of his vigour. He sacrifices to the man as to one, and to the women as to many. Hence also one man has many wives. He sacrifices to the man both with the vashaṭkāra and the svahakāra, to the women with the latter alone. He exalts the man in consequence of his vigour." It seems to have been considered a misfortune for a woman to be left an old maid in her father's house (see the case of Ghoshā, above, p. 247). It would lead me too far to attempt to give any description of the marriage ceremonial, for which I must refer the reader to Weber's Indische Studien, v. 177 ff. (see also R.V. x. 109). Women appear to have been permitted to marry a second time, according to A.V. ix. 5, 27 f., quoted above, in the section on Yama, p. 306 (see also the 1st vol. of this work, pp. 281 ff.). In i. 124, 7, Ushas is said to show herself, as a female, without a brother (her natural protector), is said to show herself to a man (*abhrāteva puṁse eti pratīchī*). Wicked liars are compared, in iv. 5, 5, to women without brothers, and evil-disposed wives hostile to their husbands (*abhrātaro na yoshaṇo vyantaḥ patiripo na janayo durevāḥ | pāpāsaḥ santaḥ anṛitāḥ asatyāḥ idam padam ajanata gabhīram*).

The eleventh and twelfth verses of R.V. x. 27, are as follows:— *yasyānakshā duhitā jātu āsa kas tāṁ vidvān abhimanyeta andhām | kataro menim prati tam muchāte yaḥ īṁ vahāte yaḥ īṁ vā pareyāt* | 12. *kiyatī yoshā maryato vadhūyoḥ pariprītā panyasā vāryeṇa | bhadrā vadhūr bhavati yat supeśāḥ svayaṁ sā mitraṁ vanute jane chit* | 11. "Who knowingly will desire the blind daughter of any man who has one?

Or who will hurl a javelin at him who carries off or woos such a female? 12. How many a woman is satisfied with the great wealth of him who seeks her! Happy is the female who is handsome: she herself loves [or chooses] her friend among the people." May we not infer from this passage that freedom of choice in the selection of their husbands was allowed, sometimes, at least, to women in those times? The Svayamvara, or selection of ther own husbands by kings' daughters, appears, from the Mahābhārata, to have been a common practice in later times. See the well-known story of Nala and Damayantī.

A passage has been quoted above (p. 82 note) from the Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7, the commencement of which, though not altogether clear, may be translated thus: "The divine and fortunate Indrāṇī, wife of an excellent husband, was victorious by a part, in the acquisition of a husband." Did young women at that time compete for husbands?

The following allusion to the relations of a widow with her deceased husband's brother occurs in a verse addressed to the Aśvins, x. 40, 2 (=Nir. iii. 15): *Kuha svid doṣhā kuha vastor Aśvinā kuhābhipitvaṁ karataḥ kuhoshataḥ | ko vāṁ śayutrā vidhaveva devaram maryaṁ na yoshā kṛiṇute sadasthe ā* | "Where are you by night, Aśvins, and where by day? where do you alight? where have you dwelt? who drays you to his house, as a widow does her brother-in-law to the couch, or as a woman does a man?" In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 32, Professor Roth refers, in elucidation of this comparison, to Manu, ix. 69, 70, where it is enjoined that in certain circumstances a widow shall be married to her deceased husband's brother. In verse 60 it is ruled that the union shall only subsist until one son has been procreated. It will thus be seen that the ancient law of India corresponded in this respect with that of the Jews, as expounded in Deuteronomy, xxv. 5: compare St. Matthew, xxii. 24 ff. This custom appears to be referred to in the somewhat obscure verse before us.

By the kindness of Professor Max Müller I am enabled to give Sāyana's explanation of the verse:—*Kiṁcha vāṁ yuvāṁ ko yajamānaḥ "sadhasthe" sahasthāne vedy-ākhye "ākṛiṇute" | paricharaṇārtham ātmābhimukhīkaroti | tatra dṛishṭāntam darśayati | "śayutrā" śayane "vidhaveva" yathā mṛitabhartṛikā nārī "devaraṁ" bhartṛibhrātaram abhimukhīkaroti | "maryaṁ na" yathā cha sarvam manushyaṁ "yoshā" sarvā nārī sambhoga-kāle 'bhimukhīkaroti tadvad ity arthaḥ* | "what

worshipper places you in his own presence at the altar to serve you? He illustrates this. As a woman whose husband is dead places her husband's brother before her on the bed, or a woman at the time of sexual connection places a man before her." Then follows a quotation from the Nirukta iii. 15, on the same verse.

On the occasion of the marriage ceremonial, a wish is expressed in the bride's favour that she may be a queen over her father-in-law, her mother-in-law, her husband's sister, and his brothers, x. 85, 46 (*samrājnī śvaśure bhava samrājnī śvaśrvām bhava | nanāndari samrājnī bhava samrājnī adhi devṛishu*). In viii. 2, 20 reference is made to an unamiable son-in-law (*aśrīraḥ iva jāmātā*); but it is not very clear what he is intended to illustrate. In i. 109, 2, the poet says he has heard that Indra and Agni are more liberal than an inferior son-in-law, or a wife's brother (*aśravaṁ hi bhūridāvattarā vāṁ vijāmātur uta vā gha syāḷāt*). Yāska (Nir. vi. 9) explains the word *vijāmātṛi* of a person who is not complete in all necessary requisites (*asusamāptāj jāmātuḥ*); and adds that the people of the south always speak of this word as denoting a man who has purchased his wife (*vijāmātā iti śaśvad dakshiṇājāḥ krītāpatim āchakshate | asusamāptaḥ iva varo 'bhipretaḥ*).

Allusions to conjugal infidelity and sexual immorality are not wanting. In x. 34, 4, reference seems to be made to the gambler's wife being the object of other men's intrigues (*anye jāyām pari mṛiśanti asya yasya agṛidhad vedane vājī akshaḥ* | see above, p. 426). In x. 40, 6, mention is made of a woman resorting to her rendezvous (*nishkṛitaṁ na yoshaṇā*) comp. x. 34, 5 (*nishkṛitaṁ jāriṇī iva*)[629] which, if a married woman is meant, implies an adulterous connection. In ii. 29, 1, Mitra and Varuṇa are prayed to remove the worshipper's sin, as a woman who bears a child secretly puts it away (*āre mat karta rahasūr ivāgaḥ*).[630] In i. 167, 4, we find the words *parā śubhrāḥ*

[629] These words (*nishkṛitaṁ na yoshaṇā*) prove either conjugal infidelity, if *yoshaṇā* or *jāriṇī* mean a married woman, or if they refer to an unmarried female, it would shew that young lovers made assignations, and therefore that women had more liberty, and were not confined as in later times. In i. 167, 3, occur the words *guhā charantī manusho na yoshā* | "Like a man's wife moving or acting secretly." Sāyana, however, refers them only to the privacy of the female apartments. See Wilson in loco.

[630] See Professor Wilson's translation and note in loco, and Introduction to vol. ii. p. xvii.

ayāso yavyā sādhāraṇyeva Maruto mimikshuḥ | which Professor Wilson, following Sāyaṇa, renders "The radiant, ever-moving, Maruts have mingled with (their) associate (lightning), like (youths) with common women." The words are quoted by Professor M. Müller, translation of R.V. i. 176, but without any explanation on the point under consideration.

In ix. 67, 10 ff. the poet prays, and twice repeats the prayer, that Pūshan would protect him in all his goings, and provide him with a supply of damsels (*avitā no ajāśvaḥ Pūshā yāmani yāmani ā bhakshat kanyāsu naḥ* | 11. *ayaṁ somaḥ kapardine ghṛitaṁ na pavate madhu* | *ā bhakshat kanyāsu naḥ* | 12. *ayaṁ te āghṛiṇe suto ghṛitaṁ na pavate śuchi* | *ā bhakshat kanyāsu naḥ*). The general opinion of the poet's contemporaries in regard to the female sex appears to be intimated in the following words put into the mouth of Indra, viii. 33, 17. *Indraś chid gha tad abravīt striyāḥ aśāsyam manaḥ* | *uto aha kratuṁ raghum* | "Indra declared that the mind of a woman was ungovernable and her temper fickle."

In Vālakhilya 8, 3, mention is made of a gift of one hundred slaves (*śataṁ dāsān ati srajaḥ*). In R.V. viii. 46, 32, Professor Roth conjectures (*s.v. dāsa*) that the correct reading is *śatam dāsān* | "I received a hundred slaves." (See my article on the priests in the Vedic age, Jour. R.A.S. for 1866, p. 275). Compare the word *dāsa-pravarga* in R.V. i. 92, 8, quoted above in p. 184, and translated in p. 186.

As regards the morals of the people, in other respects than those which relate to the relations of the sexes, it may be mentioned that untruth is condemned in a verse already quoted, iv. 5, 5, and the gods are said (i. 152, 1; vii. 49, 3; vii. 84, 2) to punish lying. Frequent mention is made of the friendship borne by the gods to their votaries, which seems to imply the existence of a similar special relation of affection between some of their worshippers. See also hymn x. 71, translated in the third volume of this work, p. 256. In x. 117 (as I have already noticed, p. 455) beneficence to the poor is commended.

(7) *Dress, ornaments, etc.*

References are made in various places to well-dressed females, iv. 3, 2; x. 71, 4 (*jāyeva patye uśatī suvāsāḥ*); x. 107, 9, or to elegant,

well-made garments, v. 29, 15 (*vastreva bhadrā sukṛitā*). From these passages and others relating to jewels, as in viii. 46, 33, quoted above, p. 455, we may gather that considerable attention was already paid to personal decoration. We derive from them no information regarding the shape or materials of the clothing worn, further than may be learnt from the mention of sheep and of wool in certain texts (as i. 126, 7; vi. 15, 16; x. 75, 8). But it is difficult to conceive that cotton (which, as I learn from Professor J. H. Balfour, is supposed to have been indigenous in India), though not mentioned in the hymns, should have been unknown when they were composed, or not employed for weaving the light cloth which is necessary in so warm a climate. The form of the garments was probably much the same as among the modern Hindus, unless it be that some innovations may have been introduced by the Mohammedans. A turban or head-dress (*ushṇīsha*)[631] is mentioned in the A.V. xv. 2, 1.

Two of the Vedic deities, Rudra and Pūshan, are said to wear their hair wound or braided spirally upwards into the form of a shell, as the word "kapardin" in R.V. i. 114, 1, 5; vi. 55, 2; and ix. 67, 11, is explained in the dictionary of Professors Böhtlingk and Roth; and in vii. 83, 8, the same epithet is applied to the Tṛitsus (the tribe to which Vasishṭha belonged) (*śvityancho yatra namasā kapardinaḥ ṭṛitsavaḥ*).[632] In x. 114, 3, a young female, handsome and brilliant (it does not clearly appear who she is, as the passage is obscure and enigmatical) is said to wear four of these braids (*chatushkapardā yuvatiḥ supeśāḥ ghṛitapratīkā vayunāni vaste*). And in vii. 33, 1, the priests of the family of Vasishṭha are said to have their hair-knots on the right of their heads and to be robed in white (*śvityancho mā dakshiṇatas-kapardāḥ ityādi*; comp. vii. 83, 8 already quoted).[633] In various passages already cited (pp. 149 f.) the Maruts are said to wear different sorts of ornaments, which were probably similar to what were worn by the poet's countrymen or countrywomen.

[631] In regard to the word *śipra* see above, p. 149.

[632] See the rude picture of the god S'iva at the beginning of the Bombay edition of the Linga Purāna. But Wilson *s.v. kaparda*, explains it merely as "braided hair."

[633] See Roth Zur Lit'. u. Geschio'hte des Weda, p. 120.

(8) *Food and drink.*

In the Rig-veda (see i. 23, 15; i. 66, 3; i. 117, 21, etc.) frequent mention is made of *yava*, which in later Sanskrit means barley; but according to the Lexicon of Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.* appears to have, in early times, denoted corn in general. Rice (*vrīhi*) according to the same authority is not referred to in the Rig-veda, but is named in the Artharva-veda, as well as barley, and māsha (beans) and tila (sesamum orientale); see vi. 140, 2 (*vrīhim attaṁ yavam attam atho māsham atho tilam*). Parched corn (*dhānā*) is mentioned in several places of the R.V., as i. 16, 2; iii. 35, 3; iii. 52, 5; vi. 29, 4, as an offering to the gods; and in iii. 35, 7, is said to be provided as food for Indra's horses. Cakes (*apūpa*) and meal mixed with curds or butter (*karambha*) are said to be offered to the gods, iii. 52, 7; vi. 57, 2. Fruit (*phala*) is mentioned in iii. 45, 4 (see above, p. 107); i. 146, 5. Plants (*oshadhi*, *vīrudh*) are frequently alluded to, and are even invoked vi. 49, 14; vii. 34, 23; vii. 35, 5; x. 97, 1 ff., where some of them are spoken of as produced three ages before the gods; verse 1 [*yāḥ oshadhīḥ pūrvāḥ jātāḥ devebhyas triyugam purā*]; and are said in verse 4 to be divine [*devīḥ*]; in verses 3 and 15 to be some of them flowering and productive and fruit-bearing, and others not [*pushpavatīḥ prasūvarīḥ | yāḥ phalinīr yāḥ aphalāḥ apushpāḥ yāś cha pushpinīḥ*], and in verses 11 and 12 to drive away disease. Medicaments (*bheshaja*) are also frequently referred to. The cutting up of flesh, apparently for sacrificial purposes, is mentioned in one place, i. 161, 10 (*māṁsam ekaḥ piṁśati sūnayā "bhṛitam*). In i. 164, 43 reference is made to the cooking of a bull as being a primeval institution (*ukshāṇam pṛiśnim apachanta vīrās tāni dharmāṇi prathamāni āsan* | comp. x. 27, 2; x. 28, 3).[633] In v. 29, 7; viii. 12, 8; viii, 66, 10, mention is made of the gods cooking or eating large numbers of buffaloes (see above, p. 90). From the fact of these animals being offered in sacrifice, it may perhaps be inferred that they also formed a portion of human food. Intoxicating liquors are mentioned in the hymns. As regards

[633] See the "general note" appended to Sir W. Jones's translation of Manu; and Manu xi. 59, where *gobadha* is mentioned as an *upapātaka*, or minor sin. See also verse 108.

the soma-juice, see above, p. 89, note 169. Wine, *surā*, (though it does not appear from what material it was distilled)[635] was also in use, as appears from several passages already quoted, viz. i. 116, 7 (p. 246) and vii. 86, 6 (p. 66); and x. 107, 9 (p. 434). It is also mentioned in viii. 2, 12, *hṛitsu pītāso yudhyante durmadāso na surāyām* | "When drunk they (the soma-draughts) contend in thy stomach, as men maddened with wine." Swillers of wine, *surāśvaḥ*, are mentioned in viii. 21, 14, as we have seen above (p. 112, note 201). In i. 191, 10, we find the following words: *Sūrye visham ā sajāmi dṛitiṁ surāvato gṛihe* | "I place the poison in the sun, like a [wine]skin in the house of a keeper of wine." See also Vāj. Sanh. xix. 5, 7; Śatap. Br. xii. 7, 3, 8, and 12; xii. 8, 1, 16; commentary on Vāj. S. xix. 44; and A.V. xiv. 1, 35 f. (translated in Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 197). In regard to the light in which wine drinking was regarded in later times the reader may consult Manu, xi. 54, 90, 93-97, 148 f., 249.

(9) *Professions and trades.*

In R.V. ix. 112, as we have already seen (p. 424), the variety in men's tastes and pursuits is described, and some of their different occupations are mentioned, viz., those of carpenter, physician, priest, blacksmith (compare x. 72, 2), poet, and female grinder of corn. That man is said to be a skilled physician, and both a slayer of Rakshases and a repeller of diseases, by whom all plants are collected, like kings in an assembly, x. 97, 6 (*yatraushadhīḥ samagmata rājānaḥ samitāv iva* | *vipraḥ sa uchyate bhishag rakshohā 'mīva-chātanaḥ*). The construction of chariots is often alluded to, and the skill shown in the composition of hymns is described as a fabrication, and compared to the art of the carriage-builder, i. 61, 4; i. 62, 13; i. 130, 6; i. 171, 2; ii. 19, 8; ii. 35, 2; iv. 16, 20; v. 2, 11; v. 29, 15; v. 73, 10; vi. 32, 1; x. 39, 14, etc. (see the 3rd vol. of this work, pp. 233, 235 f., 241). The Ribhus are, as we have already seen (p. 226), celebrated for their ability as workers in wood and metal, which further indicates the existence and appreciation of such skill at the period in question. Skill in the manufacture of weapons of war and other sharp-edged

[635] In Manu xi. 94, it is said to be of three kinds, *gauḍī*, *paishṭī*, *mādhvī*, distilled from molasses, meal, or the flowers of the madhu plant.

implements must have been common, as spears (*vāśī*), swords or knives (*asi*), axes (*paraśu, svadhiti*), are constantly mentioned, i. 162, 20; x. 79, 6; x. 86, 18; ix. 96, 6; i. 127, 3; vii. 104, 21; x. 28, 8; x. 53, 9; vi. 3, 5; vi. 47, 10; viii. 91, 19. Weaving, it is scarcely necessary to say, was universally practised, as we learn from the references already quoted to cloth, and from the metaphorical use of the verb *ve*, "to weave," for the composition of hymns, etc. Thus in i. 61, 8: (*devapatnīr Indrāya arkam ahihatye ūvuḥ* | "The wives of the gods wove a hymn to Indra on his slaughter of Ahi)," vii. 33, 9 and 12 (see the 3rd vol. of this work, p. 247); x. 130, 1 (ibid. p. 277 f.). The warp and woof (*tantu* and *otu*) are both mentioned in vi. 9, 1 and 2: *nāhaṁ tantuṁ na vijānāmi otum ityādi* | "I know not the warp and I know not the woof," etc. (These two verses are translated by Professor Benfey in the Glossary to his Sāma-veda, p. 76; see also A.V. xiv. 2, 51). The art of boat- or ship-building was well known, as appears from the frequent mention made of boats or ships (*nau* or *plava*), i. 116, 3; i. 182, 5 f.; i. 131, 2; ii. 39, 4; viii. 42, 3; viii. 72, 3; ix. 70, 10, propelled by oars, x. 101, 2 (*nāvam aritraparaṇīm*). Ships are even spoken of as going to sea (see above, p. 244 f., and i. 25, 7, *nāvaḥ samudriyaḥ;* vii. 88, 3 f.). The Aśvins are said to have conveyed Bhujyu in a ship with a hundred oars (*śatāritrāṁ nāvam*). Rope-making also must have been practised, as ropes are mentioned, i. 162, 8, or their absence referred to, ii. 13, 9; vii. 84, 2. Working in leather must also have been common, as hides (*charman*, i. 85, 5; vi. 8, 3; vii. 63, 1), and skins for holding water or wine (*dṛiti*) are constantly referred to, i. 191, 10; iv. 45, 1, 3; v. 83, 7; vi. 48, 18; vii. 89, 2; vii. 103, 2; viii. 5, 19. Agriculture, as we have already seen (p. 427), is recommended to the gambler in x. 34, 13, and in the hymn to Araṇyānī, x. 146, 6 (above, p. 423), the goddess is said to be untilled by husbandmen (*akṛishīvala*). R.V. iv. 57, is a hymn in which the Kshetrasya pati, or deity who is the protector of the soil or of husbandry, is addressed, and a blessing is invoked on field operations, and their instruments, and on the cultivators (*kīnāśa*). Compare x. 117, 7. *Urvarā*, cultivated and fertile land, is mentioned in various places. Watercourses (*kulyā*), which may or may not have been artificial, are alluded to in iii. 45, 3, and x. 43, 7 (*samakṣharan somāsaḥ Indraṁ kulyāḥ iva hradam*), as leading to ponds or

lakes; and waters which are expressly referred to as flowing in channels which had been dug up for them, are mentioned in vii. 49, 2 (*yāḥ āpo divyāḥ uta vā sravanti khanitrimāḥ uta vā yāḥ svayamjāḥ*); and from this it is not unreasonable to infer that the irrigation of lands under cultivation may have been practised. In the Rig-veda we have, as Professor Müller observes (Transl. i. 223 f.), clear allusions to shaving, x. 142, 4, where Agni is said to shave the earth, as a barber does a beard (see above, p. 212). In viii. 4, 16, as interpreted by Professor Roth, the worshippers pray that the god would sharpen them like the edge of scissors (*saṁ naḥ śiśīhi bhurijor iva kshuram*). On the prevalence of debt, see Professor Wilson's observations in the Introduction to his translation of the Rig-veda, vol. ii. p. xvii., and compare R.V. x. 34, 10, quoted above, in p. 427.

(10) *Amusements.*

Gaming was a frequent amusement of the early Indians, as we learn from the hymn x. 34, which has been given at length above, p. 426, (comp. vii. 86, 6); and from the frequent illustrations derived from the practice; see i. 92, 10; ii. 12, 4; ii. 29, 5; iv. 20, 3; v. 85, 8; viii. 45, 38; x. 42, 9; x. 43, 5.

Dancers, or actors (*nṛitū*), seem to have afforded entertainment at the same period; as we may gather from i. 92, 4, where Ushas is said to display herself like a professional person of this sort, who decks himself with ornaments (see above, p. 185). In x. 18, 3,[636] allusion is made to the living going forth to dance and to laugh after a funeral (*prāncho agāma nṛitaye hasāya*). Drums (*dundubhi*) are mentioned in R.V. i. 28, 5; vi. 47, 29, 31; and a hymn in the A.V. v. 20, is addressed to this musical instrument. According to Professor Roth (see *s.v.* and Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 92) the word *bakura*, which occurs in i. 117, 21 (and is explained by Sāyaṇa as a thunderbolt) probably means a martial wind instrument.

(11) *Crime.*

Thieves or robbers (*tāyu, taskara, stena, paripanthin, mushīvan, huraśchit*) are mentioned in some passages as infesting the highways, or

[636] See Professor Roth's translation of the verse in Z. D. M. G. viii. 468, and Professor Müller's in the same Journal ix. p. xvi.

stealing secretly (see above, p. 174 f.; i. 50, 2: *apa tye tāyavo yathā nakshatrā yanti aktubhiḥ* | "The stars depart before the sun's rays, like thieves," i. 65, 1; i. 191, 5 (*ete u tye praty adṛiśran pradoshaṁ taskarāḥ iva* | "They have been seen in the evening like thieves"); ii. 28, 10; iv. 38, 5 (*uta sma enaṁ vastramathiṁ na tāyum anu krośanti kshitayo bhareshu* | "Men cry after him in battles as after a thief stealing clothes"); v. 15, 5; v. 52, 12; vi. 12, 5; vii. 55, 3; vii. 86, 5: viii. 29, 6; x. 4, 6.

(12) *Animals, tame or wild, mentioned in the hymns.*

The mention of kine and horses[637] (both in prayers to the gods to bestow them in abundance, and in the details of gifts conferred upon poets or priests) is too frequent to require further specification. Sheep (*avi, avikā, urā, mesha*) are also frequently referred to, i. 43, 6; i. 51, 1; i. 52, 1; i. 116, 16; viii. 2, 2; viii. 34, 3; ix. 6, 1; x. 95, 3; and goats (*aja, chhāga*) in i. 162, 3 f.; and x. 90, 10. Allusion is made in x. 27, 17 to the cooking of a fat ram (*pīvānam mesham apachanta vīrāḥ*). In Vālakhilya viii. 3, reference is made to the gift of a hundred ewes (*śatam ūṛṇāvatīnām*). In i. 126, 7 the ewes of the Gandhāris are spoken of as famous for their wool (*romaśā Gandhārīṇām iva avikā*). Dogs are often alluded to. In ii. 39, 4 the two Asvins are compared to two dogs (*śvānā iva*). The mythological dogs of Yama have been already referred to (in p. 294). A long-tongued dog which brought no good is mentioned as an object of dread to be driven away, ix. 101, 1 and 13 (*apa śvānam śnathishṭana sakhāyo dīrghajihvyam* | *apa śvānam arādhāsaṁ hata makhaṁ na Bhṛigavaḥ*). Apes, *kapi*, (x. 86, 5), boars, *varāha* (viii. 66, 10; x. 28, 4), buffaloes, *mahisha* (see above, p. 90 and 463), deer, *mṛiga* (i. 38, 5; i. 105, 8), *ṛiśya* (viii. 4, 10), jackals and foxes, *kroshṭṛi, lopāśa*, x. 28, 4, and wolves, *sālāvṛika* (x. 95, 15), lions, *siṁha* (x. 28, 4; iv. 16, 14), wolves, *vṛika, vṛikī*, i. 116, 16; viii. 55, 8, as devouring sheep, viii. 34, 3 (*urāṁ na dhūnute vṛikaḥ*), and deer, i. 105, 8 (*vṛiko na tṛishṇajam mṛigam*). Elephants also are possibly mentioned under the designation of *mṛiga vāraṇa* viii. 33, 8; x. 40, 4 (*vāraṇa* being an elephant in later

[637] In viii. 2, 2 allusion is made to be a horse being washed in a river (*aśvo na nikto nadīshu*).

Sanskrit); certainly under that of *mṛiga hastin* (the wild animal with the hand or trunk) i. 64, 7; iv. 16, 14. These texts are as follows: *mṛigāḥ iva hastinaḥ khādatha vanā* | "Ye (Maruts), like elephants, devour the woods;[638] iv. 16, 14: *mṛigo na hastī tavishīm ushāṇaḥ siṁho na bhīmaḥ āyudhāni bibhrat* "[Indra] consuming force like an elephant: like a terrible lion, carrying weapons; viii. 33, 8 (= S.V. ii. 1047); *dānā mṛigo na vāraṇaḥ purutrā charathaṁ dadhe* | which is thus rendered by Professor Roth, *s.v. dāna*, 2, "After feasting he runs hither and thither like a beast of prey."[639] x. 40, 4: *yuvām mṛigeva vāraṇā mṛiganyavo doshā vastor havishā ni hvayāmahe* | "We invoke you twain [Aśvins] night and day, as hunters [seek to catch] two wild animals."[640] In the first three of these passages the elephant (if meant in the third) is referred to merely as a terrible wild beast; in the fourth there is an allusion to the hunting of wild animals, and if elephants are intended, we may perhaps infer that, at the period when that verse was composed, they had begun to be tamed. There seems no reason to doubt that in A.V. ix. 3, 17, a female elephant is meant by *hastinī*: "Thou, hall (or house), standest on the earth with feet like a female elephant" (*mitā pṛithivyāṁ tishṭhasi hastinīva padvatī*). The author of this verse appears to have been accustomed to look familiarly at the animal close at hand. In the following verse from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii. 23 (quoted by Professor Roth *s.v.*) elephants are said by him and Professor Haug (transl. p. 26) to be understood by Sāyaṇa as intended by the word *mṛiga: hiraṇyayena parivṛitān kṛishṇān śukladato mṛigān* | *Mashṇāre Bharato 'dadāt śataṁ badvāni sapta cha* | "Bharata bestowed in Mashnāra one hundred and seven great herds of black, white-toothed wild animals, decked with gold." In many passages, i. 138, 2; viii. 5, 37; viii. 6, 48; viii. 46, 22 and 31, we find the word *ushṭra*, which, in later Sanskrit, denotes a camel; but according to Professor Roth (see *s.v.*) it means in the hymns a buffalo or a humped bull. Professor Aufrecht also informs me that in his opinion it signifies the latter. In one of the passages (viii. 6, 48)

[638] See Professor Müller's trans. of R.V. i. pp. 99 f.

[639] Profesor Benfey, Sāmaveda, Transl. p. 288, renders the half verse thus: "Like drops from a rutting elephant, falls in many places his moisture of blessing."

[640] Sayaṇa makes *vāraṇā* = *śārdūlau*, "tigers." Compare viii. 55, 8, where *vāraṇa* seems to be an epithet of *vṛika*, "wolf."

the oxen are said to form a team of four yoked together (*ushṭrān chaturyujaḥ*). Various birds are mentioned, peacocks, *mayūra* (i. 191, 14; iii. 45, 1; viii. 1, 25): pigeons, *kapota*[641] (i. 30, 4; x. 165, 1 ff.) falcons, *śyena*, vultures, *gṛidhra* (ii. 39, 1), ducks, *chakravāka* (ii. 39, 3), *āti* (x. 95, 9), swans, *haṁsa* (i. 163, 10; vii. 59, 7), quails, *vartikā* (i. 112, 8). Serpents are of course frequently mentioned, and in one place, ix. 86, 44, reference is made to their casting their slough (*ahir na jūrṇām ati sarpati tvacham*).

(13) *War, armies, armour, and weapons.*

Wars, as we have already seen (see above, p. 109 f., 454), are frequently mentioned in the Rig-veda. Some verses have also been quoted, in p. 110, from R.V. x. 103, a hymn in praise of Indra's prowess, at the close of which he and other deities are supplicated to confound the enemies of his worshippers, and cause the arms of the latter to triumph. R.V. vi. 75, is another remarkable composition of a warlike character in praise of armour, of the bow, etc. The following are a few of the verses, which are spirited:—

1. *Jīmūtasyeva bhavati pratīkaṁ yad varmī yāti samadām upasthe | anāviddhayā tanvā jaya tvaṁ sa tvā varmaṇo mahimā pipartu | 2. Dhanvanā gāḥ dhanvanā "jiṁ jayema dhanvanā tīvrāḥ samado jayema | dhanuḥ śatror apakāmaṁ kṛiṇotu dhanvanā sarvāḥ pradiśo jayema | 3. Vakshyantīved ā ganīganti karṇam priyaṁ sakhāyam parishasvajānā | yosheva śinkte vitatā 'dhi dhanvan jyā iyaṁ samane pārayantī | . . . . 6. Rathe tishṭhan nayati vājinaḥ puro yatra yatra kāmayate sushārathiḥ | abhīśūnām mahimānam panāyata manaḥ paśchād anu yachhanti raśmayaḥ | 7. Tīvrān ghoshān kṛiṇvate vṛishapāṇayaḥ aśvāḥ rathebhiḥ saha vājayantaḥ | avakrāmantaḥ prapadair amitrān kshiṇanti śatrūn anapavyayantaḥ |*

"1. There appears like the lustre of a cloud when the mailed warrior stalks into the heart of the combat. Conquer with an unscathed body; let the might of thine armour protect thee. 2. With the bow may we conquer cattle; with the bow may we conquer in the struggle for the mastery; with the bow may we conquer in the sharp conflicts; the bow frustrates the desire of our enemy; with the bow

[641] Professor Roth suggests *s.v.* that *kapota* may not always mean a pigeon, as the bird it denotes is sometimes connected with the owl (ulūka) and is regarded as unlucky. In x. 165, 1, it is called the messenger of Nirṛiti or Evil.

may we conquer all the regions around. 3. The bowstring approaches close to the bowman's ear, as if to speak to and embrace a dear friend; strung upon the bow, it twangs like the scream of a woman, and carries the warrior safely through the battle . . . . 6. Standing on the chariot the skilful charioteer directs the horses whithersoever he wills; laud the power of the reins, which from behind control the impulse [of the horses]. 7. The strong-hoofed steeds, rushing on with the chariots, utter shrill neighings; trampling the foe with their hoofs, they crush them, never receding."

The following is a free metrical rendering of the preceding verses:

1. When, cased in mail, the warrior proud
   Stalks on defiant to the front,
   To bear the raging battle's brunt,
   We seem to see a flashing cloud.
   Bold warrior, may thine armour bright
   Preserve thee scatheless in the fight!

2. May I the foeman's malice foil
   With this my all-subduing bow!
   May I, triumphant, lay him low,
   And all his goods and cattle spoil!
   This bow our foes with ruin whelms,
   And conquers all surrounding realms.

3. The bowstring to the bowman's ear
   Approaches close, as if to speak:
   Its twang is like a woman's shriek:
   It guards the warrior's soul from fear.

6. See, yonder on the chariot stands
   The dauntless charioteer, whose skill
   His horses onward drives, whose will
   Their movements to and fro commands.
   The reins (their wondrous power extol!)
   Although behind, the steeds control.

7. The impetuous coursers shrilly neigh,
   As forward to the fight they rush:
   Their trampling hoofs our foemen crush;
   They never shun the murderous fray.

In three hymns of the 8th Maṇḍala, 39, 40, and 41, each verse (except the last of hymn 40) ends with the words *nabhantām anyake same* | "may all aliens or enemies perish;" and one verse, viii. 40, 7, contains a prayer for victory over hostile combatants, and for their destruction (*asmākebhir nṛibhir vayaṁ sāsahyāma pṛitanyato vanuyāma vanushyataḥ*). Hymn x. 133 contains prayers to Indra for victory and protection, and each of the first six verses concludes with the same terms *nabhantām anyakeshāṁ jyākāḥ adhi dhanvasu* | "May the bowstrings of our enemies be snapped upon their bows."

War chariots are mentioned, as we have just seen, in vi. 75, 6 f.; and also in x. 103, 10 (see above, p. 110). I am not aware that any means exist of ascertaining the form of their construction. They seem to have been drawn by two horses, and were probably formed so as to carry two persons, a charioteer and a combatant; at least, this may be conjectured both from the nature of the case, the practice of other countries, and from the fact of two or more deities being described as occupying the same car, in the cases of Indra and Vāyu (above, p. 144), of Agni and the other gods (p. 202), and of Sūryā and the Aśvins (p. 236). The different parts and appurtenances of the Aśvins' chariot are alluded to above (p. 240 f., and note), and had no doubt their counterparts in those of their worshippers (see also above the account of Mitra and Varuṇa's chariot, in p. 42). The charioteer was, no doubt, like the Maruts (p. 151), furnished with a whip. Foot soldiers are mentioned in A.V. vii. 62, 1, where Agni is said to conquer the most powerful opponents, as a combatant on a chariot overcomes men fighting on foot (*ayam Agniḥ satpatir vṛiddha-vṛishṇo rathīva pattīn ajayat purohitaḥ*). Banners are alluded to as borne in battle, R.V. x. 103, 11 (see above, p. 110), and in vii. 83, 2 (*yatra naraḥ samayante kṛitadhvajaḥ* | "where men bearing ensigns meet in battle, etc"). Senānī, "the leader of an army," is metaphorically applied to one of the host of dice, x. 34, 12 (*yo vaḥ senānīr mahato gaṇasya*). As regards the size of the armies, the Vedic poets are familiar with large numbers, at least as regards the hosts of the Dasyus, whether we are to take these as aboriginal tribes or mythological foes in the clouds. In i. 53, 9, 60,000; in iv. 16, 13, 50,000; and in iv. 30, 21, 30,000, are mentioned as destroyed by Indra. The battle of Sudās with the ten kings has been already referred to (above, p. 454). Defensive

armour or mail (*varman*), is mentioned in vi. 75, 1, already quoted, and is referred to in numerous other passages, as vi. 75, 18 (*marmāṇi te varmaṇā chhādayāmi* | "I protect thy vital parts with armour"), and 19; vi. 27, 6. Varuṇa and Savitṛi are each of them mentioned as being clad in golden or yellow mail (as the word drāpi is interpreted by Sāyaṇa; Müller, in Ancient Sansk. Lit., 536; and Benfey, in R.V. i. 25, 13;[642] while Roth, *s.v.*, explains it, perhaps with more probability, as meaning "robe"), i. 25, 13 (*bibhrad drāpiṁ hiraṇyayaṁ Varuṇo vaste nirṇijam*); iv. 53, 2 (*pišangaṁ drāpim pratimunchate kaviḥ*). Various kinds of warlike weapons have already been mentioned above in subsection (9), p. 464 f. See also the accounts of the weapons assigned to Indra in p. 86 f., and of the arms and armour of the Maruts in p. 149 f. and notes.

(14) *Poetry and speculation.*

The elaborate character of the metres in which the hymns are composed has been adverted to by Professor Wilson, in the Introduction to the 2nd vol. of his translation of the Rig-veda. As regards the occasional beauty and variety of the illustrative imagery employed, and the moral depth of many of the reflections, I may refer to the hymns to Ushas translated above in section xiii. The hymn on the variety of human pursuits, ix. 112, that on gambling, x. 34, and the one on beneficence, x. 117 (all translated in the preceding section, pp. 424 ff.), may be cited as instances of close and acute observation of human life. The speculations on creation in x. 129 (above, p. 356) and in x. 82 and 83 (p. 354), indicate the beginnings of philosophical reflection. As an instance of picturesque expression I may quote the epithet *ṛiṛikshakeśa*, as applied to mountains, in v. 41, 11: *āpaḥ oshadhīr uta no avantu dyaur vanā girayo vṛikshakeśāḥ* | "May the Waters, the Plants, the Sky, the Woods, the Mountains with their tresses of trees, preserve us."

In R.V. x. 70, 10, quoted in the 1st vol. of this work, p. 254, and in A.V. vii. 12, quoted above, in p. 438, allusion is made to social meetings, which appear to have been of a literary or learned character.

[642] In R.V. i. 116, 10, however, Benfey renders it by robe, or garment, as he does also in S.V. ii. 368 = R.V. ix. 100, 9 (trans. of S.V. p. 256). In his glossary *s.v. drāpi*, he translates it by coat of mail, where it occurs in R.V. ix. 86, 14.

(15) *Conclusion.*

Although the hymns of the Rig-veda exhibit a simpler, a less advanced, a less definitely fixed and developed, stage of religious belief and conceptions than we meet with in the works of the earliest Greek poets, and a system of ideas widely diverse both from the mythological forms, and the theosophic opinions, of the later Indian pantheon, and of subsequent speculation, and although some of the customs and practices of that early age were different from those which prevailed in later times, it would be a mistake to suppose that, in the former period, the condition of society was of a very primitive description. On the contrary, the preceding inquiry has brought into view many signs of a considerable progress in civilization, and in even a certain sort of refinement, as then existing. (Compare the remarks of Professor Wilson, in the Introduction to the second volume of his Translation of the Rig-veda, p. xvii.)

APPENDIX.

Page 15, *line* 7.

See A.V. iv. 11, 6 (quoted in p. 361, at the foot), where the gods are said to have "ascended to heaven, leaving their bodies behind."

Page 15, *line* 11.

In the two following passages the poets seem to claim affinity with the gods.

viii. 27, 10: *asti hi vaḥ sajātyam riśādaso devāso asti āpyam* | 14. *Devāso hi sma manave samanyavo viśve sākaṁ sarātayaḥ* |

viii. 72, 7: *adhi naḥ Indra eshāṁ Vishṇo sajātyānām* | *ita Maruto Aśvinā* | 8. *Pra bhrātṛitvaṁ sudānavo adha dvitā samānyā* | *mādur garbhe bharāmahe* |

Page 18, *line* 11.

Compare the Taitt. Sanh., Ashṭ. 6, p. 18 of MS. 1702 of India Office Library: *Devāsurāḥ saṁyattāḥ āsan* | *te devāḥ mitho vipriyāḥ āsan* | *te anyonyasmai jyaishṭhyāya tishṭhamānāḥ panchadhā vyakrāmann Agnir Vasubhiḥ Somo Rudrair Indro Marudbhir Varuṇaḥ Ādityair Bṛihaspatir Viśvairdevaiḥ* | *te amanyanta "asurebhyo vai idam bhrātṛivyebhyo radhyāmo yan mitho vipriyāḥ smaḥ* | *yāḥ naḥ imāḥ priyās tanuvas tāḥ samavadyāma ha etābhyaḥ sa nirṛichhād yaḥ nāḥ prathamo 'nyonyasmai druhyād" iti* | *tasmād yaḥ satānūnaptṛīṇām prathamo druhyati sa ārttim ārchhati* | *yat tānūneptram samavadyati bhrātṛivyābhibhūtyai bhavaty ātmanā parā 'sya bhrātṛivyo bhavati ityādi* |

"The gods and Asuras contended together. The gods were hostile to one another. Striving with one another for the superiority, they parted into five divisions, Agni with the Vasus, Soma with the Rudras,

Indra with the Maruts, Varuṇa with the Ādityas, and Bṛihaspati with the Viśvedevas. They then reflected: 'We are subject to our enemies, the Asuras, because we are hostile to one another. Let us unite our dear bodies; and whoever shall first show enmity to another, let him be separated from his body.' Hence, any one among persons who have bound themselves together by an oath, who first commits an injury falls into calamity. When a man joins in the oath *tānūnaptra* for the purpose of overcoming his enemies, he conquers, and his adversary is overcome."

The same story is told in other words in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and I quote the words to show how these narratives are varied in the different Brāhmaṇas:

Ait. Br. 1, 24: *Te devāḥ abibhayur "asmākaṁ vipremāṇam anu idam asurāḥ ābhavishyanti" iti | te vyutkramya amantrayanta | Agniḥ Vasubhir udakrāmad Indro Rudrair Varuṇaḥ Ādityair Bṛihaspatir Viśvair devaiḥ | te tathā vyutkramya amantrayanta | te 'bruvan "hanta yāḥ eva naḥ imāḥ priyatamās tanvas tāḥ asya Varuṇasya rājño gṛihe sannidadhāmahai | tābhir eva naḥ sa na sangachhātai yo naḥ etad atikrāmād yaḥ ālulo bhavishād" iti | "tathā" iti | Te Varuṇasya rājño gṛihe tanūḥ sannyadadhata | te yad Varuṇasya rājño gṛihe tanūḥ sannyadadhata tat tānūnaptram abhavat | tat tānūnaptrasya tānūnaptratvam | tasmād āhur "na satānūnaptriṇe drogdhavyam" iti | tasmād u Asurāḥ na anvābhavanti |*

I quote Professor Haug's translation of this passage: "The Devas were afraid, surmising the Asuras might become aware of their being disunited, and seize their reign. They marched out in several divisions and deliberated. Agni marched out with the Vasus and deliberated. Indra did so with the Rudras; Varuṇa with the Ādityas; and Bṛihaspati with the Viśve Devas. Thus all, having severally marched out, deliberated. They said, 'Well, let us put these our dearest bodies in the house of Varuṇa the king (*i.e.* water); he among us who should, out of greediness, transgress this (oath, not to do anything which might injure the sacrifice), he shall no more be joined with them. They put their bodies in the house of Varuṇa. This putting of their bodies in the house of Varuṇa the king, became their *Tānūnaptram* (joining of bodies). Thence they say: none of those joined together by the *Tānūnaptram* ceremony is to be injured. Thence the Asuras

could not conquer their (the gods') empire (for they had all been made inviolable by this ceremony)."

Page 65, *line* 13.

Setū must mean "bonds," not "barriers." See the quotation next following in the text, viz., vii. 84, 2; and compare R.V. ix. 73, 4, and x. 67, 4; and the word *setra*, rendered "a ligament, a fetter," in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary.

Page 103, *line* 10.

Compare R.V. i. 61, 2; i. 157, 6; viii. 1, 31; viii. 2, 37; x. 147, 1, where faith or heart-felt worship to Indra or the Aśvins is expressed, or enjoined.

Page 105, *line* 11.

So in R.V. viii. 59, 7, it is said: *na sīm adevaḥ āpad ishaṁ dīrghāyo martyaḥ* | "o long-lived god, the godless man obtains no food."

Page 108, *line* 8.

Indra is himself declared to be a priest and a rishi, viii. 16, 7 (*Indro brahmā Indraḥ ṛishiḥ*).

Page 118, *line* 19.

See also Professor Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, ii. 427.

Page 178, *line* 6.

Karambhād. See Weber's Indische Studien, ii. 306, and the Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 6, 8, 4 f.: *Tat Pūshṇe paryaharan* | *tat Pūshā prāśya dato 'ruṇat* | *tasmāt Pūshā prapishṭa-bhāgaḥ* | *adantako hi* | "They gave it to Pūshan; and he, in eating it, pushed out his teeth. Hence, Pūshan has ground meal for his share in the oblation; for he is toothless." See the later story about how Pūshan lost his teeth, in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 168, 322.

Page 217, *line* 10 *from the foot.*

I have to thank Professor Müller for sending me a copy of Sāyaṇa's note on the verse, R.V. x. 16, 4. It is as follows:—

Ajaḥ janana-rahitaḥ śarīrendriyādi-bhāga-vyatiriktaḥ antara-purusha-lakshaṇo yo bhāgas tẹ Agne te ṭvadīyena tapasā tapanena taṁ tādṛiśam bhāgam tapasva tapanaṁ kuru | *Tathā ṭe tava śochiḥ śokahetur ṭvālā-viśeshaḥ tam bhāgam tapatu saṁskarotu* | *tapaḥ-śochir-archiḥ-śabdānāṁ*

santānāya tāratamyena bhedaḥ | He jātavedaḥ te tava yās tanvo mūrtayaḥ śivāḥ sukha-hetavaḥ tanu-tāpa-pradāḥ tābhir eva tanūbhiḥ pretaṁ sukṛitāṁ śobhana-karma-kāriṇāṁ lokaṁ sthānaṁ vaha prāpaya |

Of this I will translate only so much as refers to the important phrase *ajo bhāgaḥ* | "'Aja' is the portion characterized as the inner man, devoid of birth, and of bodily senses and other parts."

Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with a statement of some further grounds in support of his opinion as quoted in my note to p. 217. He urges (1) that the goat is sacrificed to Agni (*āgneyam ajam*, Śatap. Br. vi. 2, 1. 5, and Tāṇḍya Br. i. 8, 4, *agnaye 'jam*); (2) that it would be absurd to ask Agni to burn or warm the unborn part, that is, to do a material act to a thing beyond the reach of material influence; (3) that in the Rig-veda *bhāga* is never used for part (*pars*), but only for share (*sors*); (4) that *tap* means only to burn, to consume by heat, not to warm; (5) that *vātam ātmā gachhatu* | "let the soul go to the wind," had preceded in verse 3; so that there was no further occasion to refer to the man's immaterial part.

In regard to what is urged by Professor Aufrecht under his fifth head, I refer to what I have said on the sense of *ātman* in p. 313.

Page 220, *line* 3; *and* 267, *line* 16.

On the sense of *vṛitra* and *vṛitrahan* see Professor Spiegel's remarks in Kuhn's Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vi. 388 f.

Page 228, *line* 12 *from the bottom.*

In reference to this myth Professor Aufrecht refers me to Dr. Kuhn's Zeitschrift, i. 442, and to Professor Roth's explanation of it, ibid. p. 444.

Page 264, *line* 14.

Compare Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iv. 7 ff., referred to above, p. 241, note 372. The story begins as follows:—

Prajāpatir vai Somāya rājne duhitaram prāyachhat Sūryāṁ Sāvitrīm | tasyai sarve devāḥ varāḥ āgachhan | "Prajāpati gave his daughter Sūryā Sāvitrī in marriage to king Soma. All the gods came as the bridegroom's friends."

Page 269, *line* 14.

In ix. 92, 5, it is said that Soma protected the (Āryan) man and repelled the Dasyu (*Somaḥ prāvad manum dasyave kar abhīkam*).

Page 288, *line* 4.

The Taitt. San. vi. 1, 4, 3, has the following story about Yama:—*Devāś cha vai Yamaś cha asmin loke 'spardhanta | sa Yamo devānām indriyaṁ vīryam ayuvata | tad Yamasya 4. Yamatvam | te devāḥ amanyanta "Yamo vai idam abhūd yad vayaṁ smaḥ" iti | te Prajāpatim upādhāvan | sa etau Prajāpatir ātmanaḥ uksha-vaśau niramimīta | te devāḥ Vaishnāvarunīṁ vaśām ālabhanta Aindram ukshāṇam | taṁ Varuṇenaiva grāhayitvā Vishṇunā Yajnena prāṇudanta | Aindreṇaiva asya indriyam avṛinjata |*

"The gods and Yama contended in this world. Yama took away the vigour and energy of the gods. This is his characteristic. The gods reflected, 'Yama has become the same as we are.' They hastened to Prajāpati, who formed from himself this bull and this cow. The gods sacrificed the cow to Vishṇu and Varuṇa, and the bull to Indra," etc.

Page 345, *line* 7.

In R.V. x. 30, 10, the Waters are called the mothers and the mistresses of the world (*rishe janitrīr bhuvanasya patnīr apo vandasva*).

Page 361, *line* 3.

In R.V. x. 190, right (or the ceremonial), and truth, night, the ocean, etc., are said to have sprung from tapas: *Ṛitaṁ cha satyaṁ cha abhīddhāt tapaso 'dhi ajāyata | tato rātrī ajāyata tataḥ samudro arṇavaḥ |* 2. *Samudrād arṇavād adhi saṁvatsaro ajāyata | ahorātrāṇi vidadhat viśvasya mishato vaśī | 3. Sūryā-chandramasau Dhātā yathāpūrvam akalpayat | divaṁ cha pṛithivīṁ cha antarikśam atho svaḥ |*

"Right and truth sprang from fervid tapas; and thence sprang the night and the liquid ocean. 2. From the liquid ocean sprang the year; and it, the lord of all things that see, made the day and night. Dhātṛi (or the Disposer) made the sun and moon as before; and the sky, the earth, the air, and the heaven."

Page 453, *line* 8 *from the foot.*

See also Professor H. H. Wilson's Preface to his translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i. pp. iii. f. (Dr. Hall's edit.).

INDEX.

A

Achilles, 305
Achyuta, 343
Aditi, 13, 35 ff., 156, 163, 224, 228, 355, 360, 369
Ādityas, 11, 38 f., 48 ff., 54 ff., 70
Aeschylus, quoted 25, 44, 157, 354
Agastya, 153
Aghā, 110
Agnāyī, 82, 337, 345
Agni, 8, 13 f., 35, 51, 63, 65, 199 ff., 269, 281 ff., 297 ff., 403, et passim
Agni Daivodāsa, 219
Agni Gārhapatya, 300
Agnihotra, 315
Agni Sāvitra, 299, 402
Agnishvāttas 296
Ahi, 93, 95, 97
Ahirbudhnya, 336
Ahura, mazda, 70, 72, 120

Aitareya Āraṇyaka—
p. 73 — 23
— 84 —359
i. 13, 2, 3—49

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—
i. 14—268
— 16—208
— 24—475
ii. 17—322
— 18— 11
— 25—144
iii. 20— 93
— 30—227
— 44—321
iv. 1— 86
— 7-9—241, 477
— 27— 23
vi. 11— 88
viii. 23—468

Aja Ekapād, 336, 396
Ājānadeva, 18
Aja panchaudana offering, 304, 306
Ajobhāgaḥ, 217, 297 f., 313, 476 f.
Ambikā, 1
Aṁśa, 13, 54 ff., 419
Amshaspand, 70, 120
Anaxagoras, 28
Andra, 121
Angiras, 200, 209, 274, 277, 395, 409
Angirases, 23, 56, 226, 251 f., 292 f., 311
Anumati, 398
Anuyāja, 11
Apāmnapāt, 354
Āpas (the Waters), 343
Aphrodite, 3, 25
Apnavāna, 213
Apsarases, 44, 308, 345, 409, 430
Apvā, 110
Apyā yoshā, 290
Aramati, 337
Araṇyānī, 346, 422 f.
Arbuda, 97
Ares, 3, 260
Aristotle's Politics, i, 2, 7, quoted 5
Ārjīkīyā, 344
Aryaman, 13, 47, 54 ff., 58, 60, 62, 68, 125, 163
Āryas, 113 f., 220
Asiknī, 344
Asunīti, 297
Asuras, 18, 44, 65, 82, 97, 101, 147, 204, 230, 268, 401, 405
Āśvalayānas Grihya-sūtras, quoted, 217, 401
Āśvalayānas Śrauta-sūtras, quoted 231

Aśvins, 93 f., 113, 125, 145, 164, 192, 234 ff.
Āśvina libation, 253
Aśvinī, 345
Atharvan, 209, 395, 409
Atharvans, 293, 311
Atharva-veda—
i.
7, 2—210
30, 3— 10
33, 1—205
ii.
5, 3— 49
30, 2—243
iii.
3, 3— 74
10, 12— 79
21, 4—403
25, 1 ff.—407
29, 3—309
— 7—403
30, 1 ff.—439
iv.
10, 5—159
11, 1 ff.—399
— 7—361
15, 12— 74
16, — 63
20, 2—305
23, 6— 14
27, 3—150
34, 2 ff.—307
37, 11 f.—309
38, 1 ff.—431
39, 2—208
v.
24, 4— 74
— 9—158, 298
25, 3—243
30, —440
— 6—294
— 11—312

Atharva-veda *continued*—
vi.
21, 1—305
28, 3—291
36, 3—403
41, 3—296
78, 3—225
81, 3—224
92, 1—225
118, 1—430
120, 1—299
— 2— 41
— 3—306
122, 4—293
123, 2, 4—293
140, 2—463

vii.
6, 2— 36
12, —438
20, 6—398
50, 1 f.—429
53, —442
— 7—374
62, 1—471
83, 1— 74
109, 1 ff.—429
115, —348

viii.
1, —443
2, —446
— 1 f.—309, 312
— 3—298
— 11—294
— 24—312
5, 3—405
8, 5 ff.—87, 405
— 15—296
9, 1, 7 ff.—370
— 21— 49
10, 1 ff.—370

ix.
2, —402
— 5—370
3, 17—468
5, 1, 3—303
—7, 10—304
—22 ff.—305
—27 f. —306
10, 24—370

x.
2, —374
7, —378
—32 ff.—401
8, —385
— 1—401

Atharva-veda *continued*—
—7, 13—368, 390
— 43—309, 377
9, 12— 10

xi.
1, 1—224
— 36—293
— 37—304
3, 52—391
4, —393
4, 12—391
5, —399
— 5—362
— 19— 15
6, 7—396
7, —396
— 1—309
— 3—360
—22, 27— 13
8, 1—237
—30 ff.—387

xii.
1, 10— 30
— 20—207
2, 45—300
3, 17—305
4, 36—312

xiii.
1 —395
— 3—147
— 7— 15
— 45—158
2, —161
—39 ff.—396
3, 13—219, 353
— 23—396
4, 1 ff.—353

xiv.
2, 31 f.—309

xvi.
9, 2—174

xvii.
1, 19—359

xviii.
1, 13 f.—290
2, 20 ff.—293
—24 ff., 37—294
— 28—296
— 32—302
— 36—298
— 48—304
— 49—295
— 53—174

Atharva-veda *continued*—
3, 13—291
— 14—311
— 59—297
— 62—301
— 71—300
4, 3—302
— 5—398
— 7—292
— 9 f.—300
— 62—311
— 64—298

xix.
6, 4—368
9, 7—301
53 —407
54 —408
66, 1—65, 88
Atithigva, 97
Ātman, 386
Ātmayājin, 318
Atri Saptavadhri, 247
Atyaṁhas Āruṇi, 316
Aurora, 181
Aurva, 213
Ayāsya, 274

B.

Bacchus, 258
Bahishpavamāna, 253
Bhagavadgītā, 334
Bhaga, 13, 54 ff., 168, 170, 190, 419
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 16, 1 ff.—53
Bharadvāja, 402
Bharata, 468
Bhāratī, 219, 339
Bhāvya, 454
Bhṛigu, 209, 213, 322
Bhṛigus, 10, 49, 225, 251, 293, 311
Bhujyu, 244, 248
Bhūpati, Bhūta, Bhūtānāmpati, and Bhuvana, 231
Bhuvana, 3, 2
Brahmā, 325 f., 355, 376, 378 ff., 401
Brahmā, 16, 161, 321, 326, 369, 384
Brahmachārin, 399 ff.
Brahmaloka, 321
Brahmaṇaspati, 13, 38, 224 f., 272 ff., 355, 360
Brāhmans, 286, 299, 324, 371

Brahma-sūtras, 16
Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, 12, 316, 319, 323
Bṛihaspati, 23, 93, 193, 272 ff., 292

C.

Chaos, 24
Chāturmāsya, 315
Chaturviṁśatirātra, 15
Chhāndogya Upanishad, 323; vi. 2, 1—359.
Chitra, 454
Chitragupta, 302
Chyavāna, 243
Chyavāna, 250
Cyclopes, 24

D.

Dadhyanch, 209
Daksha, 13, 48, 50 ff., 80, 355, 360, 369, 419
Dākshāyaṇī, 80
Dānavas, 95
Dāṇavī, 82
Dānu, 95
Dānus, 95
Dāsa, 114
Dasra. 240
Dasyus, 100, 113 f., 220
Dawn, 181 ff.
Demeter, 26 f., 260
Deshṭrī, 395
Devāpi, 280
Devayājin, 318
Dhātṛi, 71, 54, 159, 169
Dhishaṇā, 339
Dhruvā, 398
Diodorus Siculus quoted, 26
Dionysus, 258 f.
Diti, 13, 42, 147
Divodāsa, 97, 219, 341, 451
Durga, 214, 256
Durvāsas, 324
Dyaus, 7, 11, 21 ff., 39, 76, 100, 118 ff., 142, 156, 205, 212, 267, 357
Dyaushpitar, 33, 118 f.

E.

Earth, 7, 11, 13, 21 ff., 40, 76, 102. See Pṛithivī.
Egyptian cosmogony, 26
Ekāshṭakā, 79 f.
Elephants, 467 f.
Eros, 406
Euripides quoted, 26, 28, 90, 259, 298

F.

Fathers (Pitṛis) 267, 286 ff., 398

G.

Gaia, 76
Gandharva, 289 f.
Gandharvas, 13, 44, 262 ff., 296, 308 f., 398, 400
Gangā, 339, 344
Ganges, 77, 338
Gāyatrī, 263
Ghoshā, 247, 458
Gēmētēr, 26
Gmā, 34
Go, 34
Goethe quoted, 298
Gomatī, 344
Gotamas, 186
Guṇas (the three), 309, 377
Gungū, 346

H.

Habakkuk, 3, 8—98
Hades, 305
Harivaṁśa, 8803—438
Heaven, 7, 11, 13, 21 ff., 102. See Dyaus.
Helios, 145
Hell, 312
Hephaistos, 86, 199, 224
Here, 24, 260
Hermes, 173
Herodotus quoted, 111, 209, 432
Hesiod quoted, 24, 76, 406
Hiraṇyagarbha, 1, 31 f., 354, 383, 390, 411
Hiraṇyahasta, 247
Homer quoted, 157
Homeric hymns quoted, 24, 155
Hotrā, 339

I.

Ignis, 199
Iḷā, 339
Indra, 8, 13, 17, 30 f., 77 ff., 192, 229, 266
Indrāṇī, 82, 337
Isaiah, 19, 1—98

J.

Jemshid, 1
Jmā, 34
Juhū, 398, 411
Jumnā, 338
Jupiter Pluvius, 77

K.

Kakshīvat, 246
Kāla, 391, 407 ff., 411
Kālī, 243
Kali (one of the dice), 430
Kalpas, 325
Kāma, 347, 362, 402 ff., 411
Kamadyū, 244
Kaṇāda, 364
Kapardin, 462
Kapila, 364
Kaśyapa, 52 f., 80, 373, 408
Kaṭha Upanishad, 308, 330
Kāṭhaka quoted—
3, 15— 82
12, 5—392
12, 10—232
Kaushītakī Upanishad, 308, 371
Kāvya Uśanas, 86, 201, 210
Kavyas, 292
Kronos, 24
Krumu, 344
Kshattriyas, 252, 389
Kshetrasyapati, 465
Kuhū, 344
Kurukshetra, 252
Kuyava, 95

L.

Lakshmī, 348
Linga, 384
Lokāyatikas, 364
Lucretius quoted, 28 f.

M.

Madhukaśā, 381
Madhuvidyā, 382
Mādhyamikas, 364
Mādhyamikī Vāch, 340
Maghavan, 99, 102
Mahābhārata—

i.
3135—52

iii.
171, 14019, 15465—11

vi.
3019—343

xii.
241 —372
1184 — 15
3657, 3667 —308
6811 —343
6812 ff.—357
7527, 7530 —408
8810 ff.—326
8106, 8125 ff., 8139 ff., 9877 f., 10060 } 407
9449 ff.—347
9616 —372
10836 —361

xiii.
51 ff.—409
7102 — 11

xiv.
987 ff.—377
1444 — 15
Mahādeva, 372
Mahī, 339
Maitrī Upanishad quoted, 393, 410
Manes, 311
Manu, i. 6 ff. referred to, 369, 408
—— i. 24—410
Manu, Manush, 10, 79, 113, 161, 206, 209, 228, 250
Manus, 161
Manvantaras, 161
Manyu, 237, 361, 406
Marka, 230
Mārkandeya purāṇa, 233
Mārttānḍa, 49
Marudvṛidhā, 344
Maruts, 10, 12, 79, 92 ff., 110, 147 ff., 215, 285
Mātalī, 292
Mātariśvan, 204 f., 219, 380, 395
Matsyapurāṇa, sect. 116—206
Matthew, St., quoted—24, 30; 26, 64—98
Mehatnū, 344
Meru, 324
Mithra, 70 ff., 120
Mitra, 13, 37, 39, 47, 51 f., 54 f., 58 ff., 120, 125, 156 f., et passim
Mitradates, 71
Mitrobates, 71
Moon, 270, 391
Mudgala, 324
Mūjavat, 261, 426
Muṇḍaka Upanishad, 389
Mushnāra 468

N.

Nachiketas, 308, 329
Naighaṇṭuka, 9
Nairuktas, 17, 143
Namuchi, 93 ff., 249
Nandana, 324
Naoghaithi, 121
Narasiṁha purāṇa, 291
Nāsatya, 240
Nāsatyas, 10
Navagvaś, 293, 311
Nighaṇṭu, 193 f.
Nigliḍ, 188
Nirṛiti, 82
Nirṛitis, 19
Nirukta—
ii. 3—374
vi. 9—460
Nirukta *continued*—
vii. 1— 9
— 5—8, 143, 350
— 9—171
— 27 ff.—207
ix. 26—338
x. 26—372
xi. 23— 50
xii. 1—234
—10 f.—227
— 19—207
— 35— 39
— 41— 17
Nirvāna, 326
Nishṭi, 13
Nishṭigrī, 13, 79
Nodhas, 185
Nonentity, 356

O.

Ogni, 199
Oromazes, 71
Ouranos, 25, 33, 75 f.
Ovid quoted, 60, 157

P.

Paṇis, 220
Parameshṭhin, 381, 391, 395, 401, 408
Parameshṭhin Prājāpatya, 80
Parāvṛij, 246
Parjanya, 23, 38 f., 98, 140 ff., 174, 262, 393, 436
Parushṇi, 344
Paśubandha, 315
Pedu, 247
Perkunas, 142
Pipru, 96
Piśāchas, 448
Pitṛis, 44 (see Fathers).
Plaksha Dayāmpāti, 316
Plato quoted, 155, 298, 406
Plutarch referred to, 71
—— quoted, 157
Polyphemus, 90
Poseidon, 31
Pradhāna, 364
Prajāpati, 11, 15, 56, 80, 164, 233, 264, 319, 352, 372, 376, 381, 387, 390 ff., 401, 408, 439

Prāṇa, 393 ff.
Prāsahā, 82
Pṛiśni, 39, 147
Pṛithivī, 7, 11, 21 ff., 119
Psalms quoted, 85
Purāṇa, 398
Purumitra, 244
Purūravas, 286, 421
Purusha, 31, 50, 80, 143, 316, 367 ff.
Pūshan, 31, 81, 84, 168, 171 ff., 257, 269, 462

R.

Rājanya, 371
Rākā, 346
Rākshasas, 44
Rakshases, 101, 204, 270, 299
Rasā, 344
Rebha, 246
Ribhus, 85, 166, 226, 284
Rig-veda quoted—

Maṇḍala i.

1, 3—216
— 4—200
3, 10—338
— 12—339
20, 6—226
22, 1—238
— 9—229
— 11—337
— 19— 94
23, 13—174
— 22—343
24, 1 f.— 45
—6, 8, 10— 62
— 8—156
—„ 9, 11— 65
— 15— 46
25, 1, 12— 65
—7, 9, 11— 63
—10, 13, 18—59, 472
27, 7 f.—216
— 13— 12
30, 16— 85
31, 1—200
— 7—217, 284
— 10—216
32, 2—86, 96 f., 224
— 5, 13— 96
— 9— 95
— 14— 93

Rig-veda *continued*—
34, 10—164, 239
— 11— 9
35, 1— 52
— 2 ff.—162 f.
36, 4—216
— 18—286
— 19—209
38, 5—303
— 9—150
— 13—282
39, 5—150
40, 5 f.—279
42, —174
43, 2— 35
44, 5—238
— 10—451
— 12—212
45, 2— 10
46, 3—241
48, —181
50, —159
— 2—467
— 12— 54
51, 4, 6— 97,
— 8—113
52, 7— 91
— 8— 97
55, 1— 86
— 3— 92
— 5—103
58, 4 f.—211
— 6—209
59, 1, 5—214 f.
— 2—206
— 6—220
61, 6— 86
— 8—465
— 14— 99
62, 11—106, 457
63, 2— 92
64, 7—150, 468
— 8, 11—151
65, 4—212
66, 8—212
67, 3—214
68, 2—210
— 5—214
69, 1—206
70, 1, 3—215
71, 1—457
72, 9— 40
78, 4—220
80, 14— 96
— 15— 92
82, 5, 6—81, 85
84, 1— 88
— 4—265

Rig-veda *continued*—
34, 19—105
85, 7— 95
— 8—151, 454
— 9— 86
87, 3—150
88, 1 f.—151
89, 5—172
— 10—43, 354
91, 1, 18—284
—2, 6, 8, 21—269
— 22—267
92, —183
93, 1 ff.—269 f.
94, 7—211
— 10 f.—213
95, 2—109
— 3—208
100, 1— 99
101, 3—125
— 5—199
102, 2—103
— 8— 81
103, 2— 96
— 3—113
— 5—103
104, 6 f.—103
105, 2—457
— 7, 8—457, 467
— 17—281
108, 6—103
109, 2—460
— 4— 89
110, 2 f.—164
111, 1—86, 226
112, 5, 8—246
— 15—243
— 19—244
113, —187
— 18—193
114, 1—451
115, 1—157
116, 1, 3 ff., 23—244
— 7—246
— 8—247
— 10—243
— 15—245
— 17—236
— 24—246
117, 3, 6, 7, 9, 20, 24—247
— 4—246
— 9—240
— 13—236, 243
—14 f., 17 f.—245
— 20—244
— 21—113
118, 4—241
— 5—236

Rig-veda *continued*—
118, 6—243
— 9—247
119, 5—236
— 6 f.—246
121, 12— 86
122, 9— 68
123, 2—184
— 3—169
— 5—190
124, 1—165
— 7—457 f.
125, 5 f.—285
126, 1—454
— 7—467
130, 7— 97
— 8—113
131, 1—31, 92
— 4—112
133, 6—147
134, 3—144
— 4—145
135, 1, 3, 4—143 f.
136, 3— 36
138, 1—180
139, 11— 10
141, 9—125, 215
142, 10—224
142, 12—145
143, 5—213
149, 3—213
— 4—451
151, 9— 68
154, 5—285
156, 4—125
157, 1—165, 169, 239
— 4—249
— 5—243
159, 1 f.— 21
— 5—166
160, 2 ff.—22, 30
161, 1 ff.—226
— 10—463
— 14— 72
162, 22— 46
163, 13—285
164, 6—357
— 43—463
— 46—219
— 49—342
— 50— 17
165, 6 ff.— 15
— 8— 92
— 9— 99
166, 12— 36
167, 3—460
— 4—460
170, 2 ff.—154

Rig-veda *continued*—
171, 4—154
173, 6— 99
175, 5— 89
176, 1— 81
179, 6—285
180, 1—240 f.
181, 2—241
— 3—240
— 4—235
182, 3—241
— 5 ff.—245
183, 2—192
184, 2—243
185, 1— 32
— 3— 36
186, 7—106, 458
188, 9—225
190, 1 f.—279
191, 5—467
191, 9— 54
— 10—464

Mandala ii.

1, 3 ff.—219, 282
— 13 f.—202
2, 7—283
4, 3—206
8, 3—215
9, 1—215
11, 7— 84
— 9 f.— 96
— 11— 89
— 14— 91
— 18—113
— 19—114
12, 1 f.—124
— 3—205
— 5—104
— 6, 14—107
— 7—158, 192
— 8 f.—109
— 10—112
— 11 f.— 97
14, 1— 89
— 4— 98
— 6— 97
15, 1— 93
— 2—88, 115
— 3— 96
— 6—192
16, 2— 83
— 3— 85
17, 5— 99
18, 3—85, 106
19, 2— 94

Rig-veda *continued*—
19, 3— 96
— 4—107
20 8— 92
22, 3—107
23, —274
— 17—225
24, 1 ff., 8—277
26, 3—280
27, 1— 54
— 3 f.— 56 f.
— 10— 60
— 14—46, 68
— 16— 57
28, 4, 8— 62
— 5— 65
— 6— 63
29, 1—460
31, 5—191
32, 4, 6 f.—346
33, 9—454
34, 2 f.—150
35, 8—354
38, 1—166
— 2, 7, 9, 11—163 f.
— 9—125
39, 1 ff.—242
40, 1 ff.—31, 180
41, 5— 60
— 16—341
— 17—342

Mandala iii.

2, 11—212
3, 3 f.—200
— 10—214
— 11—205
4, 9—225
5, 10—214
6, 5—214
— 6, 9—10, 213
8, 5—194
9, 9—12, 215
12, 4, 6—220
14, 4—215
20, 4—218
21, 1—210
— 3—200
23, 4—338
25, 1—205
— 5—106
26, 2—282
— 7—210
27, 2, 7—200
29, 1 ff.—209
30, 5—30, 99

Rig-veda *continued*—
31, 15—158
32, 4— 92
— 8—158
— 9 f.— 89
— 12 f.— 91 f
33, 6—166
34, 1— 91
— 2— 99
— 8— 30
— 9—113
35, 4— 85
— 6— 89
— 7— 88
— 9— 92
36, 7 f.— 89
38, 4— 84
43, 7—262
44, 2—158, 192
45, 1, 4—85, 107
46, 2 f.— 99
47, 1— 89
— 3— 92
48, 2 f.— 77
— 4—84, 229
49, 1— 80
51, 12— 89
52, 3— 90
53, 2—106
— 4 ff.— 81
— 5—104
— 8— 82
54, 5— 19
— 13—151
— 18— 62
— 19 f.— 40
55, —354
— 2—286
— 10—215, 285
— 19—225
56, 1— 18
— 6—166
58, 1—192
59, — 69
61, 4, 6—191
62, 9—172

Mandala iv.

1, 2, 4—219
2, 6—216
— 11— 43
4, 4—218
— 10—216
5, 1—214
— 4—126
— 5—311, 458

Rig-veda *continued*—
5, 13—191
6, 2—211
8, 2, 4—202, 215
12, 4—46, 218
13, 2—159
14, 2—169
16, 14—468
17, 2—31, 100
— 4, 17—78, 105
— 16—107
18, 1, 5, 10 ff.—78
— 3—229
— 4—100
— 12— 16
21, 9—108
26, 2—114
— 6—262
28, 1 f.—267
30, 1—124
— 3, 5— 18
— 8 ff.—192
— 14, 20—97, 451
32, 16— 90
— 17 ff.—109
33, 5 f.—226
— 11— 20
35, 3, 8—284
36, 18—450
38, 5—467
41, 4—122
42, 3—225
43, 6—236
45, 4—241
46, 1, 3 f.—144
48, 4 f.—144
50, 1, 4 ff.—278
51, 9—184
52, 2—192
— 4—195
53, 2—164, 353, 472
— 3, 6—166
54, 2—14, 164
— 3—164, 166
56, 3— 30

Mandala v.

1, 4—201
— 11—213
2, 7— 65
3, 1—219
4, 9—218
— 10—285
9, 3 f.—210
13, 6—219
25, 5—216

Rig-veda *continued*—
29, 15—462
30, 5—92, 100
31, 2—107
— 4—85 f.
— 10— 91
32, 1— 96
34, 2— 86
— 4—111
36, 1— 89
37, 1, 4—107
41, 11—472
42, 6—100
43, 11—340
— 12—280
46, 3— 41
48, 18 f.—172
52, 15—454
53, 4—150
54, 1, 3—150
— 11—149
55, 1—151
— 4—285
— 5—150
57, 6—150
60, 2 f.—150
62, 3— 68
— 6— 60
— 8—42, 60
63, 1— 60
— 2—285
— 3— 68
— 4—159
69, 1, 4— 68
— 3— 36
73, 1—238
— 5—236
74, 5—243
— 10—238
75, 5—241
— 10—286
76, 3—239
78, 4 ff.—247
79, 9—195
81, 2—191
— 2, 3—162 ff.
— 4, 5—169 f.
82, 2 ff.—163, 166
— 6— 47
83, —140
85, 2—162
— 6— 62
— 7 f.— 65

Mandala vi.

2, 4 f.—216
5, 5—216

Rig-veda *continued*—
7, 1 f.—206
— 4— 14
— 7—214
8, 3—214
— 5—218
9, 1 f.—465
— 7—215
13, 1—218
14, 2—200
16, 13, 14, 39, 48—209, 220
17, 8— 92
— 9— 96
— 10— 86
— 11—178
18, 3—104, 114
— 10—101
19, 3— 84
20, 2— 92, 95
21, 4— 85
— 5, 8—104
— 11—113
24, 3—107
— 7— 15
— 8—100
25, 3—114
27, 4— 96
28, 5—103
29, 2— 82
30, 1, 5— 30, 100
36, 1— 92
39, 3—193, 267
40, 2— 89
44, 23—159, 193, 267
— 22, 24—268
45, 26—107
47, 1 f.—262
— 3—90, 194
— 5—268
— 6— 89
— 8, 11—106, 112
— 15 ff.—110
— 18— 82
— 19—227
— 23—455
49, 7—340
50, 2— 51
— 7—345
51, 5—22, 41
— 7—441
52, 4—286
— 6—339
53 & 54 —176
55, —177
56 & 57 —178
58, —179
— 3—157
59, 11 f.—13 f.

Rig-veda *continued*—
60, 6—114
61, 1, 2, 7, 8, 11 f.—340 ff.
63 6 f.—241
71, 1 f., 6—167
72, 1, 2—158, 270
74, 1, 3—270
75, 1 ff., 6 f.—469
— 18—472

Maṇḍala vii.

1, 14—206
2, 1—211
— 3—209
— 6—191
— 9—225
3, 6—212
— 7—218
4, 4—200
— 6—217
5, 4—215
— 6—220
6, 1—214
— 2—215
— 3—220
— 5—191
— 7—218
11, 1—202
12, 2—218
13, 1— 49
— 2—215
15, 12— 43
— 14—218
16, 3—211
18, 2—454
20, 5— 79
21, 6— 92
— 7— 17, 125
23, 3— 31
— 5—105
26, 3—458
27, 3—107
30, 1— 12
31, 5—105
— 6—109
32, 18 f.—108
33, 2— 89
— 1—462
34, 2— 32
— 20—225
— 21 f.—226
35, 8, 10—169
— 12—286
36, 2— 70
37, 3—107
38, 2, 4—167
— 3—163

Rig-veda *continued*—
38, 4—47, 125
39, 2— 20
40, 1—167
— 5—354
45, 1—162, 167
49, 2— 72, 466
— 3— 63
52, 2—441
56, 13—150
57, 1—150
— 6—285
58, 12— 74
60, 1—158
— 2—157
— 3—156
— 4— 62, 156
— 5— 57
— 6 f.— 68
61, 5— 63
63, 1—158
— 2—156 f.
64, 2— 72
65, 3— 65, 476
66, 2— 51
— 4—169
— 11— 61
— 13— 68
67, 2 f.—238
68, 3—242
— 7—245
69, 3—236
72, 2—249
— 4—239
— 5—238
75, 5—191
76, 1—158
— 4—193, 286
77, 2—187
— 3—157
78, 3—156, 159, 191, 205
80, 1—195
81, 4—195
82, 2 f.—123, 159
— 5 f.—122
83, 1—114
— 2—471
— 8—462
— 9—123
84, 2—65, 123
85, 3—123
86, 3 ff.— 66
87, 1, 2, 3, 5— 62
— 4— 63
— 7— 47, 65
88, 2— 59
— 4 ff.— 60, 67
89, 1 ff.— 67

Rig-veda *continued*—
90, 3—143
91, 5—144
— 6— 85
92, 2—144
93, 7— 47, 218
94, 7—220
95, 1 ff.—340 f.
96, 4 ff.—340
97, 6—281
— 8— 23, 280
98, 3— 79, 89
99, 4 f.—95, 159, 205
100, 4—113
101, 1, 2, 4 ff.—141 f.
103, —435
104, 3—312
— 6—106

Maṇḍala viii.

2, 4— 89
— 12—464
— 18— 20, 88
— 20—460
4, 9—108, 457
— 10, 12— 89
— 16—466
5, 1 f., 30—238
— 7—242
— 28 f.—240
— 38—456
6, 1— 98
— 5— 30
— 13— 96
— 15—100
— 18— 49
— 38— 31
— 40— 89
— 41—102
7, 4, 8, 23—150
— 25—149
— 31— 92
8, 4, 23—238
9, 12—248
— 17—192, 238
12, 14— 47
— 22— 92
— 30—101
13, 16— 91
14, 1—108
— 5, 11— 92
— 9—100
— 13— 98
— 14— 97
— 15—112
15, 2—100
— 8— 92

Rig-veda *continued*—
16, 7—476
17, 5 ff.— 89
— 10— 87
— 14— 97
18, 15— 57
19, 25—108
— 32—219
— 33—206
20, 23, 25—153
21, 4—105
— 14—112
— 18—339, 454
22, 16—240
23, 1—211
— 15—217
— 17—210
24, 27—114
25, 3— 38
26, 21—144, 229
27, 10—474
28, 1— 10
— 4— 18
29, 7— 19
30, 2— 10
— 3— 19
31, 15 f— 20
32, 26— 97
33, 2— 89
— 8—468
— 17—461
34, 9— 85
— 3—467
35, 3— 10
— 13 ff.—156
36, 4—116
39, 3—210
— 6—215
40, 7—471
41, 10—378
42, 1— 61
— 2— 65
43, 13—209
— 21—218
— 23—215
— 31—217
44, 23—109
45, 4— 81
— 17—106
— 32 ff.—111
— 39— 85
46, 32—461
— 33—455
47, 2, 8— 57
— 9— 38
— 13— 57
48, 1—266
— 3— 19, 90

Rig-veda *continued*—
48, 7—269
— 9—265
— 13—267, 287
50, 2— 89
— 9, 17—108
51, 2, 7, 12—124
— 7—101
54, 7—105
— 10 f.—152
55, 13—105
57, 11—105
58, 7—112, 286
— 11— 88
— 16— 82
59, 5— 30
— 7—476
61, 17—265
62, 2—241
— 4—238
— 11—249, 268
64, 1—213
65, 10— 83
66, 1— 81
— 4— 89
67, 3—156
— 5 f.—112
— 7—116
— 10—173
— 20—301
68, 1—268
— 2—265
69, 1, 3, 4, 7—105
70, 3—100, 107
71, 8—271
72, 7 f.—474
78, 2—100
— 7—158
80, 11, 14— 96
81, 6—116
— 30—106
— 32—105
82, 5—101
— 12— 31
83, 9 ff.—152
85, 3— 83
— 4, 6, 9—100
— 7, 15— 93
— 8—147
— 20—105
86, 14—101
87, 2—353
— 6—114
— 8— 92
— 11—105
89, 3 f.—104
— 8—262
— 9— 86

Rig-veda *continued*—
90, 11— 54, 156
— 12—158
— 15— 38
— 16—370
91, 4 f.—213
— 6—168
— 8—225
— 17—206
— 19 f.—216
92, 1—113, 220
— 2—219
— 3—215

Mandala ix.

1, 1—261
— 6—237
4, 6—225
5, 9—226
42, 4—267
54, 3—268
61, 16, 22, 30—267
66, 16 f.—268
— 18—269
— 24—267
67, 10 ff.—461
73, 8—268, 312
76, 2—267
78, 4—269
82, 3—142
83, 3—287
85, 2—265
— 3—267
— 12—263
86, 10, 37, 40—267
— 29—159
— 44—469
87, 2—13, 267 f.
— 6— 97
— 9— 85
88, 3 f.—267
89, 6—268
— 12— 95
90, 3—267
— 5—266
91, 22—267
92, 4— 11
— 5—477
96, 5— 13, 267
— 6—269
97, 24—268
— 41—267
— 42—266
— 55— 41
98, 9— 31, 268
101, 1, 13—467

Rig-veda *continued*—
106, 8— 14, 266
107, 7—267
108, 3—266
109, 3—266
— 15—265
110, 3—267
112, —424
113, 2—103, 361
— 3—237
— 7 ff.—266, 306
114, 3— 54

Mandala x.

2, 1, 4 f.—200
— 7— 24, 205
4, 1—218
5, 7— 51
6, 6—218
8, 8 f.—230
9, 6—343
10, —288
— 5—176, 225
12, 8— 47
14, —291
— 7— 65
15, —295
— 12—202
16, 1 ff.—297
— 4—217, 476
17, 1 ff.—227, 287
— 3 ff.—164, 173
— 8—241
— 10 ff.—338
18, 3—466
— 6—225
20, 9—212
21, 5—209
22, 4 ff.— 85
23, 7—105
24, 5—249
25, 3, 6—268
— 7—269
— 9—267
26, 4 f.—180
27, 11 f.—458
— 17—467
28, 3— 90
29, 6— 30
30, 5—269
— 10—478
— 12—339
31, 3— 19
— 7— 32
33, 2—457
— 8 f.— 19

Rig-veda *continued*—
34, —425
— 1—261
— 4 f.—460
35, 7—168
36, 2 f.— 41
— 14—168
37, 1—156, 159
— 6—314
— 12—441
38, 3—114
39, 3, 5—242
— 6, 11—249
— 8—243, 246
— 9—246 f.
— 11—236
— 12—192, 238
— 13—248
40, 2—459
— 3—455
— 4—468
— 6—460
41, 3— 59
42, 2—107
— 3—108
— 4, 11—105
43, 1—106, 458
— 4, 7— 90, 465
— 5—159
44, 8—101
— 9— 87
45, 1—207
— 4—212
— 8—205
46, 2—209
— 9—206, 226
47, 1, 7—106
48, 1—105
— 3— 86, 92
— 11—124
49, 2— 39, 114
— 7— 85, 156
— 10—229
50, 4— 92
51, 4 ff.—202 f.
52, 1 f.—203
53, 9—224, 281
— 10— 14
54, 1 ff., 6—102
— 3— 30
55, 1— 81
56, 1—207
58, 1—313
59, 4—269
60, 10—313
61, 4—239
62, 3—159
— 11—456

Rig-veda *continued*—
63, 2 f.—38 f.
— 7—209
— 10— 41
64, 2— 19
— 5— 51
65, 5— 68
— 9— 39
— 11—114
— 12—244
— 15— 19
66, 10—227
67, 5—193
68, 6 ff.—193, 279, 283
— 11—287, 311
69, 3—209
— 9—215
70, 2, 11—202
— 9—226
71, 2—348
— 4—461
72, — 48, 355
— 2 f.— 17
73, 1— 79
— 6—193
75, —343
78, 3—150
79, 1 f.—212
— 4—210
— 5—216
80, 3—247
81 & 82—354
81, 2 f.— 32
83, 1—114
— 2 f.—361
85, 1—158
— 2 ff.—266, 270
—3, 9, 14—237
— 4— 79
— 19—192
— 26, 37—173, 243
— 43—390
— 46—460
86, 9—337
— 11 f.— 82
— 19—114
87, 2, 5, 14—204
88, 2—211
— 4—214
—6, 8, 10 f.—206
— 11— 54, 179
— 15—287
89, 2— 97
— 4—102
— 7— 96
— 8 f.—125
— 10— 31, 102
90, —367

Rig-veda *continued*—
90, 5— 50
— 14— 31
91, 2—204
— 3—201, 218
— 4 f.—213
— 8 ff.—200
93, 6—262
95, 18—286
97, 1, 3 ff.—13, 357, 463
— 6—454, 464
— 15, 19—281, 463
— 16—303
98, 7—280
99, 6— 98, 230
100, 5—281
— 8—168
101, 12— 13
102, 3—114
— 12—102
103, 8 ff.—109, 281
107, —433
— 1—287
— 2—285
109, 4— 17
— 5—401
110, 9— 31, 225
— 11—201
112, 1— 94
— 2— 84
— 3— 83
113, 3— 92
114, 2— 19
— 3—462
— 5—353
115, 1—210
117, —431
— 1— 19
119, — 90
— 4—106
120, 1— 79
— 5— 92
— 6— 95
121, 9— 31
123, 6— 60
125, 1—226
129, — 5, 356
— 1— 32
— 6— 13
131, 4— 92
133, —471
— 2— 81
134, 1— 79
— 6— 87
135, 1—302
138, 5—193
— 6— 92, 102
139, 1—168, 172

Rig-veda *continued*—
141, 3—280
142, 4—212
146, —422
149, 1, 4— 31, 164
150, 4—201
151, 1 ff.—346
152, 1—105
— 4—312
154, —310
156, 4—158, 214
158, 1 ff.— 8, 170
159, 4— 14
160, 1—107
— 3—104
165, 4—302
167, 1— 14, 80
168, 1 ff.—145
171, 4—158
173, —456
181, 3—169
184, 1—225, 390
— 2—342, 346
186, 1—146
187, 4—215
190, —478
— 3— 31, 159
Rijrāśva, 245
Rikvans, 292
Rivers, 343
Rodasī, 148, 345
Rohiṇī, 264
Rohita, 395 f.
Rudra, 1, 125, 146 ff.
Rudras, 11, 124, 147 ff.

S.

Sādhyas, 17, 55, 372
S'ākalya, 316
S'ākapūṇi, 207
S'akra, 88
Sāma-veda—
i. 299— 38
— 340—289
ii. 1060—403
— 1219— 84
Samvartaka fire, 161
S'ambara, 95 f.
S'aṇḍa, 230
Sankarshana, 408
Sānkhya kārikā quoted, 16
S'aphāruj, 87
Saramā, 294
Śaranyū, 227, 237, 257, 288
Sarasvat, 340

Sarasvatī, 93 f., 219, 337 ff., 454
Sarayu, 339, 450
S'aryāta, 251
S'aryāti, 254
S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa—

i.
1, 1, 7— 20
— 9, 1— 55
6, 4, 18— 96
9, 3, 10—319

ii.
1, 4, 9—314
2, 1, 19— 41
3, 3, 1—208
4, 2, 1— 15
— 2— 52
6, 4, 8—320

iii.
1, 3, 3— 50
2, 4, 1—263

iv.
1, 5, 1—250
— 16—234
5, 7, 2— 11
6, 1, 1—315

v.
3, 1, 4— 41
4, 2, 52—343
—5, 1— 95

vi.
2, 2, 27—317
5, 4, 8—320
6, 2, 4—322

vii.
5, 2, 6—391

ix.
1, 4, 6—458
5, 1, 1— 14

x.
1, 5, 4—315
2, 6, 7—314
— 19—314
3, 2, 13—319
3, 3, 8—319
4, 1, 9—387
—3, 1—314
—3, 9—315
—4, 4—307

S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa *continued*—
5, 3, 1—358
—4, 15—318
6, 3, 1—317
—5, 9—387

xi.
1, 6, 14— 80
—8, 2—372
— 6—315
2, 1, 1—303
—3, 1—387
—6, 13—318
—7, 33—314
3, 3, 1—387
4, 3, 1—349
—4, 1—321
5, 6, 3—317
— 9—321
6, 2, 2—320
—3, 11—316
8, 3, 6—314

xii.
3, 4, 1—377
—5, 1—164
7, 3, 1— 94
8, 3, 31—315

xiii.
6, 1, 1—377
7, 1, 1—372, 387

xiv.
1, 2, 18—393
2, 1, 8— 52
—2, 2— 13
3, 2, 1—372
6, 2, 13—319
—9, 28—316
7, 1, 32—308
Savitṛi, 31, 43, 47, 54, 125, 155, 162 ff., 353
Sautrāmaṇī, 315
S'ayu, 247
Sindhu, 153, 339, 344, 454
Sinīvālī, 53, 346
Skambha, 378 ff.
Soma, 13, 31, 94, 110, 121, 140, 180, 237, 258 ff., 306
Soma-juice, 88 ff., 237
S'raddhā, 264, 346, 404
S'rī, 349
Strabo quoted, 77
Subandhu, 313
Sudās, 454, 471
Sudhanvan, 284
S'ūdra, 371
Sukanyā, 252, 254
Sumitra, 209
S'unas'sepa, 45
Sūrya, 13, 54, 125, 143, 155 ff., 298
Sūryā, 171, 178 f., 236 f., 257
Susartū, 344
S'ushṇa, 95 f.
S'utudri, 339, 344
Svadhā, 292
Svāhā, 292
Svarāj, 370
Svarga, 286, 302
Svayambhū, 353, 408
S'vetās'vatara Upanishad, 409
S'vetī, 344

T.

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa—

i.
3, 2, 2—265
5, 2, 6—299
6, 4, 1—164

ii.
2, 3, 3— 80
— 7, 1—376
—9, 1, 10—33, 365
— 10, 1—80, 264
4, 1, 6—201
— 2, 6—299
— 7—36, 82
— 6, 5—307
8, 8, 5—342
— 6—347
— 8—404
— 9—389
— 9, 6—32, 355

iii.
1, 2, 1—242
7, 12, 3f.—66, 441
9, 22, 1—372
10, 9, 11—320
— 11, 1—299
— 6—320
11, 8, 1—329
12, 2, 6—318
— 3, 1—15, 44, 347, 361
— 9, 7—390

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Commentary on, quoted, 358, 362 f., 365
Taittirīya Sanhitā—

i.
2, 3, 1— 51
8, 16, 1— 58

ii.
2, 3, 1—403
3, 5, 1—11, 264
5, 1, 1—230
— 8, 5—201
— 6—218
—11, 8—201
6, 8, 4—476

iv.
p. 34*a* — 53

v.
5, 4, 1— 74
p. 34*a* — 15

vi.
1, 3, 6— 17
1, 4, 3—478
1, 6, 5—263
4, 3, 3— 73
— 8, — 59
— 9, 1—253
— 10, 1—230
6, 11, 2— 81
p. 10, —307
p. 18, —474
p. 41, —372
p. 65*a* —225
p. 67*a* —317

vii.
2, 7, 2—235
4, 2, 1— 15
Tapas, 80, 361, 366
Tṛishṭāmā, 344
Trita, 117, 419
Trita Āptya, 195, 230, 336
Tritsus, 462
Tugra, 244 f.
Tura Kāvasheya, 387
Turvaśa, 286
Tvāshṭra, 336
Tvashṭṛi, 31, 38, 86, 96, 144, 205, 224 ff., 281, 287, 290

U.

Uchhishṭa, 13, 391, 396 ff.
Ugrajit, 430
Ugradeva, 286
Ugrampaśyā, 430
Upabhṛit, 398
Upahavya, 397
Urana, 96, 98
Urvaśī, 345, 421
Ushas, 13, 157, 178, 181 ff., 238
Uttānapad, 41, 360

V.

Vāch, 263, 340, 342, 370, 392, 405
Vāchaspati, 273
Vadhrimatī, 247
Vadhryaśva, 341
Vairūpas, 311
Vaiśya, 371
Vājas, 284
Vājasaneyi Sanhitā—
1, 17—217
7, 11—382
10, 16— 42
13, 43— 35
19, 12— 94
23, 47 f.—387
29, 9—225
— 60— 53
31, 18—373
— 19—390
— 22—349
32, 2—374
— 5—391
Vala, 279
Vālakhilya—
8, 3—461, 467
9, 2— 11
10, 2—357
Vandana, 246
Varchin, 95
Varena, 75
Varuṇa, 1, 4, 13, 32 f., 37 ff., 46 f., 54 f., 58 ff., 110, 116 ff., et passim.
Varuṇānī, 345
Varūtrī, 339
Vasishṭha, 70, 345
Vasishṭhas, 195, 296, 311
Vāstoshpati, 273
Vasus, 11, 22, 124, 163
Vāta, 39, 85, 142, 145
Vāyu, 8, 39, 85, 143 ff., 206, 229
Vibhāvasu, 263
Vibhīdaka, 426
Vilistengā, 82
Vimada, 105, 244
Virāj, 50, 369, 387, 395, 401, 405
Virūpa, 292
Vishṇāpū, 244
Vishṇu, 1, 13, 29, 53, 79, 95, 113, 122, 125, 169, etc.
Vishṇupurāṇa, 52, 271, 313
Vishūvat, 397
Viśpalā, 245
Viśvaka, 244
Viśvakarman, 1, 32, 352, 354, 372, 396
Viśvarūpa, 230
Vitastā, 344
Vivasvat, 50, 52, 55, 144, 205, 227, 235, 257, 266, 288, 301
Vṛihannāradīya Purāṇa, 302
Vṛishākapi hymn, 421
Vṛitra, 79, 81, 95 ff., 119, 220, 267
Vulcan, 199

W.

Waters, 343

X.

Xenophon referred to, 71

Y.

Yadu, 286
Yama, 65, 219, 227, 266, 284 ff., 353, 421, 442 f.
Yamī, 228, 287 ff., 421
Yamunā, 339, 344
Yātudhanas, 9, 204, 270
Yima, 75

Z.

Zendavesta, 71, 120, 419
Zeus, 4, 21, 33, 45, 261

THE END.

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Anglo-Saxon.	Demotic.	Hungarian.	Romaic (Modern Greek)
Arabic.	Estrangelo.	Illyrian.	Russian.
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Aramaic.	Etruscan.	Italian (Old).	Samaritan.
Archaic Characters.	Georgian.	Japanese.	Sanscrit.
Armenian.	German.	Javanese.	Servian.
Assyrian Cuneiform.	Glagolitic.	Lettish.	Slavonic (Old).
Bengali.	Gothic.	Mantshu.	Sorbian (or Wendish).
Bohemian (Czechian).	Greek.	Median Cuneiform.	Swedish.
Búgís.	Greek Ligatures.	Modern Greek (Romaic)	Syriac.
Burmese.	Greek (Archaic).	Mongolian.	Tamil.
Canarese (or Carnâtaca).	Gujerati (or Guzzeratte).	Numidian.	Telugu.
Chinese.	Hieratic.	Old Slavonic (or Cyrillic).	Tibetan.
Coptic.	Hieroglyphics.	Palmyrenian.	Turkish.
Croato-Glagolitic.	Hebrew.	Persian.	Wallachian.
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